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CONTACT DETAILS

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

EDITORIAL TEAM

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The sidewalk is a history book: Reflections on linking historical consciousness to uses of history

Kenneth Nordgren
Karlstad University, Sweden

ABSTRACT

The ongoing discussion about what constitutes historical consciousness is intensifying within the growing international community of history-education researchers. What started as an exploration of how life outside schools affects our historical thinking has become a key concept for structuring formal education. This shift has largely been positive; however, there are reasons for caution. If practical adaption means outlining, classifying, and measuring levels of achieved awareness, it also presents a risk of losing the initial reason for considering the wider influence on our perceptions and orientations. My reflection in this article concerns this paradox and how it can affect a complementary concept, *use of history*. Using examples from everyday historical representations in public life, namely song lyrics, the BLM, and Sweden's approach to Covid 19, I demonstrate why history education requires a broad understanding of historical consciousness and a readiness to work with public uses of history.

KEYWORDS

Historical consciousness, Uses of history, History education, History didactics

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Introduction

The international discussion about historical consciousness and teaching history is stimulating and intensifying within the growing community of history-education researchers (e.g. Ahonen, 2005; Ammert, Edling, Löfström, & Sharp, 2017; Clark & Peck, 2018; Körber, 2016; Seixas, 2017, 2004; Zanazanian & Nordgren, 2019). The Anglo-Canadian historical-thinking tradition (Lee, 2004; Lévesque & Clark, 2018; Seixas, 2016, 2017) has in several ways inspired the continental tradition of searching for tools that are useful to recontextualising theory into teaching and assessing. This cross-cultural exchange has, along with increasing attention to historical consciousness in curriculum-making, raised legitimate expectations about accessible applications for teachers and researchers (Ercikan & Seixas, 2015; Hammarlund, 2020; Körber, 2011). However, several scholars have expressed concern that historical consciousness is difficult to operationalise, including recently in this journal, in which Thorp (2020) discussed relations between historical consciousness and the use of history.

Before I go deeper into the question of how to operationalise and recontextualise these two conceptual cousins, I will describe the linkage between them in context: in the Scandinavian countries, historical consciousness and, more recently, the use of history have been incorporated into the history syllabus.[1] As a concept, *use-of-history* refers to historical narratives, artefacts and symbols, and how they can be employed in all areas of public life for nearly any purpose. This concept directs our attention to specific activities and motives (Karlsson, 2011). Consequently, in addition to offering theoretical perspectives, the conceptual integration of historical consciousness and use-of-history in the syllabus also generates goals and objectives for learning to which teachers are expected to relate their teachings (Nordgren, 2016). The process of recontextualising these concepts from the intended curriculum to the implemented curriculum has faced challenges (Swedish Schools Inspectorate, 2015; Alvén, 2017). Such challenges are also Thorp's (2020) point of departure. In short, he argues that both concepts are vaguely defined and that the connections between them are blurred and, thus, difficult to use in education. He claims that the Swedish syllabus and Swedish scholars in general, despite this vagueness, stipulate that only uses of history can be employed to develop historical consciousness (p. 51). To resolve this ambiguity, he suggests another view of historical consciousness as more specifically equated with the modern ability of reflective genetic thinking (*historicity*) while proposing that the concept *use-of-history* be reserved as a device to analyse the extent to which historical accounts – such as textbooks – live up to the desired genetic form of understanding history. Thorp (2020) overinterprets the syllabus (see note *i*) and rather oddly characterises the fairly diverse field of history-education research in Sweden; however, he rightly emphasises the need to better aid teachers in recontextualising disciplinary and educational concepts. Unfortunately, Thorp's suggested remedy is misplaced because he – in his ambition to reconcile these concepts with one another – loses sight of the phenomena they denote.

My interest in this article is not to debate Thorp; however, his reasoning touches on the undercurrents of applicability and measurability in the broader international discussion. These themes can be connected partly to the influence of discourses on assessment (Yates & Collins, 2010) and partly to the growing methodological interest in using typologies to discern levels of historical consciousness among students. These pursuits of operationalising historical consciousness for teaching and assessing are of course important, but they also warrant caution. If practical adaption means outlining, classifying and measuring levels of achieved awareness, then it jeopardises the initial reason for considering history's complex influence on our perceptions and social orientations. Thus, we face a paradox, one that reduces this phenomenological perspective to a nearly confusing equivalent to the traditions of historical thinking, thereby making this whole recontextualisation project somewhat redundant. Even with an intention to concretise, the cause can get lost in translation. In the following sections, I will nevertheless argue that the bad reputation of vagueness is exaggerated and that historical consciousness, as a complex concept, is neither particularly vague nor especially difficult to detect and explore. To discuss how I understand the phenomenon, I will draw on an example from the lyrics of Joni Mitchell. Further, I will argue that historical consciousness complements the

tradition of historical thinking. Finally, I will exemplify why teaching about the uses of history is an important task in relation to the ongoing anti-racist demonstrations in the United States and to the coronavirus pandemic.

Historical consciousness: Balancing dreadful and wonderful perceptions

When we, as scholars, write about historical consciousness, we often repeat – almost like a protective spell – that this is an ambiguous concept, one that is challenging to grasp and difficult to operationalise. Certainly, combining history with consciousness is bound to be a bold endeavour; if it were not, then the exercise of compounding these most multifaceted concepts would be superfluous.

Dealing with the non-paradigmatic is actually the business of the social sciences and humanities, which are primarily concerned with topics that are open to different interpretations and applications (Bernstein, 1999). Consider concepts such as culture, power or progress: They are simultaneously rich and vague – omnipresent and elusive. For researchers, they are challenging to operationalise coherently and congruently, but they are also heuristically fruitful (Goertz, 2006). A preoccupation with a sense of 'conceptual vagueness' beyond the ordinary not only seems less fruitful than an approach that readily accepts the non-paradigmatic but also appears to be a categorical mistake since it confuses the phenomenon's complexity with unclear definitions and a theoretical contradiction (cf. Thorp, 2013). Rather, I suggest that the phenomenon we are trying to frame – historical consciousness – is itself complex and elusive. Historical consciousness is a conceptualisation of 'something' ordinary but nevertheless hyper-complex, so it must be approached from different angles. Following Rüsen (2017), this consciousness is about the human need to create meaning:

> The mental structure of our orientation towards action (and dealing with suffering) is characterized by a surplus of meaning, which extends beyond the given circumstances. … [This desire for meaning] enables the irritating experiences of contingency and the ensuing push towards interpretation. (p. 27)

As Jeismann (1979, p. 43) underscores, this meaning-making process "does not only exist in the cognitive space of thought, but must assure itself of its historical and everyday, also emotional, interdependency and at the same time recognize and relativize it."[2] Let us look into a short empirical example with the help of poetic condensation – not for the sake of demonstrating an educational approach, but instead to catch a glimpse of the phenomenon of historical consciousness. The opening scene in Joni Mitchell's (1979) lyrics to Charles Mingus's composition, 'Goodbye Pork Pie Hat', introduces Mingus as he recollects the legendary tenor saxophonist Lester Young:

> When Charlie speaks of Lester
> You know someone great has gone
> The sweetest swinging music man
> Had a Porkie Pig hat on
> A bright star
> In a dark age.

What we should first look for in this example are patterns of how references to the past, present and future interweave into meaning; then, we should examine how this process refers to both cognitive and emotional dimensions, as well as to both factual and mythological accounts; and, finally, we should consider how this process infuses surplus meaning into the narrative, providing a further sense of direction. Mitchell collects the musicians' experiences and expresses them in her own terms as a shared tradition of great jazz and dreadful racism. The lyrics continue: "In a dark age, when the bandstands had a thousand ways of refusing a black man admission." In contrast, Young is given an exemplary quality as someone great – "a bright star."

The next scene in the second verse could be about change and continuity: Young and his wife, Mary Dale, are thrown out of a hotel because he is black and she is white. Outcasts in the night,

they reflect laconically, "It's very unlikely we'll be driven out of town, or be hung in a tree." Representing their cold anger (perhaps alluding to Abel Meeropol and Billie Holiday's 'Strange Fruit' from 1936), Mitchell critiques the ongoing history of bigotry and racism. In the song, the past is both present and distant. Its legacy is real, and the traces are there for those who can read them, reminding us that things have to change in order to persist. As Mitchell (1979) puts it:

> For you and me
> The sidewalk is a history book
> And a circus
> Dangerous clowns
> Balancing dreadful and wonderful perceptions
> They have been handed
> Day by day
> Generations on down.

In this simple and multifaceted way, pieces are brought together: facts, testimonies, mixed feelings, symbols, intertextuality, and judgements merge into meaning. 'History' offers a Janus-faced view on life: It can and should serve as a distanced, critical examination of a past that inhabits a foreign land, but it also includes all the mess and banality that we pick up along the way – all that we need and use to balance our perceptions and find orientation in the practical world. Historical consciousness bridges, but does not collapse, the epistemological division between systematic knowledge and everyday life. Mitchell's lyrics express (at least in my interpretation) what Chinnery (2019, p. 104) calls a "virtue of epistemic humility". Although we know we cannot fully comprehend the past, we are obligated to try. Mitchell cares about this past and shares her testimony. How we choose to use this difficult inheritance is, as Chinnery points out, "both our moral burden and the possibility of hope" (2019, p. 101). In other words, historical consciousness can be characterised by what Zerubavel (2012) calls a "sociomental topography" – that is, a cognitive process that is fundamentally entangled in social and cultural contexts, which structures experiences into complex landscapes of narratives, memories and oblivion.

How, then, is conceptualising this sociomental process of meaning-making relevant to education? Historical consciousness can be fundamental to a purposeful theory for teachers in at least two distinct ways. Firstly, historical consciousness acknowledges history not only as a disciplinary body of content and skills but also as embodied in students' experiences – which is in line with the more dynamic discussion in Thorp and Persson (2020). In other words, students are not empty vessels – *no one lacks a historical consciousness*. Consequently, students already have a narrative competence that might be advanced through education but which, nevertheless, will interfere with any learning trajectory. Secondly, as Rüsen (2011) points out, we need to learn how to navigate our lives in the ever-changing historical cultures in which we live. This need gives teachers reasons to acknowledge that history is not only about understanding the past but also about wielding a communicative tool to interfere in the present and to affect the future.

Theoretical links

When we discuss historical consciousness, we need to remember that complex concepts are multi-layered, and to avoid confusion, we must consider which dimension we are talking about (Goertz, 2006). First, there is the ontological dimension, the assumption of an actual phenomenon that we can term *historical consciousness* (here, we can debate whether historical consciousness is a universal ability or a cultural achievement). Then, there is the theoretical dimension, which has two levels: (i) a basic level at which the phenomenon is defined by some aspects that are regarded as more important than others (for example, historical consciousness incorporates the connection between interpretations of the past, understandings of the present and perspectives on the future); (ii) a constitutive level at which the concept is explained and deepened by fundamental attributes, frameworks and models (such as Rüsen's levels of narrative competence or typology of historical narrations). From this dimension, it should be possible to move on to the next dimension, where we specify and operationalise the indicators that can guide the collection of

empirical data (such as indications of a specific learning trajectory or expressions of narrative cohesion). This layer of indicators always has some linguistic, methodological or theoretical limitations, as any operationalisation will illuminate certain dimensions of the phenomenon while obscuring others.

As we also relate to learning, we need to add a normative dimension: The educational goal is to cultivate students' historical consciousness in some specific direction. In educational research, we need to remember not to confuse or equate educational goals with the phenomenon. If one, for instance, equates historical consciousness with specific ideal types of historical meaning and interprets expressions of students' historical understanding as stages or levels of historical consciousness, then distinctions between a phenomenon and its indication collapse. Historical consciousness can be influenced by – but not reduced to – normative aspirations to develop a genetic understanding. Education is but one of several culturally determined influences on this ability to orient.

When we further relate to learning, we must distinguish between at least two opposing approaches (see Nordgren, 2019). If we first assume an anthropological understanding, historical consciousness is inherent in the human neurological capacity to create meaningful patterns between events and over time, as well as in our social ability to communicate such meanings. The other approach is to reserve historical consciousness to a modern cultural achievement of thinking historically in a way that is closely connected to Western historicity (Kölbl & Straub, 2001). Thorp chooses this second approach, as he seeks to do away with the embeddedness of historical consciousness in a broader memory culture. He advocates that "history is quite simply the critical methodological reconstruction of the past," and historical consciousness is the "awareness of historicity" (Thorp, 2020, pp. 55-56). The relation to education becomes a necessary and even mechanical relationship, in which a "certain use of history emanates from a certain historical consciousness" (Thorp, 2014, p. 24). In order to cut the Gordian knot that connects historical consciousness to the contradictions of everyday life, Thorp (2014, 2017, 2020) turns to Jeismann (1979) for support:

> By historical consciousness we mean the permanent presence of the awareness that mankind and all social institutions and forms of co-existence created by us exist in time, i.e., they have an origin and a future and represent nothing unchangeably or unconditionally. […] Besides the mere knowledge of or interest in history a historical consciousness also incorporates the relationship between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future. Since history cannot be perceived as an image of past realities but can only be made aware through selection and interpretive reconstruction, historical consciousness is the awareness that the past is present in representations and conceptions. "History is the reconstruction, by and for the living, of dead people's lives. Thus history is born through the contemporary interest that thinking, suffering and acting people have for exploring the past" (Jeismann, 1979, p. 42, as cited in Thorp, 2020).

As Thorp indicates, Jeismann does indeed frame historical consciousness within Western modernity. This is in line with the tradition from Arendt (1993), Gadamer (1975) and Koselleck (2004), who associate the self-reflecting and secular ways of perceiving human existence in time with the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. This approach was relevant in that profound societal changes did affect collective ideas about how to use history to orientate in the world. At a time when modernity was still breaking free of *l'Ancien régime*, it was important for scholars to understand how a new form of secular historicity was entering the common culture. However, in our time of accelerating globalisation and global warming, there are other processes at work that are changing the regime of historicity. Hence, using historical consciousness to characterise a specific achievement of modernity seems to be a project of less relevance. As Grever and Adriaansen (2019) point out, all cultures have ideas about the past, present and future. If we take this point further, cultures are in motion, open to influences and hybridising several, even contradictory, ideas. Consequently, phenomen~~a~~ such as historical consciousness and historicity can be assumed to be historically and culturally variable and diverse (Bacigalupo, 2013; Holmberg, 2017; Stewart, 2017). Turning to Western historicity for a clear-cut definition might be like jumping out of the frying pan and into the fire, in that historicity turns out to be no less complex

(cf. Hartog, 2015; Hirsch & Stewart, 2005; Rüsen, 2002). There are multiple and competing ways to historicise processes such as the digital revolution, migration, pandemics and the Anthropocene, and there are thus multiple ways to use history for orientation. What is at stake is no longer working out the key to modern genetic thinking (as we live in it) but rather understanding the ongoing workings of historical consciousness in the context of the 21st century.

Perhaps because of this persistent entanglement between consciousness and culture, there is also in Jeismann's writing tensions between the idea of cultural achievement and a more anthropological approach. Let me draw attention to the end of the quote above, in which Jeismann (1979, p. 42) uses the French philosopher Raymond Aron to recall that history owes its service to the interest of "thinking, suffering and acting people." Alas, since human existence is a messy venture, our contemplation will hardly concern the critical reconstruction of the past alone. If we truly want to understand historical consciousness, we also have to acknowledge that emotions, norms and traditions are part of people's historical orientation. I shall not embark on scrutinising Jeismann – partly because my German is too poor and partly because scholasticism quickly becomes irrelevant, as the context around scholarly discussions changes. Still, Jeismann's (1977, p. 16) emphasis on the importance of a broad approach is worth noting:

> "Didactics of History" has to do with the historical consciousness in society, both in its responsibility, the existing contents and figures of thought, as well as in its change, the constant rebuilding and construction of historical conceptions, the constantly renewing and changing reconstruction of knowledge of the past. It is interested in this historical consciousness at all levels and in all groups of society, both for its own sake and under the question of what significance this historical consciousness gains for the self-understanding of the present; it seeks ways of forming or influencing this historical consciousness in a way that corresponds both to the claim to an adequate knowledge of the past, which corresponds to the demand for correctness, and to the reason of the self-understanding of the present.[3]

In the above quote, Jeismann seems to recommend that we, as educators, take an interest in this sociomental phenomenon and determine what kind of topography of meaning-making structures history teaching should employ. This project requires a broad understanding – again, as educators, we are "interested in this historical consciousness at all levels and in all groups of society" (Jeismann, 1977, p. 16) – even if this broadness makes the boundaries of history a bit unstable. This understanding concerns what is beyond (not what opposes) the disciplinary notions of historicity; it focuses on how we, as social creatures, meet the world through our notions of how the past, present and future interrelate.

On the topic of these temporal dimensions, I would also like to point out that Thorp (2020) makes an important remark. When historical consciousness has been recontextualised to educational practice, at least in Sweden, it has sometimes been reduced to a specific ability to identify and combine temporal positions. This reduction is, as Thorp highlights, trivial. The unfortunate concept of 'multi-chronology' sometimes involves the idea that historical consciousness is found in the ability to relate something historical to these three tenses simultaneously. Similar theoretical reductions or inconsistencies tend to occur in attempts to target, measure and assess degrees of achieved historical consciousness. Such approaches tend to encounter a validity problem – for example, when specific indicators (of historical thinking) are taken as evidence for the complex whole (historical consciousness), or when constructs designed for a meta-level (such as Rüsen's well-known typology of historical narration) are applied to measure performance at an individual level (for example, student accounts and textbook excerpts).

One problem with measuring the degrees of historical consciousness is that the phenomenon is active on several levels of mental awareness (Jensen, 1997). This kind of activity means that the levels of awareness are both entangled and shifting (Nordgren, 2011). Reflecting critically is not an either-or ability. To realise this fact, one need only consider that it is easier to reason rationally and objectively about something in which one is not emotionally or otherwise deeply engaged (cf. Kahan, Peters, Dawson, & Slovic, 2013; Lind, Erlandsson, Västfjäll, & Tinghög, 2018). The reduction of historical consciousness to expressions of 'multichronology' and the ambition to

classify levels of consciousness are counterproductive. They do not add to the toolbox of teaching practices but, rather, neglect the tools that are useful to examining historical orientations.

Use of history: The sidewalk as a history book

Artefacts, historical narratives and symbols are open to use for anyone with access to them, to satisfy a great variety of needs and intentions. Unsurprisingly, a wide and multidisciplinary interest has focused on how historical representations have been used in public life (see, for example, Black, 2005; Ferro, 1984; Habermas, 1988; Lowenthal, 1996; MacMillan, 2010; Stewart, 2013). The starting point must be Nietzsche (1873/2008), who identified three basic ways in which humans use (and are mastered by) history: a monumental use (hortatory and inspirational), an antiquarian use (preservation and reverence) and a critical use (judgemental and moralising). For our discussion, Rüsen (1987, 2012) is also important because his ontogenetic typology might be understood as a schema of different uses (which, as we shall see, aligns with Nietzsche). Seixas and Clark (2004) use Nietzsche and Rüsen to analyse Canadian students' understanding of a mural from 1932. In the Nordic context, Karlsson (2011) has assembled a number of uses in a matrix that categorises different societal agents and their intentions (inspired by Nietzsche and Rüsen). His aim was originally to analyse public debate during the last years of the Soviet Union, but he has also vastly influenced curricular development in the Nordic countries. As for myself, I have suggested a communicative perspective to investigate how uses of history can be brought to bear on several meanings and intentions, depending on the contextual situation (Nordgren, 2016).

Thorp (2020), however, has another quest: Instead of seeking a connection to public uses, he suggests a scale to measure the attainment of the desired level of genetic, historical self-awareness. For this measurement, he borrows Rüsen's (1987, 2012) ontogenetic typology of historical narrations and calls it 'use of history'. However, while Rüsen's categories describe a historical process using entangled modes to make sense of the past, Thorp redefines three of these categories into fixed, ahistorical levels: first, the *traditional* level, which is fact-based; second, the *critical* level, which critiques historical explanations; and third, the *genetic* level, which is based on historical interpretation. Thorp demonstrates how this device works analytically on an excerpt from a textbook for students of 13–15 years of age, written by a Swedish historian:

> The Cold War started in Eastern Europe. When World War II ended the Russian army controlled the whole area between the border of the Soviet Union and Berlin. Stalin knew to take advantage of this situation. He wanted to create a belt of friendly nations along the Soviet border, and during the following years he made sure that Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria were given communist governments. They made treaties with the Soviet Union, and they all had to accommodate Russian troops within their borders. In reality they became servant states to the Soviet Union (Öhman, 1996, as cited in Thorp, 2020).

Thorp's (2020) own interpretation holds that this passage expresses a *traditional use* of history since "the content is given a factual character and we are given no indications of history's contingency on interpretation, perspective and meaning-making" (p. 58). At first glance, the excerpt does seem to reproduce a fact-orientated and closed narrative. However, a closer look reveals that the text is also bristling with sub-textual perspectives and meanings, such as a clear idea of guilt, individualised and intentionalist explanations, and a nation-centred narrative. All of these revelations can, of course, be labelled as a *traditional* narrative – but only within the frames of a genetic historical culture. Finding less that is critically useful in textbooks for young people is not entirely surprising.

This way of analysing use-of-history in textbooks illustrates a reoccurring methodological problem when applying ideal-typical categories in history-education research. If overused, such schemas (whether Rüsen's or Karlsson's) tend to artificially square what is compounded. What in practice is characterised by its ability to amalgamate and bridge logic, opinions and intentions is split into fixed categories and unidirectional trajectories. Consequently, we risk misinterpreting our data. Instead of detecting patterns, we find fragmented behaviours; instead of connections,

we disconnect details in texts, test results or interviews. Ideal types are general, which can make us insensitive to historical and cultural contingencies and – just as easily – compel us to label an ordinary textbook from the 21st century, as well as a pre-modern eschatology, as traditional. In the same vein, creationism and ecocriticism can be lumped together as critiques of Western modernity. Several empirical attempts have been made to measure levels of historical consciousness among students and in textbooks; these attempts detected high frequencies of both traditional and exemplary modes. This tendency alone should raise concerns about the validity of the analytical devices applied, as perhaps they are not calibrated to measure what is happening in our time of liquid modernity. To become suspicious, we only need to consider Gadamer's (1975, p. 8) observation that there is no shield from the "reflexivity characteristic of the modern spirit."

Of course, it is important to analyse students' historical thinking and how historical events are presented in textbooks. The role that can be ascribed to textbooks as a nation's historicised self-images may be regarded as a kind of societal use of history (see, for example, Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010). However, I suggest that, fundamentally, conceptualising uses of history aims to direct attention to activities and discourses that take place outside textbooks and classrooms. In everyday public life, references to history are everywhere, and we all use such references when we try to grasp what is happening, who we want to be, and what we want to accomplish (Karlsson, 2011). This everyday use is largely neglected; however, it is not absent within history-education practice and research (Knutsen & Knutsen, 2019; Nordgren, 2016; Seixas & Clark, 2004). Why, then, is such everyday use of history important for history education?

This article was written during the strange summer of 2020, which was greatly characterised by (on the one hand) nation-state-centred struggles against a global virus and (on the other hand) a growing globalised anti-racist movement triggered by police brutality in the United States. The presence of memory cultures is more tangible than usual as discourses on racism, immigration, climate change, pandemics and the other troubled companions of our time, which are literally being renegotiated in the streets. It is too early to say whether these movements will effect lasting change; nevertheless, right now, we cannot avoid noticing the power of using history as a tool to communicate belongings, antipathies and desires for change. This course of events underlines Assmann's (1995) observation that statues can simultaneously be both an 'archive' of projected knowledge and images *and* a mode of actuality "whereby each contemporary context puts the objectivised meaning into its own perspective, giving it its own relevance" (p. 130). Even statues do not stand still.

Statues of historical figures embody three different lifespans: the historical time to which they refer, the time of their erection, and all the contemporary contexts that follow. In this present, the statue of Christopher Columbus in Richmond, Virginia, has been toppled by Black Lives Matter protesters and dumped in a lake – just one of many similar events that have followed the killing of George Floyd by police during an intervention in May 2020. The initiative to erect the Columbus statue began in 1925 among the city's Italian community. It met with strong opposition from, among others, the Ku Klux Klan. Raising memorials and introducing Columbus Day were part of a wider strategy to counteract the xenophobia facing many Italians. The statue's inauguration in Richmond took place in 1927 and served as a sort of statement – *immigrants belong here*. The statue depicts Columbus from 1492 as the discoverer of the American continents. However, Columbus also symbolises, of course, the colonial nexus of greed, violence, slavery, famine and disease that killed millions of Indigenous people and forced millions of Africans to relocate to the continents. Since the 1970s, groups of Native Americans have campaigned to remove these statues and change Columbus Day to Indigenous Peoples' Day (Ruberto & Sciorra, 2020).

Another example from 2020 is the COVID-19 (coronavirus 2019) pandemic, which is ongoing at the time of this writing. Sweden's approach to fighting the disease and its effects has become world news and has, of course, been historicised. One line of argument has suggested that Sweden does not need strict restraints because of a historically well-founded trust between Swedish citizens and the government. We recognise this narrative trope very well: During the rhetoric of national romanticism, trust signified the symbiosis between the people and their king. In the historiography of Swedish social democracy, trust is the unbroken line from free peasants, who had never been subjected to serfdom, and the workers' unions – and on to the modern welfare

state, 'Folkhemmet' (the people's home). Alternatively, if one opposes this strategy, the Swedes' trust can emerge from a long tradition of collectivism and obedience to authority or, quite the opposite, it is just a reminiscence of a once strong state that has been dismantled by neo-liberalism.

This use of history is not about getting the sources right, nor is it about sorting traditional and exemplary types of uses from genetic types. It is about processing something pressing in the present by perceiving the legacy of the past. A key to understanding how the use of history works lies in its amalgamating power: the message, whether a statue or a narrative trope, can embrace and condense diverse and even contradictory facts, symbols and myths (Nordgren, 2016). Drawing on Habermas (1984), we may see how the use of history can work both as strategic rationality, for it is persuasive, and as communicative rationality, for it has a discrete familiarity to which we can relate. We can, thus, observe its power to serve and justify nearly any agenda: for tradition and nationalism (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992), as a therapeutic culture (Karlsson & Zander, 2004), to legitimise subordination (Said, 2003), and to strengthen family identities (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998).

In line with a growing body of research, I argue that the educational challenge in dealing with the public historical culture is how we can support students to detect, analyse and relate to their own and others' uses of history in order to understand its communicative potential and contextualised processes (Bermudez & Epstein, 2020; Chapman, 2020; Endacott, Dingler, & O'Brien, 2020; Reich, 2020; Yoder, 2020). Again, we use history to communicate and, sometimes, when communication breaks down (see also, Zanazanian, 2019). As Reich (personal communication, May 15, 2020) put it:

> sometimes battles over historical meaning take on an existential hue. Existential in the sense that people are terrified that if they are unable to substantiate their meaning of the past in shared agreement, they will lose control of the future.

Thus, pasting hierarchical or sententious labels onto different uses is a dead end, as uses of history are embedded in everyday life. A communicative understanding is ultimately useful for achieving a more nuanced historical consciousness in which one understands the ambiguity of connecting a past to the present and for dialectically traversing between doubt and certainty.

Conclusion

I sympathise with the ambition to adapt theories about historical consciousness and use-of-history to applicable knowledge for teachers to develop and broaden their history teaching. However, in this process of recontextualising theory to teaching practices, we, on the one hand, need to avoid reducing historical consciousness to a measurement of the ability to stack *tempora* on top of one another or to make random analogies between the past and the future. On the other hand, we should not limit the workings of historical consciousness to a specific awareness of historicity that tends to equate historical consciousness with historical thinking. Such an equivocation makes the whole discussion somewhat pointless. What the narrow understanding adds to the already established discourses on how to recontextualise disciplinary knowledge is unconvincing.

Concepts such as *historical consciousness*, *historical culture* and *use-of-history* can add to the tradition of historical thinking. They are complementary concepts – perhaps beyond first- and second-order concepts. However, with our eagerness to align historical consciousness in a flow from the syllabus to classroom activities and on to assessment tools, we risk losing the very nerve of the concept. Critical methodological perception of the past, however important, does not encompass our entire way of being historical – that complex and elusive practice that enables both our "irritating experiences of contingency and our ensuing push towards functional interpretation" (Rüsen, 2017, p. 27).

To one last time exemplify this at-once mundane and elusive practice of historical consciousness, I return to the last verse of 'Goodbye Pork Pie Hat'. We now meet Mitchell (1979) herself as she (in the present tense) comes up from the subways in New York City and hears music.

She follows the sound and envisions the living legacy of Lester Young in two children dancing in the street:

> So the sidewalk leads us with music
> To two little dancers
> Dancing outside a black bar
> There's a sign up on the awning
> It says "Pork Pie Hat Bar"
> And there's black babies dancing
> Tonight

In an interview, Mitchell (1979) recalls that night outside the bar and how this experience enabled her to connect to Mingus's histories about Young: "I had the past and the present, and the two boys represented the future. To me the song then had a life of its own." Thus, Mitchell raises a monument to Lester Young that captures how the power of art, the structures of racism, and hope flow through time in ways we can still recognise – as did the Italian diaspora in the United States during the 1920s by utilising the community's most valuable historical resource to stake a place in their new country. Today, people are asking, 'What shall we do with the colonial heritage that is still manifested in the streets, squares and textbooks? Are they just remains of a long-gone past, or do they also affect the way we think? Shall we tear them down, or are they necessary reminders of a troubled past that still haunts us?'

It is not education's role to answer such questions but, rather, to provide students with a means to detect and understand how uses of history work and how students themselves participate in such active history cultures. Uses of history in the public sphere are not an abstraction; they are an ongoing conversation that shapes the present and the future. To work with this phenomenon, we need a conceptualisation of historical consciousness that does not fear its enigmatic reputation.

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Endnotes

[1] Syllabuses for upper secondary schools. Denmark: 'Through working with history, students will gain a reflected insight into their own and others' historicity and thus qualify their own historical consciousness . . . will provide tools to critically and reflectively find, select, use and evaluate diverse historical material, including the many forms of communicating and using history inside and outside the school' (https://www.uvm.dk/gymnasiale-uddannelser/fag-og-laereplaner/laereplaner-2017/hf-laereplaner-2017); Finland: 'Studying history helps the student to become aware of, interpret and evaluate the social and political use of history. Historical consciousness provides the basis for the student's democratic participation and development of opportunities for influence' (https://eperusteet.opintopolku.fi/beta/#/fi/lukiokoulutus/6828810/oppiaine/6832796). Sweden: 'The aim for teaching history is for students to broaden, deepen and develop their historical consciousness through knowledge of the past, ability to use historical method and understanding of how history is used' (https://www.skolverket.se/undervisning/gymnasieskolan/laroplan-program-och-amnen-i-gymnasieskolan/gymnasieprogrammen/amne?url=1530314731%2Fsyllabuscw%2Fjsp%2Fsubject.htm%3FsubjectCode%3DHIS%26tos%3Dgy&sv.url=12.5dfee44715d35a5cdfa92a3).

[2] 'Sie macht deutlich, das Geschichtsbewusstsein nicht allein im kognitiven Raum des Denkens existiert, sondern sich seiner historischen und lebensweltlichen, auch emotionalen Verflochtenheit vergewissern und sie zu gleichanerkennen und relativieren muss' (Jeismann, 1979, p. 43).

[3] Translated to English by Christian Mathis: '"Didaktik der Geschichte' hat es zu tun mit dem Geschichtsbewußtsein in der Gesellschaft sowohl in seiner Zuständlichkeit, den vorhandenen Inhalten und Denkfiguren, wie in seinem Wandel, dem ständigen Um- und Aufbau historischer Vorstellungen, der stets sich erneuernden und verändernden Rekonstruktion des Wissens von der Vergangenheit. Sie interessiert sich für dieses Geschichtsbewußtsein auf allen Ebenen und in allen Gruppen der Gesellschaft sowohl um seiner selbst willen wie unter der Frage, welche Bedeutung dieses Geschichtsbewußtsein für das Selbstverständnis der Gegenwart gewinnt; sie sucht Wege, dieses Geschichtsbewußtsein auf eine Weise zu bilden oder zu beeinflussem, die zugleich dem Anspruch auf adäquate und der Forderung nach Richtigkeit entsprechende Vergangenheitserkenntnis wie auf Vernunft des Selbstverständnisses der Gegenwart entspricht' (Jeismann, 1977, p. 16).

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About the Author

Kenneth Nordgren is a Professor of Social Science Education at Karlstad University, where he is a researcher and research leader at the Centre for Social Science Education (CSD) and where he has also served as Dean of Teacher Education. Before receiving his PhD in 2006, he worked as a teacher of history and social science in an upper secondary school. His research interests are in theoretical aspects of history education in complex and changing societies, as well as in more praxis-oriented issues, including inquiry methods and teachers' collaborative planning and preparation of lessons. His recent research publications include: Powerful knowledge for what? History education and 45-degree discourse. [Ed] Arthur Chapman, *Knowing History in Schools: Powerful knowledge and the powers of knowledge* (2021). London: UCL; 'Boundaries of historical consciousness: A Western cultural achievement or an anthropological universal?', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* (2019) and 'How to do things with history: Use of history as a link between historical consciousness and historical culture', *Theory and Research in Social Education* (2016).

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Development of project-based historical knowledge assessment instruments

Supianto
Yogyakarta State University, Indonesia

Kumaidi
Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta, Indonesia

Yoyon Suryono
Yogyakarta State University, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

The history teacher is quite often using a project-based learning model to improve students' historical knowledge and skills. Unfortunately, this learning model is not supported by the availability of qualified assessment instruments. The limitations of project assessment instruments make teachers rely more on subjectivity in assessing student projects. Meanwhile, to assess historical knowledge, most teachers still use multiple choice and essay questions. Both types of assessments provide little information about students' abilities and are not sufficient as a basis for teachers to make decisions in the classroom. Therefore, it is necessary to develop an assessment instrument that can be used in assessing students' knowledge based on the project that they produce in project-based learning. This study aims to develop a project-based historical knowledge assessment instrument that has good evidence of validity and reliability that can be used to measure students' historical knowledge more precisely and more accurately. Historical knowledge is assessed based on six indicators: what, who, where, when, why, and how. The six indicators are described in a 12 item Likert scale. Based on these 12 items, students' historical knowledge was classified into four categories: very high, high, acceptable, and weak. The instrument was tested on 426 10th grade high school students in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The test results data were used to analyze the characteristics of the instrument consisting of validity and reliability. The test results show that the instrument developed is valid and reliable, so it is suitable to be used to assess historical knowledge on a broader scale.

KEYWORDS

Project-based learning, Historical knowledge, Assessment instrument, High school, Indonesia

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Introduction

The industrial revolution 4.0 has changed the way humans communicate and interact with each other. This change has a direct impact on the world of education. The internet and web 2.0 development has had a significant influence on what and how learning and assessment should be carried out. History lessons as subjects taught at school also cannot close themselves from these developments. Websites and social media such as Facebook and YouTube contain many representations of history shared by others free of charge (Baron, 2014; Bell, Carland, Fraser, & Thomson, 2016). Historical sources are diverse, rich, and are no longer limited to learning resources provided by teachers and schools. The types of history that can be identified are no longer limited to national history as found in school textbooks but provide opportunities for the introduction of local history and promote it as a national identity.

Besides the historical learning model, the historical evaluation model is also used, depending on the objectives of history learning (Shemilt, 2018). Historical assessment and learning aim to foster national integration, promote awareness of life in history and dynamic socio-cultural contexts, and obtain meaning and historical wisdom from the history that has been studied (Alvén, 2017; Funkenstein, 1989; Lapin & Tomanova, 2016). However, the assessment model used by history teachers has not been able to measure the level of students' historical knowledge accurately.

In the mid-20th century, most of the history lessons at school attempted to transmit factual knowledge about national and regional history. The assessment result is used for selection purposes by companies and universities. Rating is rarely considered problematic. Criticism may be made to ask the objectivity and reliability of ratings, but rarely questioned the significance of assessing students based on their memory of events, names, and dates. Multiple-choice tests, although criticized, are believed to be the most appropriate way to describe student learning outcomes accurately (Black & William, 1998).

In recent years, the relevance and usefulness of the assessment approach used so far in historical education have been questioned. Traditional methods and approaches are said to have led us to assess what is measured rather than encourage measurement of what we value (Biesta, 2009). Even to the extent that many teachers feel depressed because they have to teach for exams (Wineburg, 2006). Such criticism is less driven by deficiencies found in traditional assessment methods and procedures than by new ideas about the purpose of historical education.

The assessment model used by the history teacher is still a paper and pencil test with the multiple-choice format and question matters (Breakstone, Wineburg, Grossman, & Labaree, 2013). These types of assessments provide little information about students' knowledge and are not sufficient as a basis for teachers to make decisions in the classroom (Madaus & Russel, 1989). This is in line with the results of interviews with several high school history teachers in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. According to most history teachers, the learning models used are quite diverse; for example, project-based learning. However, the obstacle faced by teachers is the lack of availability of assessment models that can be used to assess student projects. The limitations of the project assessment model make teachers rely more on subjectivity in assessing students' historical writing project.

Multiple choice questions are not a reasonably accurate tool that can be used to gather information about students' understanding of specific dimensions of the constructs of historical learning, such as historical knowledge, historical thinking, and historical consciousness. Researchers argue that this method is solely to measure students' ability to remember historical facts (Reich, 2009; Wineburg, 2004), and students more often answer the multiple-choice questions without using historical thinking procedures correctly (Breakstone.J & Smith, 2013). Multiple-choice questions also provide limited information to the teacher because they do not express students' thoughts that lead to answers (Madaus & Russel, 1989). The dark circle on the answer sheet is the only indication of student thought.

History education curriculum in Indonesia

Indonesia has made changes to the education curriculum three times in the last twenty years. The first change was made in 2004, where history education was given a tiny portion of time, only 40 minutes a week in high school (Depdiknas, 2003). The main focus of history lessons in this curriculum is to provide was much material as possible in the shortest possible time. The time to do the assessment is neglected, so the teacher uses the simplest, easiest, and fastest method, namely multiple choices.

The second change was made in 2006. The 2006 curriculum eliminates the position of history lessons in junior high schools as an independent subject, where history and other social science subjects are integrated into the field of social science studies (Depdiknas, 2009). The 2006 curriculum was implemented for a long time until a third curriculum change was made in 2013.

In the 2013 Curriculum, history subjects get quite essential positions, both from the allocation of time and from the lesson content. In terms of time, history lessons are taught for 80 minutes in grades 10 and 11, and 120 minutes in grade 12 (Kemendikbud, 2018). In terms of content, history lessons are no longer focused only on the transmission of historical knowledge from teachers and books to students. Still, the content of the lessons has also included material on historical research methods that demand the competency development of historical skills.

The 2013 curriculum provides more flexibility for history teachers to use various learning and assessment models that emphasize learning by doing (Kemendikbud, 2017). This was emphasized by Minister of Education and Culture, Nadiem Makarim, with the idea *Merdeka Belajar*, where learning and assessment can be carried out anytime, anywhere, in any way, even by anyone (Kemendikbud, 2019).

For example, in grade 10 on historical methods material, the teacher can integrate project-based learning, project-based assessment, and class discussions. In this material, students can be given a series of project assignments to apply historical methods in simple research practice. Through this project assignment, the teacher can assess students' historical knowledge regarding the historical project they are working on, as well as assessing students' historical research skills. Unfortunately, as previously explained, these kinds of learning models have not been widely supported by the availability of appropriate assessment models in the literature (Hellström, Nilsson, & Olsson, 2009; Touimi, Faddouli, Bennani, & Idrissi, 2013).

Project assessment in history learning

Assessment and learning are linked (Hargreaves, 1997; Rust, 2002). What and how students learn depends mainly on how they think they will be assessed (Ludvigsson, 2003). This implies that assessment is a learning tool that can be strategically used in a learning environment to obtain better learning outcomes.

Project assignments challenge students to think outside the classroom boundaries, helping them develop the skills, behaviours, and beliefs necessary for success in the 21st century. Designing learning environments that help students to question, analyze, evaluate, and forecast their possible plans, conclusions, and ideas, leading them to higher-order thinking, requiring feedback and evaluation that goes beyond letters or numbers.

Project assessment is an assessment of performance and products. It can be carried out in a variety of ways, from conventional written tests to more innovative assessment models such as self-assessments, peer assessments, joint assessments, portfolio assessments, and reflective journals (Van den Bergh et al., 2006). Teachers can assess students' cognitive abilities based not only on student work, reflection, evidence of progress and performance, but also their attitudes and learning progress. Through project assessment, teachers can simultaneously assess both the learning process and student project outcomes.

Project-based learning emphasizes the integration of students' knowledge and problem-solving skills. Project assessment focuses on a variety of multidimensional processes. Project material that students work on focuses on the application of knowledge that students have in the

form of real work and the products they produce. Project-based learning emphasizes these products as outputs and as the primary outcome in learning. Dennis et al. (2006) concluded that reflection on project-based learning could be done at any time by observing the progress of the project done by students. This allows the teacher to be able to guide students until the project they are working on is completed. Therefore, both project-based learning and project assessment can be carried out simultaneously.

According to some literature, conventional assessment methods do not support students' understanding and skills gained from project-based learning (Frank and Barzilia, 2004). This is what motivates researchers to develop an alternative assessment model consisting of a combination of assessment methods.

Historical knowledge

Historical knowledge is knowledge of what has happened in the past in human history, or knowledge of historical facts and processes (Topolski, 1973). The essence of historical knowledge is the disclosure of events with all the facts that include *what*, *who*, *when*, *where*, *why*, and *how* (Grant, 2003). Historical knowledge lies not in what can tell about the future, but in what can tell about the past (Elliott, 2003). Historical knowledge can be measured through learnable facts (Grant, 2003).

Intellectual curiosity about the past is a reason why people study and read history (Tosh, 2002). Historical knowledge is one element of historical understanding (Grant, 2003). Historical understanding is seen in terms of substantive and procedural knowledge of historical disciplines (Husbands, Kitson & Pendry, 2005). Students' knowledge of history includes an understanding of causality (Kitson and Husbands, 2011). Students consume and produce information through a wide variety of texts and develop skills concerning the interpretation and construction of historical knowledge and ideas. Students can be positioned as consumers as well as producers of historical knowledge when they study history.

Based on the definition described above, the historical knowledge construct is described using six indicators, each of which is broken down into several items. The six indicators are *what*, *who*, *when*, *where*, *why*, and *how*. *What* is the ability of students to know whether an event belongs to the category of history or not history (for example, myths, legends, fables). *Who,* the ability of students to identify who are the actors involved in historical events. *When* the ability to analyze precisely when an event occurs. *Where,* the ability of students to identify places where historical events occur and how they are related between areas within the same time frame and events. *Why,* the ability of students to analyze the factors that cause events to occur. *How,* the ability of students to explain how the historical events occur chronologically.

The sixth indicator of historical knowledge that has been described above will be assessed through the project of writing history. Through this assessment, the teacher cannot just simply assess students' knowledge of history, but at the same time, assess the critical thinking ability of students to use the knowledge they have.

Methodology

This research is development research adopting the R&D model proposed by Plomp (Plomp, 2010), which consists of five phases: the preliminary investigation phase, design phase, construction phase, test, evaluation and revision phase, and implementation phase. The product developed in this study is a project-based historical knowledge assessment instrument.

Trials were conducted on 426 10th grade students in five high schools in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The instrument was validated by four experts in the field of assessment and three experts in history. The results of the validation were analyzed with the Aiken validity index. The construct validity was analyzed using Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Second Order with Lisrel 8.50. Instrument reliability was estimated using Cronbach's Alpha. Item characteristics were analyzed

using IRT Parcial Credit Model. The following is an instrument used to assess a student's project-based historical knowledge.

Skills	On this assignment, student used the skill on…			
	All (4)	Most (3)	Some (2)	None (1)
Determine the theme of the article				
Explain the historical site of the event				
Mention offenders in the same direction				
Identify the role of each actor				
Identify the location of the event				
Analyzing the relationship between regions				
Mention the time of the event				
Analyze the relationship between events at different times				
Analyze the causes of events				
Analyzing can be of an event				
Explain the process of occurrence of events				
Chronology history writing				

Table 1. Historical knowledge assessment instrument

In this study, the learning design and project assessment to measure the level of student knowledge are briefly described as follows.

1. The learning process in the classroom applies project-based learning methods.
2. Teacher gives project assignments to students.
3. The project assignment referred to in point 2 is a project to write a popular history article on a topic determined by the teacher.
4. The popular article writing project was done for two weeks.
5. Popular history articles that have been completed by students are posted to the www.historista.id website that has been prepared. Historical knowledge assessment instruments developed have been integrated into the website.
6. The teacher assesses the students' historical knowledge.
7. All project assessment results can be downloaded on the www.historista.id for further analysis.
8. The polytomous IRT PCM model then analyzes the raw data that has been downloaded.

The capability parameters obtained through the IRT analysis of the PCM model polytomous are converted into scores on a scale of 1-100 so that a final score is achieved. This final score will describe the overall profile of students' historical knowledge. The results of historical knowledge assessment are presented in the categories of Very High, High, Acceptable, and Weak. The range of values used for each aspect differs from one another. This is based on the average value and standard deviation of each element. The provisions used to determine the range of scores for each category are as follows (see Table 2).

Score	Category
$X \geq \tilde{x} + 1.s_x$	Very High
$\tilde{x} \leq X < \tilde{x} + 1.s_x$	High
$\tilde{x} - 1.s_x \leq X < \tilde{x}$	Acceptable
$X \leq \tilde{x} - 1.s_x$	Weak

Table 2. Score category

Results

Instrument Development

The development of the instrument was carried out after the researchers conducted a preliminary investigation, which included curriculum studies, pre-surveys, literature studies, and relevant research studies. Curriculum study is intended to review government regulations and policies related to history lessons in the curriculum. The pre-survey was conducted to obtain information on current conditions of learning and historical assessment, the real problem of historical learning and assessment, and identification of the needs of history teachers regarding the assessment of historical knowledge. Information about these matters was obtained through direct interviews with history teachers.

Based on an interview with a history teacher in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, information was obtained about the historical knowledge assessments that teachers do through daily tests, mid-term assessments, and assessment of the final semester. The assessment techniques are mostly in the form of paper and pencil test by giving a series of multiple-choice questions and filling in related material that has been taught. Peer-to-peer assessments and self-assessments are also carried out to assess aspects of attitudes. As for the component of historical research methods, the teacher prefers to test students' conceptual knowledge of historical research methods through multiple-choice tests and descriptions. A small portion provides the assignment of history book resumes.

As support to learning, history teachers have used the internet as a source of learning history. However, the availability of websites that contain quality historical content is not widely available. While for assessment, history teachers have not used the internet at all as an assessment medium. This is because there are no website-based historical assessment instruments available to be used by teachers. Google Forms can be used as an alternative internet-based assessment medium, but due to the limited knowledge and skills of teachers in using it, its utilization is also minimal.

Through literature studies and relevant research conducted at the preliminary investigation stage, researchers have collected research support materials in the form of literature relating to the concept of historical knowledge and previous studies related to the assessment of historical knowledge. Then at the design stage, the researcher sought to formulate a conceptual model of historical knowledge consisting of the following six indicators:

Figure 1. Conceptual model of historical knowledge assessment

The six indicators that make up historical knowledge (as outlined previously) are *what*, *who*, *when*, *where*, *why*, and *how*. *What* is knowledge about historical events, including the ability to distinguish between historical events or legends. *Who* is knowledge about historical actors and all people involved in the event, including knowledge about who are the main actors for the occurrence of a historical event. *When* is the ability to remember and mention time accurately, including date, day, hour, month, and year. *Where* is the ability to identify, find, show, and mention the exact place where an event occurred.

Besides, *where* also includes the ability to connect events that occur in one place with events that occur in other places. *Why* is the ability to find the causal relationship of an event. Which factors cause the occurrence of events and how the consequences of these events, both short-term consequences and long-term consequences. *How*, the ability to describe, describe, and recount past events chronologically and periodically so that the story conveyed has meaning and can be enjoyed by others.

After the constructs and components of historical knowledge are successfully designed, the next stage is the preparation of historical knowledge assessment instruments. The following is a grid and instrument for the assessment of historical knowledge.

Variable	Indicator	Item
Historical Knowledge	1. What	1. Determine the theme of the article 2. Explain the historical site of the event
	2. Who	3. Mention offenders in the same direction 4. Identify the role of each actor
	3. Where	5. Identify the location of the event 6. Analyzing the relationship between regions
	4. When	7. Mention the time of the event 8. Analyze the relationship between events at different times
	5. Why	9. Analyze the causes of events 10. Analyzing can be of an event
	6. How	11. Explain the process of occurrence of events 12. Chronology history writing

Table 3. Indicators and items of historical knowledge instruments

Instrument validity and reliability

The quality of the historical knowledge assessment instrument that has been developed was determined through content validity, construct validity, instrument reliability, and instrument characteristics. Content validation was carried out by experts to assess the appropriateness of the instrument before being tested.

There are seven experts involved in validating the contents of this instrument consisting of three measurement experts as well as historians, one measurement expert, one historian, and two outstanding history teachers.

The expert conducted validation based on aspects: (a) conformity of items with indicators and components, (b) language used, (c) statement of items that are not biased, (d) clarity of statement, (e) clarity of instructions for filling instruments. Then the expert gives a score in the form of a rating scale with a range of 1-4, where 1 = Weak, 2 = Acceptable, 3 = Good, and 4 = Very Good.

While the V value of the table is the minimum value of this validity index based on the number of rater in V_{table}, the following are the results of the experts' evaluation of historical knowledge assessment instruments.

Items	Content Validity					Construct Validity		Exp
	∑s	n	c-1	V_{table}	V_{count}	t-value	SLF	
x1	19	7	3	0.76	0.9	**	0.739	Valid
x2	18	7	3	0.76	0.86	14,415	0.791	Valid
x3	20	7	3	0.76	0.95	**	0.762	Valid
x4	18	7	3	0.76	0.86	15,299	0.790	Valid
x5	19	7	3	0.76	0.9	**	0.654	Valid
x6	20	7	3	0.76	0.95	12,629	0.764	Valid
x7	19	7	3	0.76	0.9	**	0.809	Valid
x8	18	7	3	0.76	0.86	10,628	0.562	Valid
x9	19	7	3	0.76	0.9	**	0.374	Valid
x10	17	7	3	0.76	0.81	5,941	0.521	Valid
x11	20	7	3	0.76	0.95	**	0.561	Valid
x12	19	7	3	0.76	0.9	10,072	0.744	Valid

Table 4. Content and construct validity

Results of the analysis showed that the content validity of *s* Retained Earnings 12 item instrument for measuring knowledge of history meets good validity because of the average content validity index above the minimum limit of 0.76, which amounted to 0.89. In other words, the unidirectional knowledge assessment instrument that has been developed deserves further testing.

The next step is to know the construct validity. But first, the suitability of the measurement model was tested. Based on the test analysis of the quality of fit model. The value of the index matches the following model: p-value of 0. 23 (≥0.05), RMSEA 0:02 (≤0.08), CFI and GFI amounted to 0.99 and 0.9 7 (≥ 0.90). With such, these model fit test results indicate that the measurement model good knowledge of the history category.

Next is the analysis of the construct validity of the historical knowledge assessment instruments. The construct validity of the instrument can be seen from the t-value (≥ 1.96), and the loading factor value (≥0.3). Based on the results of confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), t-values and factor loading values are obtained in the table below.

Table 3 shows that the loading factor is ranging from 0.374 to 0.809, exceeds 0.3. T-value ranges from 5.941 to 15.299, exceeded the target >1.96. Thus, it can be said that the instrument of the assessment of historical knowledge has good and significant construct validity. Meanwhile, when viewed from the reliability of the instrument, the SPSS output results show that the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient is 0.903. In other words, if seen from the construct, the scale to measure historical knowledge can be said to be reliable or consistent.

Item characteristics

Figure 2 shows that there is one factor that is more dominant than the others. That means that the unidimensional assumptions have been fulfilled. The second assumption is local independence, which can be interpreted that when the ability to influence test performance is constant, student responses to pairs of items are statistically independent (Hambleton, 1991, p 10). Local independence is equivalent to unidimensional assumptions. That is when the unidimensional assumptions are met then automatically; the assumption of local autonomy is also fulfilled.

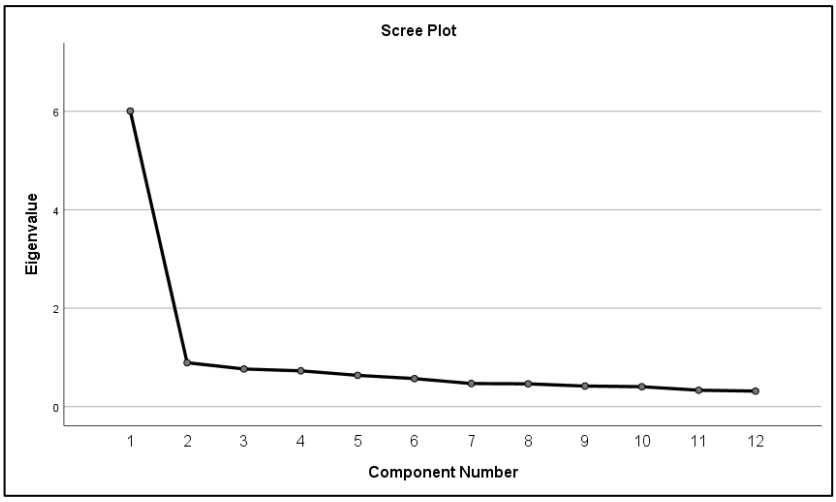

Figure 2. Scree plot unidimension

The third assumption of IRT is parameter invariance, which can be proven by comparing parameter estimates in different groups. In this study, groups were distinguished according to odd and even order numbers. After students are divided into groups, researchers estimate the difficulty parameters of the items in each group. The ability level parameters of students were also classified based on groups of odd and even items. The parameters of each group are correlated, then displayed in the form of a scatter plot. The following is a picture of a scatter plot comparing the parameters of odd and even items as well as the ability parameters in the first half and second half students.

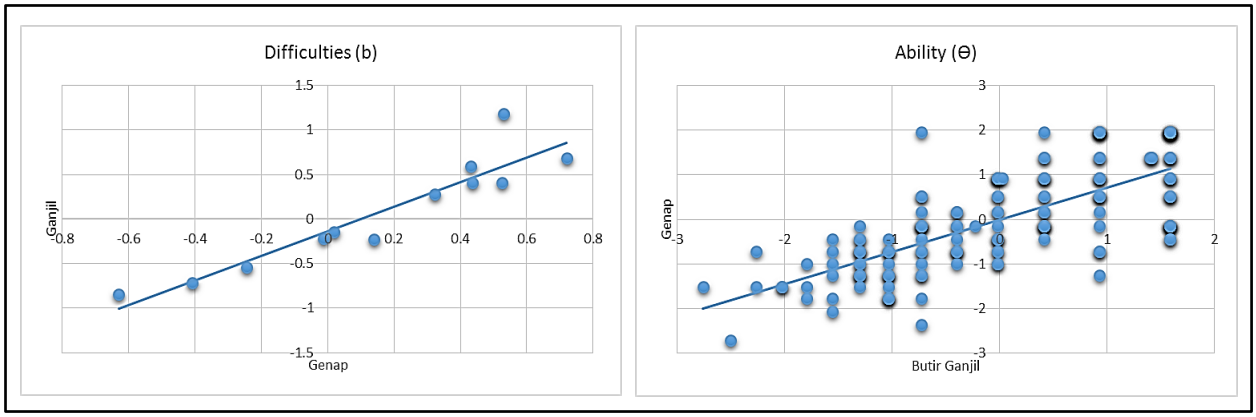

Figure 3. Parameter invariance

Based on figure 3 above, the difficulty parameter (b) and the ability parameter (Θ) can be seen that most of the points spread around the slash. So, it can be said that there is no variation in the estimated parameters of two group students and two groups of items. Thus, the assumption of parameter invariance can be fulfilled. Based on the results of the PCM model PCM polytomous IRT analysis using the R Studio program, overall information about the estimated grain parameters in the table below is obtained.

No.	b	b1	b2	b3
x1	-0.01248	-0.62433	-0.89842	1,48530
x2	0.30306	-0.17568	-1.55987	2.64473
x3	-0.07516	-0.40965	-1,09837	1.28253
x4	-0.53874	-0.59124	-1,02417	-0,00081
x5	0.47296	0.16784	-0.50942	1.76047
x6	0.50938	-1.25256	0.36536	2,41533
x7	-0.73595	-1.67067	-1,04864	0.51146
x8	-0.36152	-0.96606	-0.97167	0.85316
x9	0.41285	0.02855	-1.05663	2,26662
x10	0.72109	-0.15756	0.05451	2.26631
x11	0.69573	0.09852	-0.67565	2,66431
x12	-0.10553	-1.24344	0.37729	0.54955

Table 5. Item parameters

Table 5 shows the level of item difficulty is in the range from -0.376 to 0.721, and the step difficulty from -1.670 to 2.664. Thus, all items can be categorized as useful. The items are good if the difficulty level parameter is in the range -3.00 and 3.00. Based on the table above, the 12 instrument items have suitable grain parameters and match the model so that the curve clearly shows the boundaries of each category used.

The next step is to test the suitability of the model. Items that fit the model are items with a significant chi-square probability value, items that have a chi-square probability ≥0.05. The following are the results of the analysis of the compatibility of the model with RStudio.

Figure 4. Output RStudio item fit

	item	G2	df.G2	RMSEA.G2	p.G2	S_X2	df.S_X2	RMSEA.S_X2	p.S_X2
1	x1	33.361	14	0.099	0.003	26.973	24	0.030	0.306
2	x2	16.676	9	0.078	0.054	24.507	20	0.040	0.221
3	x3	21.195	13	0.067	0.069	29.881	25	0.037	0.229
4	x4	41.375	15	0.112	0.000	25.748	19	0.050	0.137
5	x5	27.226	16	0.039	0.284	16.545	18	0.000	0.555
6	x6	23.220	13	0.075	0.039	30.662	23	0.049	0.131
7	x7	18.026	12	0.060	0.115	28.764	21	0.051	0.120
8	x8	26.243	13	0.085	0.016	26.629	27	0.000	0.484
9	x9	25.026	12	0.086	0.026	19.823	20	0.080	0.469
10	x10	16.678	15	0.028	0.338	19.876	26	0.000	0.797
11	x11	33.683	15	0.094	0.004	20.172	20	0.008	0.447
12	x12	37.424	15	0.103	0.001	28.781	27	0.022	0.372

In the output (see Figure 4), column p.S_X2 indicates a p-value where the p-value of 12 items is all above 0.05. Thus, it can be said that the items in the historical knowledge assessment instrument fit into the PCM model.

Student historical knowledge profile

Historical knowledge in this study includes indicators of what, who, when, where, why, and how. The five indicators represent the historical knowledge possessed by students. The ability level parameters obtained by analyzing abilities with the IRT polytomous PCM model are converted into scores on a scale of 10-100. The histogram below shows the distribution of scores of students overall.

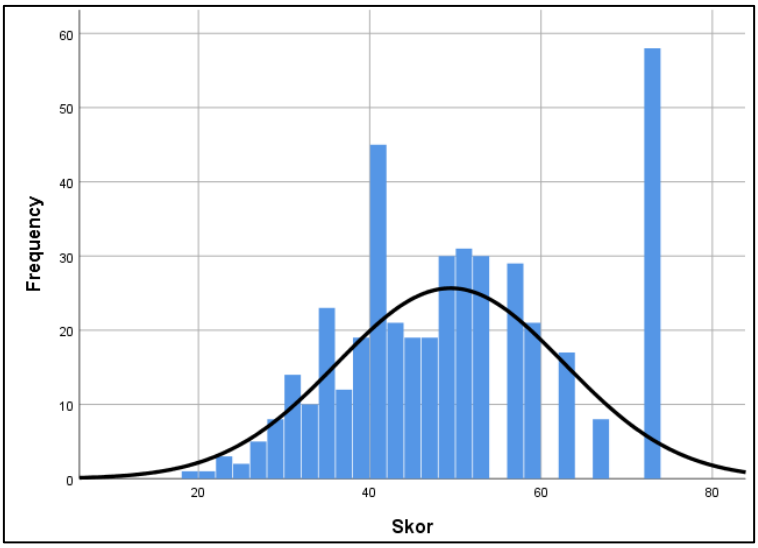

Figure 5. Students' ability of historical knowledge

The histogram above shows that the average score obtained by students is 49.44, with a standard deviation of 13. Based on the average value and the standard deviation, a range of categorical values is obtained as follows: >61 is Very High, 52-61 is High, 42-51 is Acceptable, and <42 Weak. Visually, the results of achieving students' historical knowledge in the form of categories can be seen in Figure 6.

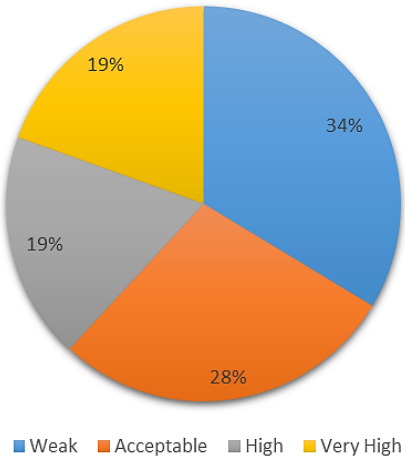

Figure 6. Percentage of historical knowledge categories

Based on figure 6, it can be seen that from 426 students in five research schools, students who have a historical knowledge score of Very High is 19%, High is 19%, Acceptable is 28%, and Weak is 34%. It appears that the results of historical knowledge assessment are dominated by students who have weak or acceptable abilities, with both cumulative percentages of 62%; as many as 263 students.

Conclusion

A valid and reliable historical knowledge assessment instrument is an inevitable need for teachers to be able to determine students' abilities accurately. Project-based learning and assessment is an integral unit. The lack of project assessment instruments in history teaching can be overcome by instruments like those that have been developed in this study. The instruments designed in this study have passed the most important stages in the instrument development process, especially in the validity and reliability tests. This instrument is considered valid, reliable, and fit for use.

The validity of this instrument is proven by the value of content validity and construct validity. The content validity is intended to determine the suitability of items with indicators and historical knowledge variables. The content validity value based on the expert judgment has been fulfilled, likewise with construct validity, which is intended to ensure that the instrument has been able to reveal the thinking constructs that need to be assessed, in this case, historical knowledge. The result of construct validity analysis also exceeds the minimum limit of the agreed terms. The results of the consistency analysis of the instruments to measure the constructs were also proven. So, the instrument can be considered valid and reliable. The fulfillment of the validity and reliability requirements in the development of this instrument makes it feasible to be used on a broader scale. The products produced in this study can be directly used by history teachers in high schools to assess students' historical knowledge. The product implementation provided in this study can be used in formative and summative assessments. If used in formative assessment, then the goal is to track the development of understanding and mastery of historical knowledge. If used in the summative assessment, the goal is to measure students' overall historical knowledge. As an example, this may be achieved by giving students the task of evaluating history articles as final semester assignments.

The assessment model developed in this study is Project-Based Assessment (PBA), which collaborated with Project-Based Learning (PBL). Both the assessment and learning models could be improved if they were implemented with the class discussion method. This class discussion is intended to facilitate students to deliver oral presentations about the topics of history they have written and have been posted on the www.historista.id website. Thus, the assessment process will not only stop at the site but have useful implications for the learning process in the classroom.

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About the Authors

Supianto is a doctor in educational research and evaluation, teacher of social science education at junior high school, and compiler of the apparatus development program at BKPSDM, Sumenep Regency.

Kumaidi is a Professor in measurement and classroom assessment at Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta.

Yoyon Suryono is a Professor in educational research and evaluation, Head of Master Program in Nonformal Education, Yogyakarta State University.

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A competence-based test to assess historical thinking in secondary education: Design, application, and validation

Jesús Domínguez-Castillo
Universidad Antonio de Nebrija, Spain

Laura Arias-Ferrer
Universidad de Murcia, Spain

Raquel Sánchez-Ibáñez
Universidad de Murcia, Spain

Alejandro Egea-Vivancos
Universidad de Murcia, Spain

Francisco Javier García-Crespo
Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain

Pedro Miralles-Martínez
Universidad de Murcia, Spain

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the theoretical framework, application and final outcomes of a pilot test designed as a possible model for assessing students' historical thinking in Secondary Education. It is based both on widely accepted historical thinking concepts and on the assessment framework developed by PISA. The test tries to assess what could be named as the three major competences in history: "explain historically", "use of sources as historical evidence" and "understanding the features of historical knowledge". It includes several stimuli (texts, images…) and a total of 39 items. The field trial of the test was applied to a convenience sample of 893 10th and 11th grade students, aged 16 to 18 years. Their answers were analysed statistically according to the Item Response Theory (IRT), and the results uphold the validity and reliability of the test instrument. The IRT analysis also enables us to take a first step towards defining levels of achievement and progress for the learning and acquisition of those competences. One implication of note of this research is the possible adoption of this model for assessing history, based both on applied content knowledge and historical thinking concepts and skills. Such a model of assessment would also stimulate more active, problem-based and motivating teaching approaches.

KEYWORDS

Competencies, Historical thinking, Assessment, Pilot study, Item Response Theory (IRT), Educational research

CITATION

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Introduction

The incorporation of key competences into education curricula as a recommendation of the European Union since 2006 [1] has led to reflection and debate about the meaning of these competences and their transfer to the classroom. The task is not proving easy in Spanish Secondary Education, where subjects remain the backbone of syllabuses and no detailed indications have been provided regarding the effects that the eight European key competences should have on the curricula. Fortunately, international studies of recognized prestige, like the OECD's PISA and, to a lesser extent, PIRLS and TIMSS of the *International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement* (IEA), have explained very clearly the meaning that competences in education have for them. PISA, in particular, is very explicit in this respect and the opening lines of its theoretical framework of 2015 read (OECD, 2017):

> PISA assesses the extent to which 15-year-old students, near the end of their compulsory education, have acquired key knowledge and skills that are essential for full participation in modern societies. The triennial assessment focuses on the core school subjects of Science, Reading and Mathematics. […] The assessment does not just ascertain whether students can reproduce knowledge; it also examines how well students can extrapolate from what they have learned and can apply that knowledge in unfamiliar contexts, both in and outside school. (p. 12)

Two ideas from the above are worth highlighting. The first, that competence is having knowledge and being able to apply it to new situations both inside and outside the school; and the second, that PISA does not assess new knowledge or skills proper to one or another European key competences, such as "maths and science competence", "digital competence", etc., but those of the traditional subjects (Maths, History, etc.) although with a functional or applied focus on what is learnt. This is why we prefer to speak here about *competence-based assessment of history* instead of the *assessment of key competences in history*.

It is clear that international assessment studies have oriented Education administrators and teachers in terms of what competences can bring to Maths and Science education. But this is not the case for History, with no model of competence-based assessment. In order to cover this gap, we have tried to build up a tentative proposal for this model of assessment in History, implemented and tested in Spanish education contexts. Our starting point was the theoretical framework used by the OECD in the assessment of Sciences which, as with other subjects, always comprises three elements: "situations or contexts", i.e., facts or cases in which to apply knowledge; "content knowledge" or contents of the subject; and "competences or processes". The latter constitute the essential cognitive strategies, specific to each subject discipline, that students have to use to address and answer the questions and problems that often arise in daily life. Hence, these competences are the key element in the PISA test and the driving force behind the choice and design of items (OECD, 2017, p. 42).

In the case of History, and using the elements defined in PISA framework, "situations or contexts" can mean unfamiliar past or present events or problems, for which historical knowledge

(and skills) is worth extrapolating to understand and address them. As for the "content knowledge" of History, it usually includes facts, people and processes in human past, that school curricula generally present under "substantive concepts" (i.e. Reformation, Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution, etc.). But, which are the "competences" or "processes" specific to the discipline of history? To address this question, we draw on research into History education and particularly, historical thinking. Authors insist on the idea that to think historically is not only to know what happened in the past but also "to understand how knowledge has been constructed and what it means" (Lévesque, 2008, p. 27). At the core of historical thinking, authors put forward a series of concepts and skills of historical methodology (evidence, causes, change and continuity, accounts, etc.) as being essential for understanding what scientific knowledge of our past is (Lee, 1983 and 2005; Lee & Shemilt, 2003; Lévesque, 2008; Seixas, 1996; Seixas & Peck, 2004; Seixas & Morton, 2013). Such meta-historical or methodological contents have been named "second order" concepts to distinguish them from the previously mentioned substantive concepts (or the so-called "first order" concepts). They represent the core features of history as a particular discipline of scientific knowledge: For instance, historians relay on critical analysis of evidence (sources and traces) to know about human past, while natural scientists use experimental tests to learn about the natural world. These type of concepts need to be taught mainly through skills practice, complemented by some reflection on the historical way of knowledge.

Recent years have also seen publications which adopt various angles in their search for how to assess this historical thinking (González, Pagès & Santisteban, 2011; Eliasson, Alvén, Yngvéus & Rosenhud, 2015; Körber & Meyer-Hamme, 2015; Seixas, Gibson & Ercikan, 2015; VanSledright, 2014; Wilschut, 2015; Wineburg & Steinberg, 2007). Several features can be highlighted from their proposals. First of all, the central role that historical thinking concepts play in their assessment framework: Items trying to assess evidence, causation, historical perspective or empathy, and change and continuity, are commonly included among others like consciousness or ethical dimension. Many of these tests are also based on primary sources as stimuli, presenting some "unknown" events to be analyzed and 'solved' by students (Duquette, 2015; Eliasson et al., 2015; Körber & Meyer-Hamme, 2015; Seixas, Gibson, & Ercikan, 2015). In this line, our test was mainly focused on two particular topics referring to historical periods recently studied by students: Child labour during the Industrial Revolution and Spanish migration during Franco's Dictatorship (Domínguez, 2015; Domínguez, Arias, Sánchez, Egea, & García, 2016; Sáiz & Fuster, 2014). This allowed us to assess skills of historical competences but also the ability to apply contextual knowledge of the period (Arias et al., 2019). As to the type of assessment items, we choose to include multiple-choice and short answer questions instead of long historical accounts (frequent in the previous proposals).

Based on the above literature we have tried to adapt the PISA model to propose a theoretical framework and an assessment for History based on historical thinking concepts. It is here wherein lies the originality of this research, the aim of which is reflected in the two research questions that make up this paper: Is it possible to design a valid and reliable test to assess students' historical thinking when they finish compulsory education? Do the results of our research afford a basis on which to build a scale of the progress in the acquisition of competences and concepts of historical thinking?

Method

In accordance with the two guiding aims of our research, this pilot study seeks to assess the suitability of the test and not the historical knowledge and skills of the participating students.

There are three clearly defined stages within our research: Assessment framework and design of the test, trialling the test through fieldwork, and statistical analysis of the responses.

Assessment framework and design of the test[2]

Table 1 summarizes the assessment framework of our test, which has been explained in greater detail in earlier publications (Domínguez, 2015; Domínguez et al., 2016). Following the PISA model for sciences (OECD, 2017 and previous editions), three large "historical competences" are defined which form the basis of the test. To these are fitted the items or questions that assess the substantive knowledge and the skills in which the "second order" historical concepts are embodied and which are distributed in similar proportions to those used in the sciences in PISA.

Explain (past and present) facts historically is the equivalent competence in Sciences as "Explaining phenomena scientifically" (OECD, 2017, p. 21). It is directly focused towards assessing the capacity to apply historical substantive knowledge to the facts or problems posed in the questions. For example, to answer questions about emigration in Spain during the 1950s and 1960s it is necessary to have some minimum contextual knowledge of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco Regime. This competence includes placing the events studied within their time framework and context, indicating background events, and even identifying notable historical events.

Competences or cognitive processes of history	**Type of knowledge**	**"Second order" concepts**	**Number and percentage of items**
Explain historically	Substantive knowledge	--	14 (36%)
Use historical evidence	Methodological knowledge	"Sources" and "evidence"	13 (33.3%)
Understand the features of historical knowledge	Methodological knowledge	"Causation", "Empathy, "Change and continuity"…	12 (30.7%)

Table 1. Assessment framework and distribution of items according to competences, type of knowledge and second order concepts of history

The two other competences -*Use historical evidence* and *Understand the features of historical knowledge*– have their equivalents in PISA 2015 Science framework– "Interpreting data and evidence scientifically" and "Evaluating and designing scientific enquiry" (OECD, 2017, p. 22). In both subjects, the two competences are directly related to methodological knowledge, that is, to the characteristic methods and skills of both disciplines. In History, these embrace the "second order" concepts of historical thinking, from which we have selected the four most widely accepted concepts to date by experts in History education (see Table 1). *Use historical evidence* is the concept of most weight in the test, as befits its importance in historiographic methodology. Besides, the competence *Understand the features of historical knowledge* includes other concepts that would form part of what some specialists have called "historical perspective" (Duquette, 2015, p. 52).

When assessing these concepts, it has been necessary to distinguish specific cognitive skills of each concept, as is shown in Table 2 for *Use of historical evidence.* This list of skills, which was drawn up from a review of the research and innovation in the teaching and learning of each concept (Domínguez, 2015), serves as a bridge between historical "second order" concepts and the items, so focusing the design of the tasks and the questions to evaluate each skill. Thus, in the case of the competence "Use of historical evidence", skills contemplate two major groups of skills: on the one hand, literacy skills, in order to get information from, and understand different source material and, on the other, specific skills related to the historians´ critical use of sources as evidence from the past. Both groups of skills are interconnected and need to be assessed by complementary test items.

The design phase took place in 2014 to 2015 and included qualitative validation by a diversified group of experts and a pre-pilot run with 49 students. The test was designed for

students in their final year of Compulsory Secondary Education (15-16 years old). We took into consideration the content-knowledge of history studied that year (World and Spanish history during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), as well as some historical thinking skills included in the curriculum, unfortunately, without any rationale or justification. Having said that, the test was not designed to evaluate the outcomes of the Spanish curriculum in History. Certainly, it was assumed as the basis of students' knowledge, but our aim was to pilot a type of test able to assess students' historical thinking.

The test comprises two different assessment units: "Spanish emigrants yesterday and today (1950-2014)" (coded as M1), and "Child labor during the Industrial Revolution and today" (coded as M2). Both topics were chosen because they refer to historical periods included in the current curriculum and are particularly motivating and useful to understand the relation between past and present. Each unit included two booklets, one with the stimulus documents and another with the questions. The stimuli are in the main primary sources (texts, images, graphics, and maps) that the students should use, along with their own knowledge, to answer the questions. There were 39 questions in all: 18 were multiple choice, 13 were short-answer questions and 8 were semi-open. The questions were distributed according to the three competences shown in Table 1, and in approximately equal proportion.

Two groups of skills	**Detailed skills of "using evidence"**
Reading and communication skills	Obtain explicit information Infer information Integrate and interpret Assess information Synthesize and communicate
Historiographic skills	Contextualize sources Analyze them critically Collate and evaluate sources

Table 2. Skills for assessing the competence "Use historical evidence" (Domínguez, 2015, p. 90)

Trialling the test through fieldwork

The pre-pilot test led to some questions being reworded or even replaced, to the refinement of the estimated times to complete the test and to fine-tuning the application protocol and the coding rubrics.

The definitive field study was carried out in April and May in 2015 and 2016 using a convenience sample with an acceptable male-female split, venue, and socio-cultural level. To have a sufficiently large data base and so meet the IRT requirements, 893 students, aged 15 to 18 years, took part. Of these, 789 were in the fourth year of compulsory secondary education at ten state and private centres in Región de Murcia (Spain) and 109 in the first year of *Baccalaureate* in four state centres in Galicia (Spain). Each assessment unit was carried out in a class period of 45 minutes. Four people administered the tests, and, along with a fifth person, they scored and coded the booklets following the rubrics previously revised and agreed upon. Many tests were double-scored to ensure that any doubts were discussed and resolved in an agreed upon manner. As the statistical analysis would show, there was a good homogeneity and coherence in the administration, scoring and coding of the test.

Statistical analysis of the responses

After coding and recording the responses, the statistical analysis was performed based on the Item Response Theory (IRT) and using ConQuest©.

The IRT analysis simultaneously estimates the degree of difficulty and the students' skill. The level of difficulty of each question is determined by the probability of a correct response given each individual's level of skill. Likewise, the skill of each student is measured by taking into account the probability of a correct answer given the difficulty of the question. Therefore, the answer to one item depends on the interaction of the student's "skill" and its difficulty. This is why this analysis cannot show scores that are linked to a particular population or to a group of specific individuals, but scores that are based on the above relation (Embretson & Reise, 2000).

Results and discussion

Of the large number of data obtained with the ITR analysis, three points fundamental to our research are worth highlighting: the degree of discrimination of each item, the overall reliability coefficient of the test, and the distribution of items and students according to levels of difficulty and scores. The first two of these respond to the first aim of our research and the third to the second aim.[3]

Discrimination of each item

It discerns whether an item coherently distinguishes between students according of their skill in the test as a whole. Hence, a very simple question should be correctly answered by a large majority of the students, while a difficult one will be correctly answered by those showing a certain degree of skill. Three items (M1_8.1, M2_3 and M2_13) were removed due to bad discrimination, bad fit and bad behaviour of the distractor, which meant that the final test had 36 items. Let us look at M1_8.1 as an example of a rejected item (see Table 3).

Item M1_8.1			
Cases for this item	604	Discrimination	.12
Item Threshold(s):	.03	Weighted MNSQ	1.12
Item Delta(s):	.03		
Label	**Score**	**Count**	**% of total**
9	.00	26	4.30
A	.00	203	33.61
B	.00	89	14.74
C	1.00	257	42.55
D	.00	29	4.80

Table 3. Example of a rejected item: Item M1_8.1 (Emigrants unit, question 8.1)

The table shows a low discrimination .12 for an item of medium difficulty (.03) whose weighted MNSQ is 1.12, i.e., far from 1. All this bad behaviour is fundamentally because option "A" (distractor) was chosen almost as often as the correct option, "C". This in itself would not be a problem were it not for its having been chosen by a large number of students of all levels of skill.

The reliability coefficient

This is used to ascertain the stability of the test when obtaining results. It is calculated using the classic concept of dividing the real variance by the observed variance. In this case the real variance is an estimation of the estimation a posteriori (EAP) of the distribution, and the observed variance is an estimation obtained from the variance explained by the plausible values (PV). Once the 36 items have been definitively configured, the ensuing test shows a high coefficient, EAP/PV= .759.

To illustrate the calibration proper to each item, Table 4 shows the following parameters for the first eight items: estimation of difficulty (where 0 represents an average difficulty, a negative value means low difficulty and a positive value refers to high difficulty); the estimation error; the weighted MNSQ correction (which should be as close as possible to 1) and the confidence interval.

Item	Difficulty	Estimation error	Weighted MNSQ	Confidence Interval
M1_1	.306	.063	1.04	(.94- 1.06)
M1_2	.607	.064	1.01	(.93-1.07)
M1_3.1	-2.326	.072	.98	(.84-1.16)
M1_3.2	-.386	.053	1.08	(.90-1.10)
M1_4	.893	.065	.98	(.91-1.09)
M1_5.1	-.993	.063	.97	C
M1_5.2	.921	.066	1	(.91-1.09)
M1_6.1	-1.796	.068	.98	(.88-1.12)

Table 4. Example of the calibration of some items

Next, we give two examples of analyses of items showing good behaviour: The first (Item 28, M2_5) is multiple choice and is coded 0-1, and the second (Item 31, M2_7.2) is an open question and is coded 0-1-2.

Item 28 (M2_5):

*Choose among the following options the **only** one that points out the most important difference between cottage industry and mechanized industry:*

a) Industrial machines made it more difficult the workers' tasks

b) Mechanical industry has iron machines, while cottage industry has them made of wood.

c) Industrial machines multiplied artisans' production (correct answer)

d) In cottage industry each machine needed a person while in mechanical industry it needed several persons

Item 31 (M2_7.2):

Was the scavenger' work dangerous for kids? Docs. 5 and 6 do not agree on that.

a) What do they assert each of them?

b) Which assertion is best supported by other documents?

The basic parameters are given in Tables 5 and 6, and the characteristic curves are shown in Figures 1, 2 and 3). Item 28 was answered by a sufficiently large number of students (582), of which 398 (63.38%) answered correctly. IRT analysis shows that it is of low difficulty (-1.18, with an estimation error of .064), which means that a student with skill -1.18 has a .5 probability of

answering the question correctly. From Figure 1, which relates the student's skill and the probability of a correct answer, it is also inferred that a student of skill 1 has a .9 probability. The discrimination value of this item is .37, which is reasonable. Finally, the "weighted MNSQ", which indicates the relation between the item and the overall test, is exactly 1. All these factors allow us to conclude that the item behaves well.

In order to complete the analysis of item 28 (M2_5) we point to Figure 2, which shows the characteristic curve of the item in relation to the five possible response categories (9, A, B, C and D). The correct answer is "C" (the continuous line with crosses) and is the option that is chosen more frequently as the skill of the student increases. Option "D" (the broken line with circles) is the second most answered option, and it decreases with the students' skill (the greater the skill the lower the probability of its being the answer given). The other options remain constant, with values very close to zero.

Item 28 (M2_5)
Cases for this item 582 Discrimination .37
Item Threshold(s): -1.18 Weighted MNSQ 1.00
Item Delta(s): -1.18

Label	**Score**	**Count**	**% of total**
9	.00	14	2.41
A	.00	31	5.33
B	.00	24	4.12
C	1.00	398	68.38
D	.00	115	19.76

Table 5. Example 1 of the analysis of an item that behaves well: 28 (M2_5)

Item 31 was also answered by a sufficient number of students (582), of which 190 (32.65%) answered it partially correctly (code 1), 76 (13.06%) totally correctly (code 2), 259 (44.50%) badly and 57 (9.79%) left it blank (Table 6). The item is of medium-high difficulty since, its thresholds are -.13 and 1.25 for the answers scoring 0 and 2, respectively. Thus, it means that a student with a skill -.13 has a .5 probability of answering the item incorrectly and a student with a skill 1.25 has a .5 probability of scoring the maximum. The discriminatory value of this item is .47, which is within reasonable parameters. The weighted MNSQ is .99, practically 1. All of this points to its being an item that *behaves well* (Figure 3).

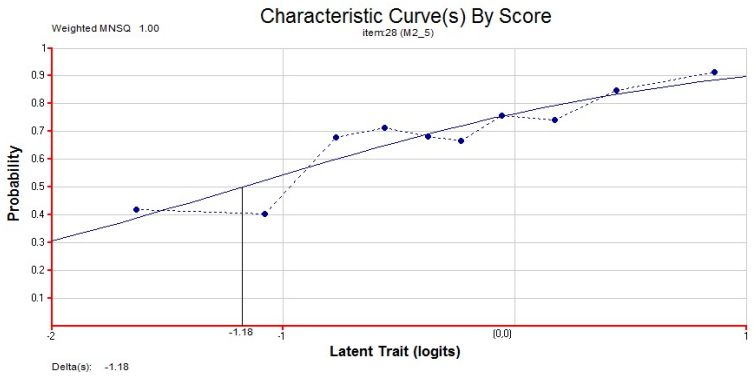

Figure 1. Characteristic curve of the item 28 (M2_5)

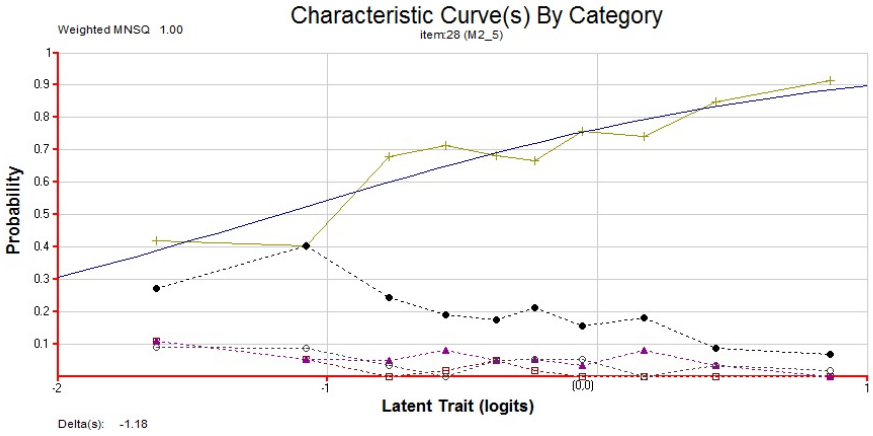

Figure 2. Characteristic curve of item 28 (M2_5) by category

Item 31 (M2_7.2) Cases for this item 582 Discrimination .47 Item Threshold(s): -.13 1.25 Weighted MNSQ .99 Item Delta(s): .16 .97			
Label	**Score**	**Count**	**% of total**
0	.00	259	44.50
1	1.00	190	32.65
2	2.00	76	13.06
9	.00	57	9.79

Table 6. Example 2 of the analysis of an item showing good behaviour: 31 (M2_7.2)

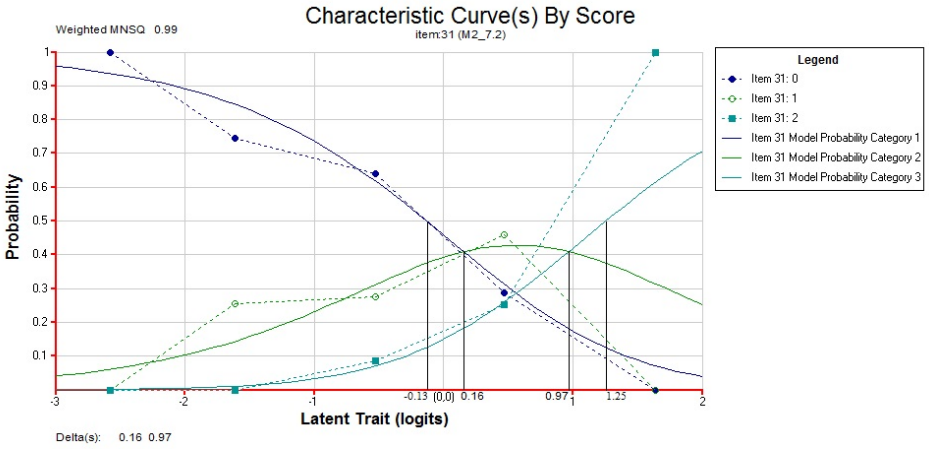

Figure 3. Characteristic curve of item 31 (M2_7.2)

Distribution of items and students by score

This is the third of the key data returned by the IRT. It uses a single scale to show the degree of difficulty of the items and the scores obtained by the students. Figure 4 shows the graph of the test: the vertical scale is a difficulty skill scale from -2 to 2, and the items are distributed on the right (indicated by their number, including the code, 1 or 2) and to the left of these, in the centre column, is the number of students' answers in each level of skill (each "x" represents 5.2 cases). The figure shows that the test has a very balanced distribution of items and answers, although the deduction is that, overall, the test was difficult as the students showed a negative mean score for skill, while, in contrast, the items are accumulated above 0 and are therefore positive, and harder.

As occurs in most large-scale assessment studies (PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, etc.), the above scoring scale is usually modified to remove decimals and so facilitate its reading. This is done by shifting the middle point from 0 to 500, point 1 to 600, point 2 to 700, etc. This measure also has a standard deviation of 100, which means that approximately two-thirds of the students scored between 400 and 600 points, and 95% scored between 300 and 700 points. With this scale the test items are also distributed according to their degree of difficulty, from 273 points for the easiest item (item 3, M1_3.1) to 785.74 for the most difficult (item 23.2, M2_1.2-.2, i.e., coded 2).

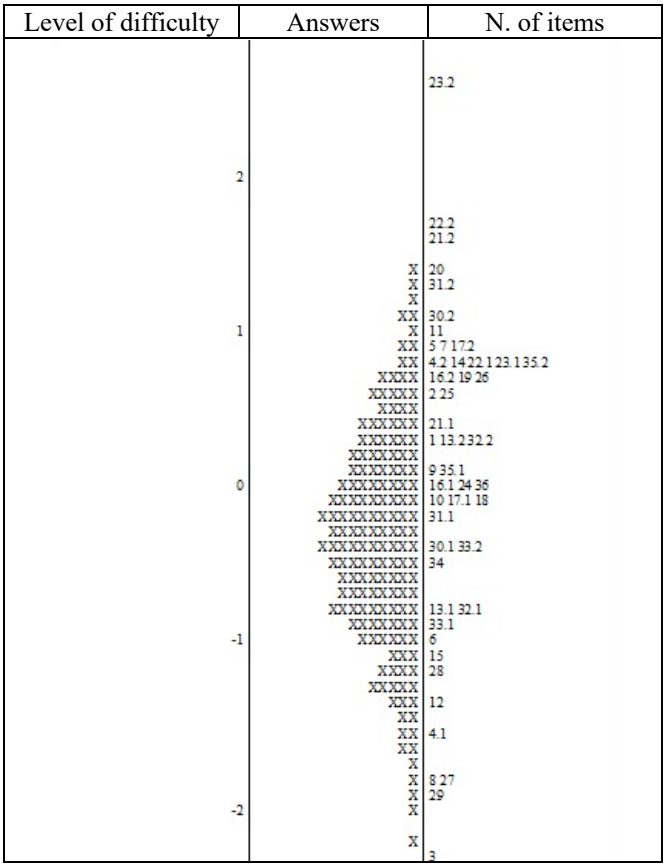

Figure 4. Distribution of items and responses according to the level of difficulty

Towards a tentative scale of progression in historical thinking

In line with the previously mentioned large scale assessment studies, within this range of scores we distinguish five levels of performance, according to the items students were able to answer correctly. The lowest level is level 1, which is characterized by the fact that it is not possible to know the skills of those who answered only these items correctly. Its upper limit was established, in our test, at 392 points. From there on each successive level is every 64 points, up to the fifth,

with the highest score of 785.74 points. A clarification is in order here: the test contains 12 questions with marking codes 0, 1 and 2, assigned according to the accuracy and quality of the answers. This enables us to fine tune the levels of the answers, albeit that IRT provides two scores for these items, one for answers coded 1 and another, higher one, for answers that are coded 2. Thus, as Table 7 shows, for the effects of the analysis and the description of the possible levels of responses, we have 48 item-responses (36 questions plus 12 responses in questions with code 2).

Number of items and item-responses per evaluation unit	**Use historical evidence**	**Causal explanation**	**Empathetic explanation**	**Time, change, continuity**	**Explain historically**
M1 unit: 21/26	6/7	--	3/3	4/7	8/9
M2 unit: 15/22	6/10	4/6	--	1/2	6/4
Total items: 36 Item-Responses: 48	Items: 12 Items-Res: 17	Items: 4 Items-Res: 6	Items: 3 Items-Res: 3	Items: 5 Items-Res: 9	Items: 14 Items-Res: 13

Table 7. Number of items and item-responses (Item-Res)
by competence and methodological concept of history

Level	**Value**	**Descriptors**
1	273-392	Four items appear at this level. It is worth stating that students partially analyze and interpret very basic textual or graphic information with few details; they make very simple inferences and interpretations that are partially contextualized and draw on their elementary historical knowledge (e.g., the use of the steam engine in the United Kingdom).
2	392-456	These items analyze basic information (text, illustrations and maps) with limited detail; they make simple contextualized inferences and interpretations drawing on limited historical knowledge (e.g. about the precariousness of agriculture in the post Spanish Civil War period) and geographical knowledge (they partially identify large countries on a blank political map); they recognize that sources can have differing values or uses; they collate, and partially identify, with mistakes, the information afforded by sources about the work of the "scavenger" girl.
3	456-520	They analyze and interpret correctly a bar chart about migratory figures in Spain (1960-2014), distinguishing stages and their overall significance. They collate and distinguish the information obtained from two sources about the work of the "scavenger" girl, but they are not able to evaluate appropriately which of the two offers the best founded version (Item 31.1/M2_ 7.2.1 score 1out of 2: 476,9 points)
4	520-584	They analyze various (2 to 4) documents in detail and obtain explicit information, they make precise inferences, drawing at times on contextualization ("the steam engine that probably moves the spinning machine"), collate, integrate and interpret information from several documents to detect errors or contradictions (date of the grandparents' wedding) or to obtain proofs on which to ground certain statements (that the great grandfather was a very small landowner), and they partially synthesize information obtained from various sources (transformations in Spain from 1960 to the present day).
5	>584	They analyze rigorously and collate in detail several sources to obtain explicit information about facts (the work of the scavenging girl); collate two sources and evaluate which offers the version best supported by the other documents (whether "scavenging" was dangerous for children's health) (Item 31/M2_7.2.2 score 2: 606,5 points). Finally, they synthesize and communicate with precision the information supplied by various sources about the changes to Spanish society.

Table 8. Levels of performance associated to the competence 'using sources as historical evidence'

From the scores for these 48 item-responses it is possible to describe and characterize the levels of success in historical competences and, where appropriate, those in the methodological or 'second order concepts' of the discipline. In two of the three competences evaluated – 'Explain events historically' and 'Use historical evidence,' it is possible to characterize the majority of the five levels since they have 13 and 17 item-responses, respectively. In the case of the third competence –'Understand the logic of historical knowledge'- it is not possible to distinguish the response levels with rigor. On the one hand, the items associated with this competence evaluate three different concepts in themselves (causation, empathy, and change and continuity), with just 6, 3 and 9 item-responses for each one. On the other hand, each concept requires a specific scale that is independent of those of the other concepts and that does not allow it to establish level equivalences between, for example, the students' achievement in causal explanation and in change and continuity.

Tables 8 and 9 present an initial classification and description of the levels of performance for the two competences mentioned, thus showing the possibilities that these types of tests afford research into the progression in our students' learning. Notwithstanding the test's limitations, this first scale in the progression of responses opens up a route for future research that may fine tune even further the different levels of response of our students in competences and historical methodology concepts. The ensuing results will serve to enrich the already important empirical base available (Lee & Shemilt, 2003; Seixas & Morton, 2013).

Level	**Value**	**Descriptors**
1	273-392	Not enough data to characterize this level. There are only two items in this level (28/M2_5 and 29/M2_6), and both are multiple choice (identify differences between crafts and industry).
2	392-456	Not enough data. There is only one item of this difficulty (34/M2_10), which is again multiple choice.
3	456-520	Scarce data. Most items are multiple choice, so identification is predominant. Some historical knowledge is noticeable and the students connect it to the context of the topics in the test: there is an acceptable knowledge of chronology in Spain from the Civil War to the present (1/M1_1), and of the significance of the rural exodus in Spain under the Franco regime (10/M1_7.1); in M2, students identify that colonization is partly responsible for delayed economic development in many countries (34/M2_10),
4	520-584	There are only items from M1 at this level. It is appreciated that the students possess historical knowledge which they use to contextualize and better understand the facts and questions they face. Knowledge of the chronology and circumstances of the post Spanish Civil War allow them to consider as reasons for emigration the archaic nature of traditional agriculture (1/M1_1) and the reprisals against the losing side in the war (5/M1_4). They recognize the boost to the economy afforded by Spain's entry into the EU and the adoption of the euro (14/M1_9.2), and they partially explain the changes in Spanish society from 1960 to the present day (21.1/M1_14.1).
5	>584	Not enough data. Multiple choice item 20/M1_13 lets us think that some students can link certain women' mentality and role in society to the material conditions of life during the post War period in Spain. Similarly, the open response item 21.2/M1_14.2 allows us to say initially that the students can, with the aid of the input documents, briefly but correctly explain the changes in Spanish society since 1960, with reference to the predominant economic, political and educational transformations.

Table 9. Levels of performance associated with the competence 'explaining historically'

Conclusion

The statistical analysis of our test confirms its validity as a tool for assessing Secondary students' acquisition of what we have called historical competences, based on historical thinking. This model of test could be considered a feasible way for history assessments in Spain to abandon rote learning-based questions as their main instrument. The model would have two major traits: first, the assessment of substantive or content knowledge should preferably be functional or applied to cases or facts not previously studied; and, second, the assessment of skills related to historical thinking should occupy a key position in the test. The adoption of this model of assessing History, be it on nowadays large scale sample diagnostic assessments in Spain, or in classroom test and exercises, may have a powerful impact on the curriculum and on the teaching of History, since it will spark teaching approaches more innovative and attractive to the students than traditional rote learning teaching. These approaches require problem-based learning, while at the same time emphasize the value of history in understanding and thinking about our present. Finally, in relation to our second research question, the design of the test and statistical analysis of responses seem to afford a basis on which to build a scale of progress in the acquisition of historical thinking. As international assessment studies exhibit, this kind of analyses allows to build a scale of progress based on the varied difficulty of items and responses. The greater number of items and responses we get, the richer and more comprehensive the scale of progress will be. In accordance, the adoption of this model of History assessments in Spanish sample diagnostic test, could boost research on students' historical thinking. They would provide a considerable amount of responses and reflections on historical problems and issues with which enrich students' acquisition of historical thinking and, thus, the education professional knowledge.

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Endnotes

[1] https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:394:0010:0018:EN:PDF

[2] The complete test in Spanish, as well as the translation into English together with tables detailing the historical competences and skills that each item tries to assess are available in https://www.um.es/dicso/es/cchh/.

[3] The specific items of the test can be consulted (both in English and in Spanish) in https://www.um.es/dicso/es/cchh/

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About the Authors

Jesús Domínguez-Castillo holds a B.A. in History and Geography (Universidad de Zaragoza, 1974), a M.A. in History in Education (UCL, Institute of Education, 1984), and a PhD in History (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona-UAB, 1993). He was head of department of Geography and History, and Director of Spanish State Secondary Schools. Advisor to the Ministry of Education (1988-94), he coordinated the LOGSE 12-16 curriculum of Social Sciences, Geography and History. He also was National Research Coordinator of IEA PIRLS and TIMSS (2008-2012). In his last professional years, he has been associate researcher and MA teacher at the University of Nebrija, Madrid. His major professional interests are History teaching and assessment of students' historical thinking. One of his main contributions has been *Pensamiento histórico y evaluación de competencias*, published in 2015 in Barcelona (Ed. Graó) (Its appendix test is available in English at https://www.um.es/dicso/es/cchh/).

Laura Arias-Ferrer is Associate Professor [Profesora Contratada Doctora] in the Department of Mathematical and Social Sciences Teaching-University of Murcia (Spain). Her work is focused on the analysis of the teaching practice and the training of Early Childhood and Primary Education teachers, as well as on the development and evaluation of strategies and resources for the teaching of history at different educational levels, with special attention to those methodologies focused on the development of historical thinking skills through the use of cultural heritage. These lines of work have led her to carry out stays at the universities of Zaragoza, Barcelona, Kentucky and London, whose fruits are the various works published regarding the mentioned topics. Her expertise has allowed her to be actively involved in various dissemination projects through the dissemination initiative *LATE. Laboratorio Temporal* (https://www.um.es/late/), coordinated by Alejandro Egea and Laura Arias.

Raquel Sánchez-Ibáñez is currently Associate Professor [Profesora Contratada Doctora] in the Department of Mathematical and Social Sciences Teaching at the University of Murcia (Spain), where she held different posts since 2009. She has spent abroad as visiting scholar a total of 28 months in prestigious centres such as the School of History (University of East Anglia), Instituto de Ciencias Sociais de Lisboa (Portugal), Università degli studi di Bari (Italy) and Centro Internazionale di Didattica della Storia e del Patrimonio (Bologna, Italy). Her research focuses on history teaching, social science teacher training and textbook analysis. She has participated in 11 funded research projects on the history and didactics of the social sciences and in 10 research projects on educational innovation, of which she has conducted 6. Finally, in the last ten years she has published 20 articles in high impact journals.

Alejandro Egea-Vivancos is Associate Professor (tenured) [Profesor Titular] in the Department of Mathematical and Social Sciences Teaching-University of Murcia (Spain). Historian, archaeologist and former teacher in Secondary Education, he holds a MA in Ancient History and was awarded his PhD in 2003. His work currently focuses on innovation in teaching practice by introducing archaeology and heritage, the development of historical thinking in early years & secondary education. These lines of work have led him to carry out stays at the universities of Barcelona, Kentucky and London. His expertise as Historian, History teaching researcher and his former teaching experience has allowed him to be actively involved in various dissemination projects through the dissemination initiative *LATE. Laboratorio Temporal* (www.um.es/late/), coordinated by Laura Arias and himself. He is the main editor of *Panta Rei. Journal of History and History Teaching*.

Francisco Javier García-Crespo was teacher of Secondary Education between 1993 and 2009 and Technical Advisor to the National Institute of Educational Evaluation between 2009 and 2011. He is Head of the Division of Management and Data Analysis (INEE) since 2011 and part-time professor in the Department of Statistics and Research Operations, Faculty of Mathematics, Complutense University of Madrid (Spain), where he teaches Statistics, Probability and Research operations. Among other positions, he is National Research Coordinator TIMSS2015, Data Manager TIMSS2011, PIRLS2011 and PIRLS2016, Activity Coordinator for the Large scale data analysis training for teachers and researchers. He has also participated as speaker in the presentation activities for international studies and he is author of 7th and 8th grade textbooks. He has also participated in the development of various national reports of the General Diagnostic Assessments (primary and secondary) and international (TIMSS-PIRLS 2011, ICCS2009, PISA 2012 and TALIS 2013).

Pedro Miralles-Martínez has hold different teaching position for 38 years in various educational levels: Primary Education; Geography and History teacher in Secondary Education; and professor at university. He worked in permanent teachers' training in Teachers and Resources Centres. He is the Principal Investigator to the research group 'Didactics of Social Sciences'. He has directed or participated in more than twenty research and innovation projects on didactics of social sciences in Education. He is the author of more than a hundred papers and more than a hundred conferences and communications in scientific meetings. It is remarkable the publication in JCR and SCOPUS journals.

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Multiperspectivity in lesson designs of history teachers: The role of schoolbook texts in the design of multiperspective history lessons

Marc Kropman
University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Carla Van Boxtel
University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Jannet Van Drie
Research Institute of Child Development and Education, Netherlands

Abstract

Textbook narratives of a nation's past often present a limited frame of reference, which impedes the aim of teaching history from multiple perspectives. This study aims to explore the use of multiperspectivity in teachers' lesson designs for 10th grade students based upon a text that includes multiple perspectives (HP) (N=8) compared to a text that hardly includes multiperspectivity (LP) (N=10). The lesson designs were analyzed on multiperspectivity regarding aims, instruction, materials and learning activities, and also on actors, elements of scale, dimensions, historians interpretations and students' perspectives. We found that different dimensions (for example, political, economic) were more often incorporated in the lesson designs based upon text HP, but that students' perspectives were more often included in the designs based upon text LP. Only one fifth of the lesson designs reflected a high overall level of multiperspectivity. Nevertheless, text HP generated more multiperspectivity with respect to aims and instruction, dimensions, scale and historiography than text LP. Interviews with the teachers showed that the interpretation of the exam program – either a focus on learning historical reasoning or acquiring a chronological overview of knowledge – seemed decisive in the design of the lessons. This study calls for careful incorporating multiperspectivity in textbook by authors, and in their lessons by teachers who seek to do justice to multiple perspectives.

Keywords

History education, History textbooks, Historical thinking, Multiple perspectives, Historical narratives

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Introduction

The ability to discern multiple perspectives in history is an important goal in secondary history education. However, history textbooks do not always include multiple perspectives. Since teachers rely on textbooks for their lessons, the question is how this influences teaching practices. This study aims to explore the role of presenting multiple perspectives in history textbooks on the use of multiperspectivity in teachers' lesson designs.

In many countries, textbooks are by far the most accessible sources of historical information for both students and teachers. The texts therein can be considered historical narratives that follow traditions in academic historiography (Foster, 2011; Sakki, 2014). History textbooks represent a narrative wherein specific historical actors, events, developments and perspectives are represented. Several researchers argue that the narratives about the nation in textbooks often represent a limited, nationalistic perspective (Sakki, 2014; Van der Vlies, 2017). Textbooks presenting a more closed narrative do not seem to be in line with the goals of history education that stimulate learning to reason about multiple perspectives. In the Netherlands – as in many other countries – the aims of history education include that secondary school students develop their historical thinking and reasoning abilities. Students are expected to understand the positionality of historical actors and the interpretative nature of periodization, historical explanations and narratives about the past. By doing so, students learn that a historical narrative is not a 'given' but a construct about the past (College van Examens, 2015). Put differently students not only have to acquire knowledge about historical narratives but also need to know that these narratives are constructed and written from a particular perspective. Making this complex and difficult issue of narrative and multiperspectivity transparent and comprehensible for students is a challenging task for teachers. There is a growing body of research on the teaching of historical thinking and reasoning, with a main focus on the role of tasks, explicit instruction of strategies or second order concepts, the use of historical sources and whole-class discussion (e.g. Fogo, Reisman, & Breakstone, 2019; Havekes, 2015; Huijgen, 2018; Stoel, 2017; Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2018). However, not so much attention is paid to the narrative representations of the past and accompanying perspectives – for example in textbooks – that are used as resources for teaching historical thinking and reasoning. When history textbooks hardly contain multiple perspectives and present only one specific perspective, to what extent do teachers address multiple perspectives in their lessons? Scholars have stated that history teachers tend to rely heavily on the textbooks in their teaching (Foster, 2011; Lee, 2013; Paxton, 2002; Stoddard, 2010). We aimed to shed light on the role of the type of text (with multiple perspectives or not) in the subsequent lesson design of the teachers and their considerations when designing the lessons.

Theoretical framework

Multiperspectivity and history textbooks

One goal of history education is learning to identify different perspectives in all kinds of sources (such as, texts, or museum exhibitions) and historical accounts and to contextualize these perspectives about the past. Multiperspectivity implies the admission of perspectives of various historical actors, historians, or contemporaries and, as a consequence, the admission of possible alternative narratives – each with their own narrational voices and perspectives (Munslow, 2016). Lately, the Council of Europe (2018, p. 26) stipulated the importance of a multiperspective

approach and that national narratives are "responsive to sociocultural diversity rather than being mono-cultural". Stradling (2003) stressed the necessity to relate and compare different perspectives to enable a deeper understanding of historical relationships between nations, majorities and minorities in and outside national boundaries, as it can enhance historical thinking as well as democratic citizenship. Scholars have argued that multiple perspectives are needed to transform more 'closed' narratives about a nation's past into narratives that better express the interpretative character of history (Barton, 2012; Carretero, 2017).

Different forms of historical perspectivity can be discerned. Each historian constructs his or her own historical narrative by asking particular questions. This includes the selection of historical actors and their perspectives. These perspectives are shaped by social class, gender, age, ability, race, and ethnicity (Grever & Van Boxtel, 2014; Stradling 2003). Historians, and also history textbook authors, select particular sources or a scale (for example, local, national or global) and they order events and chronologies in some kind of plot (such as, progression and decline) (Lévesque, 2008, Zerubavel, 2003). They also choose to emphasize particular dimensions (e.g., political, economic, social or cultural) (Grever, 2020; Grever & van Boxtel, 2014; Stradling, 2003). These dimensions can be understood as forms of historiography wherein the choice of a particular form of history is of influence on the representation of agency, plotlines, and order of events (Grever, 2020). Multiperspectivity can be achieved, for example, when actors from different social groups are part of the narrative (e.g. workers and entrepreneurs), when more than one type of scale (e.g. local and national) and more than one historical dimension (e.g. in addition to the political dimension, the cultural dimension) is part of the narrative. Historiographic perspectives change over time due to developments in society and among historians as active participants in society. For example, the perspective on Columbus and the 'Discovery of America' has changed over time (Carretero, Lopez, González, & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012; Grever & Adriaansen, 2019). Textbook authors and history teachers can also be seen as vocalizers of historiography (Parkes, 2009).

Although there is rich literature on history textbook research that analyzes the historical, comparative and pedagogic approaches in textbooks (Mittnik, 2018), little is known about how teachers use textbooks when designing lessons, particularly with respect to including different types of perspectives. It is in the classroom that different forms of perspectivity could be realized. However, this might be a problem when textbooks hardly include multiple perspectives, as was found in a previous study on the topic of the Dutch Revolt in two textbooks (Kropman, Van Boxtel, & Van Drie, 2020). This might be even more the case when history lessons are strongly based on the content presented in the textbook. A survey in the Netherlands showed that only five percent of the teachers in upper secondary history education did not use a textbook and only used their own materials (Van der Kaap, 2014).

If we take into consideration that the majority of history teachers use schoolbook texts, how do teachers teach multiperspectivity using these texts? There are various possibilities for teachers to include multiple perspectives in their teaching. For example, when multiple perspectives are already included in the textbook itself, teachers can elaborate upon these perspectives together with the students. When the text does not include much multiperspectivity, the teacher can provide students with source materials stemming from opposing perspectives of historical actors (Fogo, Reisman, & Breakstone, 2019; Reisman, 2012; Yeager & Doppen, 2002).

Gesttsdótir (2018) defined how historical thinking and reasoning can be taught by, for example, communicating objectives, demonstration, the supportive use of sources, explicit instruction on historical thinking strategies, and engaging students in individual or group tasks or whole-class discussions that require historical thinking and reasoning. Focusing on multiperspectivity, this would mean that understanding that there are multiple perspectives is part of the lesson objectives, that teachers discuss multiple perspectives, that they use sources to address multiple perspectives and that they engage students in assignments or whole class discussions in which different perspectives are explored. Stradling (2003) formulated as the most important requirement for teaching multiperspectivity, that students have ample opportunities to engage in

analyzing and comparing an assortment of diverse historical sources stemming from a wide range of origin. Furthermore, students should have the opportunity for in-depth studies of particular topics, even if the curriculum is focused on acquiring chronological overview knowledge. Last, teachers have to be aware that source-based history teaching goes beyond extracting information form sources and that one has to "tolerate discrepancies, contradictions, ambiguities, dissenting voices, half-truths and partial points of view, biases and preconceptions" (Stradling, 2003, p. 60). Seixas and Morton (2012) have suggested that teachers pay attention to the fact that different historical actors have different perspectives on events in which they are part of. Wansink, et.al. (2018) added that multiperspectivity can be achieved through including the interpretations of different historians. However, in observed lessons in the Netherlands and Iceland, multiperspectivity was one of the least observed elements of teaching historical thinking and reasoning (Gestsdóttir, Van Boxtel, & Van Drie, 2018).

How teachers design their lessons is – among other things – influenced by their views. Research showed that teachers' views play an important role in their teaching – as part of what is called Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) (Shulman, 1986). This concept brings together what teachers perceive as important content to teach and what classroom activities to use. Furthermore, it takes into account the teachers' knowledge about the curriculum, next to preconceptions and common areas of conceptual difficulty of students (Tuithof, 2017). How teachers use their personal PCK in their lesson designs in relation to a given narrative depends on their own epistemological assumptions concerning historical representations (Voet & De Wever, 2016; Wansink, Akkerman, & Wubbels, 2016). In addition, several researchers suggested that teachers who are well versed in historiography are more inclined to organize their teaching around the constructedness of history (Parkes, 2009; Yilmaz, 2008). Despite these findings, other research shows that there are discrepancies between history teachers' views and actual teaching (VanSledright & Limón, 2006; Voet & De Wever, 2016; Wansink et al. 2016). This raises the question, in what way is teaching multiperspectivity shaped by teachers' beliefs?

Research questions

This study aims to shed light on the role of the type of text (with multiple perspectives or not) in the lesson designs of teachers and their considerations for their design. The first research question is: to what extent do teachers include multiple perspectives in their lesson designs based upon a text that includes multiple perspectives compared to a text that hardly includes multiperspectivity? Our second question is: what are considerations of teachers for the lessons they designed?

Method

Eighteen history teachers were asked to individually design a lesson for upper secondary education based upon a provided text about the Dutch Revolt. Half of the group received a text with high multiperspectivity, the other half received a text with low multiperspectivity. The texts were randomly assigned. Subsequently, a semi-structured interview about their lesson design and their considerations was conducted.

Dutch context and participants

We recruited our participants using a professional media network (LinkedIn™). This resulted in the contributions of eighteen teachers (12 male and 6 female). The participants had no prior information of the research project and the goals of this study. All gave active consent for participating. We asked participating teachers to design a lesson for the upper levels of Higher General Secondary Education [HAVO, Hoger Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs], the intermediate track that prepares students for universities of applied sciences. In Dutch upper secondary

education, it is common practice that students read a paragraph in the textbook in preparation for the lesson, that the teacher elaborates upon the content of the paragraph in a presentation or whole-class discussion, and that students engage in one or more assignments in which they further investigate the topics in the text or apply the key concepts. The participants indicated that they used the following textbooks in their classroom: the textbook *Geschiedeniswerkplaats* [History Workshop] was used by 44% of the participants, followed by *Feniks* (28%) and *MeMo. Geschiedenis voor de Bovenbouw HAVO* [MeMO. History for upper level HAVO] (17%). In earlier research we found that the textbooks *MeMo* and *Geschiedenis Werklaats* are characterized by a low level of multiperspectivity (Kropman, Van Boxtel, & Van Drie, 2020).

The participants held jobs at schools in all parts of the Netherlands. Fifteen of them were fully qualified history teachers with an MA in teaching history and three had a BA in teaching history. None had special expertise on the topic of the Dutch Revolt. The teachers did not recently follow a post-graduate course on teaching history or history didactics. The teachers were not member of a professional learning community. Their general teaching experience in upper-level secondary education varied from less than a year to more than 15 years (M = 3.4, SD = 3.2). Teachers at the beginning of their careers were relatively overrepresented in our sample. One teacher came from a Turkish family background, and the others came from Dutch family backgrounds. Table 1 provides an overview of the background information of the participants.

Table 1. General background information about the participants, N = 18

Condition*	Name**	Interview, minutes	MA/BA	Graduation year	Specialization, century	Years of teaching	Experience upper levels, years	Location/ part of NL
HP	Caspar	64	MA	2011	19th/20th	8	7	regio / N
HP	Evert	69	MA	2012	20th	6	5	urban-regio /W
HP	Hugo	70	MA	2015	20th	1	none	urban /N
HP	Jaap	67	MA	2010	20th	12	10	regio /M
HP	Jelle	66	MA	2015	20th	3	2	regio /W
HP	Maher	65	BA	2018	none	7	5	urban /W
HP	Rafael	101	BA	2015	none	3	2	regio /W
HP	Simon	82	MA	2015	20th	3	3	urban /N
LP	Anouk	89	MA	2015	20th	4	none	regio /W
LP	Alma	90	MA	2008	19th	9	7	urban /S
LP	Celine	59	MA	2011	20th	23	7	regio /E
LP	Els	73	MA	2016	19th	2	2	urban /W
LP	Hans	50	MA	2016	20th	1	1	urban /S
LP	Hanne	86	MA	2018	20th	1	none	regio /M
LP	Linda	95	MA	2008	17th	10	8	regio /NW
LP	Nout	47	BA	2017	none	2	none	urban /S
LP	Roel	77	MA	2016	19th & 20th	2	1	regio /S
LP	Sam	80	BA	2016	20th	1	1	none /na

* HP: text with high multiperspectivity; LP: text with low multiperspectivity; **pseudonym

Materials and data collection

The history school textbook

Participants received either a text with low multiperspectivity or a text with high multiperspectivity that was especially written for students in the upper levels of HAVO (HAVO, 10th grade, ages 15 to 16). HAVO stands for the intermediate track preparing students for applied sciences universities.

We choose the Dutch Revolt as topic since it is a defining episode in the dominant narrative of Dutch history (Pollmann, 2009). This topic is part of the compulsory program in the upper levels of HAVO and is defined as 'the conflict in the Low Countries that resulted in the founding of a Dutch state' and is considered as especially salient to teaching multiperspectivity (Wansink et al., 2017).

Both texts were especially written for this research by the first author, who has over fifteen years of experience in writing history textbooks. (See Appendix A for the translated texts). The accessibility of the texts was inspired by the guidelines for teachers and syllabus designers who wish to establish text difficulty in selected texts for their students (Fulcher, 1997). The length of the texts was comparable (in Dutch 1306 words vs 1325 words). To contribute to the equivalency and ecological validity of the text, two focus groups – one of expert teachers and the other of novice teachers – were asked to comment on the content and level of the texts. Some minor revisions were necessary, such as the incorporation of headers for each section. Next, the readability was confirmed by an independent expert on Dutch language in education. Both texts were checked on-line to ensure that their technical difficulty and readability conformed to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) (Stichting Accessibility, 2019 June 19). Both texts were classified as level B2/C1. B2 indicates that the reader can understand the main ideas of a complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in their field of specialization, and C1 indicates that the student can understand a wide range of demanding, longer clauses and can recognize implicit meaning. The readability of the texts was additionally confirmed by running on-line the Flesch Reading Ease Level test and the Flesch Kincaid test on both translated texts (Flesh, 2019, retrieved 5th of June 2019). The multiple perspectivity text scored 57.4 in the Flesch Reading Ease Level test and 9.58 in the Flesch Kincaid test. scored 57.4. The low perspectivity text scored 54.08 in the Flesch Reading Ease Level test and 10.65 in the Flesch Kincaid test. The tests indicated that the texts were suitable for 15/17 year olds (9th and 10th graders) (Flesch, 1948; Kincaid, Fishburne, Rogers, & Chissom, 1975) which corresponds with the age group in upper levels HAVO.

The first text had high multiperspectivity (referred to as text HP) and included a larger variety of perspectives of historical actors, different scales, different dimensions and more explicitly referred to the perspectives of historians (historiography). At the level of historical actors, next to the internationally operating high-nobles, the roles of lower, non-noble women, soldiers on both sides of the conflict, citizens and peasants were included. The role of Catrijn van Leemput – a prominent female citizen of Utrecht – was described in the text. Economic and social dimensions were included. Political developments were more embedded in an international context. Historiographical perspectives were explicitly expressed by three historians to show that textbooks are part of the historiographical debate. For example, historian Parker (1977) emphasized the international dimensions of the conflict, whereas Van Nierop (1999) focused on chaotic regional and local dimensions and Els Kloek (2013) brought women's voice into the narrative framework.

The second text had low multiperspectivity (text LP) and presented fewer perspectives. It described the conflict from the perspective of William of Orange and his successors. The events followed the traditional narrative that is also present in existing Dutch school history texts (Kropman, Van Boxtel, & Van Drie, 2020). The conflict was presented as the result of the religiously inspired political and military deeds of individuals or collectives such as the Calvinists confined to the boundaries of the Low Countries. Margareth of Parm was presented as the

Governess of the Netherlands at that time. Social and economic dimensions were not incorporated in the text. No comparison with or references to international developments were made. The perspectives of historians and/or historiography were left out completely.

Designing lessons

Participants were asked to design one or two lessons for grade 10 students (aged 15 -16) of the upper track of secondary education HAVO. The task description indicated that students had followed lessons about the origins of the Reformation and the rise of the ideas of Luther and Calvin. No instructions were provided on how to use the text in their lesson design. Participants were asked to answer eleven questions, that guided them through the design process (Table 2). These were derived from the PCK model of history teachers (Tuithof, 2017) Some participants added additional materials, as lessons plans (3x), worksheets (3x), or digital presentations (2x), which were included in the analysis. The participants handed in their lesson designs by e-mail.

Table 2. Questions guiding the design process

1. What do you want students to learn about this topic?
2. Why is this important to them?
3. Describe your instruction.
4. What kind of difficulties do you expect your students to encounter?
5. What is your knowledge about your students that influences your approach teaching this topic?
6. Are there other factors that affect your approach to teaching this topic?
7. What kind of lesson activities would you use?
8. How much time do you expect to need to execute these activities?
9. Describe two or three key assignments.
10. What kind of materials would you use along with the text?
11. How do you assess the understanding of the topic by your students?

Interviews

After receiving the lesson designs, the first author interviewed the participating teachers face to face. In these semi-structured interviews, they were asked to clarify the objectives, teaching and learning activities, materials and assessments in their lesson designs; how their lesson designs aligned with students' understanding; how they would prepare themselves; and what kind of materials they recently studied about the topic of the Dutch Revolt. Furthermore, they were encouraged to share more about the educational context (e.g., the features of the class and/or curriculum) they had in mind when designing their lessons. At the end of the interview, we confronted each participant with the other text, which they had not seen before and asked to read through it and to reflect on whether they preferred the latter text or the one they had used for their lessons.

Analysis of lesson designs

The lesson designs were coded in a twofold manner. First, we binary coded all lesson designs on whether multiperspectivity occurred in different parts of the lessons: Aims, Instruction, Additional materials and Learning activities (See Table 3).

Table 3. Coding scheme for multiperspectivity related to Aims, Instruction, Additional materials and Learning activities

Category	Definition	Example
Aims	Includes aims related to multiple perspectives	Students realize that there are different points of view about the origins of the Dutch state in the 16th century.
Instruction	Explicit instructions on the presence of multiple perspectives	The teacher discusses multiple perspectives following up a question like "What if you were writing a Spanish textbook?"
Additional Materials	Materials presenting alternative perspectives	Providing sources materials representing opposing perspectives e.g. Ban edict of Philip and the Apology of William of orange
Learning activities	Engaging students in individual, group tasks or whole-class discussions that explicitly require the exploration of multiple perspectives	Discuss in duos a painting illustrating the antagonistic Catholic and Protestant points of view.

Table 4. Coding scheme for multiperspectivity of Agency, Scales, Dimensions, Historiography (historians' perspectives) and Students' perspectives

Category	Definition	Example
Agents	Addressing the perspectives of opposing agents.	The perspectives of protestant William of Orange opposed to catholic Philip II.
Geographical scale	Incorporating more than one scale of events or developments (local, regional, international).	"I pay also attention to the geography of *Heiligerlee* that is nearby our school." [The Battle of Heiligerlee (1568) is the traditional starting point of the Eighty Years' War]
Dimensions	Addressing more than one dimension.	How to categorize the causes of the Dutch Revolt/Eighty Years' War: centralization (politics), tax burden (economic) and persecution of heretics (religious)?
Historiography	Alternative narratives or the work of specific historians are explicitly referred	Offering articles present day interpretations of such as *Filips II (1527-1598) Katholieke technocrat*, an article based on the works of Geoff Parker.
Students' perspectives	Students are explicitly asked to formulate their own perspective on the Dutch revolt.	Debate with each other the claim: "The Dutch can be justifiably proud of their achievements against the Spaniards".

We coded how the Aims and Instruction contributed to enhancing the learning of multiperspectivity if aspects of perspectivity were explicitly mentioned in the participants' formulation of the lesson aims and clarified with proper examples. For example, that students realize what 'our' Dutch perspective is and what the Spanish perspective is by asking the students what they would do in case of writing a Spanish textbook. Added materials were scored as contributing to multiperspectivity if these materials presented another perspective than the perspective(s) provided in the text. The Learning activities were analyzed as contributing to multiperspectivity if the Learning activity explicitly addressed multiple perspectives. For example, a task wherein students were asked to compare perspectives. Second, we coded which type of perspectives appeared in the lesson designs: the perspectives of Agents, Scales, Dimensions, Historiography (historians' perspectives) and Students' perspectives (Table 4).

Actors were coded as contributing to multiperspectivity if the perspective of more than one Actor was incorporated in the lesson design when different agents were mentioned such as William of Orange and/or Philip II. We scrutinized the lesson designs on how the participants incorporated geographical scale and dimensions as constituting elements of a narrative. This includes events that illustrated a specific dimension such as a tax levy that highlighted the social-economic dimension besides the other dimensions mentioned. When a another scale was explicitly addressed, for example, local history next to the Netherlands as a geographical space, we coded multiperspectivity for Scale. Historiographic elements were coded as contributing to multiple perspectives when they explicitly referred to alternative narratives to the text provided or to the work of specific historians. Lastly, Student perspectives were coded when students were explicitly asked to formulate their own perspective on the Dutch revolt.

To improve reliability, all lesson designs were coded by the first author and a researcher with expertise in teaching history. Codes were compared and discussed until an agreement was reached. Most of the discussion was about historiography and it was decided that the proposed use of another textbook was considered a form of multiperspectivity regarding historiography.

A lesson design was labelled high on multiperspectivity if the lesson design met the following three requirements:

a. In their description of the aims and instruction of the lesson, the teacher explicitly mentioned looking at other or multiple perspectives. For example, "My goal is to make students understand that various historical figures can have a different perspective on the events of which they are part.";

b. In the designed lesson, the teacher paid attention to different dimensions or scale levels. For example, not only political developments are addressed in the lesson design but also religious and/or socioeconomic events and developments. For elements of scale a comparison could be made between countries such as "At the international level, I look in my classes at the relations between countries. For example, the centralization policy of Philip II compared to the response that takes place in the Netherlands."

c. In the designed lesson, the teacher paid attention to different interpretations of historians or brings in students' perspectives. For example, "after analyzing in depth historical cartoons (first in class and then in groups), the students will create a cartoon themselves." Or, the teacher will show a film from a Spanish cinematographer that explicitly envisions the Spanish perspective. We considered multiperspectivity on the level of historiography and student perspectives to be less obvious forms of multiperspectivity.

A lesson design was labelled as low on multiperspectivity if multiple perspectives were not explicitly mentioned in the description of the Aims and Instruction or if the teacher did not pay attention to one of the following forms of multiperspectivity in the designed lessons: dimensions, scale, historiography, or students' perspectives. All lesson designs – with the exception of one, contained the perspectives of multiple actors. Therefore, we restricted our evaluation to the three forms of multiperspectivity mentioned above.

The interviews were transcribed verbatim. A member check was carried out by the participants. They only offered minor corrections on date and spelling of their names. The interviews were summarized per question to analyze the differences and similarities between the participants and to relate their answers to their lesson designs. Furthermore, we categorized the considerations about the curriculum, the examination program and knowledge of preconceptions and common areas of difficulty for their students (Tuithof, 2017).

Findings

First, we present the results of the analysis of the lesson designs. Based upon this analysis, we identified four ways in which the lesson designs addressed multiple perspectives. Next, we discuss considerations of the participants related to their lesson designs.

Perspectives in lesson designs

Our first research question is about the extent to which teachers include forms of perspectivity in their lessons and whether these are different for one of the two texts. In both groups teachers included multiperspectivity on the level of historical agents, dimensions, scale, historiography, and students' perspectives. Most teachers except one (94.4 %) included multiperspectivity on the level of historical agents. 50% of the teachers (text HP 62.5%, text LP 40%) incorporated elements of scale. Perspectives related to different dimensions were more often incorporated in the lesson designs based upon text HP (75%) compared to text LP (40%). The historiographical perspective was included in 37.5% of the lesson designs of text HP users, compared to 10% of the design based upon text LP. Students' perspectives, however, were more present in the designs based upon text LP (30%), compared to 12.5% of the designs of text HP. Only four teachers included activities in which students were asked to verbalize their perspective.

Overall, the majority of the lesson designs included several perspectives in different parts of their lessons (see Table 5). All teachers used the text to inform the students about the Dutch Revolt. When comparing the lesson designs of teachers using text HP and text LP, we found that lesson designs based on text HP included more often multiple perspectives in Aims and Instructions (87.5% and 62.5% respectively) compared to designs based on text LP (60% and 40% respectively).

In sum, 22.2 % of all lesson designs met the criteria for high multiperspectivity and 77.8 % was labelled as low on multiperspectivity, as they did not include historiographical and/or student perspectives. Three lesson designs based upon text HP were labelled as high on multiperspectivity and one lesson design based on text LP.

Four variants of lesson designs

We can discern four variants in the form and degree of multiperspectivity. Variant A represents a lesson design with high multiperspectivity and is based upon text HP, variant B represents a lesson design with high multiperspectivity and is based upon text LP, variant C represents a lesson design with low multiperspectivity based upon text HP, and variant D represents a lesson design with low multiperspectivity and the text LP is used. We will illustrate each variant with an example. It thus appeared that both texts prompted lesson designs that had high and low multiperspectivity.

Table 5. The occurrence of multiple perspectives in parts of lesson designs and overall level of multiperspectivity.

Text*	Name **	Aims	Instruction	Materials	Learning activities	Perspectives					Level multipersp.
						Actors	Dimension	Scale	Historiography	Students' perspectives	
HP	Caspar	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		high
HP	Evert					x					low
HP	Hugo	x		x***	x	x	x	x			low
HP	Jaap	x	x			x	x		x		high
HP	Jelle	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	high
HP	Maher	x				x	x	x			low
HP	Rafael	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			low
HP	Simon	x	x			x					low
Subtotal % HP:		87.5	62.5	50.0	50.0	100	75	62.5	37.5	12.5	
LP	Anouk							x			low
LP	Alma			x	x	x	x	x			low
LP	Celine	x				x					low
LP	Els	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	high
LP	Hans				x	x					low
LP	Hanne	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			low
LP	Linda		x	x	x	x	x				low
LP	Nout	x				x					low
LP	Roel	x	x	x	x	x				x	low
LP	Sam	x		x	x	x				x	low
Subtotal % LP:		60	40	60	70	90	40	40	10	30	
Total %		72.2	50.0	55.5	61.1	94.4	55.5	50.0	22.2	22.2	

* HP: text with high multiperspectivity, and LP: text with low multiperspectivity. ‡pseudonym ***added after interview

Variant A: Text HP – Lesson designs with high multiperspectivity

As an example of this design, we describe the lessons designed by Jelle. In the Aims for the lessons, Jelle included 'What is "our" Dutch perspective and the Spanish perspective on the conflict?' He also mentioned as themes the leadership of Filip II and women's history.

His instruction and the accompanying learning activities focused on these three topics. Jelle suggested comparing modern Spanish school history textbooks with Dutch textbooks to highlight the existence of contrasting perspectives on the conflict. As a follow-up, he proposed a debate between two opposing parties in defending/attacking the statement 'Dutch people are rightfully proud of their performance against the Spaniards' to enhance the learning of perspectivity and positionality of the main actors. Another activity was an enquiry task about the dominance of men in history textbooks, with reference to Catrijn van Leemput, one of the local actors in the text. He suggested that students researched other 'forgotten' women in history and to present their results in the classroom.

Additional materials were provided for each theme, emphasizing a particular perspective. The different perspectives of actors were part of his lesson design where he brought Catrijn van Leemput to the forefront next to Filip II and William of Orange. Furthermore, he incorporated a different scale by paying attention to the whole empire of Filip II. Not only the political-military dimension was addressed, but also religious and gender specific dimensions. Students' perspectives were challenged by a task to change perspective as he formulated: 'What if you were writing a Spanish textbook.'

Typically, in this lesson design variant – using text HP – was that multiperspectivity is explicitly part of the Aims, Instruction, Student activities and Materials. Multiple perspectives of Agents are addressed and different dimensions, scales, historiography or students' perspectives are incorporated.

VariantB: Text LP – Lesson designs with high multiperspectivity

An example of this variant is the lesson designed by Els. Els argued that there are different historiographical views on the origins of the 'Dutch state'. She combined lecturing with open enquiry tasks in groups. With respect to Aims, she explicitly formulated in her introductory task that students should get acquainted with the concept of 'perspective'. Els spurred her students to explore the attitudes of the main characters regarding a series of given events wherein she emphasized the importance of the Dutch Revolt as the first episode in the development of an independent state/nation. Afterwards, the perspectives of the main actors involved in the same historical events were explicitly discussed.

The materials added were (fragments of) different kinds of sources, representing all kinds of perspectives and dimensions. However, her choice of materials was not only to emphasize the perspective given in the source material but was also intended to provide more factual information. She also offered the students historiographical materials (internet articles of historians) to clarify the perspectives of the main agents.

As learning activities, students were asked to discuss in duos a painting illustrating the antagonistic Catholic and Protestant points of view, followed by group work where the class was divided in two opposing groups representing the positions of Filip and William. Each group had to reconstruct how their main character would have acted given a prescribed series of events. Each member of the group had to do some research into the motives and responses of their assigned person, after which they had to reach conclusions as a group. Then, they had to defend their positions in a whole-class discussion.

In this variant of lesson design – using text LP – a wide variety of forms of multiperspectivity are addressed with respect to Aims, Instruction, Actor, Scale, Dimensions, Historiography and Students' perspectives.

Variant C: Text HP – Lesson designs with low multiperspectivity

An example of this variant is the lesson design of Simon. In the Aims, he stated that it is relevant for students to know the origins and the different factors that contributed to the independence of 'our country'. He deemed this relevant because these factors, such as the struggle for liberty, justice, and autonomy, are 'embedded in our DNA'.

In his instruction and accompanying learning activities, he introduced tasks that focus on generating an overview of chronologically ordered events, which is followed by a discussion in duos of the reasons why an event is included in the overview and what the possible consequences could be. After a short lecture, he would ask a compound question: 'Explain, by giving two reasons, why the struggle against Philip II hardened; give two consequences and the names of two persons who played a role in this struggle.' No additional materials were used. In his lesson design, a range of actors and events were presented as being 'important' to the development of the Dutch Revolt. The perspectives of the actors or the relative weight of the event were not further discussed. The conflict was strictly confined to the Low Countries without references to international aspects of the conflict. Only the political-military dimension was present in his lesson design.

Typical for these kinds of lesson designs are aims such as appropriating a chronological overview of events, including dates and the possible causes and consequences. The central dimension in the lesson designs is the political military dimension. Other dimensions are hardly taken into account. Additional materials (with other perspectives) are not provided. Historiography and students' perspectives are not part of the lesson designs.

Variant D: Text LP – Lesson designs with low multiperspectivity

An example of this variant is the lesson design of Celine. In her aims, she formulated that her students could explain the rules of Charles V and Filip II, the role of the Augsburg Settlement (1555) and the role of William of Orange in the origin of the Dutch Republic. In her lessons, she focused on the chronology of events of the Dutch Revolt. Students were asked to take notes during the lectures, after which they were given time to elaborate these notes and to use sources – such as the Ban edict of Philip and the Apology of William – in these notes. Celine used these sources to provide more content information and not to highlight different perspectives as was the case in variant C. Students were asked to make assignments to enhance their understanding of the historical substantive concepts. The dimension central in this lesson design was the political-military dimension.

Typical for these lesson designs are aims such as learning to acquire chronological knowledge about the Dutch Revolt and understanding the meaning of related historical substantive concepts. Taking and comparing notes, summarizing the text, and ordering events on a timeline are common activities in this variant. No attention is paid to historiography or students' perspectives.

Considerations of the teachers in their lesson designs

Our second question is related to the considerations of teachers for their lesson designs. During the interviews, we asked the participants to read the alternative text that they had not used for their lessons and had not seen before. They were asked which text they preferred for their own teaching practice and for what reasons. The results are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Text preference compared to used text

Used text Preferred text	HP	LP*
HP	3	5
LP	5	4

* Missing preference: Nout

Of the eight participants working with text HP, three preferred this text whereas five preferred text LP. Regarding the nine participants who used text LP, four preferred this text and five preferred text HP. So, in sum eight teachers preferred text HP and nine preferred the LP text. The majority of the participants both preferring the text HP and text LP argued that the exam program demanded too much reproduction of factual knowledge and that – particular to this topic – the allotted lesson time is too short to master the great amount of facts for a part of their students. Participants using text LP and preferring text HP indicated that text HP better fitted their ideas of what teaching historical reasoning entails. None of these participants argued that text HP was too difficult for their HAVO-students.

Specific to the preference of text LP two main reasons were given (both reasons mentioned 8 times). First, this LP text followed a more traditional narrative structure, with the more recognizable person of William of Orange as the main actor, which is better suited for HAVO students (8 times). Second, the LP text is less complicated and better suited for HAVO-students, given their presumed relatively lower cognitive capabilities compared to their fellow students following the pre-university track (VWO). This is illustrated by arguments such as poor vocabulary or reading ability of their students, abstract concepts and the complexity of political, economic or religious dimensions are difficult to learn for students HAVO, these students 'love structure' or have problems to relate their own contemporary perspective to the perspectives of the historical agents.

Conclusion and discussion

We examined the lessons teachers designed using either a text with more, or a text with less perspectives. Our first research question was where and how teachers include forms of perspectivity in their lessons based upon a text that contains multiperspectivity compared to a text low on multiperspectivity. We can conclude that almost all participants provided multiple perspectives on the level of historical actors; however, less on dimensions, scale, historiography, and students' perspectives. Both texts elicited lesson designs that reflected a high level of multiperspectivity and lesson designs that reflected a low level of multiperspectivity. Nevertheless, the results showed that the text with high multiperspectivity generated more multiperspectivity with respect to Aims and Instruction, Dimensions, Scale and Historiography than text LP. To confirm that texts with high multiperspectivity indeed generate lessons with more multiperspectivity, additional research is necessary. Lesson designs that contained more and different forms of perspectives may contribute to studying a more 'open' narrative of the Dutch Revolt, whereas lesson designs that had low multiperspectivity seemed to follow the traditional, 'closed' narrative. Despite the topic being suitable for teaching multiple perspectives (Wansink, et al., 2016), we did not find that this topic in itself inspires the design of lessons with multiple perspectives, as both using text HP and LP resulted in lessons that scored low on multiperspectivity. After all, only one participant using text LP incorporated different and more perspectives in her lesson design.

When confronted with the other text after they had designed their lessons, some of the participants realized that they preferred this alternative text. It seems that some participants were inclined to follow the texts that were available to them, while others preferred the other text. Although we found that the designs of teachers using the text HP included more perspectives of a particular kind, we found lesson designs with high and low multiperspectivity for both types of texts. These findings contradict a strict dependency of teachers on textbook information, as is stated by Foster (2011) and Wansink et al. (2016), or the authoritative status of textbooks, as argued by Stoddard (2010). How a given text is used, also depends on teachers' pedagogical content knowledge and beliefs about the subject.

Our second question was about the considerations of teachers when they are asked to design lessons given a history text that has high or low multiperspectivity. Our findings support theory about the important role of teachers' beliefs about the objectives of history education (Wansink et. al., 2016; Yilmaz, 2008). Teachers' considerations related to requirements of the curriculum and exam program, reflect different beliefs about the objectives of history teaching. Furthermore, we found considerations related to teachers' knowledge of preconceptions and common areas of conceptual difficulty of their students.

The same considerations play a role when participants were asked to justify their preference for the text with high or low multiperspectivity. Participants preferring text LP argued that this text was more suitable for their HAVO students, given their supposed difficulties learning the chronologically ordered events, poor vocabulary or reading abilities; difficulties relating their own, present perspective to the perspectives of historical agents; and difficulties with causal complexity. Additionally, these participants argued that text LP was more recognizable for their students in general. The assumed emphasis on the reproduction of factual knowledge in the exam program was a further consideration when preferring the text LP. However, the participants who preferred text HP argued that this text matched their ideas about teaching and learning historical reasoning. This finding is comparable to findings of Voet and De Wever (2016) with respect to views about teaching history in relation to contextual circumstances wherein sufficient time and the alleged student capabilities decide whether or not to engage students in historical enquiry. The interpretation of the exam program – either a focus on learning historical reasoning or acquiring a chronological overview of knowledge – seems decisive in the preference for one of the texts, as if these two elements of the exam program are necessarily excluding each other.

Our conclusion should be handled with care as we used a limited number of teachers, and one topic. Although we used an important topic in Dutch history other topics might yield other results. We analyzed lesson designs based upon two texts especially written for this research. One of the restrictions of the texts was the allotted number of words to expose the complexity of multiperspective history. Other texts or formats – for example, two contrasting narratives or a collection of sources – could yield other results. Furthermore, teachers were provided with one of the two texts that they had to use as participant in this study. A free choice of text could make our findings more robust because this would better fit their teaching preferences. Finally, further research is needed to investigate the inter-rater reliability of the coding of multiperspectivity in lesson designs using a Cohen's Kappa. In this study, lesson designs were coded by two researchers and codes were compared and discussed until an agreement was reached.

The teachers in this study had on average three years of teaching experience and teachers with relative limited experience (less than five years) were overrepresented in our sample, whereas in general, the majority of the upper level HAVO teachers are 45 years or older (Fontein, et al., 2016). The question raises whether a more representative sample, with more experienced teachers, would result in different findings. For example, would experienced teachers show more elements of interpretational history and multiperspectivity in their beliefs and in their classroom practices? Furthermore, we analyzed only lesson *designs* and did not analyze actual teaching practices, for example by observing lessons. Further research is thus needed to explore what teachers offer in their lessons to their students with respect to multiple perspectives. Future research could also take into account teachers' perceptions of their students' identities and background along lines of

race, ethnicity, gender, religion, or class (in addition to their being in the HAVO stream). Would they teach the Dutch Revolt differently to students coming from a multifarious cultural, ethnic, and social background compared to teaching it to students who come from families with a long history in the Netherlands? And if so, why? Although several teachers explained their choices regarding their lesson design making reference to the track students were taking (HAVO), their poor vocabulary and reading capabilities, teachers did not bring in students' identities and background as a factor. Hence, teachers' training and professionalization could benefit from more explicit attention being given to teaching multiperspectivity since it is certainly not self-evident to do so. For example, this may include developing and using learning activities wherein historiographical perspectives and students' perspectives are integrated and discussed. Finally, authors of textbooks could pay more attention to multiple perspectives, including historiographical perspectives, dimensions, scale, and gender specific perspectives.

Declaration of interests

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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About the Authors

Marc Kropman is a retired teacher educator and senior lecturer in history didactics at the Department of Child Development and Education of the University of Amsterdam. He was co-editor of one of the major Dutch history textbooks in upper levels of history education: MeMo. Geschiedenis voor de Tweede Fase (1998 - 2007) In August 2016 he started his PhD project entitled *Shifting Lenses. Multiperspectivity and narratives of the Dutch past in secondary history education* at the University of Amsterdam under the supervision of Carla van Boxtel and Jannet van Drie. He participated in the Dutch Centre for Social Studies Education.
Email: m.c.m.kropman@gmail.com

Carla van Boxtel is a professor of history education at the Research Institute of Child Development and Education and the Amsterdam School of Historical Studies of the University of Amsterdam. She provides leadership to the Dutch Centre for Social Studies Education (Landelijk Expertisecentrum Mens- en Maatschappijvakken). Her research focuses on the learning and teaching of history. She published on historical reasoning, the learning of historical concepts, heritage education and the potential of collaborative learning in small groups and whole-class discussions. She was co-editor of a much used history textbook series for secondary education (MeMo, geschiedenis voor de onderbouw).
Email: c.a.m.vanboxtel@uva.nl

Jannet van Drie is an associate professor and teacher educator at the Research Institute of Child Development and Education of the University of Amsterdam. Her main research focus is the learning and teaching of history. She is interested in historical reasoning, the role of interaction between students (groupwork), between the teacher and students (whole-class discussions), and in the role of domain-specific writing. Publications focus on themes such as effective (domain-specific) writing instruction, dialogic history teaching, and (aspects of) historical reasoning. Next to these research activities, She works as a teacher trainer in the Graduate School of Child Development and Education and she participate in the Dutch Centre for Social Studies. Together with Carla van Boxtel she developed a framework to conceptualize and analyze historical reasoning in the classroom (Van Boxtel, C. & van Drie, J. (2018). Historical Reasoning: Conceptualizations and Educational Applications. In: S. Metzger & L. Harris (Eds). *International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*. pp. 149-176. Wiley-Blackwell. Education.Email: j.p.vandrie@uva.nl

Appendix

Appendix A

Text HP (translated from the Dutch original) Philip II and the Low Countries

Philip II was the ruler of a great empire since 1555. He was sovereign of the Low Countries, lord of Castile and Aragon., Naples, Mexico and Peru. In his biography of Philip II Geoffrey Parker describes how Philip II governed his empire from the Escorial, his palace outside Madrid. The Escorial was built as a cloister. Even Philip's bedroom had a view on the main altar of the palaces church. The catholic altar inspired him in his exercising his power and solving the two main problems inside his immense empire. First he had to face an enormous money deficit, second he had to face political disturbances. The wars of his father Charles V against the French, the pope, the German lords and the Duke of Gelre in the Low Countries brought eerily close the bottom of the treasure. Trade and industry suffered severely from the many wars. Epidemics caused many victims. Crop failures caused rising food prices. This made that raise of taxes to solve the money deficit quickly spurred political and social disturbances.

The Turks and Philip II

Historians have pointed out that the biggest problems to Philip arose from outside his empire. It was Geoffrey Parker who argued that the power of Philip was threatened by the Turks in the region surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. Philip needed all his troops and ships to withstand the Turkish threat. Added to this was that news out his empire took sometimes days or weeks to reach him in Madrid. On top of that Philip wanted to take all important decisions by himself in his empire. This had as a consequence a thorough centralization of government. The movement of troops from one end of his empire to the other took very much time. Money deficit, the Turkish threat, slow communication and restricted military means made it therefore Philip difficult to act decisive when there arouse troubles elsewhere in his empire.

Crisis in the Low Countries

It was bad timing when in the Low Countries a serious crisis came to the surface that resulted in a prolonged state of civil war. This crisis had several causes. First Lutheran and above all Calvinist religious ideas were widely spread. Philips father Charles V had acted severely against these. But local governors took more and more a lenient position towards the adherents of these religions. The harsh way wherein Philip acted against these – in his eyes – heretics was begging for trouble. Second, the inhabitants of the Low Countries agreed all on one subject namely that the provinces should mind their own business. Topics that concerned all provinces should be taken care of by the nobles who had been doing this from way back and not by officials put in charge by Philip. Although none of these noblemen were Calvinists, still they felt irritated by Philips style of government. Philip wanted to continue the persecution of the heretics and did not want to concede. The situation grew worse when became apparent that the nobility called for mitigation of the measures against the heresy. When also members of the high nobility amongst them William of Orange, refused to obey to the orders of the King, Margret of Parma – the deputy of Philip in the Low Countries – could do nothing other than to agree with the demands of the noblemen. This opened the floodgates.

Iconoclasm

During the early summer sermons took place everywhere in the open field, whereupon in Western Flanders on the 10th of August 1566 all statues in the Catholic churches were smashed to smithereens. The Iconoclasm was a fact. A complete revolt against the king seemed to be set in motion. Now Philip decided to intervene by force. Compared to the years before the situation had improved to Philip. The Turks had withdrawn their Mediterranean fleet, the sultan had died whereby insurgencies occurred throughout the Turkish empire and above all a treasure fleet from America had arrived in Spain which replenished the treasure box. Philip II could focus himself by now on the situation in the Low Countries. He himself stayed in Spain, but he sent his most valued commander in chief with an army ten thousand men strong from Italy to the Low Countries.

Dog eat dog. Alva and Orange

And so the Duke d' Alba arrived in Bruxelles in the early Spring of 1567 to the house in order. Alva took immediately strong measures against all who were under the suspicion of rebellion or heresy. Over thousand protestant believers were sentenced to death, another ample 10.000 banished. The most important leaders like William of Orange swerved to Germany. A prolonged struggle for power in the Low Countries followed. It became a civil war between supporters of William of Orange and the troops of Philip. To peasants and commoners it was not always clear which side deserved their support. To Philip it was one battle of many for the sake of the Holy Roman creed. To William of Orange and his supporters it was a struggle for the sake of their belief, but certainly also to mind their own business in the Low Countries.

Poor People

In the mean while the population suffered from all military operations. The historian Van Nierop describes that one day the locals were sieged by Spanish troops, another day they had to give quarters to the soldiers under command of William of Orange. And what to think of those areas that became inundated to prevent that Spanish troops could invade Leiden, for example? Or of the soldiers of Orange who lived of the country and plundered the farmers? Soldiers from both sides had to wait and see if they were paid their wages.

The Spaniards chased away from Utrecht

When it arrived that Philip II was again in financial trouble and his troops did not received their wages for over two and half years they mutinied and plundered Antwerp. Philip was not able to prevent that the provinces under the leadership of William of Orange united against Philip's

troops. The provinces concluded the Pacification of Ghendt, a treaty by which the Spanish troops would leva the Low Countries. That departure was not gone easy as may be seen from the events in Utrecht. For a long time Utrecht has been on the side of the Spaniards. Spanish mercenaries helped these feelings to continue. They refused to leave the city with their wives and children after the Pacification of Ghendt. This to the great annoyance of the townsmen of Utrecht who already three years paid for the maintenance of the mercenaries. The mercenaries took refuge inside the towns castle Vredenburgh and even aimed their guns at the town and fired at townsmen of Utrecht. An exchange of shots took place. At the end the mercenaries and their families left the town.

With mop and pick-axe

The Spaniards just left or disagreement arose in town. Some were Afraid that the castle would be occupied soon enough by foreign mercenaries. The citizens wanted to demolish the castle as soon as possible while members of the States of Utrecht hesitated on this. Historian Els Kloek described the role of the Utrecht's woman Catrijn (Trijn) Leemput in these events. On the 2nd of May 1577 the Utrechts townspeople under the guidance of Catrijn van Leemput decided to demolish the castle by themselves. Catrijn leaded a group of women under the banner picturing a mop. She was the first person who started to break stones from the borough. Soon other citizens followed and the walls were grounded with axes, hammers and pickaxes. By this feat Utrecht became definitively into the hands of the supporters of Orange.

Act of Abjuration

At the end the resistance of war tired citizens as Catrijn and of the faith fanatic Calvinists under the leadership of William of Orange resulted in the proclamation of the Act of Abjuration by which the Low Countries declared themselves independent. Of course the support of mighty allies such as the English queen Elisabeth and the Turkish sultan Selim II was also helpful in this. The conflict dragged on until 1648 when also the Spanish king acknowledged the independence of the Low Countries.

Appendix B

Text LP (translated from the Dutch original) The King and the Prince. Philip II and William of Orange

On the 10th of July William of Orange died as result of attack on his life by a spy in Spanish service, Balthasar Gerards. William would just have uttered Lord Almighty have mercy to my soul and my poor People. And with that the life ended of a man who was the indisputable leader of the battle of the Calvinists in the Low Countries against the Spanish catholic overlords. Soon he was regarded as "the father of the fatherland".

William of Orange inherited a great fortune and the noble title of Prince of Orange when he was very young (1544). He was raised in a family that centered around the Lutheran beliefs in matters of religion. But he spent most of the time at the catholic court of Charles V in Bruxelles during his youth. In those years William became the loyal supporter of the emperor. Charles V pursued to centralize governmental institutions and to impose regular taxation and to eradicate any form of deviation of the catholic faith. After a long period of strife this question of faith ended in an understanding whereby the ruler of a region determined what his underlings might believe. The subjects of a catholic sovereign were compulsory catholic, those of a protestant sovereign compulsory protestant. In the Low Countries this meant that any form of Protestantism was forbidden. Just to participate in an open air rally where was preached against the pope and the Holy Roman church, could give cause to arrest and trial on heresy.

Beggars

Philip II continued the rule of his father Charles V. He pushed through the centralization of the governmental institutions at the cost of the jurisdiction of the nobility in matters of government. On top of that he demanded that the heresy of Calvinism would be eradicated. As a consequence on New Year's Eve 1564 William of Orange held a speech on the poor state of the country. Harshly he raised two questions. First, he demanded that foreigners would be expelled from the government of the Low Countries. Second, he distanced himself from the religious persecution and said: "Although I am of Roman Faith, I cannot condone that sovereigns wish to reign over the conscience of theirs subjects." This was the moment of the split between Philip II and William of Orange, a rift that could not be repaired and gradually became wider.

Radical Calvinists had returned from exile to the Low Countries in the early summer of 1566. In the meanwhile the lower nobility filed a request with Regent Margret of Parma (the highest representative of Philip II in the Low Countries) to mitigate the persecution of the heretics. This request was denied and the noblemen were called mockingly Gueux, French for beggars. Soon the adversaries of Philip II used this as an honorific title 'geuzen'. When also members of the high nobility amongst them William of Orange, refused to obey to the orders of the King, Margret of Parma could do nothing other than to agree with the demands of the noble men and the persecution of the protestants became less vigorous.

Iconoclasm

After a series of radical sermons in the open field a storm of iconoclasm broke out in Steenvoorde (Flanders) on the 10th of August 1566. This opened the floodgates. Margret could do not otherwise than to comply to the demands of the iconoclasts and little by little there was peace again. William himself helped to restore the peace. He putted three iconoclasts on trial in Antwerp, but at the same time he allowed Calvinist worship. Therefore, to him it was freedom of religious worship, not of disorder.

Nevertheless Margret was of the opinion that she had to concede to the Calvinists under duress. As soon as it was slightly possible she acted with force against the heretics in spring 1567. She demanded an oath of fealty to king Philip II from the high nobility (including William of Orange). William of Orange refused and foresaw this was an attempt of the king to condemn him as the leader of troubles. William of Orange deemed it better safe than sorry and fled to Germany. With that Philip seemed to be in control again in the Low Countries. The moderate policies of William had failed although he was still of the opinion that Protestants and Catholics could live in peace together. Philip sent the Duke d'Alba to make short work with the Calvinist heresies. Over thousand protestant believers were sentenced to death, another ample 10.000 banished. On top of that Alba tried to raise the taxes in order to be able to pay his troops. It might be that the peace was restored, but underground the resistance was brewing.

William, prince of Orange

William has been up to that moment the leader of a small group of high noblemen who kept a keen eye on their traditional liberties. By now he became more and more the campaigner for religious forbearance and political independence. In his capacity of prince of Orange he had gained an international standing as a diplomat who negotiated with the European sovereigns on an equal footing. At the same time he gained a lot of devotion amongst his supporters of peasants and commoners whereas he took into account that the great majority of the population was Catholic. Until he heard of his spies that Philip found that Margret was too soft and that he had send his most important commander in chief d'Alba with a Spanish army of ten thousand men strong to the Low Countries, he decided to engage in armed combat with Filip. William of Orange had the right to raise troops and to sign letters of marque on his own behalf as a prince of Orange. The latter meant that with these letters a see captain and his crew had the right to attack enemy vessels.

In the following years especially these privateers proved to be successful, more so than the mercenaries hired by William of Orange.

Sea Beggars in Den Briel

In this manner these privateers or 'Sea Beggars' as they have been called could get hold on Den Briel at the Maas. This way they controlled the waterways of Holland. When this became known Calvinists seized power in several towns of Holland and Zealand, such as Leiden and Alkmaar. Soon after William of Orange was accepted as their stadtholder by the provinces of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht. Stadtholder means in other words the deputy of the king, therefore in this case of Philip. A harsh battle for every town in these provinces ensued. Step by step the abyss between William and Philip grew wider. Even when was decided in the Pacification of Ghendt (1576) that the Spanish troops would leave the country, the negotiated freedom of religion raised again new problems and conflict. The Calvinists gained freedom of religion also in the regions where they were not in power. But they were not willing to allow freedom of religion to the Catholics in Holland and Zealand. Opposing this Philip stood his ground on restoration of the authority of the Holy Roman church. In short, the problems continued.

Act of Abjuration

During the following years the antagonism between Philip and William grew and grew and the battle over the Low Countries was enforced by any means. Philip decided to ban the prince, putted a price on his head and accused of being an adulterer, drunkard, atheist and above all someone whose was only chasing his own ambitions. William defended himself and called the king every name under the sun. In the end the conflict resulted in a definitive break up when in 1581 the Act of Abjuration was accepted whereby the Low Countries declared independence of Philip. Nevertheless the battle over the Low Countries dragged on until in 1648 also the Spanish king acknowledged the independence of the Low Countries.

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Story education: Assessing history education in light of narrative therapy

Lucas-Frederik Garske
Freie Universität Berlin / Universität Göttingen, Germany

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the obstructive dimension of specific declarative knowledge on historical thinking. Through considering the anthropological and social-psychological functions of stories, the author identifies potential difficulties individuals may face when trying to decipher, understand, and evaluate particular stories, as intended by historical thinking. By comparing the incapacity to cope with complex historic narratives with the effects of trauma, the paper discusses how approaches in narrative psychotherapy may add interesting insights to the domain of history education. The paper concludes that selection of declarative knowledge needs to be critically reviewed from a pathological perspective if historical thinking is set to be one of the main functions of history education.

KEYWORDS

History education, Historical thinking, Narrative therapy, Michael White.

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Teaching stories: *Conflicting ambitions*

In his pioneering work on historical thinking, Sam Wineburg described traditional history instruction as a form of information dissemination: "Students might master an agreed-upon narrative, but they lacked any way of evaluating it, of deciding whether it, or any other narrative, was compelling or true" (Wineburg, 2001, p. 41). By comparison, modern history instruction focuses on the form of knowledge where students are encouraged to think like a historian; that is, to learn a set of skills which allow them to reason and reflect upon stories of past events, the historiographical process, and its methodology (Wineburg, 2001; Levesque, 2009; Seixas & Morton 2013, Seixas 2017). There is a long-standing consensus between historians and educators that instruction in these skills should go hand in hand with the instruction of declarative knowledge about the past, the res gestae, and correspondent conceptualizations (Lee, 1983; Brophy & VanSledright, 1997; Counsell, 2000; Wineburg, 2001; Barton & Levstik, 2008; Carretero, et al., 2013; Hasberg, 2013). Studies have repeatedly shown, however, that despite efforts to teach historical thinking, students have difficulty understanding the constructivist notion of history (Martens, 2009; Schönemann, et. al., 2011). There is also some indication that the conveyance of declarative knowledge obstructs the formation of a constructivist perspective on history (Hammack 2011; Carretero, et al., 2012). This raises questions about the persistence of traditional instruction and calls for a deeper look into the functionality of stories about the past in order to identify the challenges that still exist with teaching and learning historical thinking.

In the first part of the paper, I elaborate on the objectifying power of (hi)stories and discuss how the inability to self-reliantly reflect on a given story of the past marks a pathological dimension of narratives. In the second part of the paper, I explore potential challenges to thinking critically about complex and unrelated stories and compare these challenges to similar problems in narrative psychotherapy. Finally, I explain how the theoretical approach of narrative therapy provides insights to assess the performance of history education on a programmatic level.

Enchanting: *A story about the power of narration*

Stories are ubiquitous and concern all forms of human communication, as Barthes (1975) has famously pointed out. It comes as no surprise, that there is a diverse academic interest in stories and their potential to shape social structures. Particularly in the context of prose, the relation to power often comes across as a feature rather than a problem. In these cases, the *power* (Forna 2017; Sanders 1997) or even "magic of stories" (Strong & North, 1996) serves as a means of empowerment. A graphical example is Emily Dickinson's poem "There is no frigate like a book", in which Dickinson describes stories as vehicles "[t]o take us lands away" (Dickinson, 1998, pp. 1116). Demanding appeals such as "go, get lost in a novel" (Gottschall, 2012, p. 199) rely on this romantic ideal of literature as a medium to extend the horizon of experience. Likewise, using the metaphor of traveling, social psychology describes losing oneself in symbolic contexts as transportation, where the *traveller*

> (…) goes some distance from his or her world of origin which makes some aspects of the world of origin inaccessible and returns to the world of origin, somewhat changed by the journey. (Gerrig, 1993, pp. 10–11)

Stories are significant tools that shape realities. Phenomena such as the hype of long-awaited sequels or *binge-watching*, graphically demonstrate the power which dwells within, or becomes expressed by, stories. These metaphors of physical force bluntly express how fiction and fact interrelate: stories can enchant us, captivate us, and eventually, as Dickinson writes, carry us away. They do not just represent a different world into which we dive, but also sites where we – intentionally or unintentionally – lose control.

A mystery tour without control of the vehicle as in Dickinson's poem may encourage both escapist joy and existential fear. Thus, let us take a close look at the specific circumstances under which transportation takes place, to assess the ramifications of getting lost in a story.

Humans feel emotions when reading, listening, or watching a story, even if they do not consider the presentation to be factual (Gerrig, 1993). This emotional reaction demonstrates the close connection between fiction and physical experience. Different studies attest that the process of transportation comes with a loss of time-awareness as well as a loss of awareness of the surrounding world in general (Green & Brock, 2000; Jennet, et al., 2008). The more we devote ourselves to a specific story, the more we lose the awareness of its aesthetic form – and vice versa. (Gerrig, 1993; Appell & Richter, 2007)

Given that traditional philosophy of consciousness dropped the subject-object-relation over the course of the linguistic turn (Bachmann-Medick, 2006), we can apply these findings to histories – stories which are considered to represent the past. Humanists commonly accept the idea of a socially constructed reality that is independent of our own volition, an acceptance addressed in the publication of Berger and Luckmann (1967). From this perspective, human reality only exists as a symbolic form, as an apparent or virtual reality (Nusselder, 2014).

Still, we do not need to reject the distinction between reality and virtuality entirely. Instead, we can analytically distinguish the way subjects relate to narratives of considered facts: The more a subject is capable and willing to reflect upon the aesthetic form of the narrative, the less (s)he is prone to get lost in it. Once a subject is unable or unwilling to consider the aesthetic form, (s)he follows the narrative without taking note of the form. Mieke Bal explains this effect by the example of Scheherazade, who entraps the Persian king in an endless fairy tale to prevent him from killing her. Tangled up in Scheherazade's stories, the emperor forgets his original intentions and eventually discards the idea to kill her entirely (Bal, 2009). Interestingly, the same loss of context pertains to us – likewise listeners of Scheherazade – who tend to remember the story of Aladdin, Sindbad or Ali Baba but rarely the plot of the actual story – the fairy tale of One Thousand and One Nights, a story about the power of narration.

We can assume that the enchanting power of narration relies not only on the will of the reader/listener, but also on the complexity of the aesthetic form (Neitzel & Nohr, 2006). The potential of stories to influence behaviour calls for a deeper look at the pragmatism of storytelling. A side glance to anthropology indicates that the human interest in stories may be a result of a compensatory function. As neuropsychologists argue, humans experience a fundamental struggle for orientation and use stories to provide coherence in hindsight (Grawe, 2004). In this sense, Hans Blumenberg asserts that humans narrate stories as a matter of diversion – to amuse ("*Zeitvertreib"*) or to divert from existential fear ("*Vertreibung von Furcht"*) (Blumenberg, 2011, pp. 40–41).

We can often observe this kind of escapism in the way small children interact with narrations: on the one hand they have an ability to hear and read stories over and over again and to identify even small deviations; on the other hand they are often unable to deal with open story ends and have the impetus to complete them, sometimes with highly creative plots. We can think of this *luxuriant imagination* as a tool to deal with the absence of sense (Nusselder, 2014), a means of defence in a struggle of self-affirmation or, as Sendak puts it, a "struggle to make themselves King of All Wild Things" (Cott, 1976). This anthropological effect has been described by sociologist Erich Fromm in the context of educational theory: During the process of individuation the subject is faced with the scary responsibility to orientate and find confidence (Fromm, 1941). As Fromm writes, the perceived inability to create coherence on its own leads the subject to an escape towards conformity and authority – (s)he becomes the object of the story.

This idea reveals both the political dimension of narratives (Gadinger, et al., 2014) and the parallels to psychotraumatic effects where individuals turn "into symptoms of a story, which they are unable to retain" (Caruth, 2000, p. 86). Harald Weilnböck, who explored the narratological dimension of trauma, stressed that the forced confrontation with the incomprehensible and ungraspable – that which cannot be couched in understandable terms – leads to a substantial discontinuity of a previously coherent narrative identity and turns into a trauma that is the "presence of an uncompleted narrative process gone astray" (Weilnböck, 2005, p. 2). Healing the trauma is therefore technically a literacy skill that allows the subject to turn from object to author

of his/her story – a striking link to historical thinking (Seixas, et. al., 2000), which is also considered a literacy skill to construct meaningful accounts of the past.

Traumatizing: *The pathological dimension of histories in educational contexts*

Of course, we must not equate any incapacity to create senseful historic narratives with specific forms of traumatization. Still, we can use the political or even pathological perspective to critically review narration. As Frank Ankersmit writes, "there is an indissoluble link between history and the miseries and the horrors of the past" because history results from a "kind of traumatic collective experience" (Ankersmit, 2002, p. 76). From Ankersmit's view, historical narrations show past reality as a steady development traversed by grief and relief, of action and reaction. The narration of traumatic events in social contexts are specific to the traumatic event, yet the retelling itself can lead to secondary traumatization.

At least in the German context, the concept of *trauma* was widely adopted in the humanities, particularly around the millennium in several publications (Bronfen, et al., 1999; Rüsen, & Straub, 1998; Baer, 2000). Authors such as Aleida Assmann (1999), Manfred Weinberg (1999) and Michael Roth (1998) appraised the preservative function of traumas as a vital or stabilizing (Assmann, 1999) function and show a genuine interest to prove the "incurability" (Weinberg, 1999).

From this stance, authors such as Roth (1998, p. 173) assess the narrative reproduction of traumatic events as a potential "to write against oblivion", even though the desired effect clearly represents a form of secondary traumatization. Contrary to psychoanalytical approaches, which are more interested in reconciling, Roth's perspective asserts that the imminent threat does not emanate from the trauma itself, but from the narration which ultimately leads to recovery and integration into everyday discourse (Roth, 1998, p. 172). In this light commemorative storytelling appears as some sort of *trauma management* that does not intend to question the particular meaning given by the narrative, but to conserve the trauma. This highlights the ambivalent function of stories as vehicles of submission as well as tools to structure and organize meaning. Moreover, it questions the reasoning when bringing up certain stories in educational contexts.

In history education the need for orientation has occasionally been considered an argument for the primacy of content conveyance over the conveyance of skills (Garske, 2017a). Among many scholars there is a declared, yet rarely proven consensus that students have a kind of innate interest in history (Borries, 2001). Some historians such as Buck have gone so far as to claim that students are "no young historians and certainly no researchers", who first and foremost look for orientation in the present (Buck, 2005, p. 7), prioritize knowing who they are and where they come from. From this point of view, historical thinking is possible only after students possess a *solid* basic knowledge of certain stories.

Empirical studies such as the work of Matthias Martens (2009) appear to support the thesis that the vast majority of students are over-challenged with the scientific notion of *history* as a construct. Instead of conceiving this problem as a lack of basic knowledge, however, we should focus on the lack of methodological practice in history education. Much in this sense, Martens calls for "an explicit conveyance of basic epistemological correlations" and a "more intensive and critical engagement with representations and interpretations of history" (Martens, 2009, pp. 338-339). Similarly, Wineburg has shown that students repeatedly failed to distinguish source documents from secondary information, which he interprets as a lack of education on the production of stories (cf. Leinhardt & Ravi, 2008).

Yet, the problem could be even more deeply rooted in the act of selecting the material itself, the introduction of previously unrelated stories in the classroom provides coherence and orientation in relation to a specific discourse of society. It also restricts the questions that students can, should, and have to be asked, as well as the scope of answers. Borries (2001) has pointed out that the assumption of a genuine interest in history among secondary students strikingly lacks an

empirical basis – at least with regard to unrelated subject matter. Quite the contrary, he states that interest in content that is "imposed" upon students is an illusion, and as such is counter-productive for historical learning.

The lacking ability to relate to declarative knowledge, as predefined by history curricula, limits the scope of proficient interaction: educational media such as textbooks as well as instructors, often provide students with abbreviated or even summarized historiographic narratives, thereby supposedly compensating for the lack of relation between specialist knowledge and learning subjects. These *assisting narratives* to complex narrations of the past (Garske, 2015) put things into place: *source material* is processedin a way that students are *able to understand*. Layout and illustration in textbooks suggest a certain reading and an authored (hi)storyline eliminates metadiscourse (Wineburg, 2001). Critical discussions on source material are introduced, for example, by juxtaposing contradicting historical statements or highlighting relevant aspects.

In summary, it seems likely that specialist narratives which students are unable to understand either cause them to reject the information or to cultivate subjection to the story. Both outcomes obstruct the process of learning how to think historically. It also suggests that rather than increasing the ability to think historically, assisting narratives to complex narrations of the past potentially facilitate escapist behaviour and the cluster of symptoms which keep people from coming to terms with traumatic events. Given this connection, I will next examine approaches in narrative therapy and discuss how they may give us ways to reckon with the enchanting dimension of stories.

Breaking the spell: *Re-authoring history*

Academic discussions of the relationship between therapy and education can be traced back to the 1980s and have repeatedly led to disputes about the conceptual distinction and parallels (Ludewig, 1987; Böhm, 1997). Proponents of linking educational and therapeutical research predominantly originated in modern counselling approaches, such as art and narrative therapy (Hörmann, 1988; Schön, 1989; Hyland, 2011). In the following section I will stress the similar intentions of education and therapy to empower individuals to deal with uncertainty and contingency. In this context, the crucial challenge of teaching how to think historically appears to lie in the (in)ability of students to deal with narratives they are unfamiliar with. Given the tradition to predefine a set of stories in school curricula, history educators cannot easily focus on skill-based learning and thereby freely select stories that fit the students' needs.

As Fromm asserts, it is not the task of education to overcome the fear [of contingency], but to teach how to *come to term*s with it by strengthening the ability of the individual to face his/her fears and to prepare for the existential challenge (cf. Berg-Wenzel, 1987). In the 1980s several works in the field of history education applied psychoanalysis and the relevance of emotional conditions to history education (cf. Schulz-Hageleit 1982; Knigge 1988). The discussion of counselling approaches in this context is, however, fairly uncommon. Given the diversity of therapeutic approaches, I relate therapy and education as general heuristic and focus on narrative approaches in systemic therapy.

Narrative therapy, a postmodern counselling method, influenced by the work of Ervin Goffman and Clifford Geertz and strongly related to the work of Michael White and David Epston (White & Epston, 1989; White, 1995; 2007; Tarragona 2008), focuses on the relationship between narrative practice and the opening up of *identity conclusions*. White assumes that identity conclusions developed in the course of trauma are compromised by the status of truth assigned to them due to the subject's inability to challenge the narrative (White, 2001) These stories, which White – following Geertz – refers to as *thin conclusions*, "contribute to a strong sense of one's life being held in suspense" (White, 2001, p. 3). White and Epston (1989) believe that the *suspension* of the affected individuals traces back to their inability to make sense of traumatic events on their own, which is why they fall into *thin conclusions*, causing them to accept their own trauma narrative as

genuine and immutable and – as described above – eventually become the symptom or object of the narrative.

Since the contradictions and restrictions of these *thin conclusions* are subconscious and not directly accessible to the affected person, White (2001) proposes a narrative externalisation of the conclusions. This way clients may deal with them as symbolic – thus observable – artefacts and identify subtle cracks and fault lines, instead of treating them as incontestable. This process ideally initiates a transition from the passive *listening* to thin conclusions to the authoring of thick descriptions. White refers to this process as "re-authoring" (White, 2001, p. 5).

White (2001) points out that it is a common misunderstanding to conceive of thick descriptions as more correct, authentic, or intrinsic accounts. Quite the contrary, he stresses that the reification of narratives entails substantial risks for the counselling process. *First* and foremost, naturalistic representations lead to the reproduction of a holistic perspective on the world. *Second*, this kind of essentialist thinking contributes to the objectification of narratives, causing pathological effects. *Third,* and related to that, essentialist thinking marginalises otherness and reduces curiosity for alternative perspectives (White, 2001).

Although it may seem reasonable to provide people who are unable to create coherence with a professionally adjusted thick description, White (2001) cautions that this will not increase the independence of the client but rather contribute to a life lived thinly. Meanwhile, re-authoring does not lead to a random narrative: it aims at uncovering selectiveness and construction of (common) sense. By doing so, new possibilities arise to redefine and dispute meaning in conversation with others. The therapy does not intend to cast out the *irrational* or contradictory elements that may arise, but to empower clients to self-reliantly make sense of them and by so doing, thwart their dominating presence (White, 2001).

Here, we need to consider a crucial difference between therapy and education: the former concerns the narrative identity of the client, whereas in educational contexts we deal with an identity constructed meta-historically by the curriculum. Nonetheless, the comparison indicates that when students confront stories which they are unable to make sense of, their capacity to *do history* independently declines. It also provides us with some clues about how the educational setting could be improved. White's counselling approach is particularly fruitful when creating a productive relationship between declarative and strategic knowledge (Garske, 2017a) and the role of the instructor:

First, White asserts the legitimacy of declarative knowledge in the counselling process. Narrative therapy is not interested in deconstructing or negating facts. However, the method also does not seek to correct *wrong* accounts. Instead, it starts with the externalized conceptual knowledge of the client. By working with the knowledge of the client, the method aims at empowering him/her to re-author narratives which have been accepted only because of a lack of alternatives. *Second*, during the therapeutic process the client is encouraged to develop narratives, in which (s)he may come to terms with events of the past, but also to build a recognition of the mutability of narratives (White, 1990). This way, the therapy prevents the client working with merely *better* knowledge in the end (White, 1990). *Third*, critical and meaningful events are not introduced by, but developed in dialogue with the counsellor, whose activity is strictly guided by the interest in the client developing an independent stance. *Finally and ideally,* the therapy does not only teach clients a strategy to re-author stories about a specific critical event, but also conveys general skills how to approach and avoid thin conclusions. At the end of a successful therapy the individual will have internalised the methodological approach and is able to apply it to other occasions.

In narrative therapy, declarative knowledge remains important, however – unlike history education that is based on a curriculum of pre-selected historical narratives – not as a representation of truth, but as a narrative artifact. Students may have a innate interest in history based on their own incapacity of developing a narrative of who they are. The pre-selection of narratives, however, does not address this interest. It is rather a by-product of society's interest in enabling students to participate in (a particular) society. While in the corpus of pre-selected

narratives there is, of course, plenty of material that might be used to empower students to think historically, the primal principle of selection is rather a measure of obstruction. So, why don't we just discard pre-selected narratives from the curriculum and give educators the necessary leeway to teach students how to think historically with whatever historical account that fits the need?

It is a quite common defence to insist on the need for declarative knowledge whenever there is a call to foster strategic skills to deal with narrations of the past (Garske, 2017a). There is no question that from an abstract perspective, historical learning is impossible without historical accounts. As I have noted elsewhere, we must not confuse the necessity of historical accounts in class with the master narratives that are commonly demanded by school curricula (Garske, 2017b, pp. 127–129). In fact, these narratives are in many cases overly complex and usually only accessible courtesy of context narratives, as I have argued above. Other narratives are more prolific when it comes to the above-mentioned learning objectives: Students do not join classrooms as *blank slates*, they already know and reproduce historical narrations, regardless of whether we consider these narrations to be *correct* or *plausible*. They ask questions about their lives and why events developed in a specific manner. These narratives provide links to subsequent stories of personal interest – rich material to practice historical thinking (Mandell & Malone, 2008).

A direct relation to personal experience and interest allows students to engage with the material independently instead of being reliant on context or master narratives. They can re-author stories as experts. Instead of merely simulating the process of making sense of the past (see, for example, Garske 2017b, p. 128), they can create expert narratives themselves and work through the challenges of creating a commonly accepted story of reality. As students create stories, question sources and wrestle with what to omit or feature in a story (Garske & Müller, 2014), they produce what White (2001) refers to as externalization: an artifact that allows for a better understanding of how we construct meaning and – by doing so – not only improve their skills in writing history but also in assessing the historical constructions of others.

A counsellor, a teacher, or more generally, the educational medium, ceases to manage specialist knowledge when students produce their own stories. The teacher becomes a moderator or coach who provides students with the necessary space and tools to work on stories. They are also an observer who anticipates the sensitivities of students when dealing with meaningful stories. For instance, educational media may use individual externalizations of collective experiences such as school trips or dramatic events to demonstrate, discuss, and analyse processes of inclusion and exclusion, as well as of judgement and attribution. As Holt and Wolf (1995) put it, students' misconceptions of history must be explored, not ignored – not just in academia, but – more importantly – in the classroom. We need students to become journalists and historiographers first and foremost, to enable them to fill in the gaps in the curriculum and the narratives that societies constantly develop of themselves.

Re-authoring does not have to rely only on personal experience. The limitations that come with the acquisition of knowledge can also be addressed by any historical account that is meaningful to students (Garske 2017a). Beginning with students' questions and the urge to *explain* present conditions, narratives that exist in society may give more than plain answers but also generate more questions about the meaning and relevance of certain stories. This approach to history education is challenging, because while the demand for knowledge acquisition is rather low, both educators and students, must reflect upon stories that affect them in a personal way. Particularly for educators this involves the need to handle sensitivities that may emerge in the process of researching and writing self-authored stories.

Résumé. *Re-authoring as Didactic Strategy in History Education*

In this paper, I highlighted the objectifying power of stories and how the inability to approach stories effectively can be problematic, particularly when it comes to educational contexts. I argued that it becomes increasingly difficult for readers and/or listeners to reflect competently upon a

story the less able they are to conceive its aesthetic form. This can easily be the case with historical narratives, which often come across as the distillate of the past, formed by expert knowledge.

I compared these circumstances to trauma narratives, where the affected person turns into the symptom/object of the story. Being prompted yet unable to evaluate and construct narratives of past events, individuals become dependent on assisting narratives and – by doing so – cultivate the idea of their own incapacity to make sense on their own. As with history, the reliance on a certain narrative in a trauma situation causes the experience of the narrative to be genuine or objective. The paper argued that this problem poses a threat to the educational mandate since it leads to authoritative narratives rather than critical thinking.

The success of a therapy highly depends on the gravity/complexity of the trauma narrative. It is not at all uncommon that therapies fail, independent of the commitment of both counsellor and client. Likewise, I have suggested that the failure of many students in learning how to think historically is the fault of neither the student nor the teacher, but originates to a large part in the narratives they have to deal with. In this sense, the use of highly abstracted expert narratives as the basis for learning historical thinking seems unreasonable. In the past decades several models to evaluate the acquisition of competences in history education have been proposed (see, for example, Barricelli, Gautschi, & Körber, 2012, in the German context). We should not only use these models to evaluate the performance of students in class, but also to question the particular use of declarative knowledge.

In this paper, I discussed the systemic implications of using declarative knowledge that students cannot necessarily grasp. While many scholars and educators discuss the viability of competence-oriented approaches in opposition to approaches that focus on declarative or substantial historical knowledge, the approach chosen in this article suggests that there is no substantial conflict between both forms of knowledge: the actual conflict rests in the quality of the declarative knowledge and its particular suitability for students, a quality measured by the ability to exercise the required competence.

Of course, the need to focus on students when developing teaching concepts is not at all a new finding, but rather a pedagogical consensus that has roots in the educational reforms of the 20th century. *Schülerorientierung* [student-oriented pedagogy], understood as an approach that considers the interests, needs and suppositions of students (i.e. Dehne 2006, p. 159), is a broadly accepted theoretical principle – but how does this principle fit with the preselection of historical narratives?

The occasional failure of competence-oriented approaches is not a matter of their sophisticated nature, the lack of substantial knowledge or the mental capacity of students. We could argue that *Schulerorientierung* tends to fail whenever it cannot be applied effectively. Educators would need to give up on the prescribed narratives and select declarative knowledge based exclusively on students' interests, needs and beliefs.

Theory aside, can we expect a turn toward student-oriented skills instruction to become a reality? Is this not just scientific discourse far removed from practical requirements? Public response to approaches that critically review or attempt to change content-dominated curricula suggest that there are strong proponents for a subject that focuses on tradition and values (compare Garske, 2017b; Demantowsky, 2016). The subjection to a certain narrative also has a political dimension as it fosters the weaving of strong social fabric. This has been and can be the purpose of education - we cannot measure the purpose scientifically, for it is a political decision. However, we can assert, based on the reasoning of this paper, that the idea of reconciling the teaching of historical thinking with the preselection of historical material is problematic at best and compromising at worst.

If we assume a fundamental conflict between the approaches – teaching historical thinking and selecting narratives as required by society – educational reforms that try to reconcile these two approaches will fail at a certain level. Instead, we need to consider these as two different subjects: history education and story education. A subject that selects declarative knowledge because of its value and relevance to society on the one hand, and on the other hand a subject that selects

declarative knowledge because of its potential to develop narrative and analytical abilities as well as critical media literacy.

It may not (yet) be the time for a radical change in hi/story education, but it is well the time to sound out in what way the method of selecting historical narratives contributes to the failure or success of competences that we intend students to develop.

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Historical thinking and family historians: Renovating the house of history?

Emma Shaw
University of Newcastle, Australia

ABSTRACT

Family history research, as a multi-billion-dollar industry, is one of the most popular pastimes in the world with millions of enthusiasts worldwide. Anecdotally regarded by some in the academy as being non-traditional, family historians are changing the historiographic landscape through the proliferation and dissemination of their familial narratives across multiple media platforms. Learning to master the necessary research methodologies to undertake historical work is a pedagogic practice, but for many family historians this occurs on the fringe of formal education settings in an act of public pedagogy. As large producers of the past, there have been many important studies into the research practices of family historians, where family historians have been shown to draw upon the research methodologies of professional historians. Paradoxically, little attention has been paid to how these large producers of historical knowledge think historically. This paper reports on interview findings from a recent Australian study into the historical thinking of family historians. Drawing on Peter Seixas' (2011) historical thinking concepts as a heuristic lens, this research finds that some family historians, despite being largely untrained in historical research methodologies (Shaw, 2018), display the theoretical nuances of the history discipline in (re)constructing and disseminating their familial pasts.

KEYWORDS

Family historians, Historical thinking, Substantive history, Procedural history, Public pedagogy

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The proliferation of micro and family histories

Metaphorically, history in the broadest sense might be thought of as a house with many rooms. Different groups inhabit the various quarters, including local and community historians, genealogists, specialist museum practitioners, makers of historical films and public historians. Some of these people inhabit more than one room while many make occasional visits to other parts of the house. And all of the rooms have internal divisions. Some residents, however - notably academic historians - see themselves as occupying the principal room. Indeed many from the academy insist they are in possession of the house. But several of the residents are a little restless… (Ashton & Hamilton, 2010, p. 8)

The shift from grand to micro history has been visible within history scholarship for many years, and recent historiographic trends suggest that some historians are "less interested in the great dramas of power that held the attention of earlier generations than in small evocative details that illuminate ordinary lives and common experience" (Phillips, 2004, p. 99). Micro history, or *history from below*, is the democratisation of historical interest "to include groups other than the historical elites" (Wilson, 2005, p. 85). It allows for an intensive investigation of historical "cases, persons and circumstances [providing] a completely different picture of the past from the investigations about nations, states, or social groupings" (Magnússon &Szijártó, 2013, p. 5) and considers the explorations of communities, families, or individual persons. Concerned with marginalised voices and the "finely textured details of everyday life" (Paul, 2018, p. 64), micro historical narratives present a perspective of the past that would not be possible within the confines of the grand narrative (Magnússon, 2017).

More recently, micro historical narratives have experienced a historiographic surge in accessibility, popularity and consumer interest (Torpey, 2004; Cannadine, 2004; Ashton & Hamilton, 2010; Marselis, 2008; de Groot, 2009; Kramer, 2011b). Arguably, this historiographic surge can be attributed to the proliferation of history within popular culture and public spaces, in addition to the increasing democratisation of historical records. Access to archival information has been buoyed by technological advances (de Groot, 2015) which is shifting the historical landscape as "the past is consumed on a grand scale" (Clark, 2016, p. 1). As Meg Foster (2014) notes, these technological advances "means that history is reaching and interacting with the public like never before" (p. 8). Consequentially, this has resulted in the non-academic, the non-trained, and the amateur to engage with history in unprecedented ways. To borrow Ashton and Hamilton's (2010) words, many individuals are "doing history for themselves" (p. 7), and nowhere is this more visible than within the family history industry.

Family history research is one of the most popular pastimes in the world and was declared an "epidemic" (Ashton & Hamilton, 2010, p. 29) more than a decade ago with no signs of abating. Touted as the second-most accessed website genre worldwide (Basu, 2007; Barnwell, 2019), the billion-dollar family history industry is a lucrative enterprise for large genealogical companies as millions of individuals seek to explore and recreate their ancestral pasts. Tanya Evans and Anna Clark (2017) describe the popularity of family history as a "historical paradox" emphasising that "the search into local and familial pasts is a decidedly international practice" (p. 167).

Another paradox surrounding family history research is that it is predominantly self-taught (Shaw, 2018). Learning to do family history research is a pedagogic enterprise whereby historical research skills are learned and mastered, but these skills are rarely learned and mastered within traditional education domains such as schools or universities. Indeed, this study found that 72% of individuals surveyed (n=1406) were initially self-taught through a process of trial and error. This underscores family history as an act of public pedagogy, where learning occurs across diverse sites such as homes, libraries, archives, and repositories using an array of different modalities, as history research methodologies are developed and honed mostly without the guidance of formal educators. Of significance, this research finds that more than sixty per cent of family historians surveyed (n=1406) intended to publish their personal family research findings for public consumption across multiple media platforms. Many already had (Shaw, 2018). This has obvious ramifications for the broader house of history, for it must be asked:

1. Do people consuming, repackaging, and producing the past think historically?
2. And what does this mean for history as a discipline?

This paper responds to these research questions and reports on findings of a recent Australian study into the historical thinking of family historians. It provides a significant contribution to the established international conversation around historical thinking and historical understanding. While much of this conversation borders the development of this in school students (see, in particular, Barton, 1996; Lee, 1983, 2004, 2005; Lee & Ashby, 2000, 2001; Levesque, 2005, 2008; Seixas, 2011; Seixas & Peck, 2004; Wineburg, 2001, 2005), there has been little attention paid to how adults, engaged in historical research and producing history in public spaces, think historically.

Disciplinary practices and historical understandings

In history education, to think historically can be understood as a fusion of both an ability to understand and identify how historical knowledge has been constructed, and the capacity to contextualise historical events, people and facts (Lévesque, 2008). Peter Lee (1983), in his seminal work, proposed an effective way in which disciplinary history can be conceptualised by outlining two interdependent types of historical knowledge: substantive history and procedural history. Substantive history refers to what he has labelled first-order historical concepts: historical data, places, events, and persons. Such concepts "are part of the substance or 'content' of history" (Lee & Shemilt, 2003, p. 14), effectively, the doing of history. There have been many important studies into the substantive research practices of family historians (Duff & Johnson, 2003; Lambert, 2002, 2006; Nash, 2002; Yakel, 2004; Kramer, 2011a; Darby & Clough, 2013), in which most family historians were found to be "records experts, and knowledgeable about the time periods and geographic areas of their study" (Duff & Johnson, 2003, p. 94). Yet to understand the history discipline as a whole, Lee (1983) stressed the importance of drawing on procedural history, or second-order historical concepts, in conjunction with substantive history when undertaking historical inquiry. As a point of difference to other studies in this field, the purpose of this research is to identify if family historians utilise second-order historical concepts in their research practices.

According to Lee and Shemilt (2003), second-order concepts "give shape to the discipline of history…they are higher-order organizing concepts that guide historian's work on the substance of history" (p.14). It is the second-order concepts that drive the construction of historical interpretations, and Lee (2006) has argued that "the main objective of historical thinking is to enable the individual to make meta-historical analyses of historical narratives" (p. 135). As such, a familiarity with these meta-historical or procedural concepts allows consumers and re-constructors of history, such as family historians,

> to understand the nature of historical accounts, the distinction between the past and history, the use of evidence, and the relationship between objectivity, interpretation and criteria to determine the validity of historical interpretations. (Gosselin, 2012, p. 32)

Indeed, procedural concepts are "central to the discipline of history itself" as they support and structure our ideas about "the nature and status of *historical accounts, evidence, understanding* and *explanation, time* and *change* frame the way in which we make sense of the past" (Lee, 2004, p. 131, emphasis in original). In his important work on historical thinking in school students, Canadian history education scholar Peter Seixas (2006) emphasised that second-order concepts "underlie all of our attempts at coming to terms with the past and its implications for decisions in the present" (p. 19). Represented as primary source evidence, historical significance, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspective, and the ethical dimension, these second-order concepts were drawn upon as the analytic frame of this research to identify the historical thinking of the family historians studied.

Research purpose and design

As a neglected area of scholarly investigation, the purpose of this research was to identify evidence of historical thinking in the sample population, and to provide baseline data about the historical thinking of family historians. To do this, Peter Sexias' (2011) historical thinking concepts were used as a heuristic to aid the interpretation of how these family historians, predominantly formally un-trained in historical research methodologies, demonstrated understanding of the cognitive nuances of the history discipline.

This study utilised a tri-phase research design. Recruitment of the sample population for the research was via four Facebook groups, and an email invitation to 280 family and local history societies in Australia. Initial data were collected from a large-scale survey (n=1406) which provided insights into the demographics, research practices, motivations, and historical activities of practicing family historians. The second phase of the study was 11 semi-structured interviews with volunteers recruited from the survey, which form the focus of this paper. As a large number of survey respondents indicated a willingness to be interviewed (n=941), it was decided that the selection of interview participants be purposive and representative of the demographic data collected in the survey (see Table 1). Of these 11 participants, eight were women, and three were men, which represented the gender disparity of the survey (76% to 24% respectively). The participants were highly educated, spent a varied amount of time on their family history research, and most belonged to a historical society, which also replicated the demographic data of the survey. Many had not studied history in formal contexts except high school (a temporal lapse of nearly forty years for many), and importantly, more than half indicated an intent to publish their research findings for popular consumption (61%). These last two criteria were especially considered, as they underscored some of the complexities of this research. Most interviewees had not been formally trained in historical research methodologies but were actively involved in (re)producing the past for public consumption. The only factor which was not closely representative of the demographic data collected in the survey was the age of the interviewees. Here, the average age is 59, where in the survey it was 54. The third phase of the study was the development of three case studies which analysed the published family histories of the interview participants. Table one below is a tabulated demographic overview of the interview participants.

Table 1. Demographic data of interview participants

Name* *pseudonym*	**Gender**	**Age**	**Highest level of education**	**Contexts history has been studied**	**Year research was commenced**	**Hours per week?**	**Historical society?**	**Publish or distribute?**
Jane	female	41	Postgraduate coursework	-school -university	2000	20	yes	yes
George	male	74	Postgraduate coursework	-never studied	1970s + 2002	30+	yes	yes
Claire	female	69	Postgraduate coursework	-school	1984	20+	yes	yes
Sue	female	44	Bachelor degree	-school	2011	6	yes	no
Matthew	male	76	TAFE certificate	-school	2000	5	yes	yes
Wendy	female	68	Postgraduate coursework	-school -university	2001	10+	yes	yes
Dianne	female	61	Postgraduate coursework	-school -university	1990	30	no	no
Lucy	female	25	Postgraduate coursework	-school	2005	5	no	no
Margaret	female	70	Diploma/ certificate	-school	2000	2-20	yes	no
Christine	female	71	PhD	-school -university	1995	0-40+	yes	yes
John	male	46	Bachelor degree	-school	1980s + 2013	1-40+	yes	yes

The interviews were semi-structured and informal, and an interview protocol (Creswell, 2012; Creswell & Creswell, 2018) was developed so each interviewee could be asked similar questions. These were based on motivations for the undertaking of research, attestations of research methodologies and practices, and personal impact/s and understandings of the research. Other questions were spontaneous and reactive to the revelation/s of the participant. As such, a fusion of structured questions and the unstructured narratives disclosed by the participant propelled the interview process (Creswell, 2012; Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

The coding mechanisms followed those suggested by Creswell and Creswell (2018). The interview data were transcribed, and each was initially read individually. Evidence of each historical thinking concept (Seixas, 2011) was noted, and then the evidence from all participants were then collated into separate word documents, one for each of the concepts. The interviews were coded thematically against the broad description of each historical thinking concept, and alignment to individual guideposts (Seixas & Morton, 2013) were noted where applicable.

Findings and discussion

Primary source evidence

Engaging with historical evidence as a procedural concept speaks to the location, selection, interpretation, and contextualisation of primary sources. As Seixas (2006) explains, "reading a source for *evidence* demands different strategies than reading a source for *information*" (p. 5), and as Barton (2005) reminds us, multiple sources must be consulted in any pursuit of historical knowledge. The interview data revealed a strong emphasis on primary source evidence, as each individual spoke of the importance of source verification and corroboration to substantiate their findings. When asked if they confirmed the accuracy of the sources they use, Jane spoke of initialising source verification with the development of a source profile. She stated that,

> you've got to look at when was it generated, who generated it, were there any agendas, are you looking at an original or a transcription, all those sorts of things, you've got to look at the context of how the document was created, why it was created, all that sort of stuff.

Others spoke of "the sort of triangulation idea that if you've got two sources which are fairly reputable, then that's the way you can generate some kind of confidence you've got the right answer" (George). Claire too spoke of triangulation as she explained that she tries "to build up a picture of the person's life and see how it fits together…and usually you can find where the discrepancy is". Matthew spoke of "cross-referencing" and argued that "even if you get a certificate from registries, there can be mistakes. You can find those by cross-referencing other things to confirm that the information that you've got, is in fact correct. In a lot of cases, this is just to make sure your records are as accurate as possible."

All interviewees emphasised the need for numerous sources in the substantiation of evidence, and all spoke of the need to verify the sources they used. This formed a large component of their epistemological beliefs about primary evidence, and as Jane claimed, "it actually hurts my soul a little bit when I read unreferenced stuff". Matthew argued that,

> it is important to not only double check this stuff, but also record exactly where you get the information from so that if somebody challenges you in the future, you can go back and say, 'no, no, that information's not right, this is the information I've got, and this is where I came from'.

All interview participants revealed flexibility in locating the sources they used, and as Jane rather strongly claimed, "there's a lot of experiential knowledge probably more than academic training for a lot of family historians". Whilst she admitted there is "not a lot of structure around record finding…not that sort of journal focus or that publication focus you get in professional

historiography," all interviewees nonetheless revealed they used a multitude of sources in their research practices.

Historical significance

Historical significance can be viewed as a "relationship between the events and people of the past, but also those events and people to us, in the present, who are doing the historical thinking" (Seixas & Peck, 2004, p. 111). It is recognised if an event, person, or development resulted in change and was consequential for many people over a long period of time. Historical significance is constructed, in that is has "to occupy a meaningful place in a narrative" (Seixas & Morton, 2013, p. 12), and it varies over time and between groups. Interestingly, historical significance was the most complexly manifested in the data, which was often more abstract and speculative than has been defined here. It was much more intrinsic and personalised in the family history context, and often blurred the lines between what can be considered an historically significant event and what was deemed significant by the interviewee.

Unsurprisingly, any reference to historical significance was strongly connected to micro-historical narratives. For example, Jane explained that "the guy that designed the Sydney Harbour Bridge was important, but it wouldn't have happened of it wasn't for the riggers and the riveters and the various people that actually put the bloody thing together." For Dianne, her family history research led to an understanding of significant historical events as she explained that she did not,

> have a full comprehension of how the convicts system works. So I do copious amounts of reading on NSW and The Convict Ships. Like it's all very well to say that someone received a ticket of leave but the rules changed in those years, and you have to work out now where does this slot in in the historical advancement or changing of the rules and regulations.

Christine, however, had a slightly different perspective. She sought to amplify social history with her familial narrative as she claimed that she "thought, really, this is more than one family, this should be made available to everybody because it's part of our social history." George, too, shared this view as he explained that "the more I found out about the [name] family, the more I realised that within the history of South Australia, he was virtually unknown, and I thought, hang on, he needs to be known." In this respect, both Christine and George bestowed significance on their familial histories as important contributions to social history more broadly.

Diverting from historical significance as it has been defined, many of the participants spoke of the significance of family history research itself. Sue argued that through family history research, significance is returned to "things that are normally lost." She continued by explaining that through the personalisation of historical events permitted through family history research, connection to, and meaning of, wider historical events ensued. She stated:

> So, I think as a student at school or if I'd have had some personal interaction or response to the history I was learning…like World War One, if I knew my great uncle was there…I'd learn so much more about World War One history than just sitting there reading it out of a textbook or listening to the teacher. You've got to make it personal.

While Sue's explanation of the significance of family history research does not strictly align to Seixas' (2011) description, it is clear that for Sue, this respective and intimate familial connection did occupy "a meaningful place in a narrative" (Seixas & Morton, 2013, p. 12), in this instance a World War. Indeed, for many interviewees, the significance of their family history research was larger than the family itself as they sought to contextualise their findings within the wider historical landscape. As George explained, "to find information and to have material which actually supports the notion of the family itself, and its place in society" was the significance of his research, and Wendy, describing her written publications for her local historical society, told that "I've been able to use family history to fill in a few of those blanks."

Cause and consequence

Seixas and Morton (2013), when writing of cause and consequence, ask: "Why do events happen, and what are their impacts?" (p. 102). When defining the concept of cause and consequence, historian Richard Evans (1997) explains that,

> it is obvious what a cause is; we can have necessary causes (if A had not happened, then B could not have happened) and sufficient causes (A was happening enough to make B happen). Within the first category at least we can have a hierarchy of causes, absolute causes (if A had not happened, then B could definitely not have happened) and relative causes (if A had not happened then B probably could not have happened). (p. 157)

Naturally, any change is multifaceted and driven by a diverse range of consequences that "create a complex web of interrelated short-term and long-term causes and consequences" (Seixas & Morton, 2013, p. 102). In this research, the concept of cause and consequence was well understood by the interviewees. They recognised the causes and consequences of events in the past, and many made reference to the consequences of their family history research in the present. Many participants spoke of the importance of context, that is, they sought to comprehend the impact/s of past events within their historical time-period. This is exemplified by Jane who said "then there was this cluster of deaths, so okay, was there some sort of disease outbreak? So trying to put it in context of not just they died, but why did they die?" Claire also revealed an understanding of cause and consequence as she explored migratory push-pull factors ("like in Germany, why did they leave Germany? They left because the conditions were very poor in that particular time"). Here, they communicated an understanding that certain events of significance in the past had repercussions which would ripple through subsequent generations.

For some participants, the act of family history research has consequentially changed them in some way. Dianne told of her altered outlook on life claiming: "I look at things differently now", and Christine explained "It's really opened my eyes, it's actually changed my view of myself as an Australian." For Wendy, her knowledge and understanding of historical accounts was altered, as she explained, "broadening my knowledge would be the one thing, as far as history goes, you know, general history, Australian history…it's taken me from a narrow view of history to a much broader view of history, and looking at individual stories."

For some, their family history research in the present led to an understanding of historical events and the motivations of historical actors in the past. As Margaret explained,

> There's certain little traits that come through. Stories that have come down where there's been hardness and hurt and not talking about it. It makes sense then as to why, what that pain was and why that pain was. Why those secrets, why the closed door, why that wasn't spoken about.

Here Margaret refers to uncovering familial silences and a realisation of knowing the cause of traumatic events in the past, and why they may have been concealed, resulted in the consequence of understanding in the present. For all participants, by understanding and contextualising the causes and consequences of events in the past, they were able to articulate the consequences of family history research in the present.

Historical perspective

Historical perspective is drawing inferences about the thoughts and actions of the people in the past. It acknowledges that they lived in different circumstances, interpreted the world through a different ideological lens, and that they had diverse experiences to people in the present. As such, the concept of historical perspective demands contextualisation, as this is the most effective manner in which historical actors can be understood (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Also present here is the notion of historical empathy (Ashby & Lee, 1987), in which individuals attempt to see and

understand the actions and motivations of people in the past, and Seixas and Peck (2004) warn that this must be supported with evidence. Devoid of evidence, historical empathy is unattainable, and presentism, in which current beliefs and values are fused to the actions and motivations of the people of the past, is likely to occur (Seixas & Peck, 2004; Seixas & Morton, 2013). Claiming historical empathy "lies at the core of historical inquiry" (Foster, 2001, p. 175), Yilmaz (2007) defines historical empathy as "the ability to see and judge the past in its own terms by trying to understand the mentality, frames of reference, beliefs, values, intentions, and actions of historical agents using a variety of historical evidence" (p. 331).

The concept of historical perspective was manifest in all participant interviews, and its representations were complex. Some participants revealed historical perspective as the necessary acquisition of historical knowledge and stressed the importance of context. As Jane explained, "You have to put them in the context of the bigger picture of the society in which they were living, and then obviously you need to have that broader historical knowledge." Margaret agreed, and said that "we've tried to put what's happened to the family in the context of the history that we know it. Australia's history." Dianne argued that "it means nothing without the context," and Claire agreed, stating that "you've gotta look at them in context, and you've gotta look at the bigger picture." Personal context was also important here and revealed how the past impacted directly on the participant as a result of their gaining an historical perspective. This was typified by Margaret who claimed "I think I've always had a strong sense of who I am. Because of knowing that history. The family history, it's given me an idea of placement in history. Like, my family's placement in history."

Historical perspective and context were further used as a means of explanation. In particular, the context of past events assisted in providing a perspective in the present of why ancestors behaved the way they did. Lucy revealed "…he was from a very poor Irish family and he used to walk to school barefoot and so it sort of gives you an impression of why he might have become a hardened person, because of his upbringing and the way he was treated." To Lucy, understanding the perspectives of the people of the past, helped to make sense of and explain their actions in both the past and the present. Claire and Margaret also contextualised the information they had uncovered to help explain the actions and motivations of their ancestors. As Claire explained, "I try to make sense of, for example, if they moved house, why did they move house? What were the motivations? What was the climate of the times in terms of the politics and financial situation, and so on and so on." Margaret agreed, and said, "so it's by knowing that, you know what was happening to your ancestors and why they move, and why they had to move. And why they were doing the things that they were doing. To make sense of their story".

This, then, speaks to historical perspective as a means for understanding the people of the past. Sue said that "I try to understand what their life was like. I try to find people that have got photographs of them or if not the copy of their signature, all that sort of, just little things." This illuminates the importance of micro-biographical details such as photographs in family history research, as it is through the combination of such details that a perception of the individual of the past is revealed. Margaret too took this view, but further explained that "I think, I guess it's like, it teaches you to walk in their shoes… you have a deeper appreciation of what people have gone through." Continuing, she underscored social class stratifications within Australian convict history as she explained,

> When the convicts came out, it was very rare, and even a lot of the certificates of their children, they wouldn't put their own father's or mother's names on the birth certificates, or marriages that they did themselves. Because of their convict past, they were hiding it. Look at the conditions people were living in. Look at what was actually happening, even politically. How people just really didn't have a voice. They were just, you know, they just belonged to people, even if they thought they were free, they still belonged to people in some way.

Margaret's example of historical perspective here is sophisticated in its understanding. She demonstrated knowledge of historical accounts and understood how some historical actors

reacted to their circumstances. In this quote, she articulates an awareness of the "convict stain" (see, in particular, Lambert, 2006, p. 115), and an understanding of the restrictions in the lives of the people of the past.

Continuing the complexities of how historical perspective was represented in the data was how the participants viewed the past itself. It is important to note that three of the participants attempted to repudiate contentious historical events of the past through their present-day perspectives, thus illuminating a sense of historical distance. It is significant that all examples of this historical distancing concerned the colonisation/invasion of Australia and expressed a rejection of established historical discourses of dispossession, class structures, and racism. This is typified by Christine who distanced her ancestor (and thus herself) from an act of dispossession by rationalising:

> And in terms of my great-grandfather's cattle property, that was a squatter's property that was subdivided and then people bought it from the government. So he wasn't involved in actually taking over, somebody had already. And there are records of him being quite generous to Aboriginal people. So I don't think that's an issue that I've had to face in nastiness in that side of things.

Continuity and change

Vella (2011) believes that to understand the concept of continuity and change, the notion of change must be understood "as a process rather than an event" (p. 16). Seixas and Morton (2013) agree and explain that, "turning points are moments when the process of change shifts in direction or pace" (p.74). Seixas and Peck (2004) argue that personal exposure to historical change is relevant to the understanding of the concept, as is one's historical time-period. Drawing on the notion of progress and decline, Seixas and Morton (2013) explain that "progress for one people may be decline for another" (p. 74) and argue that grouping events or developments into distinct historical periods can assist in understanding the complexities of the concept.

The participants' understanding of continuity and change was strong especially with regard to shifting historiographic discourses and historical representations more broadly. As Jane explained, "it's not so much that the history's changed, it's the way people *look* at the history that's changed". Lucy too spoke of historiographic discourse, but in a different way. She lamented the invisibility of women in older historical accounts claiming: "it does disappoint me when I can't find out anything about some of my female convicts, because they're as much of my history as the men". Speaking about public World War One memorials, Jane explained,

> When they were first being established in the first five to seven years after, say up until 1923, a lot of them weren't called war memorials, they were called soldiers memorials, and then you had this change to where they started to be called war memorials. And so I'm really interested in looking at that nexus of what prompted that change.

Participants also revealed evidence of continuity and change through their explanations of societal customs, tropes, and norms. John explained "a lot of bad things happened back then and you've got to realise that the values we have now, aren't the values that were around at the time". About marriage practices, Matthew said that "these days you don't bother to get married, you just have kids. Back in those days it was considered essential that you did marry your spouse, but a lot of them were so called premature babies, because they were born six months after the couple married."

For some, change and continuity was evidenced using examples of an intrinsic nature. That is, all examples related directly to the participant's perception of the past and their personal research practices. Sue reported a change in how she has learned about history, claiming "at school I never liked history or anything, but…I've learnt more about history in the last four years than the forty before that." Christine, too, spoke of a change in how she understood the historical past, and explained,

> I think the thing that's changed is my understanding of the value of history over time as I've watched things from different perspectives, and it's changed me, so I presume it changes other people, and certainly circumstances have changed; something that wasn't acceptable twenty years ago isn't anymore, possibly. Or something might become acceptable that wasn't before.

The ethical dimension

Sometimes referred to as moral judgement, ethical judgement is "understanding historical actors as agents who faced decisions, sometimes individually, sometimes collectively, which had ethical consequences" (Seixas & Peck, 2004, p.113). Stressing an empathetic necessity of understanding the "differences between our moral universe and theirs", Seixas and Peck (2004, p. 113) simultaneously acknowledge the imperative need to contextualise the actions and motivations of the people of the past as products of their historical time-period. Seixas and Morton (2013) warn of the importance of avoiding presentism, and that one must "be cautious about imposing contemporary standards of right and wrong on the past" (p. 184). As such, ethical judgement was well-represented in the data. All participants were asked if they had ever intentionally left anyone off their tree due to negative information, and all answered they had not. As Lucy explained,

> Never left anyone off my tree, no. You know, warts and all approach I think…I don't agree with excluding someone from your family tree because I disagree with them, because there's plenty of people in your life that you disagree with, even in day-to-day life. So I don't think that's a useful exercise because it's a selective view of your family history. Really, like silencing parts of the tree, I think.

Claire echoed this sentiment, as she said "I wouldn't leave anyone out, I don't think that's right" and Christine told that "I haven't found anybody who's committed a horrific murder or anything, and if I did I would put them on because it's part of the, well, part of the excitement of living in life and who you are and the turbulence of families and all that sort of thing." George also included everyone in his tree but admitted: "I have found no one that I really have not wished to put in." Here, ethical judgement of ancestors was absent due to a lack of negative ancestral information.

In instances where familial transgressions had been unearthed, some participants were flippant. Wendy was openly gleeful about ancestral misdeeds as she said, "the more deviant they are, the more interesting as far as I'm concerned." Lucy explained that she did not "get emotionally attached" to her ancestors, and Jane trivialised her convict ancestors' crimes ("they were all sort of 'stole a lace handkerchief' or stuff like that"). Dianne emphasised her convict ancestors' positive qualities as she revealed, "he got a ticket of leave before he stepped almost, when he stepped off the boat. I mean his petitions had Sir Joseph Banks as one of his, you know, signatories". In this respect, a dismissive reaction can be interpreted as purposeful distancing from insalubrious ancestral narratives. However, most were accepting and did not impose judgement on their ancestors. As Margaret explained,

> I think it's vitally important not to make any judgement…Because if you try to re-write history, which I tell you a lot of people when they put up information on their tree in Ancestry, oh my goodness. I don't know why they want to guild their lily. Because it takes away from the person that they're telling lies about, you know, makes them inflated. You're taking away who the person actually was. You're not honouring them at all. What may it have been like living there? Putting yourself in their shoes. Would you have made those same decisions?

For Margaret, passing judgement on her ancestors by misrepresenting the past amounted to a fabrication. Dianne expressed a similar sentiment:

> you've got to put yourself in their shoes a bit, you know to…I don't think you can ever understand fully, but you can get a handle on what it was like. Because you can't look back at the past through today's eyes with their values and judgements and all the rest. You can't, you shouldn't do that.

Conclusion: What does this mean for the house of history?

This paper has made a new contribution to what we know about how family historians understand the disciplinary practices of history. While previous studies of family historians have shown them to have strong substantive or first-order skills in utilising historical research methodologies, this paper has examined the neglected second-order or procedural nuances of the history discipline, primarily manifest as historical thinking. By drawing on Seixas' (2011) historical thinking concepts to navigate and analyse the data, it is clear that historical thinking is present, albeit to varying degrees, among the sample population of this study. This research does not claim generalisability to all family historians, especially given the representative sample, but replicated with a larger sample may prove interesting.

Underpinning and permeating the evidence from the data was the notion of context. Through active research and (re)construction of their familial pasts, participants were able to understand that their ancestors were products of their time-periods and acted in accordance with their societal tropes, expectations, and norms. They were also able to contextualise historical records and anecdotes. As such, *primary source evidence* was strongly represented. All participants spoke of the necessity of source verification, and the importance of using numerous sources and cross-referencing. They revealed a flexibility in their research methods, and often spoke of source profiling to provide context to the source. *Historical significance* was often illuminated through micro-narratives and deviated slightly from how it is defined in the literature. It was more intrinsic and personal as participants illuminated a connection to the past as most sought to contextualise their family history within the broader historical landscape.

Cause and consequence, too, was more personalised in the family history context. Participants recognised that the causes of events in the past often rippled through subsequent generations, and again, the notion of context was important. Almost all provided familial or micro-historical examples of this concept, and of interest, many claimed that their family history researched had changed their understanding of history itself, and their place within it. A strong *historical perspective* was also evident as participants' understanding of historical events, or the experiences of historical actors in the past, helped to explain the impacts of the events/experiences in the present. Again, this only occurred through a process of contextualisation. An understanding of *change and continuity* was also well-represented in the data, and some participants showed sophistication in illuminating changes and continuities surrounding historiographic discourses more broadly. The *ethical dimension* manifested as a lack of judgement or prejudice about familial transgression/s by the participants, which revealed a distinct lack of presentism.

The significance of this research has broader implications for the house of history. That more than sixty per cent of individuals in this study intend to publish their family histories across a multitude of media platforms undoubtedly alters the historiographic landscape. Family historians, through the lens of the familial, reform and re-package social history narratives and thus provide new, robust, and lively perspectives of the past. Indeed, some participants in this study actively sought to do so. As shown in numerous other studies, many family historians are clearly experts in historical research methodologies, and as this study highlights, some are equally skilled in thinking historically. Perhaps it is time to renovate the house of history to include the unique and alternative perspectives of the past produced outside the walls of the academy.

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About the author

Dr Emma Shaw is a Lecturer in the School of Education at the University of Newcastle. She teaches into both undergraduate and postgraduate programs, and is a member of the HERMES History Education Research Network. Emma's work explores how history manifests, is understood, and is produced by adults in public pedagogic spaces through the lens of a philosophical hermeneutic methodological framework. Examining metahistorical and disciplinary understandings of history more broadly, Emma's research focuses on learner acquisitions of historical research methodologies and practices, and considers the access to, and re-framing of, historical narratives through the increasing democratisation of historical records and the personalisation of the past.

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Historical consciousness, knowledge, and competencies of historical thinking: An integrated model of historical thinking and curricular implications[i]

Andreas Körber
Universität Hamburg, Germany

Abstract

Comparative and reflection on history education across national and cultural boundaries has shown that regardless of different traditions of history education, legislative interventions and research, some questions are common to research, debate and development, albeit there are both differences and commonalities in concepts and terminology. One of the common problems is the weighting of the components "knowledge", "historical consciousness", and "skills" or "competencies" both as aims of history education and in their curricular interrelation with regard to progression. On the backdrop of a long standing debate around German "chronological" teaching of history, making use of some recent comparative reflections, the article discusses principles for designing non-chronological curricula focusing on sequential elaboration in all three dimensions of history learning.

Keywords

Historical consciousness, Uses of history, History education, History didactics

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Introduction: History education between knowledge, consciousness and competencies

History Education has – in many countries – undergone a long and deep, but incomplete and apparently infinite transformation since roughly the middle of the last century. The classical concept of endowing young members with a concept of belonging and temporal orientation, mainly by presenting them with a comprehensive and integrated common (mainly national) master narrative, purporting to refer to (but in fact constructing) a given common identity and its moments of "pride and pain", has been challenged in many ways, and has been complemented with several additional conceptions of the purpose and logic of institutionalised history teaching and learning. These are of quite different nature and refer to a variety of aspects of history. Within this course, many important ways of addressing sections of the past not only in and for themselves, but for making learners aware of their relevance and significance for today's societies and their futures have been developed. What is missing, though, is a model for long-term-disciplinary curricular progression across several years of historical learning, which addresses the challenge of developing students' learning process in a multi-dimensional systematic disciplinary way. In this article, I outline a model of three dimensions of historical learning as the basis for a curricular structure which goes beyond a mainly chronological arrangement of subjects as it is still common in Germany, suggesting an interconnection of three dimensions of historical learning, namely knowledge, competencies of historical thinking, and historical consciousness.

Taken together, the three dimensions of developing historical education through learning and teaching can be characterised as follows: When learners enter formal schooling, they will be no *tabulae rasae* with regard to addressing aspects of past reality and representations of it. They will have both insights, concepts and procedures or operations at their disposal and also knowledge. Although these might (or will) have their function and value in the learners' strive to make sense of whatever information they encounter about times before their own in which things seemingly have been different, they will in most cases be still erratic, conceptually unrefined, incoherent, unstable over time etc., and therefore will not only be still incomplete, but also not favourable for further exchange with both their peers, the adult society, and the host of information about their ancestors' experiences with the past and constructed sense about it. Furthermore, they will both be based on and in turn reinforce equally unrefined and clarified attitudes and dispositions as well as convictions about the past.

For the purpose of learning, I suggest, that it is not so much the students' concrete ideas, conceptions, fantasies as well as modes of explaining alterity and weird characteristics – these will widely differ, depending on specific cultural, societal and individual conditions and experiences. What unites young learners' ideas and conceptions is there as yet unclarified and unrefined character. Learning in history, then, mostly should consist not mainly in exchanging these young individuals views with ready-made (yet elementarised) versions of the adult society's most-accepted versions, but rather a process of cumulative (1) confrontation with new, different and information and concepts, and (2) their presentation with a host of new concepts, perspectives, categories, values and methods – both challenging and underpinning the previous ways of knowing and thinking, and allowing for their complementation, structuring and transformation into new forms which can relate to societal knowledge and be related to by society. At later stages of such a learning process, the mode will have to shift from mainly complementing and transforming the students' conceptions with societal versions to encouraging and enabling them to not only use them to critically reflect on the past and one's own prior knowledge and images, but also on these concepts themselves, in order to become a participating member of a society collective making sense of the past by research and discussion. As such, this process is simultaneously one of socialisation and individuation with regard making sense of the past.

Following a (by no means comprehensive) contextualization of the problem within a spectrum of History Education developments, the three dimensions are discussed in order to distinguish unsuitable from viable conceptions of both their respective "nature" and of related learning,

before an equally brief sketch of their interrelation is presented and some conclusions for curricular planning are discussed.

In the following, I suggest a tripartite model of "history education", taking up central concepts and categories discussed in the field, mainly in Germany, but also in the anglophone debate. I then sketch both established and possible concepts of learning trajectories for each of these dimensions, focusing on both strengths and limitations. Apart from all non-disciplinary purposes and stances, such as endowing learners with a concept of identity, a sense of belonging and affiliation, fostering their identification with a national (or other) imagined community (Barton & Levstik, 2004, 45ff), their inclination to critically evaluate their society (Kuhn, 1977), or their general potential of critical thinking (Wineburg, 2016), mainly three disciplinary *aspects* of Historical Learning can be distinguished and combined: The (1) acquisition of a body of knowledge about the past, (2) the development of (a) historical consciousness, and (3) the acquisition or elaboration of a set of competencies of Historical Thinking.[ii] In the following, I argue that these three do no only form self-contained components, which can be arranged in arbitrary order of separate units, but rather mutually entangled dimensions, which are neither just following along a single line of development nor are independent of each other.

Curricular planning, therefore, needs to take into account interactions of three distinguishable, but interacting forms of not only cognitive development.

Three dimensions of learning history

Substantive knowledge: The construction of a historical universe

In many discussions on History Education in the last decades, a kind of dichotomy has arisen or been created between mainly two components of History Education. Even though the concrete terms and concepts applied for both sides of the juxtaposition vary to a considerable degree, a not only lightweight uneasiness of many protagonists with any focus or stress on abstract, and transferable aims of learning, such as "abilities", "skills", and "competencies", but also "categories" is apparent. While there surely are a considerable differences between most of these positions, these positions are united by a certain degree of stress on the "content"-aspect of history. It is not merely a question of "knowledge", for not only recent debates have shown that any reduction of the concept of "knowledge" to the disposition of "dates and facts", but also of specific (not only master) narratives, interpretations and evaluations does not meet the point. Neither is knowledge restricted to this allegedly "factual" dimension of history (the mastery of procedures and concepts also entails knowledge), nor can knowledge only be acquired in complete-ready-made and subsequently unchanged form. What is at stake in these debates and what distinguishes the positions, rather is a stance as to whether and how a specific form of knowledge about things past is to be considered as a necessary *fundamentum* or rather a result of (more or less individualised) processes of historical thinking and learning – or in fact, whether it needs to be considered as having both functions.

It may well be that within these discussions about the relative values and dignity of knowledge about things past and abilities or competencies (but also historical consciousness), from the positions promoting a focus on the latter two, the first aspect has indeed been undervalued or understressed. In a dimensional concept of history education, however, the binary and relational questions of priority (both in terms of importance and order) in learning processes can be overcome in favour of a concept of mutual development of students' disposition alongside each other.

This does, however, require to dismiss certain conceptions learning trajectories, above all the usage "parts of past reality" as topics and their chronological order. This concept, still very strong in many curricula and materials (textbooks) at least in Germany, works on the premise that knowledge of a past context can be acquired not only in relative isolation from the discussion of

other contexts, but also in substantially one single learning process. Applying a chronological order of topics, therefore, imitates a long-time telling of a single story. It does not so much put students into a rather receptive position, for they can be (and often are) assigned tasks of gathering information from material, interpreting sources (primary and other) on the background of the given context and to evaluate. What chronological teaching hampers or even impedes, however, are informed connections of the topics and questions under study both back- and forward in the diachronical, but also across in sectoral dimensions. It is this feature which causes the learning to remain mainly within the pre-defined box of the master narrative, and which renders the whole of the historical learning course a (more or less sophisticated) transmission of a singular-perspective master narrative.

What is more, though, is the disciplinary blindness of chronological teaching for the cognitive and emotional development of the learners across the years-long learning trajectory. Of course, many teachers very expertly reflect on this development and adjust their topics and tasks according to quite valuable concepts of appropriateness to the learners age. In combination with the chronological order, however, this effects to distant times and "epochs" to be addressed in much more elementarised (if not trivialized) form, and the application of more abstract and sophisticated concepts, methods and reflections to more recent topics only. Of course, this is not only a problem for the conceptual side of history education (and therefore) for the other dimensions, but also for the emerging image and understanding of the past.

Strict chronological ordering of historical topics, still structuring the "backbone" of most curricula and textbooks in Germany, fails to address the challenge of systematic progression across formative years for development of understanding. The often cited argument that learners (specifically young ones) need the chronological order to hold on to in the complexity of the past neglects that it is specifically the chronological order which prevents such temporal orientation by presenting the grid only bit by bit. It is this same feature which hinders comparisons "ahead" ("we will cover that in a few years") and complicates those "backwards" to topics covered long ago ("remember, we did this years ago"). Furthermore – and maybe more crucial – it suggests a single, linear, if not necessary, development,[iii] counteracting reflection on "cause and consequence" (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Furthermore, it requires to arrange early, more distant epochs in different, more elementarised (not to say: trivialized) form – a pedagogical necessity which doesn't fit historical insights into the alterity of especially these pasts at all.[iv] The long temporal gaps and sectoral switches in the actual "chronological" narratives testify to the faultiness of the belief in knowledge about earlier times, conditions and developments being necessary for the understanding of later ones (even without having been determined by them). Finally, one may hint to the insight that whatever form of learning about chronology, this central concept of the discipline of history, is deemed appropriate or necessary, it will be rather hindered that fostered if chronology is used as the unvoiced structure rather than a topic to be progressively addressed itself.

The main argument in our context is, however, that whatever progression in conceptual understanding, proficiency, and insights is gained in chronological learning – it cannot be caused by the chronological order, but must be added to it by other logics.

It is specifically in the interest of the acquisition of valid and resilient picture of "the past" that learning in this dimension should not take the form of reception of more or less finished sets of knowledge across time, but rather a form of internal mental construction and re-construction of a "historical universe". Such a conception furthermore takes into account that however young learners are when a topic is addressed in formal instruction, they already have – from exposition to historical information, meaning-making and discussion at home, in their peer-groups and in their mediated world – a wealth of information and "knowledge". What it might – and certainly will – lack, however, is not only any degree of "completeness", but structure, terminological (rather: conceptual) clarity, stability and validity, and both valid and relevant inter-connections between the different aspects.

The recent conceptualization of disciplined knowledge as specifically "powerful" in the sense that – in contrast to the classical cultural canon ("Future 1") and knowledge which is focused on learners' immediate social situation only ("Future 2") – helps students go beyond the latter and connect to worlds and perspectives outside ("Future 3"; cf. Young & Lambert, 2014; and now Chapman, 2021) indeed yields a certain criterion for establishing the role and function of substantive knowledge in the curriculum. The idea, though, that this kind knowledge for schools is to be established by disciplinary experts, does not suffice. What is needed for school, to my view, is a concept of substantive knowledge facets of the past and of disciplinary (conceptual and procedural) knowledge as *relational* between different forms in which such knowledge is present, mainly (a) academic/disciplinary knowledge, (b) occupational and institutional knowledge, and (c) everyday knowledge, much as Tilman Grammes has sketched for social science education (Grammes, 1998, p. 70; see graph x). School's task, then, is to endow students not so much with the best thought (experts') knowledge in each field (only), but to enable them to interrelate between the different forms and usages – and at best not in one-off ways, but increasingly via several years' trajectories.

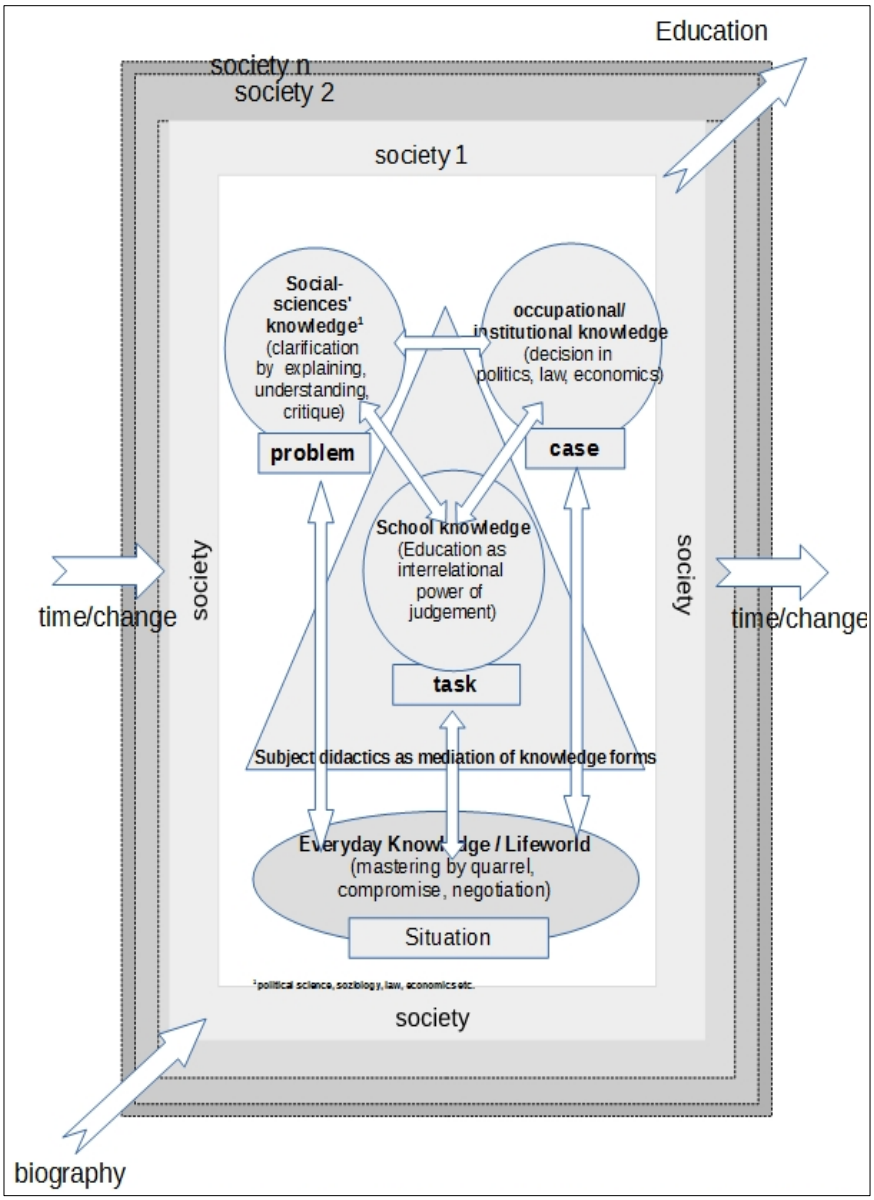

Figure 1. Knowledge forms after Grammes, 1998, p. 70.

If history education is multi-dimensional – as suggested above –, then curricula should not only contain specifications in all dimensions but also give indications on learning progression in all dimensions. While in theory it may still be possible to postulate a dominance of one dimension of the other, curricular clearness requires to at least indicate the relation of progression in the non-dominant dimensions of the others. It seems to be more advantageous, though, not to suggest one dimension as dominant and prescriptive for the identification and ordering of topics, aims and methods, but to reflect on a general concept of progression, governing all dimensions.

"Content-Learning" as a dimension of History Education should therefore be conceptualised not as the original acquisition of information, but rather as their differentiation, elaboration, arrangement and abstraction. The main concept here is that students come into learning not mainly void of information, but rather with a wide array of information on things past that is inconsistent in a spectrum of ways – not only with regard to "factual" incorrectness. The "Knowledge" students have, can (and will to different degrees) be of quite different conceptual quality, e.g. without apt distinction between (a) concrete and abstract, (b) substantive, interpretive and judgemental statements, (c) statements relying on very different theoretical and ideological bases, etc. In particular in the early years, but also later, they will apply and mix vernacular (everyday) and disciplinary concepts and language etc. "Content"-learning in history therefore should not strive to *replace* students' prior knowledge and ideas with "scientific ones" by way of transmission, but rather to relate their individual (vernacular), societally available and "academic" or "scientific" knowledge in way which enables them to both add to and re-structure their own "historical universe".

Historical thinking competencies

Theoretical background: Historical thinking – Unnatural act or anthropological necessity?

The term "historical thinking" has been prominent in several lines of research into History Education in different countries. What is denoted by it, however, differs to a certain degree. While David Rosenlund's recent claim of a deep divide between a British-American "disciplinary" and a continental European "orienting" approach (Rosenlund, 2016), is too strong, given that the latter also is fundamentally based on disciplinary reflections and theory (Rüsen, 1983, p. 48; Rüsen, 2015). To a certain degree, these differences may be responsible for the seemingly contradictory qualification of Historical Thinking as either an "unnatural act" on the one hand (cf. Wineburg, 1999; Wineburg, 2001), and as an anthropological necessity, deeply rooted in human nature on the other (Rüsen, 1983, p. 48; Rüsen, 2015). A comparison may help.

Wineburg's approach can be characterised as a "methodic constructivism", if not a "methodical historicism". In his understanding, Historical Thinking is the comprehensive term for the set of operations and concepts needed for "making sense" of the "strange past" (Paul, 2015, pp. 23–25) in or outside the academy. His conception that this set is not naturally given, but must be learned by acquiring professional procedures like *sourcing, contextualization and corroboration* (Wineburg, Martin, & Monte-Sano, 2013) in a way mirroring approaches discussed in Germany under the term of "Methodenorientierung" since the 1980s, has been criticised even within this framework of what Historical Thinking ultimately is about (e.g. succinctly by Levisohn, 2017). In a quite different way, however, Rüsen's understanding of Historical Thinking transgresses its being "unnatural", in not only focusing on procedures for and criteria of understanding "the past" in a correct way, but also on the "narrative" forms of making such insights into the (strange or similar) relevant, significant and meaningful for the present and the future.

In this narrative sense, Historical Thinking in general is "natural" – but not all forms and efforts are necessarily elaborated and viable. They can (and need to) be elaborated, not so much to match that of professional expertise but also in their everyday function of making sense of the past. Historians' expertise lends concepts and insights, but not the full set of abilities. This approach

ranked high in German history didactics since the 1970s (cf. Barricelli, Hamann, Mounajed, & Stolz, 2008).

Seen from this perspective, it is not so much an integration of "two halves" in Rüsen's own model ("historical discipline and life experience") which is called for (Monte-Sano & Reisman, 2016), but rather an integration of the different models focusing each on specific aspects of historical thinking. This seems to be especially sensible to do, since one recent Wineburg-articles' title and another one's main focus (Wineburg, 2016; Wineburg & McGrew, 2016), as well as some passages in his book, indicate that in the end it is more the intellectual training in general than the referencing to the past, which is at the centre of his concerns. It surely is exaggerated but not totally false to claim that the domain of history is a means to the end of fostering critical thinking as a part of citizenship education. In Wineburg's concept there is a strong focus on knowledge about the past as the aim of the operations he advocates on the one hand, and a legitimization referring to the present, on the other hand, the gap between those two "poles" in his concept, viz. the conscious, methodically controlled and responsible reflection on the function and patterns of "using" history, can be filled based on the narrative approach of e.g. Rüsen and other concepts based on it.

Historical thinking may be conceived of as both an anthropological necessity (and therefore "natural") in its orienting function and in the interest in interlinking past, present and future, *and* at the same time "unnatural" in that it requires the acquisition of counter-intuitive routines of questioning the "obvious", the seemingly natural, the quick, and a high degree of discipline.

A close inspection of this "compromise" between the two qualifications will, however, show that what Rüsen qualifies as "natural" is mainly the basic function, not the forms it has to take in order to be fully functional – especially in a modern, heterogeneous and dynamic world. His postulation of a hierarchy of different "types of sensemaking" (Körber, 2015, 9ff) already indicates that in this narrative realm cognitive elaboration above the "natural" niveau is highly called for. The "unnatural" nature of historical thinking, Wineburg stresses, then refers to this elaborated quality of processes, which in themselves are quite natural. And that may even more stress its importance, because there is an "easy" way to perform it, which may, however, be not fully functional.

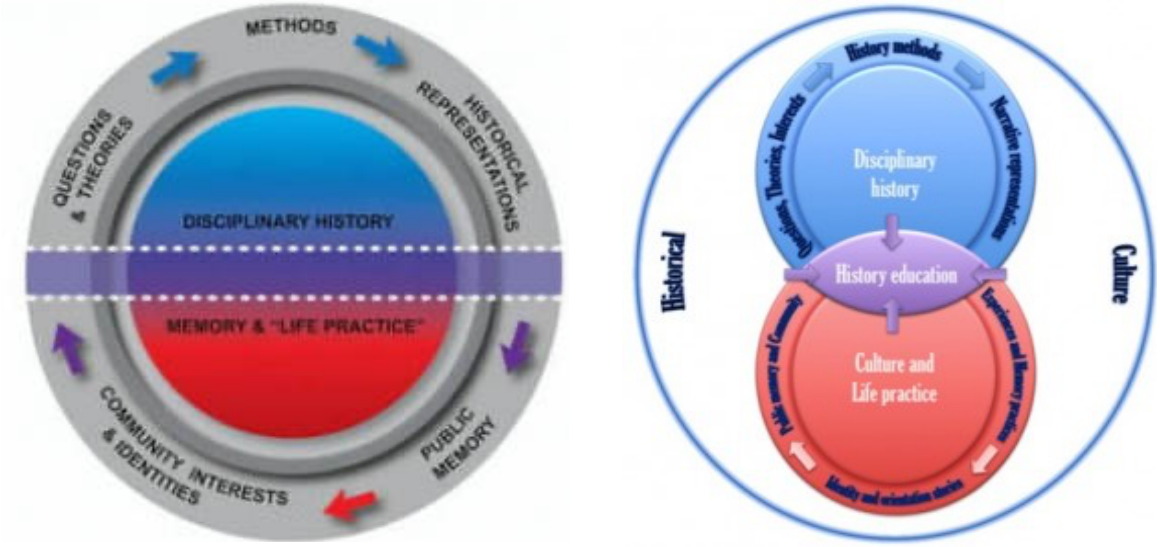

Figure 2. Left: Peter Seixas' Matrix (Seixas, 2016);
right: Stéphane Lévesque's Matrix (Lévesque, 2016)

But how can the integration of the two (and more) concepts of historical thinking can be conceptualised? In recent times, there have been two suggestions published on "Public History Weekly", one by Peter Seixas under the title of "A History/Memory Matrix for History Education" (Seixas, 2016), and the other one by Stéphane Lévesque, titled "Going beyond 'Narratives' vs. 'Competencies': A model of history education" (Lévesque, 2016). Both differentiate a blue "disciplinary" history from a red form encompassing "memory" (Seixas) resp. "Culture" (Lévesque) and "life practice" and place a circular model like in Rüsen's disciplinary circuit around each one. The overlap between these two histories, purple in both models (in Lévesque's case explicitly labelled to that effect), is identified as the centre of/for history education.

But do these models already integrate the two or more "philosophies" of history education – the "disciplinary" one, focusing on the epistemology of the academic discipline as the basis for elaborating students' own historical thinking expertise in getting clarified knowledge about the past, and the "orienting" or "narrative" one, focusing on the reflection of how insights about the past can be connected to the present? In their present status, they rather mark the growing insight that historical learning needs to take up and reflect (and elaborate) elements of "both" realms.

Seixas' model, e.g. explicitly takes up Rüsen's initial circuit model of 1983 (which in the article is presented next to it). Because of his borrowing the procedural "rim" on the outside, as well as the placing of "academic" and "life practice", his graph seems to imply, as did Rüsen's graph of 1983, that interests and identities are the domain of the "life practice", whereas questions and theories, methods and representations belong to academe. When Rüsen published the model in 1983, some academic historians took it as an ill-guided demand that it was their task to work on questions not defined in academe itself, but in society (life-practice). On the other hand, both Rüsen's and Seixas' graph may be interpreted to imply that procedural historical thinking, "research" in its widest sense, was reserved to the domain of academe, whereas in "life-practice" memory had a totally different nature. Taken this way, Seixas' graph might indicate the demand for history education (in the violet middle bar) to take up both the different logics of "public memory" and "academic historiography", to make students aware of these different logics and to enable (and empower) them to actively integrate them in their orientation.

However, this model does also have its shortcomings. In the ultimate consequence, it would either deny people outside academe the participation in historical orientation or draw a strict line, postulating a qualitatively different logic of historical thinking in academy and "life-practice", not a kind of advantage rooted in methodical control. Lévesque, on the other hand, places both domains, disciplinary history and culture and life practice, into a broader circle of "history culture", thus marking that both share a common background of how a society addresses the past, and (what might be more important) designs two circles of orientation, which originate in and lead back to the purple area of history education. This might signify that historical orientation is neither dependent from academic research nor from “vernacular” ways of historical thinking, either, but that each of them serve the same purpose.

According to a model by Andreas Körber (2015, 27ff), historical thinking in "life-practice" and "academe" are not following different but the same logics, while the specific quality of the latter is gained and secured via following strict methodological rules and criteria. This understanding has several advantages: It does not deny vernacular competencies of historical thinking, it allows to understand historical thinking in both domains (everyday life and academe) as ultimately serving the same purpose, namely individual and societal orientation. Furthermore, it allows for querying into the inter-relation of these two realms and their ways (and results) of historical thinking, and for educational and didactic planning taking up students' own ("life-practical") ways of historical thinking and trying to enhance it by importing methodical insights and control to it – this would be where Wineburg's approach fits into the central realm.

In the following, I will try to take up Chauncey Monte-Sano's and Abby Reisman's suggestion, cited above, that the so-called “FUER-model”[v] of historical thinking competencies might "bridge" the two "halves" – even though not *within* Rüsen's model, but rather between the two approaches.

Based on Rüsen's circuit of historical research (referred to also by Seixas), the FUER-model uses Wolfgang Hasberg's and Andreas Körber's "process model" (Hasberg & Körber, 2003, p. 187; cf. Körber, 2015, p. 41) to exemplify in a graphical manner the process of historical orientation, containing a 6-field-matrix is inserted, which differentiates two central operations and three "foci" of historical thinking (cf. Figure 1 above). Using this model, the distinction, but also the complementary character of both Wineburg's and Rüsen's approach can be visualised:

- Wineburg's concern (crosshatched in Graph 5) is mainly with the reflection of the methods which are applied for gaining reliable information on the past in the first place, mainly in a re-constructive way (6a-b), but in thorough reflection of what the temporal position the historian resp. the historical thinker does to this process. This does not imply, that Wineburg were in any way a proponent of an "objectivist" epistemology. He rather can be qualified as a "reflective historicist" or "methodical constructivist" in that he not only elaborates the methods and operations for securing reliability of information gained about the past, but also reminds the learners that the result is dependent on the circumstances and on the thinking itself.
- Rüsen's (and Hasberg/Körber's as well as the FUER-model's) concern, on the other hand, lies mainly in the narrative interconnections of a) insights into things past with the future (6/7 a-c), and in the usage of these for orientation (1-11; blue circuit), and the rational elaboration of patterns and methods of constructing such narrative patterns of temporal continuity – what Rüsen also calls "sense-making" (symbolised here by blue arrows).
- This former's focus of concrete methods of sourcing, contextualizing and corroborating, is, on the other hand, not very strictly elaborated upon in Rüsen's work.

These two approaches to historical thinking, can, therefore, be understood as complementary. Wineburg's concepts of sourcing, contextualization, corroboration, reading the silence etc., can be regarded as parts of what the FUER-model calls "methodical competence" (Körber, 2015, p. 40). What both models do not satisfactorily address, however, is the question of differentiation of levels or niveaus of mastery of historical thinking, and of a logic of progression in acquiring the respective competencies of historical thinking (re-constructing the past and making rational temporal connections).

Jörn Rüsen postulates in the new version of his model, that the different patterns of constructing continuity, represent different niveaus or levels of historical thinking, the "genetic" type, reflecting directed change in the course of history, being the most modern, complex and therefore most elaborate one, whereas the two other patterns, namely the "exemplary" one which aims at insight into "rules" of social logic by analysing past examples, and the "traditional" one, seeking to establish knowledge about the origins of valid structures, mark older, less complex and minor one (Rüsen, 2013, p. 215; engl. Rüsen, 2017).[vi]

Learning progression in historical thinking competencies

What is needed, then, is an understanding of historical learning in both foci of re-constructing the past and of sense-making, reflecting different levels and niveaus of it, as indicated in the following graph (see figure 3), which may also be considered a conceptualisation of learning progression. This model suggests that both the operations focused upon by Wineburg, i.e., among others, sourcing, contextualization, corroboration, reading the silence etc., as well as the competencies of constructing historical sense or meaning focused upon by Rüsen, are not skills which are acquired in a single step and which afterwards stay unchanged, but that they can be elaborated in different niveaus. It also suggests that more basic, inferior abilities to perform the respective operations are in specific ways "imperfect", but still fulfil their general function. What could this look like? A very short sketch may suffice (Körber, 2016; Table 1):

… Niveau (Level) of ...	… Wineburg's Historical Thinking	… Rüsen's Historical Thinking
… Elaborate	… when establishing reliability of material, the criteria are applied flexibly and reflected upon as to their applicability	… Narratives are constructed in a way which is reflective to the applicability and scope of the patterns at hand.
… Inter-mediate	… For establishing reliability of material, standard concepts are applied, e.g. "originality",	… narratives are constructed by applying standard patters, which are chosen from a supply, but not reflected upon as to their scope and logic.
… Basic	… questions about origins of material (sources) are put without consistency;	… narratives are constructed without consistent application of clarified concepts

Table 1. Niveaus (Levels) of competence in the FUER-Model (Körber 2007).

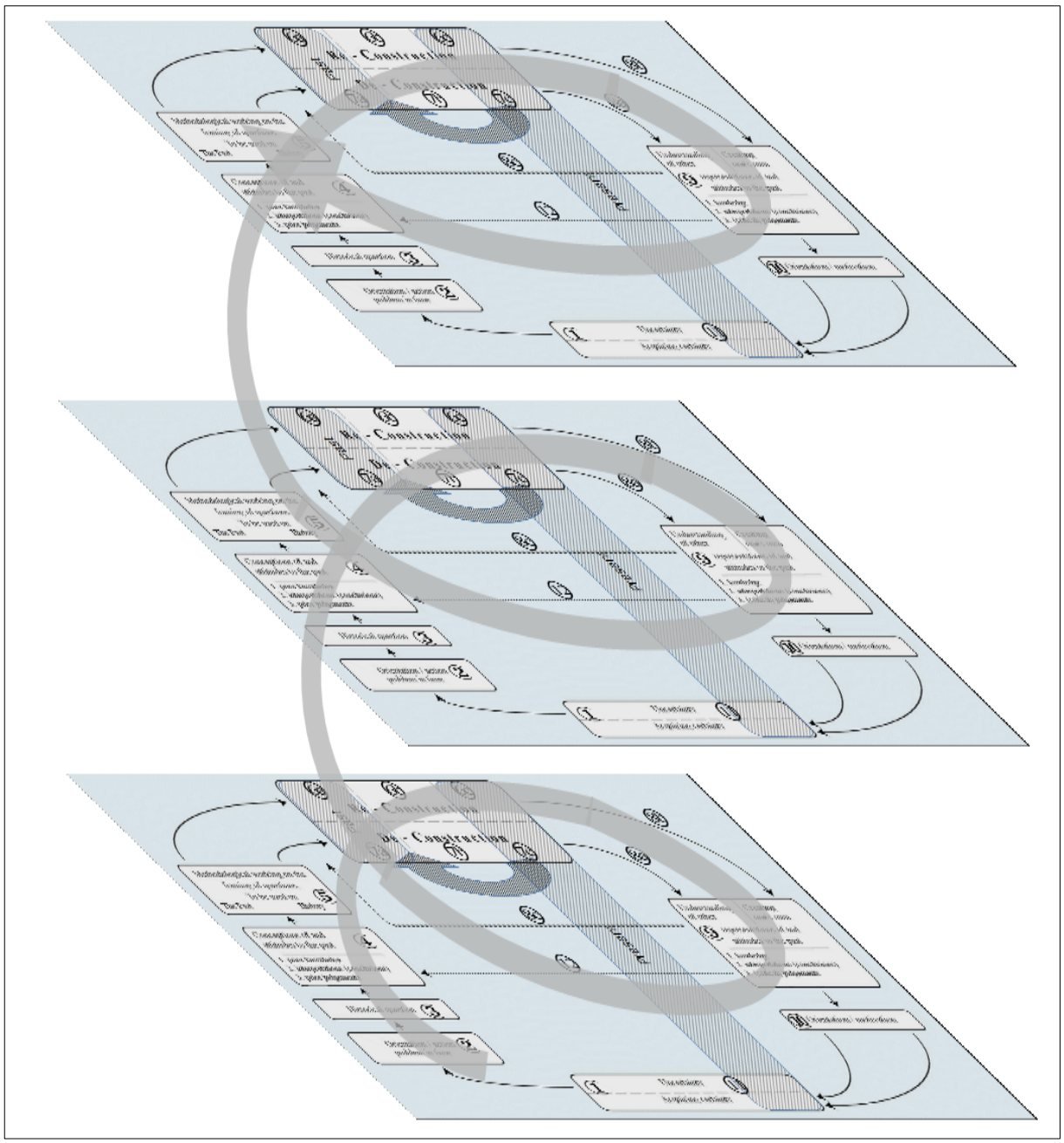

Figure 3. learning to Think Historically as the gradual elaboration of (the ability) to responsibly perform operations

Competencies of Historical Thinking as a learning dimension

The second dimension of History Education intricately entangled with the construction of an internal "Historical Universe", then, is the acquisition and elaboration of competencies of "Historical Thinking" – in over recognising and overcoming of laymen's/novices' deficits, but more so as a process of reflection and elaboration of different concepts and performances.

To a certain degree, the concept of Historical Thinking used here thus draws consequences from the insight that experts represent only one position in the context of societal debates about history, even though their versions of operations are in fact "superior" to laymen's in that they are based on a specific disciplinary methodology and control. Academic/scientific expertise and research does, therefore, in fact provide disciplinary concepts, methods for the learning processes, but not as the aim of such learning, but as a relevant pole in a multipolar field.

In the present model, thus, the thinkers' (and learners') present perspective onto the past does not so much figurate as an obstacle to historical understanding, but rather as a necessary component of it. Since all historical knowledge is perspectival and narrative, i.e. interrelating past(s), the present and future(s) (Barricelli et al., 2008), historical thinking rather requires to become aware of one's own (present) perspective and to reflect on its effects on the resulting narratives than to overcome it. In a certain sense, Jörn Rüsen's as well as Hasberg/Körber's conception of historical thinking (cf. Körber, 2015, 20ff), includes Wineburg's and Seixas' conceptions of getting insight into the past in its (relative) alterity, but surpasses it in stressing the orientational function of such thinking for the present.

This concept is specifically apt for historical learning which is not conceptualised as a training of imitating experts (in what ever elementarised way), but rather as an elaboration of something which students (as everyone) always does and even do before they enter school. As was the case with the "content"-dimension, again, one premiss of the current model is that students' don't learn "from scratch" at school, but that they bring some (sometimes even extensive) abilities to these learning processes. But such extensive experience with addressing past phenomenons and/or their representations in current "history culture" does by no means guarantee that their abilities, concepts etc. are (a) valid, consistent, and stable by disciplinary criteria and (b) allow them to both understand other members and institutions in their society and be understood by them. History Education in this dimension, then, requires to (1) accept and recognise students' own positions, interests, perspectives, questions and results from earlier addressing the past, and to (b) gradually enable them to elaborate their own ways of thinking so that they can inter-relate to other members and society at large – including the discipline.

Again, this conception allows (and calls) for learning trajectories which do not primarily present "ready-made" substantive knowledge about a certain portion of the past after the other, each in one go, but rather addresses substantial spans of time (or examples of certain classes) several times, under varying thematic perspectives and with increasing elaborations of the cognitive instrumentarium.

"Competencies" in this sense, are not merely formalised skills, or techniques, but complexes of general abilities and concrete techniques, combined with the disposition of first- and second order (as well as meta-cognitive) concepts on different (and increasing) niveaus. Competencies transgress skills (cf. also Case, 2020; Körber, 2007; Körber, 2015) in that they not only enable a person to carry out some specific task promising a high-quality outcome in an experienced and economic way (saving energy and time by e.g. routine), but to responsibly reflect and decide on how and even whether (or not) to carry out a task, on its prerequisites and implications. Furthermore, the proof of competencies in not only being able to execute a known task without help, but to apply and adapt procedures, principles, criteria to new, unknown tasks in truly autonomous way, which does not so much lie in having routine but in being able to break a routine in favour of reflection. Thus, they include both entitlement and responsibility for applying techniques or *skills,* promising sustainability in unpredictable changes. On the other hand, in the light of high (and increasing?) degrees of human and societal interaction not only in matters of

physical (re-)production, commerce, etc., but also in political, ethical, and temporal, orientation, competencies of historical thinking need to include not only abilities in addressing the past individually, but also of mastery and critical reflection of societally established concepts, notions, beliefs, procedures, etc.

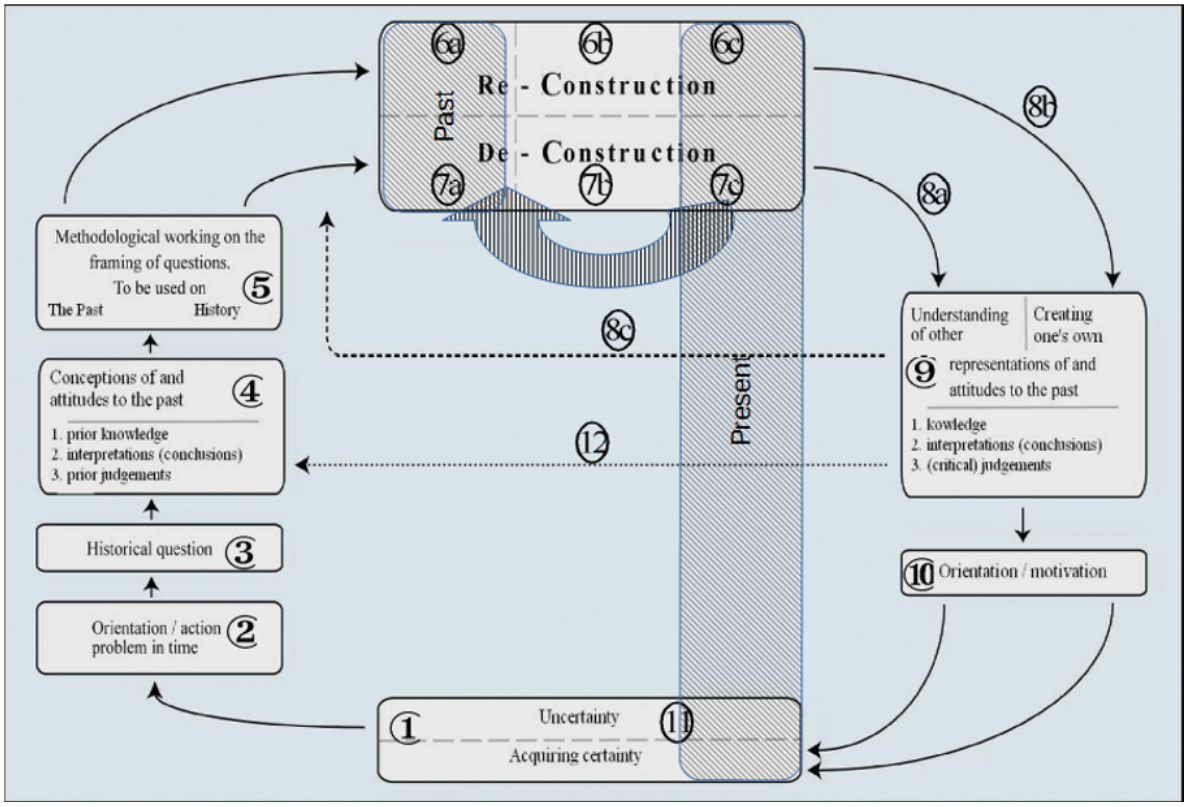

Figure 4. Process Model of Historical Thinking after (Hasberg & Körber, 2003, p. 187)
with additional marking of Historical Concept of Historical Thinking as focused in Wineburg's concept.
For explanation of the numbers see (Körber, 2015, 24ff).
The place of knowledge about past conditions and occurrences is marked with (6/7 a),
about the present in 6/c, while (1/11) marks the equally present position of the person thinking historically.

This focus on the mastery of concepts (both narrowly disciplinary and general) also sheds a light on how progression this dimension needs to be further developed. A mere replacement of vernacular ("alternative" or even "flawed concepts") concepts and terminology with "scientific" one, as it is underpinning a specific cognitivist concept of conceptual change will not suffice here for the same reason that expert operations and performance can not just be the model for students. More modern, situationist, versions of "conceptual change" which do not seek replacement but complementing students vernacular concepts with scientific ones so that they can switch between and interrelate them (Günther-Arndt, 2006), are more apt, but still lack the component that students do not only need to master the better versions themselves, but that they must be able to reflect on the premisses, strengths and limits of a variety of concepts which they encounter in their society. (Limón, 2002; Günther-Arndt, 2006) "Conceptual change", finally, still carries a notion of deficit-orientation rather than progressive elaboration of what students already dispose of. A logic of progression in this dimension of competencies, therefore can again be conceptualised along the differentiation of niveaus defined in the German FUER-model (Körber, Schreiber, & Schöner, 2007; cf. Körber et al., 2007, p. 35; cf. Table 2).

The teaching and learning in the competency-dimension of History Education therefore is, in this model, neither conceptualised as the original introduction into some fundamentally alien way of thinking from a *"tabula rasa"*, nor as an abatement or containment of fallaciously unreflected habits of thinking. Instead, it is viewed as the elaboration of "original", "natural" and/or forms of

historical thinking which have been developed in and therefore are limited to specific situations and groups, with the aim to enable the individual to intensify their reflective mastery of their ways of thinking and to render such thinking *relatable to their society*. Even though this model accords to Rüsen's understanding of historical learning as the process of elaboration (and maybe refinement) of processes already available to the individual in more in-elaborate forms, it differs from his concept that learning is not understood as the acquisition and usage of a set of narrative forms in a given order (from "traditional" via "exemplary" to "genetic"; cf. Rüsen, 2017, pp. 193–202), but rather as the elaboration of the learner's disposition and mastery of these forms as well as other concepts, operations and criteria by way of simultaneous but increasing acquisition, distinction, differentiation, and reflection (cf. Körber, 2016; Körber, 2015, p. 41).

All in all, learning in the competence-dimension of historical thinking can be conceptualised as the successive and gradual elaboration of students' abilities, skills and preparedness to perform their own historical thinking in increasingly reflected and societally connectible ways. Again – as it was the case in the "content" dimension – this will entail that especially in earlier years of learning, students will not yet dispose of concepts which others (and esp. their books, museums, etc.) also use. It will be part of the interaction between "content" and "competencies" dimension to (1) accept students' own questions, interpretations and judgements, even if they are formulated in situated, non-consistent language and terminology, revealing lacking mastery of reliable concepts, and (2) introduce them to a variety of concepts and differentiations which they can (are supposed to) use in their own historical thinking. By introducing them not only to "substantive" knowledge about things past (see above), but also to categorial, conceptual knowledge, to reliable "scripts of procedures etc., not only "the past" itself and their own relation to it. The transgression via the boundaries of their lifeworld, powerful knowledge promises (Young & Lambert, 2014; see above), should not so much one "into the past" (which is unattainable; Paul, 2015, p. 27), but one into the different ways and forms, society interrelates both with its pasts (in the plural) and the plurality of the meanings within it – towards partaking in its history culture.

Historical consciousness as state and process

The construction of a historical universe and the elaboration of competencies of historical thinking does, however, not suffice. The orientational function included in the circular model of historical thinking by Hasberg/Körber (Hasberg & Körber, 2003, p. 187; cf. Körber, 2015, p. 41; based on Rüsen, 1983, p. 48) relates to more than to cognitive insights into conditions and occurrences of the past and their differences from today's life, but does constitutively affect and shape a set of characteristics of individuals' ways of understanding both themselves and their world (with regard to the temporal dimension of diversity and change). History Education and historical learning then is not only about enabling the individual to perform reflections on these elements themselves in a reflected way, but also about their (more or less systematic) elaboration. Historical education does not only enable learners to reflect, but also changes them. How can such change be considered a progression?

Among the properties both necessary for and affected as well as changed by historical thinking are (among others) (1) attitudes towards a series of dimensions of human (individual and societal) life (in past and present), such as norms, values, convictions, (2) convictions about one's own affiliation and belonging (identity) both with regard to present groups and cultures, but also as to their inter-relation to such group in the past, etc., (3) conceptions of and insights into general aspects of human life informed by experiences in the present and information about the past, and (4) conceptual ideas about the nature, purpose and function of history as a dimension of human life and orientation ("historicity"). These characteristics form a complex of dispositions towards "the past" and history as well as the tasks of historical thinking, which is more abstract than concrete images and interpretations of specific occurrences and conditions in the past and also than concrete procedures of orientation, but which underpins them and is discernible in the concrete versions a person might hold and perform. Actual manifestations of these dispositions

can (and for the purpose of History Education), then must be considered as a kind of momentary state of these characteristics, which are equally influenced in their individual form by processes of historical thinking and orientation, and by systematic learning processes. Forming an abstract set of dispositions underpinning their beholders' individual conclusions and orientations from interrelating (concrete) interpretations of the past, experiences of the present and expectations, as well as their subsequent processes of such historical thinking, the complex of these dispositions can be called "historical consciousness". Given its complex nature, its intricate interrelatedness not only with individual acts of historical thinking but also with cultural and social backgrounds and conditions, developmental models of historical consciousness cannot consist of rather concrete descriptions, but must differentiate a rather abstract development.

In 1988, based on 100 interviews with people of all ages, Bodo von Borries (Borries, 1988, p. 12; translations from Körber, 2015, p. 8) suggested development of historical consciousness not as an additive cumulation of new aspects, but as a series transformations of people in four dimensions of their addressing history. Level 0 is given when cognitive unawareness (A0) and subsequent indifference (C0) leads to an inevitable because unconscious determination by the past (B0), in which all belonging to groups is via present emotional bonds. A first developed stage (1) then figures a more aesthetic concept of affiliation with groups transgressing one's own present (e.g. family' ancestors; D1) based on attained information still unquestioned and legend-like (A1), whose relevance and significance is felt rather that known (1B) and onto which meanings are projected unconsciously (1C). Level 2 then includes substantiated knowledge (2A) which allows for conscious recognition (and rejection) of facets of the past (1C) and their acceptance (and rejection) as significant (1B). The last level (3) then is characterised by abstraction and integration of knowledge into insights, the ability and readiness to actively and critically relate to the past, and to clarify one's own inadvertent and willing connections to it (1C), enabling members of society to responsibly act within historical culture (1D).

	Stage Trajectory	0	1	2	3
A	Form and logic of (disposition of) knowledge	"historical ignorance", i.e. unawareness	"historical legend", i.e. mostly unquestioned images of a non-categorical and non-distinct "past",	"historical knowledge", i.e. substantiated and differentiated information	"historical insight", i.e. abstracted, interconnected and integrated as well as reflected forms of cognitive take-aways.
B	Personal relation to the past	"determination by history", "inevitable" inawareness (see above)	perception of being "fraught" with [still rather abstract] history, of it having influence and meaning [without any perception of having an own agency towards it]	perception of tradition, i.e. the acceptance of a specific connection with the past	"critical reflection" [– not so much the ability, but the stance to be both entitled and able to actively relate to both the past and its references in the present.]
C	Conceptions of relevance	"pre-conscious indifference"	"sub-conscious projections"	"conscious recognition"	"coming to terms" by "working through"; [i.e. active and critical confrontation and analysis]
D	Pdentity/identification	emotional belonging to a certain group	"aesthetic apperception" of affiliation (and differentiation)	"moral judgement"	"responsible action"

Table 2. Aspects and stages of progression of historical consciousness after von Borries 1988, 12.

The concept clearly shows a mutual interconnection of the four aspects and a development from a mental *"tabula rasa"*-stage which nevertheless is free from influences ("inevitable determination"), via a stage (1) of rather dependent cognition and attitudes, towards two stages which are characterised by a conscious personal relation, of which the first is marked by rather separated and non-interconnected, the second by a form of critical agency and judgement. Surely,

learners starting school will already have transgresses the initial *tabula rasa* stage, but in how far they already have gained substantiable and substantiated knowledge or even abstract insights resp. to what degree they still hold – at least in part – concepts of a holistic and rather mythical past, needs to be determined. For our context, the model proposed by von Borries suggests that in this dimension of learning also, learning should neither just follow and reinforce the suggested logics of relating to the past nor try to overcome them in favour of "correct", adult-style conceptions and attitudes, but rather to provide opportunities for students to become aware of different, more complex and powerful relations, to reflect and to develop them

Curricular implications

Possible curricular consequences of such a concept of history education are numerous. Among the main ones is a re-conceptualization of the principles for ordering topics of history lessons. Neither their cross-grade arrangement along the chronology nor any unorganised assembly of cases studies which allow for not much more than binary connections to or comparisons with the present will allow to systematically foster a development of understanding as a series of systematically arranged "longitudinal cuts" may do which a) do not each cover the whole "historical universal" but rather considerable spans of time, space and sectors, and b) sequentially build on each other with regard to the degree of differentiation, the level of detail of the periodizations used, and the number and type of varieties and alternatives offered, as well as with regard to an increasing selectivity and clarity as well as differentiating reflection of concepts and terms, an increasing systematization of positions and perspectives taken into account, etc.

This type of curricular arrangements also gives teachers and students a chance to "hook up" on prior knowledge (both from pre- and outside school and from earlier topics) and to both elaborate, sort and narratively interlink them (Figure 5). As a consequence, therefore, topics should be defined by (more or less) comparative perspectives onto a set of historical conditions and occurrences, *in principle* (if not in reality) spanning the whole or a considerable spread of time, so that differentiations of topics, language, methods etc. with regard to age-adequacy do not affect the presentation/thematization of specific eras only. Conceptualizing curricula as series of "longitudinal cuts" (or studies) thus offers the chance to re-address the individual historical era or context several times under new aspects and with elaborated methods and concepts, and therefore to re-arrange "images" of times. Lastly, main classes of topics (such as political history of power and dominion, economic, everyday history, mentalities etc.) should be addressed several times across the learning trajectory of several years, so that again, elaboration both of images of "content" and of concepts, methods etc. is possible.

As can be seen, such a concept of substantive history learning consisting of series of longitudinal studies, each addressing substantial spans of time, allows to overcome some of the main shortcomings of chronological teaching without giving in to unstructured arbitrariness. Furthermore, it allows for the definition of a plural of non-content-based progressions of History Education, but it also requires them to be explicit. Here, the links to progression in the other dimensions are to be placed. What it also requires, though, is a certain submission of expectations for learning outcomes to gradual elaboration. Whatever historical epoch or context has been addressed, after each longitudinal study, it will be furthered, but it will be non "complete" in the classic (?) sense that students had acquired a version of "academic knowledge" about it. Especially with regard to the earlier years, it may well be (and would be required) that students have gained new insights and knowledge, even though they may still express them in terms and with concepts which might seem "deficient" to the historian. But then, that would be a feature, not a bug: Acquisition of "knowledge about the past" not as a series of portions each to be taken in one go, but rather as a slow but reliable elaboration.

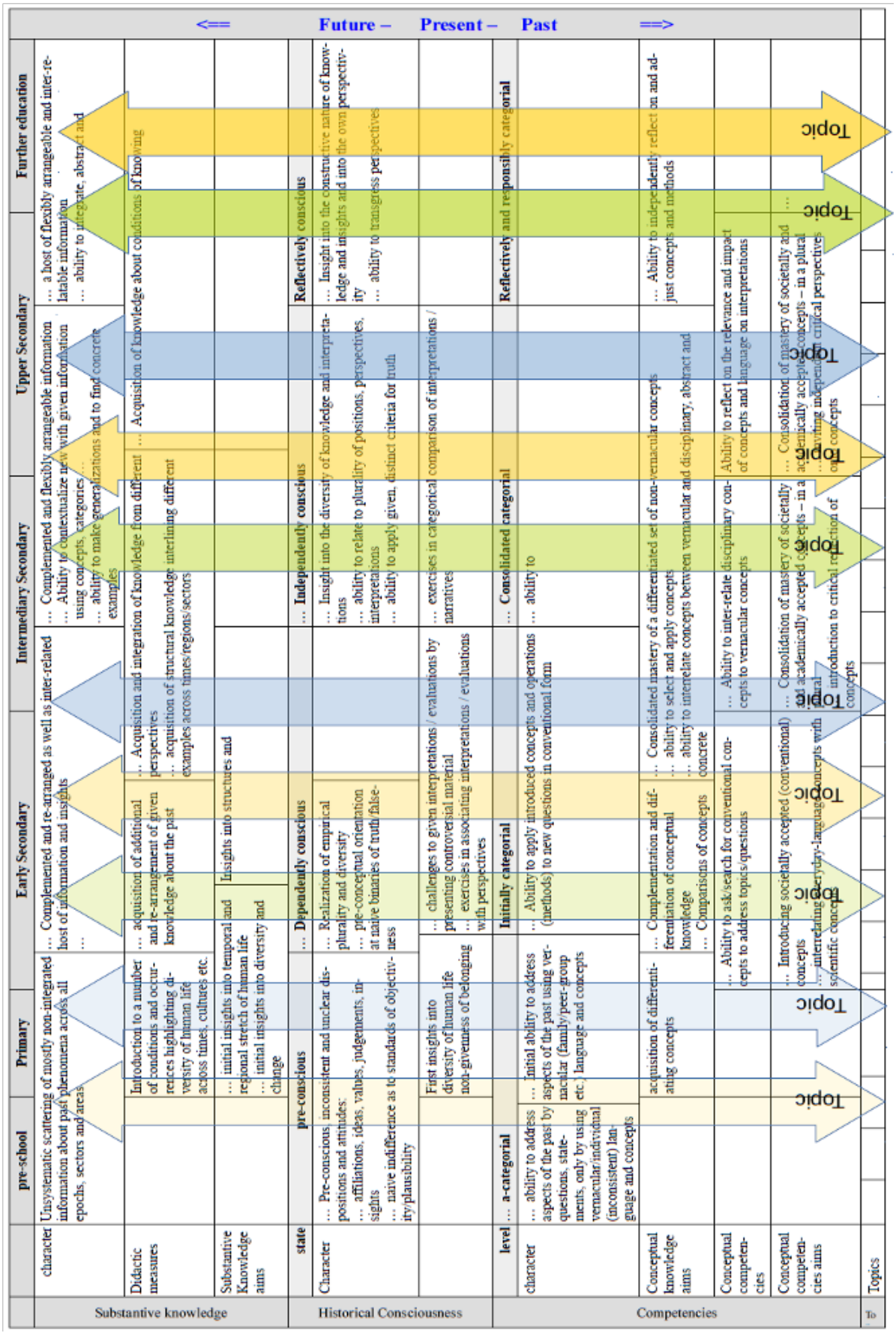

Figure 5. The integrated model of long-term curricular progression.

Each of these covering topics should cover a considerable span of historical time, as well as include examples from different regions, and cultures, rendering possible both the perception of alterity of human life conditions and forms compared to the present, but also their mutual diversity, and therefore the elaboration of questions not only about any individual past, but also about their interrelation, comparison, about possible connections, dependencies, and – at later stages of the development, resp. on higher niveaus – about criteria for such comparisons and sensemaking and their limits. It may not be necessary that each subject covers the same (or even the 'whole') span of historical time and space, but taken together, a rather wide focus and considerable overlaps should be given both at early, intermediate and later stages.

Topics themselves should be taken from a set of different sectors of historical study, such as everyday life/material culture, political, cultural, social history etc., – each repeatedly addressed after a few years on a new level of abstraction (see the colours in Figure 5).

Both their definition/formulation as the mode of their addressing in teaching should progress in a series of ways:

- At the early stages of learning, the overlapping topics as well as the concrete examples/questions addressed within them, may be rather concrete, e.g. taking up aspects of everyday life and (material) culture, expressed in rather vernacular language (such as "living", "travel", "family"). They may (and should) also take up aspects which are abstract by nature (i.e. "beliefs" and "superstition", "law and crimes", "violence", "migration"), but both relevant for young learners in concrete forms ("witches", "pirates"). What is necessary, then, is to present examples from a greater span of time (e.g. texts about piracy in antiquity, middle ages, Caribbean pirates and modern forms), in order to allow for (a) their temporal / spacial placement, (b) the formulation of questions as to commonalities and differences, thus (c) enabling questions about their (temporal) interdependence, and thus to (d) challenging vernacular, a-historical conceptions present in present popular culture (e.g. about "witches", "kings", "migrating" etc.).
- Towards the intermediate stages, their selection should increasingly refer to disciplinary concepts ("social groups", "power", "religion"), taking up insights as well as questions formulated at the earlier stages, and refining them both with regard to their conceptualization, but also by using increased methodology.
- Towards the late stages, topics should considerably shift towards a focus on the concepts and categories by which occurrences and conditions in different past times are grouped to topics and perspectives, interlinked and compared.

Each of these topics, each covering considerable and overlapping spans of historical time, and progressing in several dimensions, such as (1) concreteness/abstraction of depiction of conditions and events, (2) reference to ideas of causation and modes of explanation, (3) coherence and consistence of concepts, (4) controversialty in society. Independently from the concrete subjects, but used for addressing them, progressions need to be implemented with regard to several sets of both methodical and conceptual insights an abilities. Since, e.g. students might come into formal learning without any concrete idea about how knowledge about the past can be gained, at early stages of learning, they must be presented with a variety of different such sources, such as oral information from parents and relatives, books, films, objects etc. These should increasingly represent further differentiation, such as information from the time under study ("primary") vs. retrospective ("secondary") accounts, originals vs. replicas, but instead of expecting full-fledged insights into the epistemological quality of material ("source" or "evidence") from all students, it might suffice for initial stages that students are able to express latent insights into as well as questions about some forms of differentiation, even though using vernacular language (e.g. is information from "old" books "better" that that from "new books" – or vice versa?). Similarly, lots of these initial reflections will only require to rather generously

distinguish between times and epochs, starting maybe with “here today” vs. “back then” or “in the past” – but the initial courses should offer students initial categories of differentiation.

At later stages, these initial conceptualizations then will need to be both differentiated and complemented. e.g. by exercises to differentiate between relevant types of “books” (“diary” vs. “memoir”) and reflection on their respective implications for our knowledge. Similarly, students’ conceptions of time should be both differentiated and added to, e.g. by complementary concepts of periodization (art-historians’, non-Christian, non-European, etc.), further on, to more abstract concepts of temporal relations, and of course – finally – to reflecting approaches as to such temporal concepts, their advantages and limitations.

To list all possible (and necessary) “lines” of progression will transgress the space of this article, but it should be noted, that they don’t need to be implemented into the sequence of “topics” only, but also to be applied to the methods applied in addressing them. Here, equally, a maybe intuitive trajectory from more “knowledge-based” to more enquiry-based pedagogy seems to be problematic. Instead, progressions need to be defined, reflected as to their validity (not only) from a subject-specific point of view, and empirically tested. Some suggestions may suffice here:

In addition to (1) a planned growth of "knowledge about the past", this requires (2) a structural change in the linguistic, i.e. conceptual as well as sentence and text-linguistic forms of their presentation and (3) an equally conscious and planned differentiation of the subject-specific thought processes to be opened up to the learners and also to be demanded later.

Whereas the conventional, chronologically organised practice of history education is of ultimately additive character, presenting students with series of new cases and information but lacking a systematic progression of the way they are addressed and interpreted, the model presented here offers a combination of supplementation and differentiation as well as transformation of the knowledge stocks within a reference framework which is built from the beginning, but extended and differentiated along the way (across the longitudinal cuts) with regard to the sectoral, spatial and scale dimension of history.

The progression of the linguistic dimension will have to draw on concepts and perspectives from research into the development and promotion of linguistic ability and understanding, while at the same time keeping in mind the specificity of historical thought operations. It cannot be assumed that in the course of such an intentional learning progression, simply "false" and/or "alternative" concepts, which moreover often take on everyday or colloquial language forms, will be successively replaced by scientific variants coded in educational and technical language, so that the former would be overcome in the sense that they would no longer be available. Rather, it can be assumed that, by making people aware of the particular characteristics of different and differently complex forms of basically comparable operations, including their respective services, prerequisites and limits, it is possible to increase competence in the sense of more independent and conscious use of different and situationally appropriate forms, and to shift performance in favour of more complex, more reflected forms.

This also means that neither the operations of historical thought nor the language actions associated with them are acquired or could be acquired in an additive sequence, as the widespread learning progression model of Bloom resp. Anderson and Krathwohl (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2009) suggests. The operations distinguished there (especially in the revised version by the latter two authors), from reproduction to evaluation, would thus not be seen in a sequence with respect to their acquisition, so that first the reproduction, then the analysis, etc., and only at the end the evaluation would be acquired directly in a valid form. Rather – so my hypothesis – it can be assumed that all learners carry out all these operations from the very beginning, and that in the course of a consciously progressive learning process they should all be promoted in terms of their quality – that is, both in terms of their demands on them and their reflexivity. Here – as a suggestion – the graduations from the FUER-model could present a model: If "novices" are expected to reproduce as well as analyse and evaluate in a "basal" form, i.e. with terms and formulas that are more likely to be used in everyday language, bound to a specific situation,

inconsistent across situations and con-texts, and often not conscious of the scope and connotations of the terms and formulas used – but not fundamentally dysfunctional – teaching should be geared towards enabling the learners to do so first, to carry out the whole spectrum of these operations of historical thought with the help of other members of society known, and thus connectable and recognised terms and concepts and formulas – i.e. with regard to the "thinking" and "language witnesses", but not in terms of content conventionally – and finally also to critically reflect on these conventional instruments and procedures themselves and thus to develop a "sovereign" disposition over them.

The extent to which this basic perspective can also formulate a progression of the language mate-rial to be used or processed in this process – i.e. texts, oral statements and tasks – would have to be further explored in a collaboration between history didactics and linguistics. To what extent, for example, it may be possible to use more "basal" forms of the operations of historical thought with less abstract and complex tasks (or with more explicit support of complex but not linguistically complex tasks by more concrete, "lower" functions of text comprehension and historical thinking) and by means of texts that are explicitly aimed at comprehensibility, but in later phases of a progression to add less "optimised" and "trimmed" materials (also because the teaching should also enable the students to independently deal with non-didacticised forms of historical thinking and handling in historical culture) and to reduce the small-step support?

Is it conceivable, for example, that within the framework of such a notion of progression at the "lower" levels of the "novices" it is also possible to work with "simpler" (more commonplace) linguistic forms of tasks and at the same time also accept the results of the processing of the tasks by students with linguistic imprecision, because the focus does not have to be that the resulting statements about the past must be conclusively "correct" and sufficiently complex, but rather that they are the starting point of a development, an elaboration? For example, it would then not be important that a statement made by a student in the 6th grade on a question of medieval history could lead to a "successful adoption of perspectives" in the thinking of the 10th or 11th grade. Rather, it would represent – in comparison with those of other students* and those offered by text-books and teachers – the operation of recognizing temporal (and other) perspectives in such a way that (1) in a later renewed thematization of the historical object, more differentiated thought processes can be expected, and (2) the fundamental insights gained would also be transferred and further developed in subsequent units on other objects and topics.

Against this background, turning away from the chronological arrangement of the historical "material" may not be absolutely necessary, but it does make sense: If the individual lessons do not focus on a progressive conception of historical thought, in order to ensure that the past is presented in a (sufficiently) complex and correct way, because there can be no new discussion (except in a very late second session in the upper school), but rather on the promotion of historical thinking to a next level, which should not be final, but rather further elaborated, then recurring (rough) topics in a series of longitudinal sections are recommended.

The demand on the linguistic progression of the requirements (tasks) of history lessons and the materials used would then be to address the "next" stage of progression of the mental performance to be promoted (and demanded), its linguistic coding etc., not to encourage the pupils to formulate statements about the past that are as valid as possible. It would then be possible to use the diversity of student work on open learning tasks to reflect on the respective achievements and limits, on the orientation function as well as on the linguistic form of such statements. Projective tasks in particular, which require students to put themselves in the position of a historical person (often fictional or not concretely imaginable), could then be presented more honestly intellectually (or historically) and demanded more honestly from students: Which teacher, which contemporary researcher could ever say when a perspective adoption has "succeeded": "Like a 10th century monk" or a Japanese samurai, none of us can think and/or assess a situation. No one will have a "fully valid" answer to a corresponding task – and no teacher can decide which achievement is "right". Nevertheless, such tasks are not nonsensical. They are not at all about (unfairly) demanding something more or less spontaneously from the students (the

temporal understanding of past actions), which is still the subject and task of extensive research today. Rather, such tasks actually aim to make plausible the demand for abstraction from the present perspective and the resulting otherness of perception, interpretation and decision. The criterion for the success of such tasks is thus neither to have actually come mimetically close to the past person, nor to have stripped off as completely as possible one's own present positionality and perspective, so that one simply argues "as strangely as possible" and then passes this off as proof of successful adoption of perspective. Rather, the aim of such tasks is to help students recognise that and to what extent they have to abandon the present self-evident in order to somehow "do justice" to a past perspective. It does not depend on the coherence of the individual result, but on the recognition and meaning of the claim of historical thinking: Whoever judges and evaluates the (sufficiently complex) cognitively presented past situation as he/she would do from the present without any difficulty, shows just as little historical understanding as someone who presents and evaluates everything as differently as possible, but cannot say at all to what extent this should be appropriate to the concrete situation. It is only in talking and discussing about the respective (and preferably different) "solutions" (or better: treatments) that the individual students have already understood, but the potential for the actual learning process actually lies. The original processing of the task is therefore wrongly used as proof of the fulfilment of a requirement. Such tasks must not be understood as achievement tasks, but must be learning tasks in so far as they produce the material for the actual process of historical thinking and learning.

In this respect, one could (also) make a methodological borrowing from the foreign-language didactic principle of "task-based learning" in so far as the processing of a task by students is subjected to reflection in a focus on (here now:) history phase, in which historical thinking (and language) is made explicit, and precisely in this process newly acquired or differentiated concepts, terms, methods, etc., which are more abstract and provided with a reflexive index, are thematised and progression is expressly promoted (cf. Körber, Gärtner, Stork, & Hartmann, 2021).

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About the Author

Andreas Körber, PhD, is Professor for Education Sciences, with special focus on history didaktics and civics education, at the University of Hamburg. He received his doctorate in historical sciences in 1999, after many years as a secondary school teacher, and has been a university professor since 2004. His main research areas include: theory and empirical research of historical thinking, theory of competencies, interculturality, memory culture, and inclusive learning.

Endnotes

[i] A very short German version has recently been published as (Körber, 2021)

[ii] For a differentiation of "competencies" from "skills" see below

[iii] Cf. Barricelli (2012, p. 205): "In the [....] chains of events, the (past) present becomes a product of (even older) past: at a certain point in time, things were exactly the same because they had been exactly the same and the same before." (transl. A.K.).

[iv] Cf. e.g. recent archaeological findings indicating beliefs and social actions of Neolithic people totally weird to us (e.g. Spatzier and Bertemes (2018)).

[v] FUER is a German acronym for "Research in and Fostering of Historical Consciousness" – the project's title.

[vi] He also postulates that the competence of historical thinking is acquired and elaborated by passing through this circuit (Rüsen (1994, 64ff)).

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Listening like a historian? A framework of 'oral historical thinking' for engaging with audiovisual sources in secondary school education

Bridget Martin
Tim Huijgen
Barbara Henkes

University of Groningen, The Netherlands

Abstract

History education in many parts of the world is increasingly integrating the practices and sources of oral history. This rapprochement between the field of history education and the field of oral history presents an opportunity to allow students to engage with and develop the particular ways of thinking used by oral history practitioners and theorists. This study investigates how 'oral historical thinking' might be captured in a framework designed for educators, much like the various existing models of historical thinking, to support secondary students to analyse and interpret audiovisual interview sources in a way that emulates experts in the field. The study presents a prototypical 'oral historical thinking framework' and explores its possible applications to classroom teaching.

Keywords

Historical thinking, Oral history, Framework, Curriculum, Audiovisual sources

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Introduction

> "Do you think this memory of events long after the time they occurred is any different to how Parks may have recounted the event at the time? Why?"
>
> "In the source, we see her trying to recall what happened in the past, meaning that she was trying to go back in her memory. However, if the interview were years later, the experience would still be the exact same. Furthermore, if the interview were in previous years where racial segregation was still present, I think Rosa Parks would have described her experience the same way since we see she is not afraid of consequences regarding confrontation. Therefore, it would not be any different." (Grade 10 student, 2019)

Oral history rose to prominence in the 1950s and 1960s after having been sidelined in preceding decades as inferior to historical work centred on the written record (Abrams, 2016). The field continued to grow and evolve throughout the twentieth century into a distinct interdisciplinary practice that has become increasingly internationalised (Abrams, 2016; Thomson, 2006). By the late 1960s, school teachers, particularly in North America, were beginning to explore the potential benefits of oral history in their classrooms (Perrone, 2017). Although many oral history projects were undertaken in educational settings in the intervening period, "it is only in the last 10–15 years that oral tradition, testimony, and life histories have become an integral part of educational programming" in North America as well as even more recently in parts of Europe, Asia, Australia, New Zealand and South America (Llewellyn & Ng-A-Fook, 2017, p. 3-4). Spurred on by technological advancements enabling wider dissemination of oral histories, we now find ourselves in a crucial period of rapprochement between the field of oral history and the practice of history education.

The present research situates itself at this juncture, one which is receiving increasing attention from oral historians and educationalists alike (e.g., Trškan, 2016). Positioned as it is between two domains, this investigation springs from pertinent issues raised in the literature of both, in particular: history education's emphasis on disciplinary thinking and oral history's efforts to distinguish itself as a particular field of study. This investigation attempts to constructively reconcile these theoretical points of focus in a way that may benefit both teachers and students of history around the globe.

While technology has made audiovisual oral history interviews a common inclusion in school history classrooms, teacher candidates in many parts of the world are offered little training in the distinctive ways of thinking of this field (e.g., Huijgen & Holthuis, 2016; Winslow, 2016). Moreover, concepts and ways of thinking which are commonplace in the work of oral historians might not come naturally to secondary students. In the quotation above, for example, we can see that while oral historians often devote much time and energy to exploring the myriad factors that influence the way the past is remembered and retold in particular contexts, a lay-student may not even recognise that the context of an interview has any bearing on its contents. In the same way that existing models of 'historical thinking' provide a guide for educators as to how to support students to think like experts in the historical discipline, the aim of this study is to propose ways we might provide teachers (and students) with a systematic overview of oral historical thinking concepts to explore in their studies. Beginning with an overview of the theoretical underpinning in which the study is grounded, we will then outline the methods used, present the prototypical framework of oral historical thinking developed, and conclude with a discussion of how this might be applied in the classroom alongside other models of historical thinking.

Theoretical framework

The concepts of historical thinking and oral history

The present study is grounded in the increasingly dominant consensus amongst history education experts that we must ensure students are not treated as receptive vessels for historical 'facts' but that they engage with the discipline's "unique problems, practices and habits of mind" (Bain, 2000, p. 332). The extensive international body of work in this field (e.g., Chapman & Wilschut, 2015; Metzger & McArthur Harris, 2018) is based upon the conviction that the methods, approaches, sensibilities, and ways of thinking used by experts in the discipline of history can and should be conceptualised, classified and conveyed in models or frameworks designed to support school students in developing the same. In pursuit of this goal, the approaches of researchers differ in their emphasis, scope, focus and precise purpose. They are conceived of under various names, such as "historical literacy," "historical consciousness," "historical competence," "historical reasoning," and "historical thinking" (van Drie & van Boxtel, 2008, p. 88). Nonetheless, they all share the fundamental goal of translating disciplinary realities into classroom practice. Moreover, the work of many of these researchers have been integrated in various forms into curricula across the English-speaking world. For instance, Ontario, Canada's curriculum is structured on the use of four "historical thinking concepts" (drawn from the six outlined by Seixas and Morton (2013)) or the Australian Curriculum which outlines five "historical skills" that appear to be derived from several research approaches including those of Lee and Ashby (2000) and Seixas and Morton. Whilst acknowledging the nuanced difference between many of the terms listed above, for the sake of simplicity, this study will use only the term "*historical thinking*." We draw on the conceptualisation offered by Seixas and Morton for whom it denotes the "creative process that historians go through to interpret the evidence of the past and generate the stories of history" (p. 2).

When defining what is meant by 'oral history', Abrams (2016) makes the important observation that the term refers to two things: both the research process and methodology as well as the result or output of this practice. This study will employ the term in both of these senses. 'Oral history' will be used firstly to refer to the field of study that is concerned with eliciting and recording oral testimony in the form of interviews which provide accounts of personal experiences and reflections about some aspect of the past (Shopes, 2002; The Oral History Association, 2009). Oral history is referred to here as a 'field' since framing it as a sub-discipline wholly contained within the discipline of history would fail to capture its distinctive features and interdisciplinary nature, emphasised in much of the literature. Indeed, in 1979 Alessandro Portelli dedicated a paper to discerning "What makes oral history different" (Portelli, 2016). He and others have made efforts to identify exactly which features set oral history apart, with suggestions including: "orality, narrative form, subjectivity, the 'different credibility' of memory, and the relationship between interviewer and interviewee" (Portelli as cited in Perks & Thomson, 2016, p. 5) alongside "performativity, mutability and collaboration," (Abrams, 2016, p. 19) as well as its emphasis on interdisciplinary skills (Perks & Thomson, 2016). The distinctive features of oral history are explored in greater depth in the prototypical model below.

The term 'oral histories' will also be used to denote the 'outputs' of the field, that is to say the testimonies collected. Larson (2016) underscores the practical implications of how we conceive of oral histories in this regard, arguing that while we use the term to refer to recordings that are fixed, we should remember that an oral history might best be conceptualised as "a one-time, interactive performance, culturally and contextually bounded and specifically situated in time and space" (p. 337). Remembering that oral histories are more complex and holistic events than what may be captured in recordings will be essential to the discussion of approaches to the analysis and use of these sources.

It is important to note that this study will focus not on 'active' oral history projects wherein students, for example, conduct their own interviews but on the use of existing audiovisual

interview sources. Though 'passive' is the term frequently used as a counterpart to 'active' oral history, we agree with Stradling (2001) that "students are also *doing* oral history when they analyse oral evidence" (p. 213). We therefore employ the term 'secondary analysis' in this study.

Oral history in education

Oral history's presence in history, social studies, and humanities curricula across the English-speaking world continues to grow. Our explorative analysis of a small sampling of curriculum documents shows that oral history has been explicitly referenced in many locations. Some jurisdictions, such as New York State, Australia, and South Africa, include an expectation that students conduct 'active' oral history projects (New York State Education Department, 2017, p. 26; Australian Curriculum and Assessment Reporting Authority [ACARA], 2016, p. 120; Republic of South Africa Department of Basic Education, 2011, p. 14-15). In many instances, however, 'oral history' or 'oral sources' are framed more as materials and resources, often referred to in a list of diverse source types. In Canada, for example, Ontario's Grade 11 & 12 *Canadian and World Studies* curriculum lists 'oral histories' amongst types of primary sources students might use (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 296), whilst Alberta's Grade 12 *Social Studies* curriculum states that students should "consult a wide variety of sources, including oral histories" (Alberta Education, 2005, p. 18). Similarly, in California's K-12 *Social Science* program students are to work with "historical documents, eyewitness accounts, oral histories, letters, diaries, artefacts, photographs, maps, artworks and architecture" (California Department of Education, 2017, p. 8). Australia, too, in its F-10 *Humanities* curriculum refers throughout to "oral histories" and "oral and audiovisual sources" within longer lists of suggested resources (ACARA, 2016). Hong Kong's secondary history curriculum also lists "oral history" amongst various suggested "source materials" (Curriculum Development Council and The Hong Kong Examinations and Assessment Authority, 2015, p. 55).

Taken together, these examples indicate a focus on secondary analysis approaches in which existing oral histories are intended to be analysed, interpreted, and used by students as just one more material amongst a host of historical sources. Two implications arise from the frequency of this type of inclusion: a curriculum-driven need for teaching resources that support effective engagement with existing oral history source materials and a need to clarify how they differ from the various other source types with which they are grouped. As Thompson (2000) asserts, to treat oral history sources "as 'simply one more document' is to ignore the special value which they have as subjective, spoken testimony" (p. 118). A student in Ontario, for example, whose curriculum explicitly calls for the inclusion of oral histories as primary sources and currently draws upon Seixas and Morton's (2013) model of historical thinking, might analyse an oral historical source like any other: considering features such as origin, purpose, and reliability to "reach conclusions about a wide range of historical issues, developments, and events" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 15). Such an approach risks overlooking aspects particular to the complex nature of oral sources (e.g., oral and embodied storytelling, the influence of the interviewer, the blurring of lines between primary source and secondary account). Additionally, students may miss opportunities to investigate beyond "historical events" to the ways these intertwine with experience, memory and retelling up to the present.

Furthermore, although curriculum documents are increasingly demonstrating an expectation that oral history be included in secondary education, the implementation of these objectives has not been well-supported by current teacher training. Llewellyn and Ng-A-Fook (2017) observed that "history educators have few resources to help them consider if and how doing oral history education is a "best practice" for encountering the past lives of others" (p. 4) while Huijgen and Holthuis (2016) found that oral history experts in the Netherlands were concerned about the gaps in understanding produced by "the marginal role of oral history in teacher education programs" (p. 52). Likewise, in the United States, Winslow (2016, p. 182) argues that oral history is "rarely offered in teacher preparation programs" and that teachers must thus rely on outside professional

development opportunities to develop their understanding of how to use oral history in their teaching.

In terms of the literature on oral history education to which teachers might turn, there is an abundance of material focused on undergraduate level education but "very little research exists below the university setting" (Wendling & Lanman, 2006, p. 222). Existing literature also focuses heavily on active oral history projects and it is common for such materials to contain little or no emphasis on the analysis of the oral histories obtained through student interviews. Trofanenko (2017) laments just this difficulty, arguing that "often, the focus is more on the organizational and pragmatic elements (doing an oral history and gathering information) than the process through which students grapple with the information provided" (p. 151). This pattern is visible in many resources designed to help teachers incorporate oral history in the classroom. For example, *Talking Gumbo: A Teacher's Guide to Using Oral History in the Classroom*, dedicates only one of its eighty-six pages to strategies to help students interpret and analyse their interviews (Dean et al., 1998). Even the Oral History Association's *Principles and Best Practices for Oral History Education (4-12): Classroom Guide* discusses research, interview questions, preservation, reflection, and dissemination but contains no mention of analysis or interpretation (Ardemendo & Kuszmar, 2013).

It should be acknowledged, however, that despite these gaps in the literature, there is a small core of existing resources on secondary analysis in oral history education at the secondary school level that offer, in particular, a range of helpful questions to scaffold student analysis of oral history sources. For instance, Shopes (2002) has written a comprehensive guide for *Making Sense of Oral History*, particularly focusing on online sources. Similarly, in *Teaching 20th-Century European History*, Stradling (2001) includes chapters on both oral history and television as a source which contain useful guidance on the use of audiovisual oral history sources in secondary classrooms. Moreover, *The Touch of the Past. Remembrance, Learning and Ethics* might help teachers to guide "remembrance learning" by examining the benefits and limitations of oral sources (Simon, 2005).

In addition, investigations into potential links between models of historical thinking and oral history have begun, though they remain relatively scarce. Two separate studies have mapped student learning in active oral history projects against Seixas and Morton's (2013) six historical thinking concepts, concluding that they could support the development of historical thinking (Perrone, 2017; von Heyking, 2017). This finding is supported by recent empirical research which found students engaging in lessons using oral histories (in the form of live interviews, text, but particularly video) outperformed control groups in historical thinking skills (Bertram et al., 2017). Importantly, however, these efforts to map learning grounded in oral history against models of historical thinking that reflect the discipline as a whole fail to capture a central thrust in oral history literature, namely: the characterisation of a distinctive field of study. As Abrams (2016) argues, "there is a need for the historian to think in a distinctive way about oral history" (p. 3) and thus more general historical thinking concepts may prove insufficient to guide student learning. Certainly, if we accept that history education should strive to support students to develop ways of thinking that reflect disciplinary realities *and* that the field of oral history requires distinctive habits of mind, could it be that we require a more specific framework to better guide students towards this goal when working with oral history sources?

Research question

As we have seen, oral history continues to gain traction within secondary school education but a theoretically grounded and practical oral history framework for history teachers and students is missing. The research question of this study is thus: How could 'oral historical thinking' be captured in a framework to support secondary school teachers and students to engage with audiovisual interview sources like oral historians?

Methods

It was first necessary to discern what 'oral historical thinking' consists of, based on a comprehensive review of the relevant literature. This was examined in an effort to identify the most prominent and recurrent concepts, issues and questions that oral historians engage with when interpreting and analysing their sources. Considering the immense diversity in the approaches employed by oral historians and the dynamic nature of the discipline, this paper aims not to present definitive or agreed-upon 'steps' or 'answers', instead echoing Seixas' (2017) approach in seeking to identify the foremost "problems, tensions, or difficulties that demand comprehension, negotiation and, ultimately, an accommodation that is never a complete solution" (p. 597).

Once we identified a range of components of oral historical thinking, these concepts had to be distilled into a framework for use in secondary school education. Seven existing models of historical thinking provided guidance on how the oral historical thinking concepts might be usefully presented to educators for use in the classroom context (Körber, 2011; Lee, 2005; Lévesque, 2008; Mandell, 2008; Seixas & Morton, 2013; van Drie & van Boxtel, 2008; Wineburg, 1991). Several principles became apparent. Firstly, with the exception of Lévesque, who proposed a particular progression of steps, the models all emphasised the interrelatedness of their various components. Clarity and structure also appeared as integral for the effectiveness of models. Furthermore, we deemed visual representations, such as those proposed by Mandell or van Drie and van Boxtel, to be the most useful way to explicitly present educators with different levels of interacting concepts (for instance, epistemological beliefs and procedural concepts). These existing models were also cross-mapped to investigate how an oral historical thinking framework might interact with them. An analysis of the types of questions proposed by educational materials on oral history further confirmed the need to include a component in the framework of oral historical thinking pertaining to the very nature of the field of study. These questions also guided the composition of explanatory elaborations of the framework's components. Finally, theoretical consideration was given to how such a framework might be implemented in classroom teaching.

Results

A framework of oral historical thinking

The prototypical framework presented here attempts to catalogue recurring concepts as well as some shared underlying epistemological beliefs regarding oral history while bearing in mind the fact that any such categorisation will necessarily be an artificial separation of inextricably linked elements. The framework is designed to be applied with students at a secondary school level (approximately 12-18 years of age). It focuses specifically on the interpretation and analysis of audiovisual oral history interviews which may include: videos from web-based oral history archives, interviews in historical documentaries or television programs, historically-focused journalistic interviews, and audiovisual recordings of oral history interviews that students have conducted themselves. The framework identifies important concepts arising from the literature that are relevant to:

- understanding the nature of the field;
- analysing and interpreting audiovisual interviews; and
- relating these to other historical narratives and sources.

The concepts included do not represent agreed-upon 'answers' from the field but rather serve as points of focus for students to consider, grapple with, and question. The underpinning aims, beliefs, and practices of the field of oral history are placed at the centre as they form a necessary foundation of students' work with oral history sources and the epistemological basis for all the

other concepts represented in the framework. The next layer of the framework highlights eight concepts linked to remembering and retelling during the interview event on which students should focus as they engage with particular interviews. Finally, the concepts linked to accuracy and generalisability in the outer layer of the framework underscore points of attention for students when situating individual interviews within a larger context for historical understanding. While the concepts have been layered to highlight different aspects of the analysis and interpretation of sources, this is not intended to represent a unidirectional progression. Thus, the visual representation below attempts to convey the way in which these three layers and the concepts within them all overlap and interact when working with oral history sources. The elaborations below provided further insights into what each aspect of the framework represents.

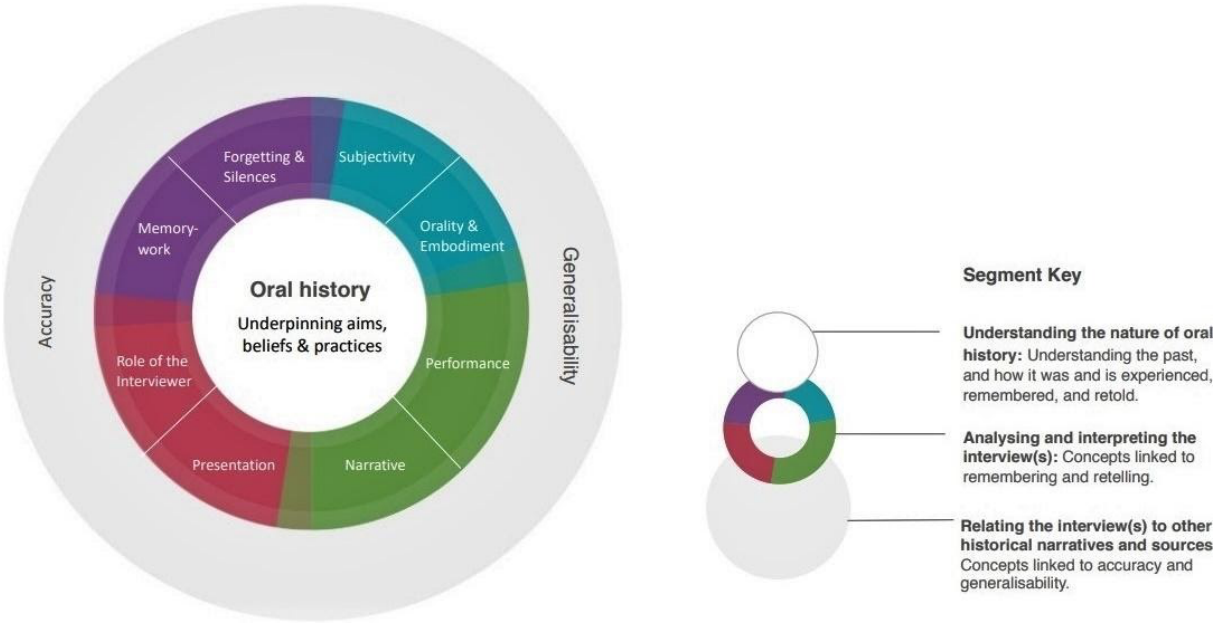

Figure 1. Oral historical thinking framework

Understanding the nature of oral history

In order for students to meaningfully engage with audiovisual oral history sources, they must first have some understanding of the nature of the field of oral history. As with the broader study of history, there is a shared goal of understanding the past. Oral history, however, also seeks to understand how the past was and is experienced, remembered, and retold by individuals, families, communities, nations, and so on. Oral history is therefore not only concerned with investigating 'what happened?' but other key questions such as: How does the past interact with the present? What does it mean to us? How do we remember it? How do we think about it? How do we feel about it? How do we talk about it? (Bertram et al., 2017). Furthermore, oral historians often examine the way in which the answers to these questions change in different temporal, social and political contexts and according to the particular pasts with/in which they are working. While some documentary historians make efforts to explore similar lines of inquiry, these questions do not lie at the core of the broader discipline or corresponding historical thinking frameworks in education. Students should therefore be encouraged to consider how and why these core questions might differ from the types of historical questions they may be more familiar with. Moreover, inquiry questions constructed by teachers and students to guide engagement with oral history sources should keep the central areas of interest of the field in mind.

Another key aim of the field of oral history for many practitioners is the democratisation of history and historical practice. A significant aspect of early oral history ventures was an effort to

provide a voice to those marginalised by conventional historical approaches that focused on 'great men' or political and economic forces. The close relationship between oral history and social history is often emphasised. Blee (2016, p. 424) notes that "from this tradition of history from the bottom up has come a rich and sensitive body of interviews with union organizers, feminist activists, civil rights workers, and others." In addition, the practice of oral history has allowed access to the stories of people and groups who are less able or likely to produce written documents (Harnett, 2011, p. 2), offering "a window into experiences obscured in written sources" (Sangster, 2016, p. 65). The concept of democratisation also appears frequently in debates about who can and should conduct oral history interviews, what ought to be considered 'oral history' (Frisch, 2011, p. 135), as well as the impact of digitisation in democratising access to oral histories (Cohen, 2013, p. 155). When watching and listening to an audiovisual oral history, it would therefore be useful for students to consider ideas such as the extent to which the source gives a voice to a previously 'voiceless' person or group, how and why it does this, and what might be learnt as a consequence of hearing a story usually untold in prevailing historical narratives.

Additionally, it should be remembered that oral history is a diverse and heterogeneous field, in part because of its interdisciplinarity. Interviewing techniques, data collection strategies and analytical approaches are drawn from a variety of fields such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, documentary history, memory studies, performance studies, literary studies, linguistics, and feminist theory amongst others (Perks & Thomson, 2016; Thomson, 2006). Students, equally, can be encouraged to consider how knowledge, ideas and ways of thinking from the other disciplines they study – particularly literature, languages, drama, and media studies – might be useful or appropriate in the analysis and interpretation of audiovisual interview sources.

Analysing and interpreting interview(s): Concepts linked to remembering and retelling

When it comes to the analysis and interpretation of audiovisual oral histories, there are a number of concepts with which students should engage. Guiding students to investigate and explore these eight concepts to support their addressing of inquiry questions underpinned by the aims, beliefs and practices central to the field will build their disciplinary skills and understanding. Audiovisual interviews must always be understood as a dynamic dialogue in which remembering and retelling are co-constructed by the interviewee, interviewer and in some cases other parties (such as filmmakers). Therefore, some concepts in the framework centre more on the narrator (indicated in blue), others focus more on how external influences shape the oral history (indicated in red), while certain points emphasise the interplay of these two (indicated in purple and green). While these may be useful directions to point student attention, it should be reiterated that all the concepts are interlinked and they are not designed to be dealt with in a particular order.

Subjectivity

Portelli (2016) contends that while oral history can provide factually valid and informative accounts of past events, its strength comes from the subjective retelling of these events which enables us to obtain a greater appreciation of their meaning. Oral histories are infused with the subjectivity of lived experience, personal perspective, and later reflection and interpretation by the narrator. In Portelli's view, this is of equal historical value since "what informants believe is indeed a historical fact (that is, the fact that they believe it), as much as what really happened" (p. 53). Many others echo these sentiments, extolling oral history's ability to incorporate new elements into our historical understanding, particularly regarding the way in which events were experienced at the time and are remembered in the present (Grele, 1987; Thompson, 2000). Students should aim to develop an understanding of the subjectivity of oral history interviews, exploring indications of the narrator's sense of identity, their perspectives, their experiences, as well as their interpretations of events and ideas and how they may have arrived at these. Exploring subjectivity in oral history sources bears some similarity to wider historical thinking concepts such as historical perspective-taking and historical empathy. It differs, however, in two ways: first, perspectives offered in oral histories are not captured at the time of events but reflect the context

of a later retelling; second, the subjectivity is of interest in oral history for what it can tell us about the meaning of the past for individuals in the present, not only about the past itself.

Orality and embodiment

One significant peculiarity of the sources of the field of oral history is their oral nature. Important aspects of oral expression such as intonation, changes in the rhythm of speech, and shifts in velocity (how long a narrator spends narrating a given period in the past) all reflect the narrator's attitude towards different subjects in their narration (Portelli, 2016). Grele (1987) notes that a major drawback of transcription is that it "conveys none of the meanings imparted through inflection, cadence, tone, or volume" (p. 577). Orality must also be understood in association with embodiment. As Friedman (2014) argues, the voice not only originates in the body but is affected by both the body and by facial expressions which impact upon vocalisation. He further demonstrates that facial gestures such as the raising of an eyebrow combine with tone to produce nuances of meaning such as irony and thus the interpretation and analysis of oral histories must deeply consider all layers of communication. In some cases, gesture and expression alone may even convey what words cannot. Audiovisual interviews enable students to see and hear individuals as they recount their experiences and students should consider not only how this changes the way that they, as a viewer, respond to the story but also how the narrator's way of speaking and moving can aid interpretation of their testimony. Exploring the way that a narrator speaks (volume, pitch, accent, speed, intonation, alongside changes in rhythm and velocity) as well as their physicality (posture, gestures, gaze, and facial expressions) can offer students valuable insights beyond the 'content' of their speech regarding their attitudes and feelings about aspects of their past.

Performance

The interviewer's mere presence renders the retelling of any oral history a performance and narrators will, consciously or unconsciously, adopt a performance style made up of a combination of narrative and speech forms appropriate to the interview situation (Abrams, 2016). This effect can be further exacerbated by the purpose and intended audience of the recorded history. For example, the presence of video recording equipment can fundamentally transform the way in which narrators retell their stories by making them feel not only the centre of attention but as though every word they say will be preserved in perpetuity (McLaughlin, 2018). Moreover, the fact that documentaries are filmed for wide public consumption and oral histories are increasingly uploaded to broadly accessible online collections can also cause interviewees to moderate their performance (McLaughlin, 2018; Sheftel & Zembrzychi, 2017). The narrator's surroundings and their perception of their audience - the interviewer and/or secondary viewers - will inform their choice of dress, use of voice, physicality, use of language and their overall narrative. Students should look for indications of these performative aspects and consider how the context and purpose of the interview may have affected the way the narrator chose to present themselves. This should lead to further questions about the implications of a narrator's performance on how we interpret their testimony and what their desired self-portrayal might tell us about the meaning their story holds for them at the time of the interview.

Narrative

In order to make sense of our memories, we all have a tendency to construct narratives from our recollections (Yow, 2015). This process and its link to memory have been the subject of much investigation by oral historians. In addition to 'internal' narrativisation, oral historians examine the connections (and disconnections) between individual life stories and the narratives of collective history (Frisch, 2016), particularly dominant Grand or Master narratives (Stoler & Strassler, 2016). Oral history interviews take on a particular narrative form as they seek a retelling of personal experiences in which the narrator is typically positioned as the protagonist. Furthermore, their focus on spoken modes of storytelling, accessible outside learned circles and expressed differently to written forms of communication, give them a specific quality amongst historical practices (Abrams, 2016). For these reasons, narrative analysis is touted by several

prominent theorists as a useful and appropriate approach to understanding oral histories (Abrams, 2016; Portelli, 2016; Thompson, 2000). Students might explore narratives for the ways they reflect or reject dominant historical narratives with which students may be familiar, such as official nation-building historical narratives from their home countries. Testimonies can also be examined for the use and effect of narrative features – genre, themes, symbols, motifs, arcs, etc. – and features specific to spoken narratives to communicate experiences and memories.

Presentation

The holistic reality of an interview event can never fully be captured in all its nuance and thus the interviews students watch and listen to are inevitably shaped by the way in which they are presented. Frisch (2011) uses a culinary analogy to describe the traditional dichotomy in oral history work between the relatively 'raw' recordings located in libraries or archives and the 'well-cooked' presentation prepared by scholars, documentarians, or museum curators. Indeed, filmmakers underscore the impact of conventions such as staging and editing on the oral history produced, reiterating that "documentary is a representation of reality, rather than reality itself" (McLaughlin, 2018, p. 313). Even in 'raw' recordings, the impact of framing, editing, and so forth remains a key concern. When examining the impact of presentation, students should investigate the provenance and purpose of the source (website, film, television program, etc.) and consider how these factors may have favoured a certain kind of presentation. They should also examine the interview itself for signs of staging, editing, length, use of music, presence or absence of interviewer, voice over, and contextual information on the interview. Students should then assess the impact of these elements on the testimony and what we can understand from it.

The role of the interviewer

Unlike other historical sources, it is the oral historian who initiates the interview and thereby the source's creation. As Sheftel and Zembrzycki (2017) remind us, even where we are able to access a relatively 'raw' audiovisual recording, this does not mean that the history presented is free from outside influence since the process of interpretation by both interviewer and interviewee begins during the interview itself. Portelli (2016) highlights the intersubjectivity of narrator and interviewer as one of the key features of oral history sources, arguing that their content "depends largely on what the interviewer puts into it in terms of questions, dialogue, and personal relationship" (p. 54). This relationship may be further impacted by factors such as age, gender, social class, cultural background, political persuasion, and so on (Abrams, 2016). Intersubjectivity produces a unique narrative that could never be recreated in quite the same way. For Frisch (2011, p. 127), this can be characterised as a "shared authority," the joint meaning-making process in which authorship is shared between interviewer and narrator.

When analysing the role of the interviewer, students should consider the impact of their choice of questions, the frequency with which they ask them, and the extent to which they adapt to the narrator's responses. Similarly, they should observe the apparent relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, identifying positive flow in interactions, awkwardness, signs of power dynamics, a sense of professionalism, or even confrontation. They ought to consider how the identities of the narrator and interviewer may influence this relationship. In this process, students should try to find out as much as they can about the interviewer and their aims in the interview.

Memory-work

From around the 1970s onwards, the field of oral history increasingly turned to treating memory not only as the source of their study but also as its subject (Thomson, 2006). In addition to broader investigations into the functioning of memory and its imperfections, one common theme explored in oral history literature is the interaction between different layers of memory, such as: individual and collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992); repressed, secret, communal, and public memory (Browning, 2016); or official, popular, and 'countermemory' (Yow, 2015). Whilst different theorists propose different categorisations, many emphasise the importance of examining oral

history testimonies for traces of collective memory influences - which may be evident in the language, motifs or narrative frames used by the narrator - in order to explore the interaction, convergence and divergence of individual accounts with shared cultural patterns over time (e.g., Stoler & Strassler, 2016).

Whilst some of the more complex subtleties of memory-work may prove too challenging for secondary students, it is important that they engage with questions about remembering which link directly to the core tenets of oral history. Students should think carefully about what has been remembered by the narrator and why this might have been remembered. They should develop some understanding of ideas about individual and collective memory (in its various forms) and examine audiovisual interviews for indications of the interactions between these layers of memory. Students should also explore the features of the context at the time of retelling that may have shaped the way the narrator remembers in their testimony. These might include consequences of past events which have occurred in the intervening years, current affairs, changing social values, or the narrator's individual sense of self.

Forgetting and silences

Students should also consider what is not remembered or said in the audiovisual interview. 'Forgetting' here refers both to the forgetting or repression of memories by the narrator as well as the collective forgetting of particular stories and voices in history and public discourse. Similarly, 'silences' may be understood literally as moments without sound between narration in an interview, but also refers to stories unspoken about either in history, public memory or individual testimony (Passerini, 2003). Oral historians remain alert to these phenomena, investigating their possible causes such as narrator reticence to discuss particular subjects because: these do not align with their purpose in the interview, they are restricted by the bounds of social discourse (norms of privacy and politeness, for instance), they have experienced associated personal trauma, their memories do not accord with accepted public and collective memory narratives, or there are express restrictions placed on memory by authorities (particularly, but not exclusively, by dictatorial governments) (e.g., Benadiba, 2012; Layman, 2016; Norquay, 1999; Passerini, 2003). Students should endeavour to identify any facts or subjects which the narrator appears either unable or unwilling to remember and discuss in the interview, exploring possible explanations for this. In addition to the passage of time and fallibility of memory, they might consider, for instance: whether these forgotten or unspoken issues or topics may have been deemed unimportant by the narrator or interviewer, may not have been previously thought or spoken about, may be difficult for the narrator to discuss, might be considered too private, and so on. Silences, in the literal sense, can also be examined along with physical clues to determine the feelings they may communicate.

Relating the interview(s) to other historical narratives and sources

In addition to analysing and interpreting the interview itself, students will often need to situate the interview in relation to other narratives and sources in order to address inquiry questions. Two areas of particular interest in this process are the accuracy and generalisability of the oral testimony. It is important to note, however, that these concepts should not be considered checkboxes for usefulness. An interview with numerous factual inaccuracies and which appears unrepresentative of the broader experiences of a certain group may still offer interesting and valuable insights into the past and how it was and is remembered, experienced and retold by an individual.

Accuracy

In addition to being subjective in nature, testimonies provided in oral histories, in some cases recounted a great distance after the event, raise concerns about accuracy. For many, the use of memory is the locus of concern when it comes to reliability. Whilst it can feel uncomfortable for the oral historian to challenge the accuracy of others' memories, particularly survivors of traumatic events (Browning, 2016), there is general agreement that respectful evaluation of the

accuracy and reliability of oral sources is important and must include an appreciation of various influences that shape oral testimony. It is not, however, a matter of dismissing any oral source which contains unreliable elements. Portelli (2016), instead, suggests conceiving of oral history sources as holding a "different credibility," arguing that "the diversity of oral history consists in the fact that 'wrong' statements are still psychologically 'true' and that this truth may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts" (p. 53). Students would benefit from considering how, why, and the extent to which memory is subject to distortion and degradation and how this may produce factual inaccuracies. Additionally, they ought to examine the ways that what is remembered and how it is remembered will be influenced by many of the concepts discussed above. Students can assess the factual accuracy of oral testimony by checking for internal consistency and by corroborating elements of the testimony against other historical sources or interviews while bearing in mind that inaccuracies may, in fact, be useful for investigating certain questions pertinent to oral historical study.

Generalisability

A related concept which students should also consider is the extent to which the interview is generalisable. In some cases, the generalisability of an interview may be informed by its accuracy. Generalisability, however, may also refer to how representative non-factual elements of an interview are. For example: Are the experiences and emotions described by the narrator common to this group? Are oral narratives of this event or period often remembered and retold in similar ways? In order to address such issues, students would need to situate an interview in the context of other similar interviews and historical sources. Sometimes interviews with multiple narrators about the same event may throw up contradictions (Browning, 2016), though Portelli (as cited in Yow, 2015, p. 284) sees these merely as a reminder that societies and cultures are made up of individuals. Some oral historians argue, on the other hand, that generalisability is not necessarily a valuable pursuit as a close examination of a single oral history allows a deeper engagement with the individual "personality, emotion, detail and dialogue" and a peeling back of layers of memory and experience that might otherwise be lost in a broad sample of stories (Sangster, 2015, p. 65). Students should thus consider the generalisability of a source in the context of the inquiry question they are seeking to address and should consider formulating questions in such a way as to make clear if they require a generalisable conclusion or not.

Conclusion and discussion

This study has proposed a prototypical framework, one possible way to capture oral historical thinking to support secondary school teachers and students to engage with audiovisual interview sources like oral historians. This framework endeavours to integrate a range of concepts identified in oral history literature into a structured format to support the translation of these ideas into a variety of secondary-level classroom contexts. It is not, however, proposed as the only valid approach to bringing oral historical thinking into school-level education. The developed framework comprises three domains, guiding students to understand the nature of the field of oral history, engage with concepts crucial to the analysis of audiovisual sources, and consider additional concepts relevant to relating individual oral history interview recordings to other historical narratives and sources.

Interaction with existing historical thinking frameworks

Since the present study has used existing frameworks of historical thinking in education as its basis, the way in which the proposed framework for oral history sources might relate to these merits some attention. One challenge in determining how a framework of oral historical thinking could interact with existing models is the disparity in their approach, content, and scope. Following a cross-mapping of the main components of each model to identify areas of convergence and divergence, some significant overlap in the components of these existing works were

identified such as taking perspectives or empathising with historical actors, and using sources and evidence. These were then examined for potential links with the oral historical thinking framework.

Prominent in existing models are a range of meta-concepts "such as *historical significance*, *continuity and change*, [and] *cause and effect*" (Huijgen & Holthuis, 2014, p. 106). These can be relevant to oral historical study and evidence suggests oral history may benefit students in mastering these meta-concepts (e.g., Huijgen & Holthuis, 2016; Perrone, 2017; von Heyking, 2017). This, however, does not necessarily imply a mutual development of students' ability to think like oral historians. Although the concept of *democratisation* of history might relate to issues of *historical significance,* on the whole these meta-concepts did not appear as leading themes within the literature of the field of oral history. Therefore, a vast majority of the oral historical thinking concepts identified above do not easily align with these meta-concepts. Other historical thinking concepts such as *perspective-taking* and *historical empathy* do correspond more closely to themes arising in oral history such as *democratisation*, *subjectivity*, *memory as the subject of study*, *orality and embodiment*, *performance*, and *narrative*. There is an important caveat to this convergence, however: oral historians are not singularly focused on the perspectives held in the past but also on the perspectives displayed at the time of interview.

Similarly, the use of sources and *evidence* appears as a through-line in almost all the models listed and has obvious links to oral historical thinking, particularly centred on engagement with audiovisual sources. The focus on working with a particular source type could suggest positioning it as a sort of sub-framework within the concept of evidence is appropriate. Like the links to perspective-taking, however, this only functions to an extent. Firstly, the use of sources and evidence as described in the historical thinking models focuses particularly on primary source material rather than retrospective sources like oral histories which hold an ambiguous status between primary source and historical account (Bertram et al., 2017). Secondly, there are several important oral historical thinking concepts which deal with broader aims and methods of the discipline which could not be encompassed within this narrower scope. Finally, the use of evidence and sources in existing frameworks is almost exclusively for the purpose of interpreting and drawing conclusions about the past.

It is this final aspect that arises as the most significant obstacle to the close intertwining of existing models and a framework of oral historical thinking. History and oral history as fields of study are both concerned with understanding the past, but oral historians also place a great deal of emphasis on other objectives (exploring how this was and is experienced, remembered and retold) which do not hold the same prominence in the broader discipline of history, particularly as it is represented in the models studied. This difference in underpinning beliefs and aims alongside particular approaches which centre on memory and the relationship between past and present – including sources which themselves span this divide – indicates that a framework of oral historical thinking could not be designed to slot into a neat interaction with existing historical thinking models. Thus, it must function as a standalone, though complementary, framework.

Using the historical thinking framework in the classroom

Developing student oral historical thinking skills across these diverse areas will take time and may best be achieved by the regular integration of audiovisual interviews in the classroom. Supporting students to engage deeply with oral history sources in this way can not only develop their general historical thinking but can also allow them to explore a range of other important concepts specific to the study of oral history.

The core of the framework, developing an understanding of the nature of oral history, must be the starting point for student learning and the point through which learning continuously pivots. As Bruner (1977) argued, "mastery of the fundamental ideas of a field involves not only the grasping of general principles, but also the development of an attitude towards learning and inquiry" (p. 20). Where students have had little to no exposure to oral history in the past, the

central aims, beliefs, and practices must form the springboard for their learning. Teachers implementing the framework should therefore begin with activities and discussions that promote student understanding of core tenets such as: the particularity of oral history and its sources, the interdisciplinary practices of the field, the prominence of democratising objectives, and the types of questions that oral history seeks to address. Furthermore, teachers and students should construct inquiry questions that relate directly to these fundamental ideas. Engagement with these central components of the framework is not only restricted to the beginning of the learning process, rather Bruner advocates for a "continual deepening" of one's understanding of core disciplinary concepts (p. 13).

The next two layers of concepts in the framework are intended to form part of more procedural instruction. As they work with an interview or collection, students should be striving to explore how these concepts play out in the particular source/s and how this affects the construction of responses to inquiry questions. It is not suggested that all concepts in the framework be dealt with collectively and in depth during every student encounter with an oral history source. This would be impracticable in most teaching contexts and far too onerous an undertaking for teachers and students alike. Instead, the framework aims to provide a systematic overview of oral historical thinking that can be applied flexibly in diverse teaching contexts. Its implementation, therefore, would best include the use of activities linked to one or several concepts as appropriate to a given source or source collection and chosen inquiry questions. For instance, the role of the interviewer can be explored by examining multiple interviews with the same interviewee on the same general topic. Students can be guided to analyse the different interviewers' identities, contexts, aims, their apparent relationships with the narrator, their lines of questioning, the speed of their questioning, and so on. Students then compare and contrast the oral histories produced as a result, considering how the interviewers may have impacted on these accounts.[1]

It is recommended that teachers scaffold learning (design activities with controls and supports that are appropriate to the learner's present capacity) with a gradual reduction in teacher intervention over time (Wood et al., 1976). The ultimate goal of long-term interaction with the concepts of the framework is that students will be able to flexibly select and explore relevant concepts when independently analysing and interpreting audiovisual sources.

Suggestions for future research

Limitations of the present study include the authors' own subjective interpretation and classification of core ideas within the field of oral history for educational purposes and, importantly, the fact that it remains wholly theoretical. Further research would be required to test the usability and effectiveness of the framework in authentic classroom settings using quasi-experimental studies to determine its real-world validity. This would require valid and reliable pre- and post-tests focusing on students' ability to examine audiovisual sources. Thinking aloud methodology could also be used to gain insight into how students use the different components of the framework and how they value them. Moreover, in the same way that the aforementioned models of historical thinking have evolved over time and have been approached in different ways by different researchers, the prototypical framework presented here may be improved upon in future or stimulate the development of an altogether alternative approach. It is hoped that, by putting forward one possible approach as a starting point, the framework will indeed provoke an ongoing dialogue between oral historians and educators as to how we may best bring disciplinary ways of thinking from the field into the classroom.

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Authors

Bridget Martin, MA is a secondary school history teacher based in France. She holds a Master in Teaching from the University of Melbourne and a Master of Arts (History) from the University of Groningen. She is also a member of the Scientific Advisory Council of the Observatory on History Teaching in Europe and a teacher trainer for EuroClio, the European Association of History Educators.

Tim Huijgen, PhD is an assistant professor and teacher educator at the University of Groningen. Moreover, he is a board member of the Royal Netherlands Historical Society and staff member of the Interuniversity Center for Educational Research (ICO). His research focuses on domain-specific instruction in the social studies.

Email: t.d.huijgen@rug.nl

Barbara Henkes, PhD is a historian and an assistant professor at the University of Groningen. She investigates how individual and collective memories of violent forms of exclusion affect contemporary societies. Recently, she published *Negotiating Racial Politics in the Family. Transnational histories touched by National Socialism and Apartheid* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2020).

Email: b.henkes@rug.nl

Endnotes

[1] A range of classroom activities of this kind have been developed and can be provided by contacting the first author.

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Gauging reflexive historical thinking: An exploratory study of Colombian undergraduates

Joshua Large
Juan Pablo Román Calderón

Universidad EAFIT, Colombia

Abstract

This study gauges the development of an historical thinking skill we term reflexive historical thinking and its relationship to economic ideology among a group of undergraduate business students in an introductory history course at a Colombian private university. A survey was conducted twice during a semester in which students answered questions regarding historical agency, personal agency, and economic ideology. We measured the relationships and changes in responses regarding these factors. We hypothesized that students with greater awareness of broad social and economic forces as determinants of historical events would also be aware of an array of social and economic forces informing their personal outlooks. Moreover, we expected such awareness – both historical and personal – to increase during the course. Finally, we wondered how economic ideology influences such awareness. We found little support for the expectation that reflexive historical thinking developed over time, but interesting correlations between historical thinking and economic ideology.

Keywords

Reflexive historical thinking; Effective historical consciousness; Historical perspective taking; History education; Economic ideology

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Introduction

The discipline of history undergoes periodic bouts of identity crisis. For the most part, the collective anxiety revolves around the question of the discipline's claim (or lack thereof) to objective knowledge about the past, and/or its purported lack of theoretical grounding (Thompson, 1978, Novick, 1988). So too, a common refrain among non-history undergraduates is that history is nothing but a succession of obscure dates and events irrelevant to their own lives (van Straaten, Wilschut, & Oostdam, 2018). Increasingly, however, history professors assert the vitality of their discipline not by ascribing transcendent importance to the past *per se* (and certainly not by laying claim to its objective analysis) but by arguing for the importance of the *cognitive process* required for its coherent interpretation (Ercikan & Seixas, 2015; Levisohn, 2015; Stoel, van Drie, & van Boxtel, 2017; Yogev, 2013). Various names have been given to this cognitive process within the burgeoning literature that would seek to describe and measure it: "historical logic" or "logics of history" (Thompson, 1978; Sewell, 1988), "historical consciousness" (Friedrich, 2010; Nordgren, 2016; Rüsen, 2004; Seixas, 2004; Thorp, 2014), "effective historical consciousness" (Gadamer, 2004; Yogev, 2013), "historical thinking" (Ercikan & Seixas, 2015; Levinson, 2017; Seixas, 2017; Seixas & Peck, 2004; Wineburg, 2001), "historical reasoning" (Freedman, 2015; van Boxtel & van Drie, 2013; van Drie & van Boxtel 2008), "historical sense generation" (Rüsen, 2012), "historical perspective taking" (Hartmann & Hasselhorn, 2008; Huijgen, van Boxtel, van de Grift, & Holthuis, 2017; Nilsen, 2016), "historical problem solving" (Wineburg, 1991), "historical thinking and reasoning" (Gestsdottir, van Boxtel, & van Drie, 2017), "historical understanding" (Seixas, 1993).

Though the precise meanings and usages of the terms vary, these scholars generally share the contention that a refined capacity for making sense of the past is essential to an intelligent society. Thus, Jannet van Drie and Carla van Boxtel (2008) write of historical reasoning instilling "a significant capacity for the participation in a democratic society," one that promotes "reasoned judgment about important human matters." Jörn Rüsen argues that historical consciousness constitutes "a necessary factor in the cultural orientation of human life" (2012) and a vital component of "moral consciousness" (2004). Sam Wineburg (1991) observes that historical thinking "humanizes" people by teaching them to "understand how others are different from themselves." Indeed, he argues that "the study of history is nothing less than the business of producing human beings" (1991).

We agree that the skills required for making sense of the past are essential to a flourishing civil society. Historical thinking helps us better understand complex processes, enhances our appreciation for context and contingency, teaches us how the past influences the present, and encourages a discerning attitude toward information and its uses. Such skills, however, are not truly effective unless combined with another vital capacity instilled through historical study, that of critical self awareness. To interpret the past is to better understand the present, not simply in the oft-repeated sense of learning from past mistakes in order to avoid their repetition, but rather in that understanding the past requires, and in turn helps generate, a clear sense of one's own time, place, and self. In this article we analyze this quality of self and social awareness instilled through historical study. At the risk of further semantic balkanization, we call this quality *reflexive historical thinking*.

This study was motivated by the experience of teaching a required history course to business school undergraduates at a private university in Medellin, Colombia. These students have, by and large, little to no previous experience studying history (nor other critical social sciences) and, as a rule, little sense of the historical and cultural contingency of their own worldviews. They also frequently hold conservative beliefs about the role of government in distributing wealth and in the regulation of capitalism, views which may influence their receptivity to critical approaches to history. Accordingly, our study sought to answer the question: would the novel experience of studying history inform these students' worldviews and self-perceptions? Or, put differently, would this experience increase their capacity for reflexive historical thinking?

This study contributes to the literature on historical consciousness, historical thinking, and teaching history in several ways. First, it measures the development of students' capacities for critical self and social awareness in the context of studying history. Although previous studies have sought to measure the related concept of historical perspective taking (Hartmann & Hasselhorn, 2008; Huijgen, van Boxtel, van de Grift, & Holthuis, 2014; Huijgen, van Boxtel, van de Grift, & Holthuis, 2017) we are unaware of any previous work gauging students' capacities for this particular facet of historical thinking. Second, we are aware of no previous work on the relation between economic ideology and any facet of historical thinking. Third, if historical thinking skills are indeed vital to the constitution of an intelligent society, they should presumably be taught to a wide range of students (Wineburg, 2018). This study accordingly makes the contribution of gauging a particular historical thinking skill among students from a different academic discipline. In so doing, it raises interesting (if sobering) questions for teachers interested in developing historical thinking skills among students with little intrinsic interest in history.

Theoretical framework and hypotheses

Historical consciousness and historical thinking, while related concepts, differ in their general connotation. That said, there is no consensus in the literature on the precise definition of either term. As a recent article observes, historical consciousness is generally conceived within one of two paradigms: as a *collective* sensibility pertaining to questions of historical memory and culture, or as an *individual* sensibility pertaining to how one makes sense of the world based on one's understanding of the past and its bearing upon the present and future (Grever & Adriaansen, 2019). Historical thinking, meanwhile, generally connotes the *skill* associated with historical analysis and the *procedure* whereby that skill is learned and practiced. Here, too, there is no consensus regarding either the skill or the procedure. North American approaches to historical thinking tend to embark from the procedural step of analyzing and contextualizing primary sources, and then advance to steps related to causal reasoning, broader appreciation of historical context, and judgment. European approaches tend to partake of a more "holistic orientation," emphasizing narrative competence (that is, the ability to generate cogent, evidence-based historical narratives) and historical sense-making (that is, the ability to analyze others' historical narratives) (Ercikan & Seixas, 2015). This article takes an ecumenical approach to the terminology of historical cognition. Our concept of reflexive historical thinking connotes a sensibility (that of self and social awareness) that we posit emerges from doing history. Moreover, reflexive historical thinking may be classed as a refinement of historical perspective taking (HPT), a concept that is, as Ercikan and Seixas (2015) observe, "ubiquitous throughout history assessment research."

Historical perspective taking at its most basic level involves the recognition that the past is a foreign country. In one study, Adam Nilsen (2016) defines it as "the effort to use historical material to explore and reconstruct the internal states of the past, with the goal of understanding something about the person's thoughts, feelings and motivations." However, while such endeavors may guard against the sin of "presentism"—the anachronistic notion that historical actors shared our mentalities and socio-cultural contexts—they do not necessarily address the problem of our own inherent biases as observers. For, as Sam Wineburg (2001) evocatively puts it, "trying to shed what we know in order to glimpse the 'real' past is like trying to examine microbes with the naked eye: The instruments we abandon are the ones that enable us to see." We thus follow the German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer in viewing our point of reference not only as something that cannot be overcome, but something that is itself better understood by means of historical analysis. In short, HPT, merely understood as recognizing that the past is a foreign country, is not sufficient; what is required is a corresponding awareness of our fundamental influence upon what we observe.

According to Gadamer's (2004) hermeneutic approach, historical thinking requires a dialectical sensibility he calls *effective historical consciousness* [*wirkungsgeschichtliches*

Bewusstsein] wherein a circumscribed encounter with the past (an "historical horizon") interacts with our own sensibilities (our "contemporary horizon"). Thus, understanding a past event or text is not simply a matter of appreciating the particularities of its time, for in fact understanding "is always co-determined also by the historical situation of the interpreter." It is indeed this notion of co-determination instilled by the interpreter's subjectivity that is transmitted by the word "effective" in Gadamer's terminology. As such, Gadamer seeks to distinguish effective historical consciousness from mere historical consciousness, which he equates with the "naïve assumption that we must transpose ourselves into the spirit of the age, think with its ideas and thoughts, not with our own, and thus advance toward historical objectivity." We cannot think thoughts other than our own, hence we cannot grasp the spirit of any age but through the prism of our own. Yet this does not mean that historical analysis is futile. On the contrary, to achieve meaningful understanding is to engage in the act of, as it were, rubbing one's own sensibilities against those of another age, for only in so doing can we uncover the contours of our own sensibilities in the first place: "it is impossible to make ourselves aware of a prejudice while it is constantly operating unnoticed, but only when it is, so to speak, provoked," as Gadamer puts it.

We find Gadamer's concept of effective historical consciousness helpful for its insistence on the subjectivity of the observer, and for its suggestion that refined awareness of this subjectivity is achieved via interpretation of the past. We note, furthermore, that other scholars advocate for the integration of hermeneutic approaches in the classroom (Gallagher, 1992; Grever & Adriaansen, 2019; Parkes, R.J., 2009; Retz, 2013, 2019; Yogev, 2013). However, the hermeneutic process associated with effective historical consciousness was not explicitly operationalized within the History of International Relations course curriculum. This is partly because that curriculum developed gradually over time and necessarily included a considerable amount of straight historical content. But it was also frankly because a clearer notion of how Gadamer's ideas might be implemented, along with a clear awareness of the need for an even more explicit focus on developing historical thinking skills in the course, emerged from the process of conducting the study itself. As such, we also did not operationalize effective historical consciousness in our assessment of students' capacity for historical thinking. Instead, we settled on the related term of *reflexive historical thinking* (RHT) to express the particular sensibility we did seek to inculcate and measure. That term was intended to express the increased self and social awareness that we posited occurs through historical analysis, even if the student is not explicitly engaged in the sort of dialectical process suggested by Gadamer's effective historical consciousness.

Our expectation, in other words, was that taking the course, wherein students were asked to grapple with historical contingency in various ways, would make them better able to critically analyze their surroundings and themselves. Specifically, we hoped that the study of historical contingency and various modes of interpreting the same historical event would raise students' awareness of how both historical and contemporary actors (including themselves) are conditioned by their environments. Consequently, we hypothesized that RHT will increase as a result of taking the course (H1a).

Our study also set out to answer several related questions with respect to reflexive historical thinking: do the students identify economic and sociological factors as critical to the shape of history, or do they tend to view history as fundamentally shaped by autonomous individuals? Do students tend to see themselves as autonomous individuals whose beliefs are uniquely their own, or do they see themselves as products of their particular time and place? Furthermore, we wondered if there is a relationship between these questions: do students who believe history is driven by social and economic forces also tend to see themselves as less autonomous individuals, and vice versa? Hence, we posited that RHT is negatively correlated with students' sense of being autonomous individuals (hereafter, Autonomy) (H2).

Finally, and especially in light of the economic profile of the students in this study, who mostly belong to upper and upper-middle classes, we were interested in the relationship between economic ideology and critical/historical thinking skills. Critical thinkers become aware of the fact that their point of view is conditioned by their experiences, including those of ideological

and/or economic import (Paul & Elder, 2007). Critical thinking is said to be important in different dimensions of an individual's life, including education, political orientation and sense of justice (Franco, Butler & Halpern, 2015). Though it is an intellectual and not a moral virtue such as being just, fair or socially tolerant, one could use critical thinking as a method for justifying one's notion of what is just or fair (Mulnix, 2012). Thus, critical thinking could be related to and/or affected by beliefs such as Economic Ideology (EI). EI is defined as beliefs regarding the proper distribution of wealth and the regulation of business and is correlated with different variables such as political identity and income (Longo & Baker, 2014). EI (as well as political ideology) is rooted in non-conscious psychological factors (Graham, Iyer, & Meindl 2013). To our knowledge, however, there are no studies explicitly inquiring if and how EI is related to critical/historical thinking, nor studies assessing whether EI can change as a result of exposure to critical/historical thinking. Such questions are particularly salient with respect to reflexive historical thinking, which expresses the quality of self and social awareness engendered through historical study. Could increased self and social awareness influence economic ideology? Alternatively, does economic ideology constrain the development of RHT? We contend that RHT and EI are positively related over time (H3a and H3b), and that, as with reflexive historical thinking, EI (that is, the existence of clearly defined views regarding economic regulation and redistribution) should increase during the period of the course (H1b).

Course description and study method

The study was gathered among 79 undergraduates in an introductory course called History of International Relations at Universidad EAFIT in Medellin, Colombia. The course professor is a US citizen with a doctorate in History from a US university. History of International Relations is the first of two required courses in the discipline of International Relations taken by students in the International Business program. As such, nearly all of the students in the course (and all of the respondents in the current study) are International Business students, the vast majority of whom are in their third semester at university. Most are drawn from the upper and upper-middle classes, approximately 68% of the study group being members of the two highest economic strata as defined by the Colombian government[1] (see the *participants and procedure* section below for additional demographic data). The course is taught in English, as is approximately 60% of the International Business curriculum. Though nearly all of the course's students are native Spanish speakers (including all but one of those in the study group) the vast majority are sufficiently fluent in English to undertake undergraduate study in this language.

The History of International Relations course was initially conceived as an historical genealogy of terms and concepts fundamental to the discipline of International Relations: balance of power, state sovereignty, "realist" theory, etc. The current course professor, however, re-made it into a global history of capitalism since the High Middle Ages. His reason for doing so was partly to make the subject more appealing to students of International Business. Additionally, he believed that high political concepts cannot be properly understood without coming to grips with their economic foundations. Finally, the professor understood the course as a counterweight to the generally uncritical professional training students receive in the International Business program, especially with regard to understandings of liberal capitalism and globalization processes.

In addition to such changes in the course curriculum, the professor gradually adapted his teaching method. The course, which each semester includes between 80 and 145 students, was initially (from the beginning of the current professor's tenure in the first semester of 2013) held in an auditorium, wherein students listened to weekly lectures and were evaluated via a midterm and final exam. Given the large volume of participants and the non-existence of teaching assistants, exam questions were in multiple-choice format and written assignments were performed entirely in groups. By the time of this research study in the second semester of 2017, the course's structure had changed substantially: classes were now held in a large open room with round tables (a so-called "inverted classroom" built for the course). Additionally, class lectures

were substantially truncated and replaced with a series of online videos created by the professor. More class time was thus dedicated to activities and simulations, as well as to individual writing assessments (this was also facilitated by the introduction of a TA who assisted with grading). Finally, to incentivize active completion of the higher volume of work assigned, the professor created a virtual course currency (called Clios) and an associated class leaderboard. Students accumulated Clios through (among other means) active participation in class activities. Clios could be applied at the end of the semester to marginally improve quiz and paper grades. Although this study is not intended to measure the effects of such "active learning," "flipped classroom," or "gamification" strategies, it is worth noting that other studies support the notion that such methods enhance student engagement, which in turn potentially improves critical thinking skills (Foldnes, 2016). Several of the course's new activities were indeed expressly designed to inculcate a critical historical sensibility (see *measures and survey timing* below). Accordingly, it was hoped that the introduction of these new learning methods designed to enhance motivation and participation would facilitate the improvement of students' critical historical thinking skills. Even so, the professor remained concerned as to whether all of these changes were actually having their desired effect. This study was created in part to address that concern.

Participants and procedure

In this longitudinal study, the data were collected using the convenience sampling technique. Via this research design, the authors wanted to test student perceptions of historical agency and personal autonomy, along with the question of whether RHT and EI were related and/or increased during the semester. The participants were undergraduate students of an International Business program offered by a Colombian private university. The respondents voluntarily participated in the study. An online survey was administered at the beginning and end of the semester (with an approximately four-month gap between the first and last survey). Overall, from a total class enrollment of 84, the survey resulted in 79 usable questionnaires. Five questionnaires were discounted as the participants were underage (without permission of these students' parents their responses could not be used). The participants' mean age was 19.55 years (*SD* = 1.60). Approximately 36% of the respondents were women. The participants were distributed in four out of six economic strata as follows: 3 = 9.1%; 4 = 22.7%; 5 = 37.9%; 6 = 30.3% (see endnote 1 for a brief explanation of economic strata).

Measures and survey timing

All measures were administered in English since most participants demonstrated proficiency in that language before entering the program. The two-items EI measure developed by Longo & Baker (2014) was used in this study. The reliability of the scale was acceptable (Cronbach's α = .69). The initial statement of the instrument read "To what extent do you agree that the government should…." Participants entered their responses using a seven-point Likert scale, from 1 strongly disagree, to 7 strongly agree. Sample items are: "distribute wealth more evenly"; "regulate business practices more closely."

We used an *ad hoc* scale to measure RHT. The scale was developed by the professor of the course. As suggested above, current literature suggests that institutional context and socio-economic background may affect the participants' historical thinking. The content of the scale was presented to two colleagues, and the research team agreed that the items could grasp the RHT construct, providing the course material could counterbalance the uncritical professional training the students receive elsewhere. The initial statement of the scale was: "I feel that historical events are primarily determined by…" Using a seven-points Likert scale, from 1 strongly disagree to 7 strongly agree, the respondents manifested their degree of agreement with the statement regarding five consecutive items: individuals, economics, politics, environment, and geography.

We also introduced a single item measure in the questionnaire to test H2. The participants indicated their degree of agreement with the following statement through a seven-point Likert scale, from 1 strongly disagree to 7 strongly agree: "I feel that I am primarily an autonomous individual whose choices are my own."

In order to measure their thinking prior to their engagement with the course's historical content, students were first asked to answer the survey questions during the second week of the course. The second survey was given in the fifteenth and final week of the course. During the weeks leading up to this second survey, students engaged in a number of activities designed to boost RHT. For example, a three-week-long activity on "The Rise of the West" introduced students to four theoretical positions, all of which sought to explain, in different ways and based on different assumptions, why the modern political, economic, and cultural system substantially emerged from Europe and its former settler colonies. Students had to familiarize themselves with these four positions by various means, including an in-class Kahoot questionnaire in which they identified paragraphs representing each position. Later, they were themselves assigned one of the positions, and had to explain and defend their assigned positions relative to the Rise of the West in paragraph form. Finally, following an online voting process in which students selected the four best paragraphs (one from each position) from among their peers, the four selected finalists participated in an in-class debate, wherein each engaged with the question of the Rise of the West from their assigned perspective. The exercise was intended to expose students to the question of contingent interpretation: how different values, assumptions, backgrounds and epistemological frameworks produce different explanations of the past. In the class discussion following the debate, students were asked about which positions they personally favored (regardless of which ones they had been assigned) and were asked to share the reasons for their opinions. They were then asked to reflect upon the questions of whether, a) their initial views had shifted or otherwise been determined by the position they were assigned, and, b) whether they felt that their preexisting sensibilities about economic and political models influenced their opinions about the past. This exercise was intended to enhance reflexive historical thinking.

Following the activity on the rise of the West, students participated in a two-part simulation of a climate change summit. In this activity, students represented different countries and had to agree upon a collective framework similar to that of the Paris Climate Agreement (2015). Some students, however, individually benefited from a robust agreement (each country had a different amount of the course currency it received in the event of a strong or weak deal) while others personally benefited from a weaker or merely symbolic agreement. This activity was likewise designed to emphasize the importance of context and personal incentive in influencing ethical perception. Moreover, the simulation, along with other thematic content introduced during the final weeks of the semester, focused on the recent past and present period. During these final weeks, certain historical concepts introduced earlier in the semester were re-introduced in the context of the contemporary Colombian civil conflict. For example, students first encountered the concept of *enclosure* during the study of eighteenth-century Britain earlier in the semester. The patterns and processes of rural displacement in contemporary Colombia in some ways mirror the process of enclosure-based displacement in eighteenth-century Britain. The term was thus redeployed to help explain the process in Colombia. Such concepts, unthreatening and thereby accepted by students when first applied to the remote past, may thus help them perceive the deeply politicized and ideologically determined events of their own time and place in more nuanced light. Again, we therefore hoped that as a result of the activities and techniques introduced in the weeks before the second survey, students would demonstrate enhanced levels of RHT.

Analysis

Mplus (v.8; Muthén & Muthén, 2017) statistical package was used for the analyses. Time invariance was tested, as the study inquired if two non-observable variables (i.e. RHT and EI) were

positively related and changed during the semester. The Exploratory Structural Equation Modeling (ESEM) approach was employed to test time invariance of EI and RHT. This technique allowed us to assess the relationships between these constructs in and along the two time points. It also facilitated the inclusion of Autonomy (i.e. students' sense of being autonomous individuals) in the model as a covariate at both time points. First generation statistical techniques like t-tests, ANOVAS and linear regressions imply the use of suboptimal composite scores. Conversely, with ESEM, researchers can include hypothesis testing aspects such as measurement errors (Marsh, Morin, Parker, & Kaur, 2014). Specifically, the researchers tested an Exploratory Factor Analysis at two time points with factor loadings constrained to equality and correlated residuals across time. The exploratory approach was selected instead the confirmatory one since the RHT scale was created for this particular study. We followed the procedure described by Widaman, Ferrer, and Conger (2010) of evaluating a series of models with increasing time invariance. Testing time invariance helps to establish whether the constructs have the same meaning across measurement occasions (Putnick & Berstein, 2016). Since our analytical approach was exploratory rather than confirmatory, we were not able to assess the lowest degree of time invariance as suggested by the above authors. However, we tested and compared two models: weak and strong time invariance models. The weak invariance model with factor loadings constrained to equality through time demonstrates whether the same set of items measure the same constructs the same way across measurement occasions. A strong invariance model where factor loadings and intercepts are fixed to equality across time helps in comparing latent variable means (Widaman, Ferrer, & Conger, 2010). The maximum likelihood estimator and oblique CF-Varimax rotation were selected to this end. The fit of each model was evaluated using Hu & Bentler's (1999) and suggested cut-off values for the following coefficients: Chi square test of model fit (X^2), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), and Comparative Fit Index (CFI). The comparison between the two-time invariance models was done by assessing the change in the CFI and RMSEA indices (ΔCFI and ΔRMSEA). If these values are not higher than .01, the more constrained model or strong time invariance model can be selected (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). In the case of all models, RHT and EI items' factor loadings were expected to be greater than .40 (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010).

Finally, we included age, sex, and social strata in the model as covariates of RHT and EI at both time points. Since economic ideology has been found to be negatively correlated with variables such as income (Longo & Baker, 2014), we wanted to control for similar and other demographic variables possibly affecting the results of our study.

Results

Both the weak ($X^2(71) = 69.95$, $p > .05$; RMSEA = .03; CFI = .98) and strong invariance ($X^2(71) = 79.48$, $p > .05$; RMSEA = .04; CFI = .97) models obtained satisfactory overall goodness of fit indices. When comparing both models, we found that there were no significant differences between them (ΔCFI = .01; ΔRMSEA = -.01). Hence, the strong invariance model was selected and Autonomy was added as a covariate of EI and RHT (see Figure 1). The model with Autonomy yielded similar fit indices ($X^2(71) = 88.37$, $p > .05$; RMSEA = .04; CFI = .97). In the strong invariance model, the factor loading of the first RHT item did not reach the critical value. Noteworthy, the item was designed to assess perceptions about individuals shaping history. The three retained items referred to environmental forces influencing the course of history.

The EI and RHT scales were invariant over time, meaning that the measures are useful to assess the corresponding constructs across time points. Our results were significant after introducing age, sex, and social strata as covariates of RHT and EI at both time points. However, only social stratum affected EI at time point 1 ($b = -.25$, $p < .05$). In fact, social stratum correlated with EI at that time point. These results are similar to those of Longo and Barker (2014), who found a negative correlation between EI and income ($r = -.24$, $p < .01$). The correlations between RHT, EI, and control variables are shown in Table 1.

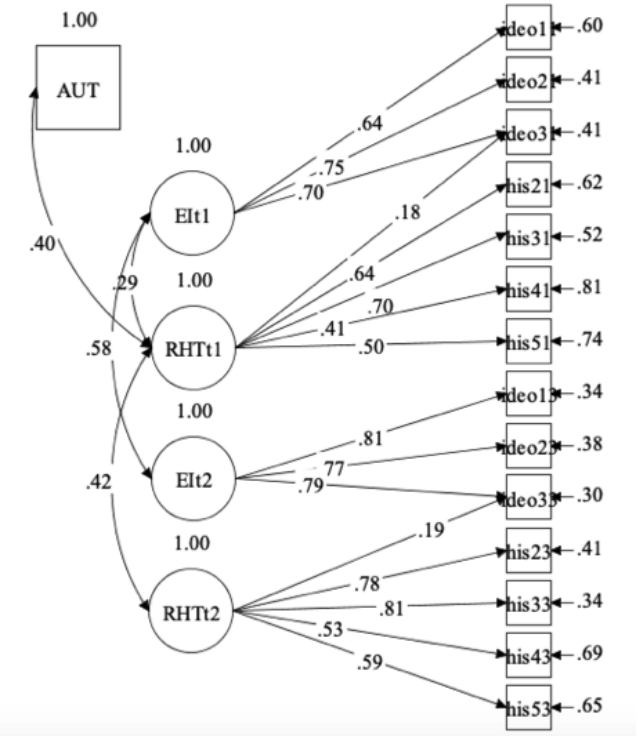

Figure 1. RHT and EI Strong Time Invariance Model.

Note: N = 74; Standardized coefficients significant at the $p < .01$ level; except for RHTt1 -> ei31 and RHTt2 -> ei32, significant at the $p < .05$ level. Non-Standardized factor loadings constrained to equality across time. Non-significant cross loadings and significant correlations between residuals are not shown for the sake of parsimony.

We did not find support for H1a. No significant difference in RHT from t1 to t2 was identified (*MRHT t2* = -.12, $p = .52$, fixing RHT t1 = 0). Similarly, no change was identified for EI (H1b; *MEI t2* = .17, $p = .29$, fixing EI t1 = 0). We found partial support for H3. EI and RHT were positively correlated at time point 1 (H3a), but the relationship was absent in time point 2 (H3b). As for H2, we found partial support indicating that RHT and Autonomy were related, but as shown in Figure 1, the resulting link was positive. After the deletion of the first item of RHT which stated that history is a product of individuals' actions, we would have expected a negative relationship with Autonomy. In other words, we expected to find that students who considered themselves autonomous individuals would also view history as determined by individual personalities.

Conversely, we expected that students who see themselves as being substantially produced by their cultural and economic context would ascribe greater force to such factors in determining historical events. But the opposite happened: students who saw themselves as autonomous individuals were *more* likely to recognize broad socio-cultural and economic forces as determinants of historical events. Conversely, students who thought they were more the product of their social, cultural and historical contexts were less likely to acknowledge those forces in history. This result may indicate that Colombian students' understanding of the terms in question: "I feel that I am primarily:

- An autonomous individual whose choices are my own
- A product of my culture and society"

is different from that of the question's creator (who is from the United States). The creator's hypothesis was that more self-aware students would recognize the degree to which they (and

historical actors) are formed by their surroundings. But he may have underestimated the degree to which Colombian students inclined to attribute historical events to broad social and economic forces also hold negative associations with being themselves produced by their own culture and society. We attempted to test this possibility by asking students of the same course in a subsequent semester what they understood by the sentence, "I feel that I am an autonomous individual whose choices are my own." Specifically, we asked them to choose between the following options as their favored interpretation of the above sentence:

- My choices are my own and not the result of external variables
- I evaluate information around me and then make up my mind

A slight majority (50.6%) chose the latter option as their preferred interpretation (against 47.2% who chose the first option and 2.2% who did not answer). Since those choosing the latter option would not necessarily be unaware of the degree to which individuals tend to be shaped by their surroundings, these results (while hardly definitive) may support the apparently counterintuitive conclusion that Colombian students who are more capable of RHC also tend to view themselves as autonomous individuals whose choices are their own.

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
EItime1	5.17	1.29					
RHTtime1	5.81	.75	.23*				
EItime2	5.19	1.22	.59**	.18			
RHTtime2	5.59	.87	.18	.40*	.17		
Social stratum			-.28*	-.07	-.19	.05	
Age			.07	-.01	.04	-.06	.09
Sex			.17	.16	.24	.20	.18

Table 1. Correlations RHT, EI and control variables.

Note: N = 74; ** $p < .01$ level; * $p < .05$ level.

Discussion

The above findings do not demonstrate appreciable development of the indicators we associated with reflexive historical thinking. In this light, several particularities and pedagogic headwinds ought to be mentioned. The first and most obvious is the language barrier. Although all students of International Business are required to demonstrate proficiency in English before entering the program, the reality is that levels of competence vary from native proficiency to somewhere around advanced intermediate level. A few students have trouble understanding detailed lectures in English, not to mention reading academic literature or composing coherent essays in the language. It is somewhat difficult to disentangle this issue, however, from the reality that many are also deficient in reading and writing skills in their native Spanish as well as in English. The fundamental necessity to teach the historical course material, however, means that the professor cannot devote more than a small amount of time to strengthening such skills, meaning in turn that some students are asked to perform assignments for which they have not been adequately prepared. An additional challenge is the size of the course. Notwithstanding the improvements made thanks to the addition of a TA, it remains difficult and labor-intensive to rigorously teach

80-145 students per semester (such a course would presumably count on four to six TAs at a good US university, all of them doctoral students in history).

The fact that this course is taught almost exclusively to business students may also generate difficulties. Although this study did not explicitly test for this, the professor's observation is that business school students at Universidad EAFIT tend to exhibit low levels of intellectual curiosity (this observation, for what it is worth, is universally shared among the university's foreign professors with whom the professor has discussed the matter, as well as by most Colombian professors). In class, it is often extremely difficult to stimulate robust conversation regarding abstract ideas or theoretical questions, even when an effort is made to tie such questions to relatable issues from students' lives. In the psychology literature, intellectual curiosity is encompassed by the concept of Openness to Experience, one of the so-called "Big Five" personality traits (Lounsbury, Sundstrom, Loveland, & Gibson, 2003). Students with low levels of openness to experience are, *ipso facto*, less receptive to information from outside their sphere of familiarity (Perry & Sibley, 2013). Again, although we did not specifically test for openness to experience among the students in the History of International Relations course, business students have for instance been shown to exhibit lower scores in openness to experience than math students (Vedel, 2013). Such tendencies make for a challenging classroom climate in which to teach historical thinking.

Furthermore, the students' educational background means they are not acculturated to the expectations of the historical discipline. This is of course not a unique problem; other scholars note that non-history students tend to apply exogenous conceptual and epistemological frameworks to the study of history (van Drie & van Boxtel, 2008). Among the many examples of such behavior among the students studied here, we note their frequent difficulty with one assignment in particular requiring them to write a PESTE (Political, Social, Economic, Technological, Environmental) analysis of an historical commodity chain. Rather than embarking on a judicious examination of how their commodity chain functioned along the above lines, their tendency is to simply assert (obliquely and without evidence) the heroic role of their commodity in facilitating prosperity among the nations trading in it. In addition to the above-noted lack of familiarity with the historical discipline and basic procedural skills for writing about the past, such tendencies may be partly attributable to the fact that RHT and EI were positively related. The students' economic ideology tends overwhelmingly toward liberal-capitalism and this is furthermore positively related with their levels of RHT. EI items asked if the respondents believed that the state should regulate the economy and scores were not particularly high (see mean and sd in Table 1). Thus, students' economic ideology likely influences their ability to construct dispassionate narratives of commercial history.

Finally, the ideological and class background of these students likely poses a challenge to the instructor seeking to promote critical historical thinking. Close to 70% of the participants of this study belonged to high social classes, a figure itself indicative of the manner in which Colombian universities are divided along class and political lines: public universities generally cater to poorer, left-leaning populations, while private universities cater to wealthier, more right-leaning populations. The students in the course in question, who also overwhelmingly aspire to enter the business world, have a vested interest in the preservation of the country's current political and economic structure. A correlate of EI, political thought, is deemed to be affected by "system justification." System justification leads people to justify social and economic inequalities (Graham, Iyer, & Meindl, 2013). The students of the History of International Relations course may have a tendency toward system justification and thus less receptivity to critical academic disciplines. Along these lines, we found that the higher the social stratum, the less EI, and vice versa. Put differently, the higher the social stratum, the less defined were beliefs regarding the distribution of wealth and the regulation of business. Students from high social strata thus may be less receptive to critical elements of the course curriculum.

As noted above, the positive relation we found between Autonomy and RHT also suggests that Autonomy may have a different meaning from that which we foresaw/theorized. Differences in

levels of proficiency in English could also explain different interpretations of Autonomy. According to the results of the study, instead of referring to self-awareness, Autonomy seems to be more related to perceptions of being able to make decisions after analyzing variables affecting those decisions.

It is also important to bear in mind that Colombia has experienced the longest-running civil conflict in recent world history. As such, ideological battle lines here are especially entrenched. In this regard, the course generates similar challenges to those observed by scholars studying history education in other conflict and post-conflict societies (McCully, 2012; Ahonen, 2014). While observing the benefits of "multi-perspectival" approaches and "de-mythicalization" of history curricula, scholars also note that the extreme sensitivity surrounding local histories in conflict and post-conflict areas can generate serious push-back from students and administrators (Ahonen, 2014). In the experience of this course professor, students only occasionally react with open hostility toward narratives that cut against the grain of their received cultural wisdom (we speculate that the professor, as a foreigner, is granted a certain amount of leeway in this regard). More often, they appear to simply consign such narratives to the realm of the extraneous or esoteric—an outsider's opinion to be tolerated but ultimately discounted.

In sum, the profile and cultural context of these students raises a paradoxical question: our study embarks from the supposition that we, as historical actors, are substantially produced by our time and place, yet the corresponding observation that these students inhabit a narrow informational sphere and may exhibit low levels of openness to experience begs the question of whether their proclivities and conditioning substantially inhibit their capacity to internalize the course content in the first place.

Conclusions and suggestions for further study

Such concerns also raise the question of the degree to which further reform of the course curriculum would yield better results in generating reflexive historical thinking among future students. Evidence does support the notion that a move toward a curriculum even more explicitly structured around historical thinking skills would yield improvement (Stoel, van Drie, & van Boxtel, 2017). The professor of the History of International Relations course is accordingly considering another major curriculum overhaul, the plan being to jettison much of the course's linear historical content and focus exclusively on skills development. Specifically, the focus will be on utilizing historical cases and analytic techniques to enhance students' capacities in *media literacy*, *ethical decision making,* and *self and social awareness.* Narrowly targeting these skills will surely elicit improved performance in them, at least in the short term. Yet we cannot but wonder how deep or lasting the effects will be. Indeed, to express these doubts in melodramatic terms, the experience of teaching this course is rather akin to that of unrequited love: lobbying the university to build a special classroom and to introduce TAs, the creation of numerous elaborate activities and simulations, the recording and editing of fifty thematic videos and their installment in a dedicated course website, the administration of a course currency—at times such labors feel like so many bouquets of flowers, boxes of chocolate or moonlight serenades proffered longingly beneath the window of some indifferent would-be sweetheart. At what point must one simply accept that she/he just ain't interested?

But in all seriousness, and to state the problem in soberer Wittgensteinian terms, the question evokes the philosopher's famous ruminations over language games. As Wittgenstein observed, "you can only succeed in extricating people who live in an instinctive rebellion against language; you cannot help those whose entire instinct is to live in the herd which has created this language as its own proper mode of expression" (Wittgenstein, 2005, quoted in Cook, 2000). The results of this study suggest that if reflexive historical thinking (or any type of critical thinking) is to make an impression among highly recalcitrant students, a great deal of prior attention must be paid to unlocking social defense mechanisms—to somehow inducing a rebellion with language, as Wittgenstein would have it. Much of our own future work will focus on fomenting such rebellion.

On a more practical level, we note that future studies inquiring into changes in RHT and its relationship with EI should control for English proficiency, literacy, and personality traits, including openness to experience. As previously mentioned, these can be considered confounding variables when it comes to the development of RHT. Ideally, an experimental design would shed light on whether and to what extent such factors hinder the development of RHT in business students (*inter alia*). However, changing contents, methodologies and other factors related to the course for a portion of the participants could diminish learning processes of students within the treatment or control group, and was therefore rejected in the case of this study. Other variables should also be considered by researchers, including political thought and system justification. The former is a correlate of EI and potential covariate of RHT, the latter a predictor of political thought and possible antecedent of RHT and EI. Finally, using a single-item measure to assess Autonomy did not suffice to establish if and to what extent the participants' responses manifested their perceptions regarding the concept of Autonomy we were trying to assess. Hence, more studies using multiple-item measures are needed to confirm if there is a positive relationship between Autonomy and RHT.

This exploratory study has raised interesting questions about the possibilities for inculcating critical historical thinking skills among students with little exposure to or proclivity for historical analysis. Furthermore, our findings regarding the implications of economic class and economic ideology upon historical perception open additional avenues for inquiry. For our part, and notwithstanding the frustration inherent in striving with limited success to get students interested in history and the important questions about social life that its proper study elicits, this research has proved immensely valuable as a means toward re-focusing and strengthening our efforts.

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Authors

Joshua Large is Professor of International Relations in the Department of International Business at Universidad EAFIT in Medellín, Colombia. He holds a PhD in modern European history from the University of Chicago. In addition to history education, his current areas of interest are digital media literacy, comparative epistemology, and international political economy.

Email: jlargen@eafit.edu.co

Juan Pablo Román Calderón is full professor at Universidad EAFIT in Medellín, Colombia. He holds a PhD in Organizational Psychology and currently inquires about soft skills in business students and practitioners.

Email: jromanca@eafit.edu.co

Endnotes

[1] All formal residential addresses in Colombia are stratified from one to six according to their location and value; those living in strata five and six subsidize those in one, two and three by paying higher utilities rates. The system, conceived as a progressive tax mechanism, has become a shorthand for class. Thus, identifying someone as "estrato seis" (stratum six) is to signal their elite status (see Jessel, 2017).