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HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
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"Here comes John Curtin": The historical consciousness of a journalists' hero

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ABSTRACT

This article reveals fresh insights into the central, largely unexplored role of journalists as agents of memory for shaping a sense of historical consciousness among public audiences. Journalism has been anchored in the retelling of dramatic stories about heroic characters representing national values. Rüsen (2004) refers to this technique as exemplary narration, which he defines as a type of historical consciousness. This article draws on Rüsen's theory to provide new views of journalists' ongoing work in developing the story of an exemplary national hero. Many studies have focused on a single message dominating collective memories. This study shows how journalists helped to create, then disrupt and later reconstruct memories of Australian World War II Prime Minister John Curtin as an example of hope during a major crisis. They developed diverse narratives that portrayed a heroic leader representing national values within the theme of nation building. Recognising exemplary narratives as an ongoing, changing work helps to illuminate journalists' efforts to orient public views of history that suggest future possibilities.

KEYWORDS

Collective memory, Historical consciousness, John Curtin, Journalism, World War II.

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Introduction

At the height of the coronavirus crisis, a news commentator reflected it was difficult to recall a time when journalists' references to Australia's wartime Prime Minister, John Curtin, were more prevalent. The commentator, Brian Wightman (2020a, p. 15), added: "But it makes sense. In a crisis, we need a familiar face to reassure us that everything will be ok. To look us in the eye and, with compassion, tell us what we don't want to hear." A former parliamentarian and school principal, Wightman noticed the nostalgic appeal of memories of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) Prime Minister from 1941 to 1945. The story of a popular hero suggested a shift in journalists' representations of Curtin. Journalists had told a different story when they portrayed the fading memories of a forgotten hero during the war's fiftieth anniversary in 1995 (Gerster, 1995; Stephens, 1995a).

This article seeks to answer: What has been the role of journalists in shaping a sense of historical consciousness of Curtin in the news media? This paper argues that journalists have developed a central but overlooked role in shaping the legacy of a heroic leader to inspire hope for the future. First, wartime journalists emphasised a "common man" image to show a sense of an intimate relationship between him and the public. Some metropolitan news groups disrupted the "man of the people" narrative during the fiftieth wartime anniversary. The city-based journalists focused on a forgotten hero in an effort to boost a revival of local popular expressions of patriotism. By the seventy-fifth war anniversary, major news groups increasingly accentuated diverse narratives of a community-oriented saviour to encourage national values of compassion, patriotism, and unity during the global pandemic in 2020.

Despite the immense popularity of historical consciousness research, very few works have explored the role of journalism. According to Seixas (2004), historical consciousness is the intersection in which collective memories merge with the writing of history and other modes of shaping images of the past in the public mind. As the originator of the concept of historical consciousness, Rüsen (1987) has emphasised how this notion informs our orientation and helps us make sense of the world around us. He has shown that journalists often refer to the past by remarking that: "In the newspapers we can always find allusions to historical occurrences, and these allusions follow the logic of exemplary narration" (p. 97). Researchers have often overlooked Rüsen's theory of exemplary narratives in journalism and, indeed, journalists' roles in the broader area of memory studies. As Kitch (2018, p. 181) has noted, "there is a large body of academic literature about journalism and there is a large body of academic literature about memory, and the two rarely meet." Moreover, Zelizer (2008, p. 97) has observed, "memory scholars have not yet given journalism its due." Even so, journalists constantly make historical references and rely on "bits of history" in their stories (Winfield & Hume, 2007, p. 121). Journalists' exemplary narratives can be powerful symbolic resources that show how they promote a sense of historical consciousness to suggest future possibilities (Edy, 1999).

This article draws upon Rüsen's theory of exemplary narration (1987, 2004, 2008) to reveal fresh insights into journalists' roles in developing varied narratives of Curtin. In the words of Parkes (2014), there is a growing turn from "an all-encompassing narrative or model that claims to unproblematically mirror a real world outside our systems of representation" (p. 6). Journalistic narrations can be a nation-building process by representing a shared, national past (Kitch, 2002). Halbwachs (1950, p. 72) compared this memory work to retouching a portrait in which "[n]ew images overlay the old".

The article shows how journalists portrayed Curtin as an exemplary representative of national values as part of their evolving nation-building work. These memories often related to secrets that he had shared with wartime journalists during his extraordinarily close press interactions. A former labour-oriented journalist, he held twice-daily confidential news briefings during his prime ministership. For example, *Herald* journalist Joseph Alexander (1971, transcript n.p.) described himself as a member of the "travelling circus which went everywhere with Curtin, saw him twice a day and shared his confidence to an extent previously unknown in the history of the press in Australia". No other prime minister or Allied leader has given such frequent, secret

interviews which, after the war, some journalists shared publicly. The memoirs of Curtin's press secretary and journalists indicate his use of the media to develop a popular public image (Alexander, 1833-1957, 1971; Commins, 1971; Rodgers, 1971; Whitington, 1977). This study conducts a rare analysis of primary sources including the news briefings. It reveals journalists' deep involvement in creating and rewriting Curtin's legacy to represent heroic national ideals.

Creating popular memories

Rüsen (2008) has found that the exemplary mode of historical consciousness is widespread in popular culture forms. As Shaw (2019, p. 16) writes: "In various forms of representation, history appears at every turn in contemporary society." According to Rüsen (2004), exemplary narratives focus on the moral value of an individual to show shared values of good conduct. Donnelly (2020, p. 115) explains, "exemplary historical consciousness views history as containing lessons to guide the future". Exemplary narratives aid nation building by reinforcing values that assist the public to decide on a course of action and orient themselves to present challenging times. The exemplary narrative contrasts with traditional narratives that emphasise unchanging events in the forms of monuments and speeches. Other types of narratives critique transient values. For Rüsen (1987, 2008), exemplary narratives create a semblance of continuity with the past.

The sense of a continuous memory of a leader is a social construction (Burke, 1998). The act of remembrance is a fluid process that is similar to Rigney's (2005) concept of the working memory and the views of Mead (1932) and Halbwachs (1950) that the past is mutable, made and remade for present use. Zelizer (1992) has shown that journalists have not merely held a mirror to show the stories of past leaders. More scholars have supported Zelizer's view that journalists are memory agents who retell courageous stories of past leaders to privilege national ideals (Edy, 1999; Hume, 2014; Kitch, 2002, 2018).

Exemplary narratives also include analogies that suggest the relevance of a past hero for contemporary communities. As Edy (1999, p. 79) has stated, "historical analogies reported in the media are strongly connected to our perceptions of the present and our expectations for the future". Such stories often become simplified into a central message (Spence, 2005). According to Funkenstein (1989, p. 5), "Nations are meant to remember their heroes 'forever'; to perpetuate the memory of a person means to embed it in the collective memory." Rüsen (1987, 2008) and other scholars have warned that such analogies may discourage critical examination by overestimating the similarities between the past and present (Neustadt & May, 1988; Neiger, Zandberg & Meyers, 2014). Pöttker (2011) has noted that the journalistic analogy does not necessarily mean equation but orients the public to selecting a present action through a comparison with a significant past event. This article reveals journalists' diverse, changing narratives to promote a sense of historical consciousness about a hero representing national ideals.

Very few publications have focused on Curtin's skills in publicising a heroic prime ministership (Coatney, 2016). He privately helped to edit the first biography about his prime ministership. The biographer, Alan Chester (1943), circulated his manuscript within Curtin's administration. Australia's first full-time prime ministerial press secretary, Don Rodgers (1 February 1943, p. 1), confidentially wrote: "Both the P.M. and I have read the biography and I have made a number of factual corrections, but neither the P.M. nor myself in any way sponsor this book." Rodgers hoped for a wide circulation by remarking to an aide: "I think it proper that facilities for airmailing this script to America should be given and I should be glad if you would advise me." The book was a precursor to a genre of positive biographies including Lloyd Ross's depiction of a champion (1977) and Norman E. Lee's admissions of hero-worshipping the "Saviour of Australia" (1983). Day (2000) has noted that a wartime newsreel portrayed a plain man and generated standing ovations from service men. Curtin was Australia personified and he symbolised a comforting image of suburban ordinariness.

The turn of the twenty-first century led to a break in the tradition of elevating Curtin to the status of a hero. Black (1995), Day (2000), and Hirst (2010) have found a shift in the nostalgic eulogies. Critics debated Curtin's appeal for US military aid and his decision to bring back Australian troops from fighting in Burma (Edwards, 2001; Reynolds, 2005). While Hartley, Lucy, and Briggs (2013) praised Curtin's achievements for being outstanding, they suggested how to make his memory relevant for the present times. They found that civic education has been more likely to promote popular culture icon Kylie Minogue. They added (2013, p. 558), "Who is John Curtin? How do we know? As a modern, multicultural, migrant, global community, why should we care?" They concluded the memory of Curtin should be shared more publicly. More recently, historians have led a revival of Curtin's stature. The authors have included Byrne (2020), Edwards (2017), Strangio, t'Hart and Walters (2017), and Wurth (2013) who have helped to resurrect Curtin's role as a valiant leader. They were careful to distinguish between the private individual and the public figure. For example, Edwards (2017) quoted a reminiscence of Curtin's rival and conservative prime ministerial predecessor, Robert Menzies. Edwards wrote (2017, p. 7), "Curtin did not look like a great man, Bob Menzies would one day write, though 'he undoubtedly became one'". This article argues that different generations of journalists were crucial in shaping a changing sense of historical consciousness about Curtin as a hero.

Methods

This study's multi-method approach includes qualitative and quantitative analyses to assess journalists' abilities to shape the portrayal of Curtin in the news. For this purpose, the study investigates the news coverage of Curtin during the war and the fiftieth and seventy-fifth anniversaries of his death on 5 July 1945 and the war's end almost six weeks later. Wartime Australians were avid news subscribers and, by 1995, most adults read the nation's print newspapers. The pandemic in 2020 triggered an upsurge of public interest in general news.

This analysis extended several months before and after each anniversary to identify the way that collective memories "travel" across diverse narratives in major news groups (Erll, 2011). The study included 107 articles from compact wartime tabloids and larger broadsheets. The tabloids were Victor Courtney and John J. Simons' *The Sunday Times* and Ezra Norton's *The Mirror*. The broadsheets were the Fairfax family's *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Sir Keith Murdoch's *The Advertiser* and *The Courier-Mail*, Arthur Shakespeare's *The Canberra Times* and the Syme family's *The Age.* This analysis also includes 57 articles with a focus on the fiftieth anniversary in Fairfax-owned *The Age* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*, as well as the tabloid, *The Sun-Herald*. The analysis extended to 87 articles during the seventy-fifth anniversary that were more widespread in News Corp newspapers owned by Sir Keith Murdoch's heir, Rupert Murdoch. The sample included the national broadsheet, *The Australian*, the metropolitan tabloids *The Advertiser*, *The Courier-Mail*, *The Herald Sun*, *The West Australian* and regional, digital newspapers, *The Cairns Post* and *The Examiner.* The sample in 2020 also included Nine Entertainment's tabloid *The Age* and *The Canberra Times*, and the national broadcast website, ABC News. This analysis ascertains journalists' efforts in developing nation-building narratives.

For this purpose, the study has identified journalists' selection of recurring themes or turning points in Curtin's prime ministership. These turning points include his appeal to the United States for military assistance in 1941 and his clash with wartime British Prime Minister Winston Churchill when he turned back Australian troops from Burma's battles. An analysis is made of journalists' use of exemplary narratives, values, and anecdotes. The news coverage is contrasted with the reminiscences of Curtin's press secretary, Rodgers (1971), and wartime journalists Joseph Alexander (1833-1957, 1971), John Commins (1971), and Don Whitington (1977). This approach creates a picture of how journalists shape past events for present-day audiences.

Findings and discussion

Screening heroic images

Wartime broadsheet and tabloid journalists extended popular narratives of Curtin as "a man of the people". He became the first prime minister to develop newsreel scenes extensively to suggest a close relationship with audiences. Rodgers recalled helping him to project an onscreen appearance as newsreel reporters filmed his welcome of US General Douglas MacArthur in Australia in March 1942. Rodgers reminisced:

> The two of them couldn't have put on a better act, if that's the word, for the cameras on that day … It just worked like a charm, worked beautifully from start to finish, everybody seemed to say the right things and the right pictures were taken (1971, transcript n.p.).

Curtin befriended camera crews to develop a down-to-earth presentation style for moviegoers (John Curtin Prime Ministerial Library, 1942-1945).

Behind the scenes, the nation's alliance building was more contentious. Curtin appealed for a strengthened US alliance in a newspaper column for conservative publisher Sir Keith Murdoch, who did not predict its stirring effect and held it for a couple of weeks before publication. *Herald* journalist Joseph Alexander had requested Curtin write the article (Papers, 28 December 1941). The rival *Sunday Telegraph* editor, Cyril Pearl, reportedly said that Murdoch had missed a major news opportunity because the article was published without commentary or elaboration (Harvey, 2009). Alexander wrote in his diary, "The Sunday Telegraph pinched it [the editorial] and had it today. Other Sunday papers gave it great publicity … KM [Keith Murdoch] is amazed about it" (Papers, 28, 30 December 1941). The article upset Churchill for supposedly implying a break in the British alliance, a suggestion that Curtin denied (*The Canberra Times*, 1941).

In early 1942, Curtin secretly told journalists he had defied Churchill's orders by bringing back the Sixth and Seventh Australian Divisions travelling to Burma (Alexander, 1971; Whitington, 1977). For the troops' return, they were not provided with the military equipment and defence that Curtin had expected. The next year, Rodgers told journalists that Curtin "couldn't sleep while the boys were still on the water" (1971; Commins, 1971; The Advertiser, 1943). The "bringing back the troops" story became well known and Curtin announced that their return saved Australia "in the nick of time" from "going down the drain to the depths of misery and suffering" (Curtin, 1943, pp. 39, 45). His actions were criticised by Murdoch (1943a, 1943b) and US General Stilwell (*The New York Times*, 1942). Even so, Rodgers (1971, transcript n.p.) recalled the media campaign "was a very smart move" that contributed to the Labor Party's greatest election victory at the time.

Tabloid journalists encouraged the public to make use of Curtin's unusually friendly accessibility. News groups circulated a "free gift" of his colour portrait, advising readers to display it at home, while promoting that anyone could telephone him because he enjoyed answering random calls to talk spontaneously with citizens (Batten, 1945; *Sunday Times*, 1942, p. 2; Tremearne, 1943). After his death, people felt they knew him as a friend. Commemorative newspaper issues emphasised the messages of sympathy from ordinary people (The Age, 1945; The Canberra Times, 1945a). A reporter declared, "These were the real tributes of the common people, amongst whom John Curtin was perhaps at his happiest" (*The Canberra Times*, 1945a, p. 1). A *Canberra Times* journalist (1945b, p. 3) opined: "His service to this country deserves to stand as a model for men." In another tribute, a newsreel showed a scene of Curtin walking past his home's white picket fence. An unnamed narrator explained, it was "just a home like so many others in the towns and cities of Australia" (ScreenSound Australia, 1945). His funeral led to the most extensive media mass mourning in the nation's history at the time as the service was broadcast across the country (Australian Prime Minister's Department, 1945). Journalists' exemplary narratives oriented, in Rüsen's view, a sense of public reciprocity for shared values (2004).

Disrupting a legacy

The popular "man of the people" narrative was ruptured during the fiftieth war anniversary as journalists suggested Curtin was forgotten in public memories. Fairfax broadsheet and tabloid news groups aimed to revive his memory during an upsurge of media patriotism. In a media tribute, then ALP Prime Minister Paul Keating remarked on Curtin's "singular loneliness" and his symbolic embodiment of "what it is to be a good Australian" (Stephens, 1995b). News commentaries portrayed him as a "buried hero" to "nudge and prod the writers of the nation's history" (Millington, 1995, p.2; Stephens, 1995b, p. 6; Uren, 1995, p. 13). *The Sydney Morning Herald* op-ed writer Robin Gerster (1995) commented that he represented an ideal of quiet, constructive service. Gerster (1995) also reported on a growing movement to revive his national stature: "Recently some commentators have bemoaned the lack of credit given Curtin; his standing, they say, has not been broadcast loudly enough" (p. 4). The exemplary narrative of a lonely hero aimed to orient public views to recognise a patriotic national story.

The media scenes of Curtin's funeral became a visual icon to recall a collective memory in Fairfax newspapers, often associated with labour-oriented editorials. Contrasting with the crowded funeral scenes, *The Sydney Morning Herald* journalist Tony Stephens portrayed a quest to find a lonely figure by travelling to Curtin's grave in his electorate of Fremantle, Western Australia. Stephens reported he was "IN SEARCH of John Curtin ... Looking for the man who, many Australians say, was the nation's greatest Prime Minister. Looking for the man behind the myth. Looking for the great man's grave" (1995a, p. 6). Stephens undermined the early popular narrative by sharing an office assistant's response when he asked for directions to Curtin's gravesite:

> "Certainly, sir," says a helpful woman in the cemetery office, tapping the keys of a computer. "How do you spell the name?"
>
> C-U-R-T-I-N.
>
> "Of course." Tap, tap. "Here it is ..." (p. 6).

Along with this anecdote, the article's headline emphasised a sense of enigma by purporting to introduce: "The Man We Never Knew" (p. 6). Stephens's article indicated a disruption in the heroic tradition of remembrance.

The Sun-Herald columnist, Peter Robinson (1995), compared this apparent indifference with the wartime funeral tributes to Curtin. Robinson repeated an anecdote that he had heard from Curtin's rival prime ministerial predecessor, Arthur Fadden, who had been a pallbearer at the funeral with Robert Menzies, who became the nation's longest-serving prime minister. Robinson (1995) recalled in a colloquial style in *The Sun-Herald*:

> Artie Fadden later told how Menzies … had said: "I don't want all this fuss when I go, Artie."
>
> "Don't worry," replied Fadden. "You won't get it" (p. 30).

Robinson likened the fading memories of Curtin to the erosion of civility. He wrote that Australia is "increasingly losing a grasp on the essential dignity which a proud and intelligent nation should intrinsically possess-a dignity which was possessed by the Australia of a John Curtin (Australia's wartime leader)" (1995, p. 30). The anecdote suggested Rüsen's (2004) view of promoting a sense of historical consciousness that aids in comprehending past actuality to grasp present actuality.

Other news narratives emphasised a leader's compassion in everyday wartime life. Stephens (1995c) recreated the "bringing back the troops" story to show empathy for Curtin. Stephens (1995c) recalled Curtin's rebuke to critics at the time by saying, "'It's all right for you fellows but I haven't slept for a week and there are 10,000 of our troops on the water without any protection'" (p. 27). In a brash style, television journalist Bill Peach (1995, p. 36) commented in *The Sun-Herald* that "Australia never stood on its own feet" until Curtin's defiance of Churchill. Another television

journalist, Peter Luck (1995), colloquially opined in *The Sun-Herald* that Curtin's alliance building "saved our bacon" (p. 5). Local sports anecdotes appeared in *The Age*, based in Melbourne, Victoria, where Curtin had been a young football player. *The Age's* Martin Blake (1995) recounted that Curtin asked football coach Jack Dyer (aka "Captain Blood") to help his nephew Claude, also a footballer. Curtin reportedly advised Dyer: "Keep entertaining the people and we'll support you" (Blake, 1995, p. 1). *The Age* columnist Bob Millington (1995) referred to the footballers' chant: "Here comes John Curtin, who is saving Australia. Win this one for him, boys!" (p. 2). The popular expressions of local compassion aimed to orient a growing historical consciousness of heroic nationhood.

Recreating a heroic ideal

The exemplary tradition was reconstructed when national and regional news outlets reported on the conservative Australian Liberal Party Prime Minister Scott Morrison's invocation of Curtin's name as representing nationhood ideals (Lang, 2020; Osborne, 2020). Morrison (2020) indicated that the memory of Curtin transcended political rivalries during the seventy-fifth anniversary of the war. Recalling a mood of self-sacrifice, Morrison declared:

> Wartime prime minister John Curtin said, 'No one else can do your share.' It was a call Australians embraced. It was clear what was at stake. The story of World War II is the story of a generation standing up and giving all (p. 14).

Morrison likened the wartime experience to the pandemic by saying: "In our time, with our own struggles, we will draw strength from their example" (p. 14). Journalists strengthened this narrative by valorising exemplary Australian values, particularly in News Corp, often associated with conservative editorials at the time (Herald Sun, 2020; Walker, 2020). *The Australian* (2020, p. 19) accentuated a leading sentence: "Stoicism and a healthy nationalism saw us through the war." The writer asserted, "There is much to learn from the generation who celebrated VP [Victory in the Pacific] Day" (p. 19). Despite the historical anachronism, the exemplary narratives were more widespread across the news organisations.

Journalists also focused on a heroic story of Curtin's strengthened alliance with the US. *The Australian* journalists framed the event as a victory of diplomacy as he "unabashedly" and "unashamedly" looked to America (*The Australian*, 2020, p. 19; Walker, 2020, p. 14). *The West Australian's* Malcolm Quekett (2020) portrayed a memorable speech by recalling: "Prime minister John Curtin … delivered his famous address to the nation: 'I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom'" (p. 42). In fact, he had written these words for Sir Keith Murdoch's *Herald*, which had concerned Churchill. Journalists magnified a heroic Australian conquest, glossing over previous debates.

News Corp journalists showed Curtin's exceptionalism by retelling the story of how he valiantly "crossed" Churchill to help Australian troops (Conversations, 2020; Kieza, 2020; Moonah, 2020; Prismall, 2020; The Herald Sun, 2020; Walker, 2020, p. 14). The narratives evoked a shared national identity across the generations and, in the words of David Lowenthal (1985), a unifying web of retrospection. Journalists drew a parallel between Curtin's challenge and an extraordinary contemporary crisis to recommend that readers adopt a similarly determined spirit. As Loia (2019, p. 502) comments, there must be something "exceptional" within an anecdote to make it "exemplary". *The Courier-Mail's* Grantlee Kieza (2020) led a column with dramatic flair by writing: "As a nation we have faced times of Armageddon before and survived and while the days ahead may be dark we shall do so again" (p. 56). The invocation of a past hero encouraged present-day readers to succeed. Kieza (2020) recounted:

> Curtin rallied troops on the ground and reached out to touch the hearts of all Australians, telling them not to panic but to be resilient … He knew tough times and Australians believed him when he said this nation could get through its many

> hardships … just as we saw off our enemies in the past, Australia will conquer this one as well (p. 56).

The Herald Sun (2020) provided an unnamed editorial that emphasised a heroic story to predict happier times: "During those years of horror and heroism, Australia faced a crisis which demanded steely resolve and relied on unity and sacrifice to survive" (p. 28). Contemporary journalists emphasised a wartime success story rather than a controversial political struggle. As Kitch (2018, p. 180) has remarked, "forgetting is more of a choice, a refusal or reluctance to 'see' certain disturbing occurrences". Reporters reconstructed a story of decisive action to reaffirm national values.

Celebrating public life

These exemplary news narratives did not only focus on battle victories and great moments. In the search for the exemplary, ABC and Nine Entertainment journalists also used anecdotes to signify the comforting appeal of Curtin's leadership (Stephens, 2020; Wareham, 2020). As Loia (2019) has remarked: "Without some normal traits the anecdote would be fully exception and it would interest us as a curiosity and not as an example" (p. 502). *The Age's* Andrew Stephens (2020) focused on Curtin's compassion for nurses who were killed during an enemy attack on the Australian hospital ship *Centaur* in 1943. Stephens (2020, p. 4) assured readers: "Curtin promised to avenge the deaths". The article provided a rare glimpse into wartime publicity by referring to the government posters with the slogan, "WORK SAVE FIGHT and so AVENGE THE NURSES!" Stephens portrayed an "impassioned" Curtin upholding an honourable code (p. 4). Other journalists focused on his public appeal for civic duty by using the darning needle as a weapon of war to mend old clothes; and to "dig for victory" by cultivating vegetable gardens (Johnson & Nobel, 2020; McKernan, 2020). The homespun narratives included a headline praising the virtues of "Rations, darning, not complaining" (McKernan, 2020, para. 1). Contemporary reporters reconstructed community-oriented rhetoric of collective compassion, self-sufficiency and backyard patriotism.

News Corp narratives also relied on historians and leadership reminiscences as sources. Writing for *The Australian*, historian Geoffrey Blainey (2020) referred to Curtin's willingness to continue wartime football matches. He added, "In no other nation has spectator sport been so influential for so long" (p. 24). *The Examiner* provided a headline that poetically referred to Curtin's leadership in both politics and football: "O captain, my captain: Why we need leaders to show us the way" (Wightman, 2020b, para. 1). The newspaper commentator, Brian Wightman, opined (2020b, para. 15): "Australia's most celebrated wartime leader, Prime Minister John Curtin said: 'Captaining the government of a nation is a bit more exacting than captain of a football team. I know for I have done both'". *The Australian* journalist and author, Troy Bramston (2020, para. 15), portrayed a friendship between Curtin and rival Menzies with the use of a reminiscence: "They often met for a cup of tea. They wrote letters in glowing terms about the support they gave each other." The narratives presented everyday experiences that encouraged readers to identify with a unifying national character.

Conclusion

This article reveals journalists' deep involvement in creating and reconstructing public memories of a national leader. To return to Halbwachs (1950), journalists' rewriting of the memory of Curtin resembled the work of retouching a portrait, in which "[n]ew images overlay the old" (p. 72). Wartime journalists helped to craft popular representations that promoted a plain-speaking common man. By the time of his funeral, journalists glossed over the controversies during his prime ministership to portray an exceptional leader. During the fiftieth war anniversary, Fairfax broadsheet and tabloid journalists disrupted the popular memories by focusing on an abandoned hero as part of a labour-oriented movement to revive patriotic remembrances of a prime minister

representing exemplary Australian ideals. Turning from the "forgotten hero" narrative, contemporary journalists smoothed over the wartime political rivalries to evoke Curtin's name as an ideal model of the times. News Corp accounts privileged memories of an exemplary individual's uniquely national story as part of a patriotic agenda to motivate the current generation during a crisis. ABC and Fairfax groups reconstructed popular wartime tabloid narratives of a man of the people to encourage communities to draw upon his example for everyday living.

Signifying historical authenticity, the journalists contributed to shaping and sustaining an Australian story of an undaunted hero by promoting this as a practical exemplar for the present times. Some narratives also served to indicate Rüsen's (1987, 2008) cautioning against overestimating a sense of continuity that would discourage critical examination of the past. Mostly, journalists' reporting signified their role in orienting the public for the future task of nation-building, suggesting Pöttker's (2011) view of an increasingly important function of journalism. They used the exemplar of Curtin to popularise a sense of shared destiny to achieve a victory over adversity. Their ongoing, changing work revealed their efforts to promote a renewed historical consciousness of a leader that would encourage national aspirations for a hopeful future.

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Linear transmission of "whiteness": A textual analysis of a year 9 "timeline"

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ABSTRACT

This paper draws on theories of history and interculturality to explore how a 'timeline' and its visual language as a 'crystallised text' constructs the linear transmission of 'whiteness'. When the concept of interculturality or associated term of Intercultural Understanding (ICU) is related to history education, it carries connotations of disruption to dominant narratives. The absence of *difference*, *diversity,* and the stories of 'other', are explicated in critical inclusions and exclusions of historical content knowledge and the way it is organised within key pedagogies such as 'chronology'. In addition to focus group interviews with history teachers, the study conducted a textual analysis of a 'timeline' used at Year 9 (students aged 13-15) defined here as a 'Western Drama', underpinned by linear progress as a basic theme. It was analysed through the lens of a 'crystal prism' which conceptually draws on the foundational work of educationalist Jörn Rüsen to explore intersections between history, interculturality and discourse.

KEYWORDS

History education, Interculturality, Textual analysis, Historical thinking, Whiteness.

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Introduction

Three decades of teaching experience tells me that the power of history textbooks is not to be underestimated. More than anecdotal evidence shows, despite the development of new media and educational technologies, history textbooks remain one of the most trusted sources of historical knowledge and a dominant translation of a nation's history and of the History Curriculum in schools (Abdou, 2017; Repoussi & Guillon-Tutiaux, 2010). However, "despite improvements to their content over time, secondary school history textbooks still imply that Australians are white" (Moore, 2017, p. 1).

When the concept of interculturality, and its associated term Intercultural Understanding (ICU), was introduced and integrated across all disciplines F-10 in the first national Australian Curriculum (AC) in 2014, a small study in Victoria explored what this might mean for history education at the secondary level. In addition to focus group interviews with history teachers, the study conducted a textual analysis of a 'timeline' which appears in the *Oxford Big Ideas Series: History 9,* (Carrodus, Delaney, Howitt, Smith, 2013), and followed a methodology of 'crystallisation' and 'discourse analysis'. This paper focuses only on the textual analysis of the 'timeline' which is defined here as a "Western Drama" and underpinned by linear progress as a basic theme (Galtung, 2005, p. 87).

The significance of this research is centred on the fact that although the research base is small, there is a growing body of literature in the field of intercultural education, which this paper contributes to. In particular, the impact this field might have for history education (Garrard, 2020). A steady rise in international interest in the opportunities for interculturality in history teaching and learning (Bolovan, 2009; Nordgren, 2017) and approaches for developing intercultural competencies from within the discipline, reflects an international focus on interculturality for the discipline of History, at the school level, as advocated by the Council of Europe (Costa et al., 2009). In Australia, the learning continuum of ICU aligns with this focus and the Council's definition for history pedagogy to promote, "multiperspectivity, global citizenship, intercultural awareness and deconstruction of stereotypes" (Council of Europe, 2008, pp. 29–30). Within the first national History Curriculum, Year 9 is the only year level, from 7-10 to focus on Australia's early colonial beginnings and the contentious issues raised by the History Wars debate.

There are varied ways to interpret interculturality for history education. There are varied ways to interpret interculturality for history education, including raising question about viewing interculturality from other than a positive connotation, so it is not perceived or interpreted as a cottage industry or approach to fixing the ailments of the post- postmodern world. When interculturality is related to history education there are evidently patterns of conceptual and tangible spaces couched in notions of conflict, silence and exclusion. I explored these spaces through the visual language of the selected 'timeline' in relation to the discourse of the *imagined* curriculum (curriculum policy) and the discourse of *enacted* curriculum (the delivering of the policy enacted through the history textbook as a physical artefact of knowledge construction). Of course, all of these texts are contingent on the teacher's understanding of history itself and the application of what knowledge counts. However, it cannot always be left to teachers to fill the gap created between history and curriculum. Educational research can be used to progress diverse views of Australia's past and the interactions between different cultures; between our Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and their invaders and traders; between the Chinese migrants and their journey from Robe in South Australia to Ballarat and the exchange of culture, good and bad, along the way; to engage with sensitive issues, through a space for exchange of perspectives in the present, within pedagogical tools used in history classrooms (Harris & Clarke, 2011).

The textual analysis of the study is presented in this paper in narrative form under the subheading 'Painting Whiteness' because the focus is on the visual language of the 'timeline'. Based on the findings of the study, this paper argues that when interculturality is related to history education a space for specific disruption to dominant narratives is created.

What is "interculturality"?

In this paper, I use the broader concept of interculturality to present a nuanced understanding of the associated term of ICU, which is specific to the Australian context because the study was conducted in Australia. However, the systemic shift to mandate ICU as one of seven General Capabilities brings the social imperatives of globalisation and history education into closer contact and positions school history as the support mechanism of national cohesion.

The current discourse of interculturalism in scholarly fields is located within an older discourse of multiculturalism which emerged strongly in the 1970s (Garrard, 2020). Within interculturalism, 'culture' is not treated in the same way as multiculturalism, whereby, "culture is treated as a thing or object to be possessed and shared by strictly defined groups of people, which sets the group apart from other groups'" (Prato, Pardo, & Prato, 2009, p. 8). Multiculturalism tends to reify and preserve cultural identities, interculturality acknowledges that cultures are endlessly evolving in a society, with the potential to be exchanged and modified (Aman, 2015, p. 153; Gundara & Portera 2008). Interculturality is defined by Rozbicki (2015) to be when, "two distinct cultures encounter each other" and their unknown differences become familiar and known – or their content is exchanged, and a space is created where meaning is translated and difference is negotiated (Rozbicki, 2015, p.3). For the discipline of History, at the school level, the concept of interculturality is the celebration of difference and diversity in the histories of 'other', toward a disruption of dominant historical narratives shaped by policy.

By its own definitions, the *Australian Curriculum: History* places value on "perspectives, beliefs and values of people, past and present", evidencing the theoretical framework for ICU within the curriculum policy as the pursuit of students' understanding of the "historic benefits and challenges of interacting with other countries and cultural groups" (ACARA, History Curriculum, 2015, n.p.). In alignment, ICU in the AC is organised into three interrelated elements in the learning continuum: "Recognise culture and developing respect", "interacting and empathising with others", and "reflecting on intercultural experiences and taking responsibility" (Australian Curriculum, 2014). I argue, both the objectives of the History Curriculum policy and the expectation of ICU as a General Capability, and how these might align in the history classroom, suggest we go beyond what Gorski describes as *good intentions*, often packaged as international costume and food days, and look closely at the concept of interculturality being better understood from within a specific discipline (Gorski, 2008). For the discipline of History, this extends to engaging with multiple perspectives and the understanding of an immensely difficult pedagogical position for most teachers and their students; historical empathy (see Retz, 2018).

What is "whiteness"?

I define 'whiteness' in this study as a discourse borne out of the Australian colonial experience, which is different to the American field of whiteness closely related to Critical Race studies. I perhaps align more closely to 'Whiteness' studies which Shiells (2010) points out that since the late 1980s and 1990s has emerged within fields of academic inquiry. This interdisciplinary field does draw on notions from cultural studies and scholars such as Ruth Frankenberg, who wrote about whiteness as an "unmarked marker" or the "invisible norm" that is a "terrain of structural advantage" (Frankenberg, 1993, pp. 236-7). Additionally, Australian historian Richard Dyer (1997), who wrote that whiteness needs to be "made strange" (p. 10). It is in relation to what is invisible that other cultures and identities are constructed and represented; often hidden in plain view whereby discourse constructs an "historical contingency of whiteness and power structures that underpin a normative status" (Shiells, 2010, p. 791). The acceptance of the "reproduction of dominance" (p. 791) and "normativity rather than marginality and privilege rather than disadvantage" (Frankenberg, 1993, pp. 236-7) is made significant on the 'timeline' by the motif of 'whiteness'.

'Whiteness' is one of three pervading motifs (a recurring narrative element with symbolic significance), which emerge to distil significant themes in 'crystallised texts', such as the 'timeline', representing historical content knowledge and knowledge that counts. The three motifs are: Whiteness, Discourse of the settler society, and Discourse of the knotted cord. The construction or transmission of whiteness is common to all three motifs and is therefore the foci of this paper. Critically, 'whiteness' here, is a key theme based on the understanding that it manifests through strategic rhetorical moves (Nakayama & Krizek, 1995) which are everywhere and nowhere at the same time (Lipsitz, 1995), crystallising Hooley's (2009) definition around the concept of whiteness itself as "often silent, unnamed and difficult to describe which is taken as an important characteristic of being dominant" (p. 35).

Methodology

Related theories of history education and interculturality is a useful theoretical framework to explore the visibility of *difference* and *diversity* in artefacts such as history textbooks. I have followed Rüsen's (2005), complex theories of historical consciousness and historical narration throughout the course of this research and concede there are elements of these that go well beyond its dimensions. However, it is important to note, that for Rüsen, each is a specific form of historical memory and historical thinking. Arguably, these are distinct concepts in current history education. Literatures canvassed denote this interrelatedness, whereby historical consciousness is a "narrative mode of thinking that is articulated through telling and understanding the past through historical narration" (Kölbl & Konrad, 2015, p. 20) and historical thinking, as some scholars suggest, "has led to the development of a range of 'second-order concepts,' that is, ideas about how we go about assembling historical knowledge" (Carretero et al., 2017). However, dissensus around what *historical thinking* means often remains a matter of how researchers employ the terminology and dispositions of context (Boadu, 2020). Historical narration is positioned here as a fundamental operation from within the "depths of historical consciousness", but also historical thinking (Rüsen, 2005, p. 10) and follows Rüsen, that there is a creative activity of the human mind working in the process of historical thinking. Historical narration is the way this activity is being performed, and history – or, more precisely, a history – is the product of this activity (Rüsen, 2005).

With the complexity of these definitions in mind, my reiteration of Rüsen's typologies of historical consciousness and historical narration is based on the systematic relationship between these elements; the linguistic procedure of historical "narration to create meaning" and the specificity of "historical consciousness to give temporal perspective to relate the past to the present" (Rüsen, 2002, p. 2; Rüsen, 2005, p. 3). Both contribute to defining historical thinking for this study and how historical content is organised to provide representation and visibility of difference. I also invoke the capacity of historical thinking to be intellectual attributes critically applied to orient, see, judge, and transform that content (Boadu, 2020; Levesque, 2008; Peck & Seixas, 2008).

A national History curriculum, ICU and the history textbook

The first national History Curriculum (ACARA, 2014), positioned within a 'world history' approach, saw alignment with the core tenets of ICU to invite the history of 'other' into what has previously been a traditionalist paradigm for teaching the past and characteristic of history education in Australia since colonisation. ICU seemed particularly significant for the discipline of History and its teaching, forming the warrant for a study into the contemporary relationship between the concept of interculturality and history education in Australia. The original study used two methods to gather data: textual analysis and focus groups. This paper reports only on the textual analysis which addressed the research question, *'How do prescribed history textbooks in Australia interpret the concept of interculturality?*'

The choice of one timeline from one textbook as the object of analysis is not intended to represent the breadth of AC-aligned history textbooks in Australia. However, the justification for this choice is located within the broader study, whereby, the textual analysis was strengthened by the rigour of focus groups interviews to show how history teachers conceptualised interculturality. The textbook was chosen because, at the time of the study, the *Oxford University History Big Ideas: History 9* (Carrodus et al, 2013), was widely used in schools in Victoria (and marketed so) and it was used in the school where the focus groups for the study were conducted. The timeline, as a single object for analysis, is justified by the foci of the research problematic being about the construction of language to shape discourses used in history education.

The historical concept of *chronology* is a key concept integral to the History Curriculum, and as a commodity of historical content knowledge, may act, as a conveyor of dominant historical narration. Indeed, it cannot be assumed that this textbook and 'timeline' are encountered by all students in schools that have purchased the textbook. However, at the time, data collected by the publisher showed that 70% of schools teaching the Depth Study of 'Australia and Asia' opt to teach 'Making a Nation' (Oxford University Press spokesperson, 2016, personal communication). There was no provision in this study to consider how students encounter the timeline. However, textual analyses of history textbooks largely focus on the place of minorities and marginalized groups within these materials, which is paramount to my research interests (Foster, Hilburn & Fitchett, Sleeter & Grant, 1999). Hence, the methodological choice of textual analysis advances knowledge around the construction of language to reflect interculturality and convey difference, more so than any perceived encounter by the students.

The "imagined" and "enacted" curricula

In this paper, the *imagined* curriculum is the national History Curriculum implemented in schools since 2014. The curriculum policy colloquially is a 'prescribed' curriculum which schools across the country must deliver from F-10, and what the policymakers envisage *should* be taught in the best interests of the school population. Interpretation of that curriculum policy is part and parcel of what teachers *do* in schools and the success of a curriculum is often contingent on the teachers. Therefore, the *enacted* curriculum is what is delivered and happens in the classroom. In this study, the *enacted* History Curriculum includes the trusted history textbook which, in this case, and in most cases now with regard to the AC, is marketed as "written specifically to meet the requirements of the AC across years 7-10" and acts as a contributor to privileging textual information influenced by policy and economic prejudices (Carrodus et al., 2013) . Even so, the history textbook remains a powerful, yet often contingent on use and explanation by the teacher, but highly trusted source of historical knowledge (Conrad et al., 2013).

The discourse of the *imagined* History Curriculum in Table 1 shows that notions of *difference* and *diversity* can be interpreted through the exploration and comparison of cultural knowledge, beliefs and practices. From the table, a discourse around the "effects of contact (intended and unintended)", makes significant (Gee, 2014), the impact of settlement on First Nations People. Table 2 identifies the key descriptors incorporated in the General Capability of ICU. The specific descriptor, "explore and compare cultural knowledge, beliefs and practices" aligns directly with the discourse of the History content. Encouragingly, the discourse of the ICU descriptors, *push* the boundary of *effects* toward *affect* of settlement, through language which invites a challenge to stereotypes and prejudices" (Table 2), and the teaching of multiple perspectives. In doing so, the discourse of ICU shown in Table 2, makes a strong move away from what has plagued History education in Australia for over three decades or since the History Wars, to address "the struggle over collective memory of the colonial past and an object of concern for how this impacts students' sense of national identity" (Parkes & Sharp, 2014, p.159).

I used the specific content descriptors shown in Table 1 and Table 2 as the starting point for analysing the 'timeline' I considered several points of reference: 1) is the language of ICU and its intention immediately visible on the 'timeline'? 2) Is the language of the History Curriculum evidenced/reflected within particular elements of the conceptual framework? 3) The extent of

key actors in terms of Table 1 and how this presence is countered by the multiple perspectives espoused in Table 2 and, 4) Examining what knowledge counts on the 'timeline'.

Table 1. Making a Nation specific content descriptors

The extension of settlement, including the effects of contact (intended and unintended) between European settlers in Australia and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples • Explore and compare cultural knowledge, beliefs and practices • Experiences of non-Europeans in Australia prior to the 1900s (such as the Japanese, Chinese, South Sea Islanders, Afghans) • Living and working conditions in Australia around the turn of the twentieth century (that is 1900) • Key people, events and ideas in the development of Australian self-government and democracy, including, the role of founders, key features of constitutional development, the importance of British and Western influences in the formation of Australia's system of government and women's voting rights

Table 2. Intercultural Understanding in key descriptors: Year 9 Australian curriculum

• Interacting and empathising with others • Consider and develop multiple perspectives • Recognising culture and developing respect • Investigate culture and cultural identity • Explore and compare cultural knowledge, beliefs and practices • Reflecting on intercultural experiences and taking responsibility • Challenge stereotypes and prejudices

Both the *imagined* and *enacted* curricula exist as part of the school culture. There is some alignment between the construction of language from the selected Year 9 elective 'Making a Nation' and the discourse of ICU as a General Capability and this alignment is fundamental in understanding how teachers and textbooks might interpret the intentions of the curriculum policy. Despite being a step toward a more diverse and interrelated set of intentions, I argue, there is a gap between the discourse of the *imagined* History Curriculum, to be congruent with interculturality, when translated to the *enacted* History Curriculum, in this case the chronological 'timeline'.

The timeline as data

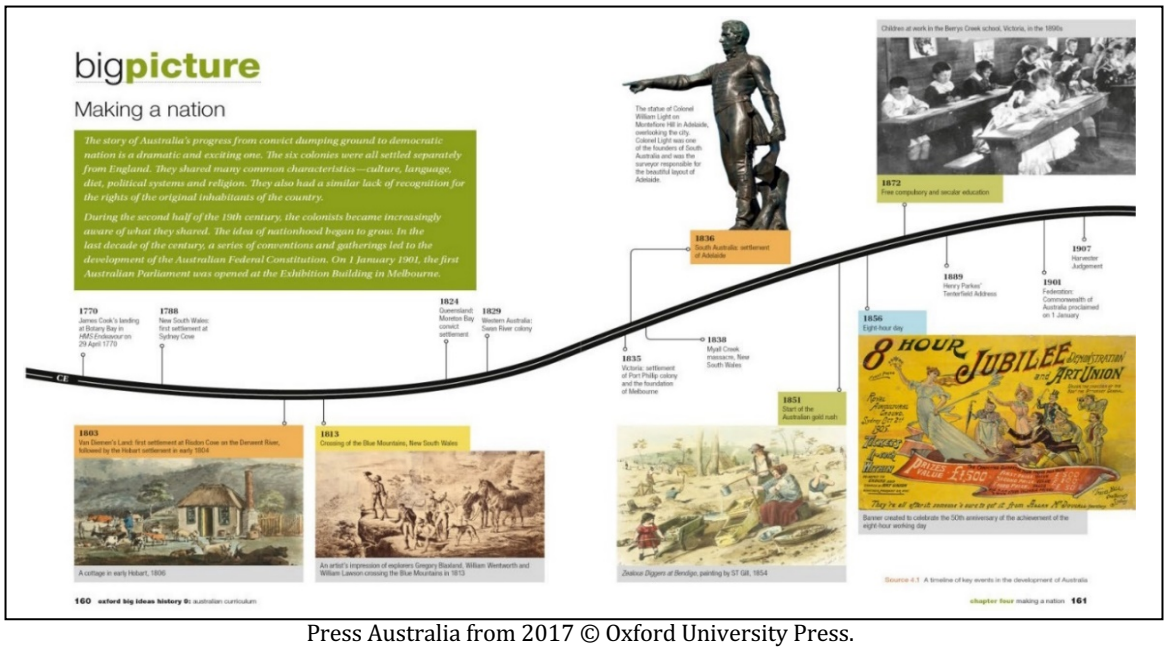
The 'timeline' from the Year 9 *Oxford Big Ideas History Series* was used to generate the data to explore how language constructs the *enacted* History Curriculum, which is the translation and delivery of specific historical content knowledge prescribed in the curriculum policy (see Table 1 & 2). Presented as 'specialised knowledge', the 'timeline' (see Figure 1. Below), bears a responsibility as the *enacted* curriculum for the prescription it represents and therefore a responsibility to recognise what is the "learner's entitlement to knowledge" (Young 2013, p. 101), involving more than one singular culture (Aman, 2015). Aligning with the Year 9 History Curriculum (AC) (Table 1 above), the 'timeline', constructs a historical narrative of Australia's early colonial beginnings. Undoubtedly impacted by space and the economic restrictions of publishing, arguably, the inclusion and exclusion of historical content on the 'timeline' is unlikely left to chance. Therefore, although not categorically deemed in this paper, as ideological or purposeful, there are deliberate choices made regarding the placement, inclusion and exclusion of content knowledge reflected on the 'timeline'.

The 'timeline' as "Western Drama"

The 'timeline' employs linear progress printed across an A3 page in the textbook, a characteristic of postulates of Western historical thinking familiar to Australian classrooms. Christian and secular discourses, whereby, "there is a beginning, an identifiable point of origin, a take-off point" from where progress started (Galtung, 2005, p. 87). Galtung's description of what he expects if he were to predict Western historical thought reveals the "power and breadth"

(Little, 2009) of 'mesohistory', a scale of historical analysis whereby the explanations we find are "closely tied to the historical experience of the subject matter", in this case the actors as subjects of the 'timeline'. "I would expect", says Galtung, "linearity, with progress, as a basic theme", irreversible in finite time (Galtung, 2005, p. 87). Further, the notion of the Western drama is a product of the "key themes of Western historiography, whether good or evil", meaning that the narrative of the 'timeline' as a microhistory of Australia has to "abide by the same basic rules and be inserted into mesohistory" (Galtung, 2005, p. 87). The drama of this 'timeline' fits with these rules, beginning with the actors of civilisation and the ordered society of colonialism; the only reference to the frontier violence of Australia's history is minimal, but fulfils Galtung's expectation of darkness (or evil), in the form of the Myall Creek Massacre (outlined below) before the light comes in the presentation of secular education and the triumph of the eight-hour day. The placement and sequence of the visuals constructs the Western drama, described by Galtung and a sense of "completed progress" made synonymous with *whiteness* (Galtung, 2005, p. 87).

Figure 1. Timeline, *Oxford Big Ideas History 9* textbook, pp. 160-161. Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press Australia from 2017 © Oxford University Press.



Textual analysis and crystal prism

This textual analysis takes a refreshed position of crystallisation (Ellingson, 2009) and discourse analysis (Gee, 2014), to span, "multiple points on the qualitative continuum", contrasting approaches to analysis and representation (Ellingson 2009, p. 11). Further, it is informed by the work of Gillian Rose (2001) where the textual analysis includes visual language to construct discourse through sequence and placement. Following these principles, I created a crystal prism (shown at Figure 2 below) which invokes the foundational work of Jörn Rüsen and takes, "historical consciousness [as] a narrative mode of thinking articulated through historical narration" (Kölbl & Konrad, 2015, p.20; Rüsen, 2005), to blend with how historical knowledge is organised – historical thinking – using the prism as an analytical framework to interpret the construction of language.

In doing so, the analytical framework uses discourse analysis as a driving axis to analyse that construction. Each visual, and then as a sequence, is viewed through the lens of the crystal prism and its conceptual factors of how we come to understand the past. To experience, or not, the exchange or negotiation of difference across the 'timeline', offering a space for historical thinking

to become intercultural and challenge dominant narratives (Abdou 2017, p. 11; Nordgren & Johansson, 2015, pp. 11-2; Rozbicki, 2015). In Figure 2 below, the outside border of the prism follows Gee (2014) in determining discourses are shaped by *context, identities, intertextuality and complicity* on the one hand, and *significance, relevance, signs and systems* on the other). These mechanisms are discussed in conjunction with the role of each crystal pane: traditional, exemplary, critical, and transformative; a reiteration of Rüsen's typologies of historical consciousness and historical narration (Rüsen, 2005), to interpret the data. The thinner intersecting lines and dot points within the crystalline lattice indicate that discourses constructed under these conditions intersect and are intertwined over time.

Four distinct panes

Conceptually, the *traditional* pane of the crystal sustains the cultural patterns in history that are familiar and orient us in daily life. For example, familiar stories of discovery, victors, and essential actors in a story. The *exemplary* pane provides the rules and allusions of the past; for example, the story of colonisation builds a set of rules for Western civilisation, the setting of groups and who belongs to these groups, such as white settlers and what they have created. Through contexts of familiarity these two stages secure historical identities or complicit relationships from which particular perspectives and narratives are shaped. The *critical* pane of the framework allows for judgement and to ask 'what if?', therefore rejecting what has been passed down through the safety and assuredness of the two previous stages to feed the *transformative* pane of the prism which enacts change (Garrard, 2020).

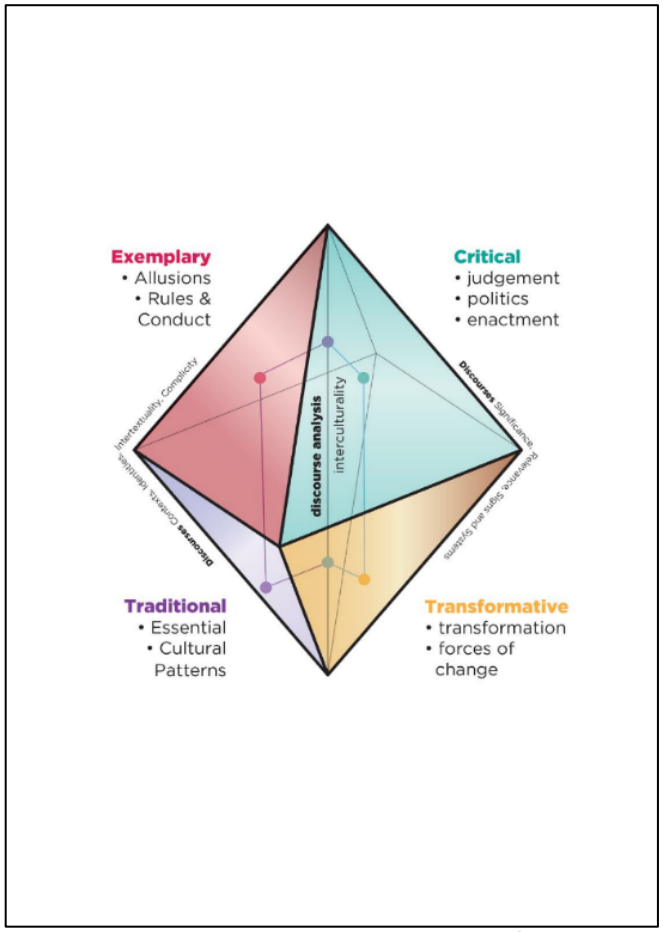


Figure 2. Graphical image of analytical framework © Garrard, 2020

The textual analysis which follows, is characterised by the interpretive nature of the crystal prism. By interpreting the 'timeline' through these four different panes, and using Gee's mechanisms of analysing discourse, the experience of the data is explained through a narrative which shows how the 'timeline' paints a linear transmission of whiteness.

Painting whiteness: A textual analysis

The visual language of the 'timeline' is characteristic of "saying, doing and being" white (Gee 2014, p. 47). As opposed to writing whiteness, the sequence of visuals on the 'timeline' constructs a colour-blind arrangement of the prescribed historical content knowledge, resulting in whiteness denoting "a normative structure, a discourse of power, and a form of identity" (Ware & Black, 2002, p. 1). Despite the introduction of ICU in the AC since 2014, a systemic shift in educational thinking, to challenge, aforementioned, stereotypes and prejudices, this analysis, presented here in a narrative deconstruction of the visuals and sequence, illustrates a distinct absence of interculturality on the 'timeline'.

Australia and its early beginnings are represented on the 'timeline' as a cultural vacuum, whereby any culture that existed was peaceful or 'bland' and characterised by 'average-looking white people' (Moore, 2017, p. 2). The linear progress of the visual images reinforces tropes that tend to regard being white as identical with being human and rely on the embodiments of whiteness, traced through Christianity, and notions of race, enterprise, and imperialism (Dyer 1997, p. 4). Specifically, the discourse of the three paintings is striking in its construction of fundamental wordless statements (Foucault, 1980) through measures of significance defined here as 'painting' whiteness.

Van Diemen's Land 1803

The first painting on the 'timeline' is an artist's impression of Van Diemen's Land first settlement at Risdon Cove on the Derwent River plotted in 1803. The peaceful scene of colonial architecture and archetype cottage complete with fireplace and chimney, provincial windows, and door, safely gated by a picket fence, render defence against the rugged bushland of the new world. In the painting a colonial farmer feeds his imported animals whilst they bask in the sunshine, and neighbouring cottages dot the surrounding hills capturing a picture of colonial success.

Crossing the Blue Mountains

Following the principles of the conceptual framework, the second painting denotes the crossing of the Blue Mountains an area which covers around 1436 square kilometres west of Sydney, Australia, as specific historical content knowledge. The first attempt by Europeans to cross the Blue Mountains was made unsuccessfully by Captain Tench and Lieutenant William Dawes. However, in 1813 colonial explorers Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson were successful. In one of his journal entries, Lawson describes the land they cross as "poor and scrubby"; impinged by "deep Rocky gullys" that made it "impossible to proceed" with horses. On this expedition, the explorers cut a road five miles into the forest only to find a "ridge of mountains" and no feed for the horses (Lawson, 1813, n.p.). The victorious glow captured in this second painting 'Crossing the Blue Mountains' forgets the uncomfortableness of the trek, whereby even Lawson writes that the trek back to Blaxland's tavern was much easier. Ironically, they "simply had to retrace the blazing trail of destruction left as their path" (Lawson, 1813, n.p.).

An unfettered history would expose that the ancient pathways in the Blue Mountains were travelled long before the adventures of Lawson and his party; geographic features and intense flora and fauna of the region recorded by Aboriginal clans. When first contact was made between Aboriginal peoples and colonial Europeans there were already clans of the Darug and Gundungurra people living in various locations across the Blue Mountains. Nevertheless, the effects colonialism has on thinking and shaping historical understanding (see Bhabha, 1990;

Said, 2003; Spivak, 1988) reminds us in times of colonisation in the 19th century, the eyes of the establishment and its power were everywhere, reinforcing the dualistic and Manichean thinking fostered by colonial discourse. Whereby, the colonial dualism of coloniser versus colonised and a dichotomy of strength and weakness is made significant (Ochoa, 1996).

'Zealous Diggers' by S. T. Gill 1854

By the time the Gold Rush officially started in Victoria in 1851, the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate (1838-1850) had been disbanded. Aboriginal people had been dispossessed of their land by squatters and sheep, and they were now facing a second invasion – gold-seekers from across the globe. When, by the mid-1850s, it became clear that gold was literally strewn across Victoria, the rush to the diggings by a mass of humanity began (Cahir, 2012). Despite this intercultural invasion of Aboriginal land, cultural hegemony lingers behind the choice of 'Zealous Diggers' on the 'timeline'.

In the sequence, 'Zealous Diggers' contributes to a discourse which constructs the rhetoric of nation building and success that runs at the expense of any other successful heterogeneous economic endeavour, of which there were many (see Garrard, 2019). It is a historical narrative of early Australia and a culture of Christian family values; a husband, wife, female child, and new baby, whereby, the man stands as a tower of strength above the female who nurses the babe in her arms, sharing the reward of settlement and conquering of the wilderness, through the norms and values of a dominant narrative.

Like the first two paintings, there is no other ethnicity in 'Zealous Diggers'. The scene hints at "a colonial civilizing mission" (Rogers, 2011, p. 74). This is not a criticism of S.T. Gill, who had his own problems being accepted by the colonial establishment during his lifetime. However, the inclusion of this painting reflects a complicity of such paintings to create safety in the ethnicity represented. For instance, during this period of Victoria's history, people from diverse backgrounds sojourned from one field to another across Victoria, their only goal being where the gold was reported to be found. Contrary to the historical narrative to which 'Zealous Diggers' contributes, pieced together through sequence, the Victorian goldfields were horrendously disordered for colonists, immigrants and Indigenous people alike.

The distinction of 'Zealous Diggers' on the 'timeline', to exclude all others, strengthens the implicit message of 'whiteness', whereby privilege and relevance is given to the colonists, constructing an imagined social milieu. Yet, a simple search of S.T. Gill's work reveals this well-known pictorial diarist drew and painted other impressions of the social milieu that surrounded him on the streets of the Victorian goldfields, some of which make clear that cultural tensions disrupted serenity, and that difference was part of the true social fabric; the antithesis of the composed, sanitised order illustrated in 'Zealous Diggers' (Grishin, 2014).

Statues, classrooms and the eight-hour workday

The three other visuals on the 'timeline' continue to construct a discourse of 'whiteness' and are essentially viewed through the "exemplary" pane of the prism, which examples rules and conduct accepted through historical narratives and familiar tropes of colonial success.

The statue of Colonel William Light, founder of Adelaide attributes success and responsibility for the "beautiful layout" of the city of Adelaide. What is more significant, is the placement and size of the statue on the page which dwarfs the inclusion of the only reference to Australia's frontier violence on the 'timeline', the Myall Creek massacre in New South Wales. One of the few occasions in Australia's history, when white men were brought to justice in Australia's early years of colonisation for crimes against Indigenous people. Next the photograph of 'children at work in the Berrys Creek School' in Victoria in the 1890s, takes a large and prominent position in celebrating the "free compulsory and secular education" in Victoria since 1872. The photograph depicts the 'whiteness' of education at the time and through the lens of the conceptual framework a choice underpinned by traditional and accepted moments of truth in

history. Finally, the propaganda banner of the 'Eight-hour work day' created to celebrate the 50th anniversary of this "achievement" (Carrodus et al., 2012, p. 161, on the' timeline') completes a "narrative template", which as Abdou notes, "impact on students' historical consciousness" (Abdou, 2017, p. 6). The poster, is a statement that enters the discourse above all others (Foucault, 1980), praising the accomplishment of the workers who belong to the nation, whom in this painting are all white.

This poster was part of a series of banners produced in the twentieth century to celebrate what "was the first of a long, hard-fought series of victories that led to Australia having one of the most progressive labour environments in the world by the early twentieth century."[1] The propaganda poster contains "a number of wishes for conventional kinds of success" (Rose, 2001, p. 126); liberty and female representation, the coming together of all classes, the colonial victory of the exploited white workers, the affluence of the working society and the celebration of work at the core of the federated white nation. The organisation of this historical content knowledge fulfils Galtung's expectation of the Western Drama, whereby, the banner is about the West as a place which is "associated with a homogenous history and as a continuous sequence of time" (Al-Azmeh 2002, p. 58; Galtung, 2005).

The Myall Creek Massacre

The role historical agendas play in publishing decisions is less likely to be by chance. Publishers do not underestimate the divide which began with the History Wars and continues nearly twenty years later, as to what we should be teaching in History classrooms. Further, 'prescription' curriculum and its makers certainly estimate public and political reaction to what is taught in the History classroom. The inclusion of the Myall Creek Massacre on the 'timeline' contributes further tension to these issues.

The Myall Creek Massacre was one of the few occasions, in Australia's early years of colonisation, when white men were brought to justice for crimes against Indigenous people. It is the only written entry on the 'timeline' examined in this paper simply because it is the only entry which alludes to the existence of our First Nations people, albeit experienced through the violence of white settlers. The entry, which occupies a very small space just above the ordered visual language of 'Zealous Diggers' further illustrates the distinct absence of interculturality on the 'timeline' Viewed through the conditions of the crystal prism, I contend, the Myall Creek Massacre is an opportunity to *enact* the critical and transformative panes of the crystal prism. A way of rejecting historical narratives which remain told through language constructed within the traditional and exemplary panes of the framework. However, this single entry to recognise the existence of First Nations people on this 'timeline' is a contrary. Without a counter entry to show the internecine conflict of the frontier wars in Australia's history, which speak to the strength of Tasmanian Indigenous people in conflicts such as the Black War (1821-1834), a traditional story of dominance and 'whiteness' is passed down as exemplary.

Arguing the case of the textual analysis

The selection and sequence of the three paintings, the statue, the photograph of education in Australia and the propaganda poster on the 'timeline' are in direct contrast to the discourse of the Year 9 History Curriculum (AC) outlined earlier in this paper and its intention to invite the histories of 'other' into History classrooms through multiperspectivity. In the business of exacting what knowledge is valued, the selection and sequence of the visual language gives privilege and relevance to the colonists. Conceptually, this construct is about meaning and significance through traditional historical thinking staged around an imagined social milieu that gives no access to interculturality, therefore, perpetuating an absence of difference which, frankly, exists in all the histories of all nations.

The selection and sequence of the paintings is a responsibility in curriculum development, whereby the representation of knowledge and what it is worth or, at least, what is included or

excluded on the 'timeline', may shape how young people think about this period of history and what it means for Australia's collective memory to develop historical consciousness (Laville, 2006; Seixas & Peck, 2004; Yates, Millar, O'Connor, & Woelert, 2017). The discipline of History is a field 'privileged' with ideological use and school history textbooks are agents of practice which hold a key position in transmitting national identity and values (Kremmydas, 1998). "Those who write the history textbooks have a high responsibility and an exceptionally difficult intellectual task" to tell the whole story (Kelley, 1980, p. 296). It could be argued that history teachers will fill in this gap, to ensure a discourse of difference and diversity, particularly today when teaching Australia's early beginnings maintains a potent position of history politics in this country. However, the findings of this textual analysis, evidenced in the next section, suggests otherwise. There is a layer of complexity in History education today, which needs unpacking; mostly around rethinking the discourse of historical narratives used as a defining factor of curriculum policy.

Specific findings

The 'timeline' is a seamless unfolding of a colonial regime. It celebrates structures of conquering the new world through expeditions and artistic symbolism of patriarchal strength, domestic bliss and ordered society, Following the framework of the study, the 'timeline' falls short in reflecting the goals or intentions of the General Capability of ICU in the Australian Curriculum. It discretely translates the valued historical skill of 'chronology' to signal traditional epistemological boundaries for history education. Just in the selection and sequence of the three paintings alone, the organisation of historical content knowledge lacks any "intersection between History as a subject and intercultural education" (Nordgren, 2017, p. 664). Indeed, it more readily meets the aforementioned expectation of a Western drama. In particular, "linearity, with progress, as a basic theme", irreversibly "encased in finite time" (Galtung, 2005, p. 87).

The textual analysis finds a discourse of 'whiteness' prevalent on the 'timeline'. This is emphasised by a lack of visibility of other contributors to Australia's colonial beginnings, which ironically, results in the significant creation of 'other', dividing our own story of the past from the stories of the 'other', an attribute of creating identity as a temporal experience of historical consciousness (Rüsen, 2005). Indeed, there is an absence of d*ifference* in the selection of visual texts and therefore the notion of *diversity* is obfuscated by a dominant narrative of the colonial acquisition of success. Finally, the organisation of the historical content knowledge, as integral to historical thinking, is complicit in constructing a normative and accepted view of a singular historical narrative of Australia's colonial beginnings.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding the value of traditional and exemplary histories, the potential of the crystal prism is the interconnectedness of historical thinking to bring about change to historical consciousness shaped by the construction and development of language.. Although the national History Curriculum gives credence to some change in discourse evidenced by the General Capability of ICU, the 'timeline' reflects an ambivalence toward the concept of interculturality and the curriculum itself falls short in explaining how the concept as an educational strategy is to be interpreted and made visible in exemplars such as history textbooks. Without doubt, further research into the intersection and melding of history education and interculturality through both the *imagined* and *enacted* curricula and prospective agencies, can only benefit how we teach the past in the future.

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About the Author

Kerri Anne Garrard is a lecturer in education with a strong background in curriculum and pedagogy and humanities and history education. Kerri Anne's recent research interests include the development of digital teaching resources in the Humanities, History education in secondary schools and intercultural education. Her research expertise includes methodologies of 'crystallisation', 'textual analysis' and 'discourse analysis' to explore the historical consciousness of nations, historical thinking in the classroom and intercultural studies with pre-service teachers. Kerri Anne's work on several current collaborative and international projects informs her teaching and curriculum design for working with pre-service teachers in the Humanities disciplines.

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Endnotes

[1] http://www.nma.gov.au/online_features/defining_moments/featured/eight-hour_day

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The History teacher as public historian

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ABSTRACT

Educators have long been aware of the role that schools, and specific school subjects, play in nation-building, including the ways in which national consciousness is perceived to be shaped within the classroom. This makes the historical narratives that future history teachers mobilise of particular interest to researchers. This paper draws on research from the Remembering Australia's Past (RAP) project conducted with pre-service History teachers from the University of Newcastle, who studied history at school during the period of the 'history wars' (Clark, 2008). Drawing on a methodology developed by Létourneau (2006), 97 pre-service History teachers (consisting of 27 males and 70 females, the overwhelming majority of whom identified as either or both European and Anglo-Celtic) were asked to "Tell us the history of Australia in your own words." The participants were given 45 minutes to write their personal account of the nation's past. The analysis of the stories of the nation collected from the pre-service teachers, reveal that they have largely adopted popular discourses circulating in contemporary Australian society, demonstrating that our pre-service History teachers are successful consumers of public history in general, and the dominant discourses of Australia's past in particular; and that given the opportunity, it is these dominant discourses that they readily mobilise. This underscores the importance of engaging public history directly in the classroom, in order to assist pre-service history teachers to deconstruct the narratives 'truths' they have inherited and taken for granted.

KEYWORDS

History Teachers, Public History, Collective Memory, Historical Narratives

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Introduction

Educators have long been aware of the role that schools, and specific school subjects, play in nation-building, including the ways in which national consciousness is perceived to be shaped within the classroom. Inherently political, histories are frequently studied and taught in national categories; and history as a school subject is regularly an area of public debate, government disquiet, and a site of struggle over collective memory and cultural literacy (Ahonen, 2012; Clark, 2008; Macintyre, 2004; Nash et al., 1998; Taylor & Guyver, 2011). Because a nation's history is always open to interpretation, many nations have in recent times been forced to rethink their past amidst competing interpretations, rival narratives, and revisionist histories. The emergence and recognition of counter-narratives from Indigenous, ethnic and national minorities, and sometimes regional neighbours (Elmersjö et al., 2017), have interrupted the incontestability of the nation-building project, and debates over the national narrative have frequently led to very public conflicts over what history is being taught in schools. In some nation-states these debates have become so intense that they have been described as history and culture wars (Taylor & Guyver, 2011). Like many post-colonial nations, Australia is no exception in this regard.

On 26th January 1988, Australia celebrated its bicentennial as a nation. National celebrations included an impressive flotilla of historic 'tall ships', pleasure yachts, and spectator craft crowding Sydney Cove and Botany Bay, in an exaggerated re-enactment of the arrival of the eleven ships of the 'First Fleet'. Marking two hundred years since the beginning of British colonisation of the island continent, this striking fleet helped electrify the mood, and televised live around the country, remains a significant event in the collective memory of the nation. Importantly, this wasn't the only aspect of this event etched in public memory at the bicentennial. Television news media also documented the significant protest marches lead by Aboriginal elders that called for an acknowledgment of January 26th as a 'day of mourning' to recognise the significant injustices, suffering and dispossession of Indigenous people that had come from the colonisation of the country. Rather rapidly school curricula moved from the story of peaceful settlement to a narrative that acknowledged the Aboriginal experience of colonisation as invasion (Parkes, 2007, 2011). When educators immediately responded to this sentiment, and incorporated the Indigenous perspectives into the curriculum, significant conflict erupted over the history and social studies syllabi (Land, 1994), and resulted in what we have come to know as the 'history wars' (Clark, 2008; Macintyre & Clark, 2003). Since the bicentennial of the nation, and the history wars that followed, played out in the broadcast media, the Australian public has become acutely aware of rival narratives of the nation. Conflicts like the one that has recently emerged around the book *Dark Emu* (Pascoe, 2014) as a result of the publication of a critical tome: *Farmers or Hunter-gatherers? The Dark Emu Debate* (Sutton & Walsh, 2021) continue to find purchase in the national media, and represent the latest stage in this unfolding search for reconciliation and a shared national narrative (Norman, July 8, 2021; Wilkie, June 16, 2021).

In Australia, arguably a vision of school history as an important site in the production of the collective memory of the nation led to a growing political interest in History curricula during the Howard era of the mid-1990s and beyond (Howard, 2006), and was arguably what motivated the establishment of a national curriculum with History as one of its cornerstone subjects, as a sort of 'guarantee' that Australian youth would develop a shared historical consciousness of the nation. This same sense of the curriculum as a vehicle for 'collective memory' (Seixas, 2000), may also be responsible for on-going attempts at political (Crowe, 2014; Taylor, 2009) and ideological (Parkes, 2015) interference in History education. In the early 2000s, at the height of the 'history wars' (Macintyre & Clark, 2003), concerns over whose history was being taught in schools (Blainey, 1993a; Donnelly, 1997), paralleled anxieties over what the public knows about the nation's past (Ashton et al., 2000; Ashton & Hamilton, 2007), often driven by survey research that expects an encyclopaedic knowledge of the past. The concern was compounded by the problem that both teachers and school students seemed to find Australian history of little interest (Clark, 2008), and evidence that many teachers found themselves teaching History without the necessary historical knowledge or disciplinary training (Taylor, 2000). Not long into its implementation, it was the

content of the national curriculum that caused concern, and whether it is doing due diligence to 'western civilization' or giving sufficient attention to national-identity making events such as Gallipoli (Parkes, 2015; Parkes & Sharp, 2014; Sharp, 2014).

Many studies internationally have concluded that subject-matter knowledge, including knowledge of the discipline and disciplinary modes of inquiry, is essential to good History teaching (Counsell, 2012; Levstik & Barton, 2008; Seixas, 2000; Seixas & Morton, 2012; Seixas & Peck, 2004; Wilson & Wineburg, 1998; Wineburg, 1991), but despite this, the evidence in the United States from around the time of these major conflicts over the curriculum in Australia and elsewhere, indicated that many History teachers often resort to teacher-centred didactic approaches when faced with managing student behaviour and what they perceive to be an overwhelming volume of curriculum content (Barton & Levstik, 2003). Regardless, what is clear in the Australian context is that History classrooms as an important site of public history, and the historical narratives shared within them, have largely remained a black box in the decade since the national curriculum was first implemented. We speculated, following Barton & Levstik (2003), that if a History teacher found themselves under pressure, they might resort to retelling narratives of the nation's past; and thus we wondered what narratives of the nation our pre-service History teachers might mobilise if given the chance to tell the history of Australia in their own words, and what this might tell us about what they would teach in their own classrooms. Intriguingly, as our study unfolded, we realised that the majority of our pre-service History teachers completed their schooling at the height of the conflicts over the national narrative, and we increasingly found that their historical consciousness, and the stories that they told, were marked or accented by the legacy of the history wars. In exploring the narratives our sample of pre-service History teachers mobilise about Australia's past, it became clear that there is a need for direct engagement with public history as a classroom imperative.

Remembering the Nation's Past

Our study was funded through the Faculty of Education and Arts' competitive internal Strategic Networks and Pilot Projects Grant Scheme. Our project 'borrowed' a methodology developed by Jocelyn Létourneau (2006), in which participants were asked to "Please account for the history of Québec, as best you know or can remember it". The outcomes of Létourneau's study refuted survey research and media reports that suggested Canadians had limited knowledge of their national history. Instead, it was found that Québécois held detailed narratives about their collective past; and that some narratives appeared to be widely shared. Létourneau compared these commonly accepted narratives with official histories that participants would have encountered in school history textbooks and determined that relationships did exist between these two sets of stories. Since publication of this work, Létourneau's methodology has been taken up in parallel projects conducted in places such as South Africa (Angier, 2017), Sweden (Donnelly et al., 2017; Olofsson et al., 2017), Belgium (Van Havere et al., 2017), and by our research team in Australia (Donnelly et al., 2019; Sharp et al., 2017).

In the Australian context our research team asked a group of 97 pre-service History teachers (consisting of 27 males and 70 females, the overwhelming majority of whom identified as either or both European and Anglo-Celtic) to "Tell us the history of Australia in your own words." This followed the latest refinements in Létourneau's methodology. The participants were given 45 minutes to write their personal account of the nation's past. They were instructed not to access the internet, and that we were interested exclusively in their accounts (not a perceived correct or incorrect answer to the question). The most common question in the various data collection sessions was "When should we start our narrative?" We refused to provide an answer to this question, inviting the participants to select the time period they thought relevant. Most started with reference to the ancient Aboriginal past, though a few were clearly 'Big historians' (Brown, 2012; Christian, 1991, 2008), and went far back into geological time when Gondwanaland was still part of the mega-continent Pangea. An even smaller number started with Federation (the official formation of the various states into the single Australian nation). Once the narrative scripts were

collected, they were analysed by the research team, seeking to identify the specific topics that were mentioned, and any shared narratives and 'narrative templates' (Wertsch, 2008) that emerge from the data.

Our analysis was predicated on a distinction between collective memory and "formal history" (Halbwachs, 1980). Formal history "views narratives as hypotheses against which evidence from archives, interviews, and other sources can be tested" whereas "collective memory often takes narratives as objects of dogmatic loyalty" (Wertsch & Karumidze, 2009, p. 379). Thus, the study was concerned with identifying shared narratives that underpin the collective memory or historical consciousness of pre-service History teachers. We also predicated the study on the assumption that our narratives of the past can be influenced by a variety of media forms (Davies, 2006; de Groot, 2009). Shared narratives were compared with the national narratives evident in both the curriculum and popular media, helping to identify if there was any common historical discourse at play in both.

Our sample consisted exclusively of our second and third year pre-service History teachers. Pre-service History teachers represent those individuals who, upon graduation, will be tasked with teaching the nation's past to future generations. A recent study of pre-service teachers at the University of Sydney found that alongside seeking to make a difference in the lives of young people, and work in a personally meaningful career, participants had made the decision to teach because they wanted to maintain a meaningful engagement with the subject area they were drawn to (Manuel & Hughes, 2006). A meaningful engagement with History suggests a strong interest in the past and the stories we hold about it. By developing an understanding of the narratives pre-service History teachers have appropriated, how they navigate competing accounts, and the influences on the formation of these narratives, we hoped to provide insights that might benefit the design of method courses in History teacher education programs. Further, our research sought to better understand how a group that are interested in the past (pre-service History teachers), engage with both collective memory and official history in their own narratives of the nation.

The stories we do and don't tell

Our study of the pre-service History teachers' narratives began with a simple content analysis that is reported in the following graphs. The first graph above reveals the 'contours' of the narratives the pre-service teachers told. Of the 97 participants from whom narratives were obtained, 88 discussed Aboriginal History, and 72 addressed British Colonisation. The World Wars were the next most often mentioned topics, with 71 mentioning WWI, and 61 WWII, both of which remain important curriculum foci in high school. However, only 29 discussed the European exploration of the continent, a topic that was once central to the curriculum. In New South Wales, where this study was carried out, most participants would have experienced topics on European Explorers as a core focus during their Primary schooling. However, with changing attitudes towards European imperialism and the British colonisation of Australia, and an increasing appreciation of the 'invasion' narrative, the 'discovery' narrative template had undoubtedly diminished in significance. Other topics of significance, also addressed in the primary school curriculum, included the Gold Rushes and (as already mentioned) Federation. Overall, it would be fair to say that Australia's engagement in various international military wars and conflicts loomed large, somewhat reflecting an emphasis in the overall school History curriculum itself.

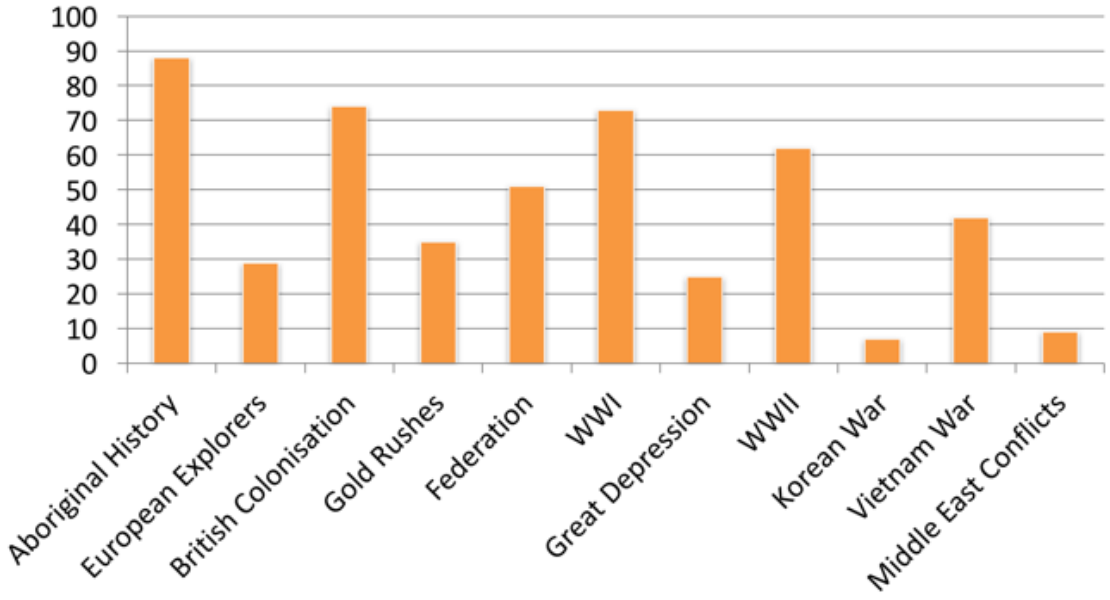

Figure 1: Contours of the Narratives: Historical Significance [n=97]

One of the events overlooked by our participants, that is conspicuous by its absence, and tells us a lot about how our pre-service History teachers see national history, is the Boston Tea Party (1773). Of course, the Boston Tea Party is a pivotal event in the history of the United States of America, and it may have been excluded by students for exactly that reason. It is also an event that is typically unstudied in Australian schools. However, the political protests that historians have come to know as the Boston Tea Party have a significance for Australia that is not usually acknowledged in curriculum documents or in public memory. From the early 1700s, the British Government had been transporting convicts to the American colonies. When the American colonials rebelled against the Tea tax of the British motherland, a chain of events was triggered that would lead to war. The American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) that erupted would see the colonists seeking sovereignty and independence from Britain. When the American colonies were victorious in their struggle for independence, one of the consequences for Britain was that the government was forced to look elsewhere to send their convicts, who were currently overcrowding their prisons and held up in prison hulks (ships that had been modified as floating goals). Only a decade early, Captain James Cook had claimed possession of Australia, having charted a course around New Zealand, and landed on the east coast of the 'Great Southern Land' at a place he first called Stingray Harbour, but later dubbed Botany Bay, given the significant variety of new plants found there by the expedition's naturalist, Joseph Banks. In a race to beat the French, the British decided to establish a penal colony at Botany Bay, and the First Fleet arrived under the leadership of Arthur Phillip, who would become the colony's first governor. Thus, the Boston Tea Party was actually a catalyst in the eventual British colonisation of Australia. Its absence from the narratives might be a result of our participants having limited time in which to write up their narratives, and thus defining the boundaries of their narratives firmly within the nation itself. As already noted, this might also be because the Boston Tea Party is simply an area of history not directly addressed in the curriculum. However, it could just as easily be the result of paying insufficient attention to historical interconnections and the larger historical narrative in which Australia's story sits, a problem that the Australian national curriculum sought to address, but whose current format structures this period as one concerned with European global navigation, exploration and discovery.

Embracing the Black Armband View of Australia's Colonial Past

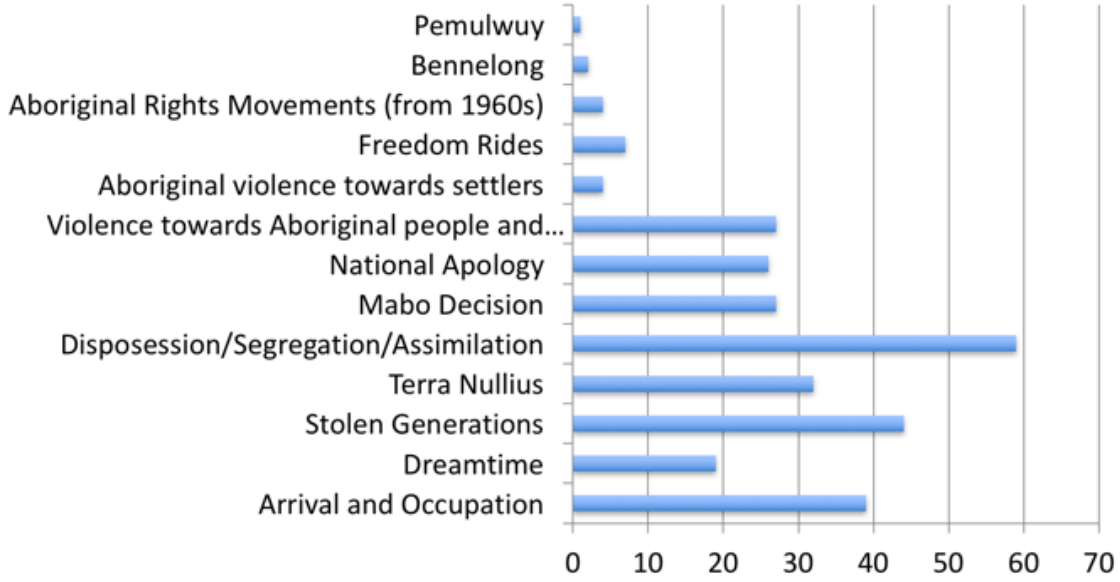

Figure 2. Aboriginal History in the Narratives
[n=88 of the n=97 narratives references Aboriginal History]

When Aboriginal History was discussed (as outlined in the second graph above), the overwhelming majority of the narratives concentrated on occupation, dispossession, segregation and assimilation during the colonial period (n=58); and a significant number focused on the stolen generations (n=44). In the early 1990s, the Board of Studies curriculum authority in New South Wales, mandated the teaching of Australian history for the first time. However, on the back of the bicentennial of the nation and the call for a 'day of mourning' by Aboriginal elders mentioned earlier, the history of Australia was to be taught with attention to Indigenous perspectives, along with Women's perspectives, and a recognition of Australia as part of Asia. Thus, it would certainly seem to be a victory for the curriculum authors of the early 1990s that so many students engaged with Australia's Indigenous history in this way; an indication that Aboriginal history, so often forgotten (Healy, 2008), had finally found its place in the national consciousness. However, what we found in the narratives tells a more complicated story than this might suggest, as can be demonstrated by examining some of the statements that appeared in our participants' narratives:

> Aboriginal people had a spiritual connection with the land; their purpose for life was to care for the land. If they did not do this they had no purpose. Different to the white settlers' viewpoint on land and land use. They viewed land for expansion and industrial reasons. This caused many tensions between English settlers and Aboriginal people, the ignorance of the white settler cause Aboriginal people and their culture to be discriminated and devalued. Upon the settlement of the English, Australia was proclaimed as 'terra nullius' Meaning that there is no man's land, therefore the settlers were allowed to do whatever they wished to do with the land. [#21]

> From an indigenous perspective, Australian history has been fraught with the annihilation of the Aboriginal race through to the assimilation in order for white settlers to gain dominance over the land and therefore resources. [#40]

> The Aboriginal people, however, lived on Australia for many thousands of years, before being invaded by Europeans . . . The lives of the Indigenous community were still being valued as inferior; Aboriginals could be killed without major concern. [#37]

> For the aboriginal people this meant they were displaced from their land and many thousands were killed as europeans expanded. At the same time, guerrilla warfare began to take place between the aboriginals and the new settlers as both sides fought for the right to their land. [#74]

> Australian history begins with the colonisation by the English and the inhabiting of the country prior to the colonisation by the Indigenous Australians, the Aboriginals. From then the history of our country is concerned around the treatment of the aboriginals by the white settlers. The policies of the time that were implemented controlled the treatment of these people. The Assimilation, Self-Determination, ___ and ___ were the policies brought in by the government of the time before the "White Australia" policy was introduced as an attempt to breed out the original owners of the land that was wrongly labelled "terra nullius". [#50]

A close reading of these excerpts from our participants' narratives reveals that while British colonisation, and Aboriginal oppression and dispossession were addressed, that Aboriginal agency and resistance is almost entirely absent from the stories being told (#74 being the exception). There is a definable sympathy towards the Aboriginal people of Australia, and even a certain sense of outrage at how they were treated in the colonial past. However, strikingly absent from the narratives (n=97) was any mention of an Aboriginal resistance leader by name, except a singular mention (n=1) of Pemulwuy (1750-1802), a member of the Bidjigal clan of the Eora people who were the original inhabitants of the areas we know as Toongabbie and Parramatta (places that retain their Indigenous name right up until the present). From 1790 until his assassination in 1802, Pemulwuy, then living in the area of Botany Bay, mounted a guerrilla campaign against the colonists. Other resistance leaders, such as Windradyne of the Wiradjuri (who occupied the Central West region of New South Wales, beyond the Blue Mountains), and Tarenorerer of the Tommeginne people (in Tasmania), are nowhere to be found in our participants' narratives.

The overall tone of the narratives when talking about the colonial period, is marked by a negativity towards the Europeans who had 'invaded' the country. Of concern however, in the absence of any identified resistance leaders, Aboriginal people are constructed almost universally as victims of European imperialism and oppression, with little room for, or indication of, agency. The result are stories that rehearse a view that has dominated the Australian national consciousness, in which Aboriginal people have consistently been depicted as a 'dying race' (fuelled here by the lack of resistance), which likewise continues to feed into the 'great Australian silence' that had erased the violent conflicts of the colonial period from public memory (Attwood, 2005; Russell, 2001; Veracini, 2003), and "has been sustained by an Anglo-Australian myth that the destruction of Aboriginal society in the face of colonizing forces was inevitable and complete; a belief in an uneventful frontier free of the founding violence of other nations; ignorance of (and disbelief when confronted with the revelation of) state sanctioned Indigenous child-removal policies designed to foster 'assimilation' throughout most of the post-federation/pre-bicentennial period; and the wilful 'drawing a veil' over events by nineteenth-century historians already concerned about what it could mean for the national spirit and reputation if frontier atrocities were more widely circulated in Australia and abroad" (Parkes, 2011, pp. 81-82).

We would undoubtedly expect to see some differences if the data was collected again today, as *historical consciousness is always historically located*. Members of our sample had their historical consciousness forged in the crucible of the history wars. The perspective that dominates is what Geoffrey Blainey (1993b) dubbed in his John Latham Memorial Lecture in 1993, the 'black armband' perspective, a mournful view of the past that projects a one-sided picture of the colonial past, in which Europeans were oppressors and Aboriginal people were victims without agency. Undoubtedly this 'black armband' narrative is the one that many of our participants would carry into the classroom, and while we might applaud the attention to past wrongs, a strong sense of the strength and pride of Aboriginal people would still be missing. For Blainey, the black armband view could be contrasted with what he described as the "three cheers" view that celebrated the

nation's successes. Concerned that the Hawke-Keating labour governments had been rewriting the historical consciousness of the nation from the black armband perspective, Blainey (1993a) sought to have the 'balance sheet' of history restored; a view that, for a time, cost him status in his field. Blainey's view influenced the conservative Howard government that followed, and was taken up by educationalists such as Kevin Donnelly (1997, 2004), who continues to be one of the most outspoken conservative critics of the school curriculum to this day.

Three Cheers for Gallipoli

While narratives of the colonial past reflected a tendency towards a black armband perspective on the past, this changed when our participants engaged with the story of Gallipoli. The failed Gallipoli campaign of WWI is represented in Australian historical culture as a pivotal event in the formation (or more precisely, 'revelation') of national identity. Gallipoli is perhaps one of the most sensitive topics in the history and culture wars. Its continued commemoration is believed to be significant for the reproduction of national identity and the protection of national culture. The central protagonists of the Gallipoli narrative are the members of the ANZAC (Australia New Zealand Army Corp). To understand why Gallipoli is so significant in the national psyche, it is necessary to understand something about the formation of the Australian nation itself.

Australia was effectively formed as its own independent nation when the various states of the mainland and the colony of Tasmania formed a single Federation in 1901. Prior to this time, there has existed a series of separate British colonies. The original British colony established under Governor Arthur Phillip in 1788, had claimed New Zealand as part of an entity called 'New South Wales', a condition it existed in until New Zealand became an independent colony in the middle of 1841. Despite its independent status, New Zealand participated in the conferences and conventions of the 1880s and 1890s that lead to the formation of the Federation of Australia in 1901, but declined the invitation to become a state of the Commonwealth of Australia, remaining a self-governing colony up until it was proclaimed a separate dominion within the British Empire in 1907. Importantly, Australian and New Zealand troops had fought alongside each other as a single colonial force in the Boer Wars (1880-1881, and 1899-1902), and continued to do so throughout WWI and WWII. Importantly, although the ANZAC troops were under the command of the British (responsible for overall coordination of the Empire's armies), they were technically participating as the military unit/s of an independent nation. Thus, this was the nation's first post-Federation conflict, the first major military crisis, that the antipodean colonies of Australia and New Zealand had engaged in after each colony had formed itself into a separate, bounded, and 'unified' nation. Gallipoli was thus the first 'test of the metal' of the Australian (and New Zealand) troops. However, landing on the beach at Gallipoli amidst gunfire from their Turkish opponents nested high in the hills, made this a near impossible task. Historically, the Gallipoli campaign was a failure, with great losses of life that commenced with the landing of ANZAC troops at a place now known to prosperity as Anzac Cove. More than 8,000 ANZACs lost their life in the course of the eight-month Gallipoli campaign, and over 26,000 were injured. These were dramatic numbers for a country whose population was 4.9 million at the time, and whose entire enlistment for service in WWI numbered 416,809 (representing more than a third of the total male population aged between 18 to 44). Thus, the tragedy of Gallipoli impacted just over 12% of the entire enlistment, effectively 'decimating' the ANZAC corp. Being the first real engagement of the newly formed Australian nation's fighting forces, the utter humiliation and defeat experienced at Gallipoli, "required the development of a redeeming historical narrative" (Parkes & Sharp, 2014, p. 163). The Gallipoli narrative that emerged within this context was a story of the recognition of Australian (and New Zealander) courage and mateship in the face of great adversity. It was not so much seen as 'making' an antipodean identity, but 'revealing' one" (Parkes & Sharp, 2014, p. 163).

Turning back to our pre-service history teachers' narratives, what is most apparent when looking at how they address the topic of Gallipoli, is the presence of what Blainey (1993b) called the "three cheers view" of Australian history (p. 268), as evident in the following excerpts (particularly the sections highlighted in italics):

> 1914-1918- WW1 Australia's first real chance to show its strength as its own country and show it is strong enough to be its own country. Gallipoli the great battle ground where we showed our true strength and Aussie spirit. [#8]
>
> When World War One came around, Australia was still very much so a baby country, not valued very highly by others as it was still only so new. Australian's saw WWI as an opportunity to prove themselves, as a chance to be on the 'stage of the world' and show their abilities. [#37]
>
> 1914 was the outbreak of the first world war, Australia participated in a bloody conflict on the Peninsular of Gallipoli in Turkey in April 1915 as part of the conjoined ANZAC forces (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps), this is retrospectively considered to be a baptism by fire of the newly formed nation. Solidifying what Australian meant as opposed to British. [#97]
>
> Throughout the war the ANZACs engaged in British battles and garnered some level international influence due to its role. [#39]
>
> Men were known to be strong and brave if they joined the war and thousands were shipped off overseas to fight battle in Europe. The first time Australia really made a mark on the world was in Gallipoli which could also be seen as Australia's biggest military fail. From here the idea of the ANZAC a brave solider who partakes in mate-ship and courageous acts was born. This idea has and still is imbedded in much of Australian society. [#74]

As can be seen from the above excerpts, there is solid adoption of the romantic or mythological perspective that dominates public discourse about Gallipoli. There is a strong emphasis in the narratives, despite the obvious defeat that this campaign was, that Gallipoli put our fledgling nation on the world stage. It is hard to imagine a more 'three cheers' version of this event that could be taken.

Conclusion: The Education of History Teachers as Public Historians

The Remembering Australia's Past (RAP) study reported above suggests, we would argue, that the pre-service History teachers whose stories of the nation we collected, have largely adopted popular discourses circulating in contemporary Australian society. While on first glance the narratives of the colonial past may appear critical, the lack of agency attributed to Aboriginal people, and the virtual absence of Aboriginal resistance to the European colonisation, suggests a less well thought out engagement with the past. That for many of the participants the representation of Gallipoli rehearses the public rhetoric of this event as setting Australian on the world stage, further suggests the influence of popular discourse on the histories our pre-service teachers have readily accessible. In facing the task to tell us the history of Australia in their own words, many of our pre-service History teachers mobilised narratives that show a sensitivity to political correctness. They provided a black armband view of colonisation, and a white blindfold view of Gallipoli, in both cases failing to move beyond these popular discourses to a more nuanced version of the past. In fairness to our participants, providing them with more time to complete their narratives, or more tightly exploring particular topics or events, might lead to more nuanced narratives that get beyond dominant discourses. However, follow up work is needed to determine if that is indeed the case.

This study offered us an important lesson. It demonstrated that our pre-service History teachers are successful consumers of public history in general, and the dominant discourses of Australia's past in particular; and that given the opportunity, it is these dominant discourses that they readily mobilise. This underscores the importance of engaging public history directly in the classroom, and in the seminar, if we seek to engage with the past beyond the popular sentiments of our time. The limitations in our pre-service History teachers' narratives suggest that much more work needs to be done with pre-service History teachers to help them explore the narratives they

mobilise, how they have developed, and the perspectives from which they emerge. Nietzsche (1874/1983) once suggested that the different forms of history needed to be pitches against each other, if we are to be free of the constraints of historical discourse. He was particularly thinking of the need to balance the monumental and antiquarian with the critical, and vice versa. Less a person be trapped by a conservative vision of the need to preserve cultural as it is, or a radical version that leaves them without footing, or depressed and guilt ridden about the past. Following Nietzsche, I would argue that there is a need for our future history teachers as public historians to offer their students narratives which provide some form of temporal mooring or historical orientation in which to know themselves as historical beings. There is also need for critical perspectives that assist them to deconstruct the narratives 'truths' they have inherited and taken for granted. The tension between these conservative and critical approaches can be a productive one, and could help our pre-service History teachers get beyond simply rehearsing what they believe is politically correct, and such an approach where these tensions are kept in play, is arguably central to the project of public history in the classroom.

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The didactic function of narratives: Teacher discussions on the use of *challenging, engaging, unifying,* and *complementing* narratives in the history classroom

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ABSTRACT

At a time when society is characterised by a polarised social climate, it is teachers who need to contribute to a nuanced orientation of the world. This article looks at the ways historical narratives can be used as a collective didactic resource in the historical-cultural context of contemporary society. Its purpose is to analyse the didactic function that underlies historical narratives in relation to students' understanding of society. Our study builds on three focus group interviews with five upper-secondary-school teachers of history and social studies. The method used is the stimulated-recall interview whereby teachers talk about various teaching situations. Four uses of historical narratives were identified, each with its own didactic function. The first is the use of the "challenging" narrative, the function of which is to disrupt and realign students' understanding of society. The second is the use of the "engaging" narrative: its function is to involve and activate students in their present understanding of society. The third is the use of the "unifying" narrative, the function of which is to bridge contradictions within society. The fourth and final narrative is the "complementing" narrative, whose function it is to broaden and open students' understanding of society. To address students in terms of their present understanding of society, teachers employ these four narratives as didactic resources. In such a way, these uses of historical narratives tie in with the teachers' overall aim to contribute an alternative perspective to students' current understanding of society. As such, the results reveal the general theoretical knowledge teachers have relating to their profession.

KEYWORDS

Historical culture, historical narratives, didactic resource, didactic function, teaching profession.

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Introduction

> Yes, I also thought about polarisation. It almost has two effects. The first is that many of us get really interested because politics, well it's a lot like showbusiness. But I also think perhaps that students are starting now to lose faith. Just like in the most recent election. It's like politics... it's a negative picture you get of development within society, something I can't quite put my finger on, but generally speaking, more negative. That politics are not that relevant for many young people and maybe that's true, and maybe that's always been the case, I don't know. But I do feel like their faith [in politics] has been lost somehow. That people don't listen to each other – that it's more a case of getting your own opinion across. (Focus Group Interview 1, Teacher Niklas)

In uncertain times, where people's views are often set against each other in irreconcilable terms, it is the role of the school to contribute to the orientation of students within society. In the citation above, the teacher Niklas describes how a polarised social climate has become part of everyday school life. Students do not want to listen to others and are more interested in expressing their own opinions. What Niklas says can also be viewed in light of challenges within society, where the divide between urban and rural, the ongoing climate crisis, and increasing segregation are often described in polarised terms (Larsson & Lindström, 2020). In such a historical-cultural context, with many one-sided narratives, the school has an almost oppositional role of suggesting more nuanced understandings of society (cf. Berg & Persson, 2020a).

Advocates suggest that the school subjects of social studies in general and history in particular can contribute a great deal to this mission, which is to work with the nuanced understandings that students have of society (cf. Barton, 2011; Kramming, 2017; Persson & Berg, 2020). This includes the question as to what historical knowledge content can address such challenges. This is an issue that has generated attention in recent years, particularly in regard to the question about students' perspectives (Sandahl, 2020; Berg & Persson, 2020a). Various worthwhile ways of thinking have been put forward (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; Hartmann & Hasselhorn, 2008), while studies have been conducted to find out and then analyse the various ways that teachers support students in their ability to think about historical matters (Persson & Berg, 2020).

However, this debate is about more than just historical content and methodology. It is about how teaching needs to seriously address and, where appropriate, challenge the attitudes and perspectives that students express. Should it not do so, then the risk is that students miss out on important orientation elements in their education (Blennow, 2019). In history didactics research, for example, there has been considerable discussion about which historical narratives can, or should, form the foundation of history teaching in schools (cf. Rüsen, 2006; Nordgren, 2006; Olofsson, 2019). This question is raised because it is known that preconceived aims and objectives can lead to the selection of certain historical narratives and not others (Rüsen, 2006; Sandahl, 2015; Nordgren, 2021).

In this article, we use a complementary point of entry. Our study concerns what teachers have to say about teaching and, like the teacher Niklas quoted above, the narratives they choose to use (cf. Levisohn, 2010) when describing the role that history can play in changing student perspectives about the world around them. The article is thus based on what we in previous research term the *perspective of the teaching profession* (PTP), the premise of which is that teachers, with their professional ability to make judgement calls, need to select knowledge content for a specific and situated teaching situation (cf. Berg, 2021; Persson & Berg, 2022). As such, this is about didactic choices that stem from the professional everyday theoretical knowledge-base of the individual teacher (cf. Berg, 2021; Persson & Berg, 2020; Shulman, 1986; Nilsson & Loughran, 2011; Irisdotter Aldenmyr, 2020). With these factors in mind, our general aim with this article is to study teachers' use of historical narratives as a didactic resource by examining what they say. More precisely, the research question involves the analysis of the didactic function that underlies the teaching of historical narratives and the way these can influence students' understanding of society.

Prior Research: Narratives in the History Classroom

The relationship between historical culture and knowledge content has long been debated in history didactics research. The discussion about the types of history that should be included in the history classroom has been described in such terms as the "history wars" (Macintyre & Clark, 2003; Parkes, 2009; Clark, 2009; Clark, 2012). This is a running debate in countries like Canada, England, Austria, Australia, and Sweden. The divide in opinion has mainly concerned the content of school curricula and the choice of teaching materials (cf. Nash, et al., 1998; Ian Grosvenor, 2002, p. 148-158; Taylor, 2010; Éthier & Lefrançois, 2012; Taylor, 2012; Samuelsson, 2017). A pervasive question in this discussion concerns the basis on which historical narratives are selected in history teaching (cf. Clark, 2003; Parkes, 2007; Clark, 2009; Taylor, 2010).

A common theme in the research relating to narrative selection concerns the content and meaning-making that are desirable (Rüsen, 2006). Here, the historical narrative of the social majority has tended to dominate classroom contexts (Patrick, 1998). Critics of this position argue that there is a great need to complement and, where necessary, challenge this dominant narrative by presenting the history of minorities and other marginalised groups (Norgren & Johansson, 2015). Here, Nordgren is one of several commentators to point out that the selection of specific narratives can contribute to learners' intercultural competence (Nordgren, 2017). In such a way, the content and meaning-making of the narrative can also be viewed in relation to pre-formulated goals (cf. Johansson, 2021).

Another frequent way to address the question of narrative selection concerns its form. Research by Sommers has identified a hierarchical order of narratives that can be divided into grand narratives and expert narratives (Sommers, 2001, p. 362 f). Another trend is to try to identify the complexity of a narrative and ways of dealing with this (Rüsen, 1987:4, p. 91). Parkes points out that it should be the responsibility of the school to increase the ability of students to deconstruct and critically review the narratives that exist within society (Parkes, 2015). This can be compared with what Rüsen terms *narrative competence*, wherein work to ensure students' ability to engage with the narratives that are evident in society is a primary teaching objective (Rüsen, 2006).

In research on history teaching in Swedish schools, the question about the form and content of historical narratives has also been a frequent theme. This can be noted in, for example, studies that show that a Western perspective is frequently evident in school curricula, teaching content, and teaching materials (cf. Nordgren, 2006; Lilliestam, 2013; Jarhall, 2021). Notable, however, are studies that also point to other existing narratives. For example, in an analysis of Swedish upper-secondary school teaching material, Danielsson Malmros (2016) identified a series of underlying narratives that had been formulated on different moral grounds (Danielsson Malmros, 2016).

Berg (2014) has also demonstrated that the Western historical narrative can be complemented and challenged by other narratives (Berg, 2014).

At the same time, there have been more collaborative studies that offer a more instructive understanding of how teachers can and should work with narratives in their teaching. First and foremost, this has concerned questions about students' narrative competence and their ability to deconstruct and reconstruct historical narratives (Johansson, 2021). Studies have frequently adopted a deductive methodology and have used different theoretical perspectives to interrogate empiricism and empirical approaches (cf. Persson, 2018). Other studies have focused on the idea that understanding narratives, such as the Anthropocene or the notion of civic values, should be part of the goal-setting process (Sandahl, 2015; Nordgren, 2021), while some studies carried out on teaching materials point out the progressive nature of historical ideas and their complexity (Persson, 2018).

Set against these trends in the research on narratives in history teaching, this article examines teachers' understanding of historical narratives as a didactic resource. As such, this article is not about testing empiricism against a pre-set theoretical goal about the selection of content; nor is it about testing empiricism against pre-set theoretical notions about, typologies, competence or progression (cf. Rüsen, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Persson, 2018). Rather, by inviting teachers to comment on the historical narratives they would choose to use in a situated teaching context, this article will examine those choices and what they say about the uses of historical narration in history teaching (cf. Berg 2021; Persson & Berg, 2020). In this way our research approach can be seen to complement existing theories on historical narration in the history classroom. In another sense, however, it should be seen to contrast these, with their methodological and theoretical foundations based – to a great extent – on pre-formulated typologies, competencies and goals. Our ambition with this more inductively-formulated approach is instead to identify and clarify the narratives that teachers use in situated contexts. In such a way, we aim to draw conclusions that might otherwise be overlooked by a continued reliance on approaches that are overly inferred. As such, our research approach should be seen to be theory-generating rather than theory-testing (cf. Persson & Berg, 2022).

Analytical Framework: The Teaching Profession and Didactic Function of the Narrative

The analysis of the historical narratives that are evident in what teachers say about teaching content was inspired by Wertsch's theory (2002) of narratives as "schematic narrative templates". What is meant by this is that narratives, in terms of their content and form, have a specific direction and meaning. They are often organised by time as well as by specific event, such as political intrigues or dramatic occurrences (White, 1980). What this means is that the formulation of a narrative is always in relation to a specific meaning. Narratives should also be regarded in relation to surrounding society. This makes it possible to see the connection between the content and form of a narrative and the societal context in which it has been formulated (Riccour, 1976).

In discussions about the role of history in contemporary society – a debate characterised by significant polarisation – there are therefore repercussions for what happens in schools (Sandahl, 2020). There is a widespread expectation that students should, to varying degrees, be able to relate the historical knowledge they acquire in the classroom to contemporary social issues (cf. Stolare et al., 2017). This has become all the more sensitive since there has been a growing trend at the entry of 2020s towards the expression of contradictory and one-sided narratives both in and outside of school (Persson & Berg, 2020). Furthermore, we can see that adolescents in ever-increasing numbers are demonstrating a negative view of the future in relation to both the climate crisis and their own opportunities (cf. Marks et al., 2021). It is also striking in other studies how the narratives that are formulated about society are positioned in contrast to each other (Sandahl, 2020).

As such, negative and oppositional narratives form the ideological situation that teachers must deal with in their everyday work (cf. Sandahl, 2020; Persson & Berg, 2020). To examine the way in which teachers approach this part of their teaching responsibility, we use their level of professional experience as a point of departure (cf. Shulman, 1996; Nilsson & Loughran, 2011; Berg, 2021). Here we use as our starting point what we in previous studies repeatedly define as *the perspective of the teaching profession* (cf. Persson & Berg, 2020; Berg, 2021; Persson, 2022; Persson & Berg, 2022). In this perspective, teaching is characterised as a series of_uniquely situated didactic situations that need, on a continuous basis, to be dealt with using sound judgement. This being the case, rather than initially deciding which narratives are appropriate for which teaching purposes, we examine which narratives teachers say they want to use when confronted with particular teaching situations. In such a way, there is more demand placed on the teachers' professional competence to determine which teaching content and narratives to use. When discussing these specific teaching situations, teachers thus need to consider carefully how they will approach students in their learning and what knowledge content they will use (cf. Berg, 2021).

In this article, with teachers' discussions of teaching situations as the framework for our research, we seek to examine the use of narratives as a didactic resource in teaching. We consider how the understandings of society expressed by students influence the choice of narrative made by teachers. Our approach builds upon the theoretical premiss presented in the figure below, which portrays the idea that in every teaching situation there is a both a narrator and a recipient of the historical narrative that has been formed (cf. Nordgren, 2006).

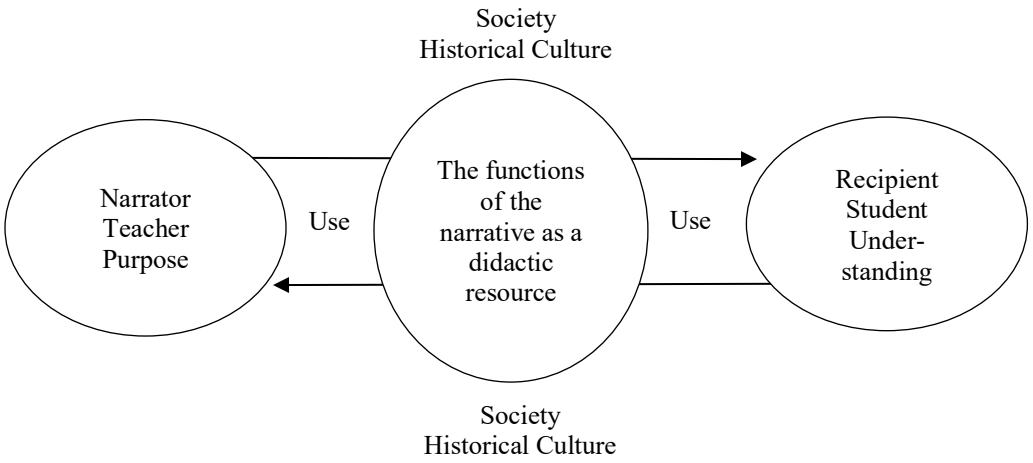

Figure 1: Model for the Analysis of the Function of Narrative in Teaching

Teachers, who in this case occupy the role of narrator, have certain intentions when they select teaching content. These intentions are shaped by the understanding of society that they feel their students have. Teachers thus choose a narrative that they feel will best serve the didactic purpose for any given situation. The didactic function of a historical narrative, therefore, should be viewed in relation to the understanding that teachers perceive the students to have.

Method

This article has been written within the framework of a large-scale research project whose purpose it is to examine how it is possible, using the knowledge content of various subjects, to affect the way in which students look at themselves and society. At the time of writing, the research project was being conducted in collaboration with a large upper-secondary school located in a mid-sized industrial town in Sweden. Teachers at the school were contacted by email and then by telephone to establish their interest in taking part in the study. In both the email and

the telephone call, a description of the aim of the project and the way it would be conducted was provided. The teachers who chose to take part are all qualified upper-secondary-school teachers and have a great deal of experience within the teaching profession.

This article builds on empirical data from three focus group interviews with five upper-secondary school teachers of history and social studies. As such, this article can be regarded as a case study. Every individual case is interesting in its own right. While we should be cautious when extrapolating from the individual to the general, any single teacher's expressions can be potentially representative of teachers' views as a whole (cf. Yin, 2009, p. 3-7). That said, there may also be others that are not presented in this study. As such, this study should be regarded as an initial exploration of a question that has received little attention in the research to date (cf. Schüllerqvist & Osbeck, 2009).

The focus group interviews were conducted and audio-recorded using an online platform. They were then transcribed, and names were coded. All names, including place names, and any other information that could make identification possible were anonymised. The focus group interviews were conducted in three stages, and various methods were used. Ahead of the interviews, an email was sent to each of the teachers involved in the study describing the overall structure of the study and outlining the theme of each of the upcoming interviews. The aim of the first interview, which was 120 minutes in duration, was to identify the narratives about society that teachers see among their students. This interview was semi-structured, which allowed us to follow up on what teachers said about their students' narratives using other questions (Esaiasson et al., 2007, p. 298-301).

Prior to the second and third focus group interviews, we collected the three most common narratives that the students expressed, as made apparent in the first interview with the teachers. The first of these narratives to become apparent in various ways was that students thought living in the country was less desirable than living in the city. The second narrative they articulated was a determination to move away from the perceived limitations of living in the country. Finally, the third narrative that became apparent was students' anxiety, expressed in various ways, about the impact of the environment and climate change on their future prospects.

In the second and third interviews, we used a stimulated-recall method by which teachers, when thinking about these three student narratives, were asked to describe the subject content they would use to nuance these students' understandings (cf. Wineburg, 2001; Berg & Persson, 2020a; Persson & Berg, 2020). In both interviews (each lasting 90 minutes), teachers were asked to explain the content they would draw on from the history subject and the methods they would use, drawing on their experience of teaching history, to address these student narratives. At this point, the teachers were also asked to justify their choices and to articulate the thought processes that led to them. This article builds on data from the didactic "what" question arising from these three interviews – that is to say, what the teachers said about the subject content they would choose to use in order to nuance what they perceived to be students' understanding of society.

The analysis called for in our research approach has two methodological levels. At the first level, we take as our point of entry the perspective of the teaching profession as described above. With this understanding of teaching, our interest is directed towards the content of what teachers suggest be used in the situated teaching situations that are discussed in the empirical data. At the second level (that is to say, when the empirical data is analysed), an open inductive approach is applied. The empirical evidence reflecting the perspective of the teaching profession that is gathered is thus processed and analysed without any pre-determined theoretical categories (cf. Berg, 2021; Persson, 2022). The analysis for this was conducted using a four-step method (cf. Samuelsson & Wendell, 2016; Persson & Berg 2022). In the first step, transcripts were read in their entirety. The second step involved a second reading in which material containing the didactic "what" questions were coded.

This was done using four methodological concepts that help to distinguish between inductively-shaped categories (Lilliestam, 2013). The first is about separation and about distinguishing dissimilarities in the empirical data. The second is about *simultaneity*, where similarities are discerned. After this, the empirical examples are set in *contrast* to one another so as to clarify any boundaries (Patrick, 2002; Holmqvist et al., 2008). As a final step, generalisations are made to form categories (Runessons et al., 1999). The categories must be constructed at a sufficiently abstract level so that one or more elements of the empirical data can be allocated to each one (cf. Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006). We have labelled what we are calling these 'narratives' as *challenging, engaging, unifying,* and *complementing*. In the fourth step, we conducted an analysis of the didactic functions that are observable in the teachers' use of the identified narratives as a didactic resource. Here, the methodological approach should be seen as inductive in its orientation and thus theory-generating rather than theory-testing (cf. Person, 2020; Berg, 2021).

The results of this article should be viewed at a group level and not be seen as the stance of any one individual teacher. Even though a variety of opinions were articulated in the focus groups, a theoretical approach for handling variety allows the different didactic functions articulated by individual teachers to be attributed to the group as a whole (cf. Lilliestam, 2013; Berg, 2021). A description of these opinions and the empirical basis for their division into our four distinct categories is provided in detail in the results section of this article. To increase transparency in the analysis, the decision was made to present what the teachers said in long quotations. Those selected for reproduction in this article should be seen as representative examples of the category they describe.

Results

The Challenging Narrative

The first use of narrative as a didactic resource is termed the *challenging* narrative. It is about offering a way to view society that contrasts with the understanding students express about society. The strategies the teachers articulated repeatedly returned to the issue of challenging students' notions. Camilla is just one of several teachers who talks about this: "I think, then, that it's a bit like the expression 'hollowing out a stone with dripping water' – that you must constantly be looking here and there, you can think like this and then like that." She is referring to a way of teaching that involves the constant presence of the challenging question, often in relation to ideological and value-related issues.

The case below deals with students expressing one-sided views about political parties. The teacher in this case, Therese, believes in the importance of challenging students' understanding with a broader way of looking at political parties and their ideological history. She states:

> What I feel is that it wouldn't be enough for me to simply talk about the Social Democrats and their history. I want to keep going. That's where we start to make progress […] because we have these strong opinions that it's the fault of the Social Democrats and… but you can't just presume that this is how everyone thinks. Just because that opinion is the one we hear doesn't mean that everyone thinks that way. So, my feeling is that I have to keep working on this political path. I must work with other ideological thinking, such as we have in Sweden. These we must keep in mind. It would involve a great deal of work to look at the different political opinions and what they stand for and how they have led to the parties that sit in parliament today and to use this to challenge students on this matter…. And perhaps with some analytical questions, perhaps rounding off with a writing assignment where you can draw them together and discuss and reason so that they get somewhere that they think is best. Then you can see if you were able to change the opinion of anybody at all. (Focus Group Interview 3, Teacher Therese)

This way of working with narratives is about disrupting students' stories by presenting a more nuanced narrative that forces them to look at the issue from another angle or in a wider historical context. In this case, it would mean studying the development of the Social Democrats against the backdrop of the growth of modern party-political ideologies.

There may even be moments when students express their understanding of an issue that is more extreme – in this case, a student expressing strong anti-democratic values. Here, the teacher articulates the need for a relatively large level of realignment in response to the understanding that the student expresses.

> Malin: Yes, right, that discussion – how to work with somebody who has a deep-rooted racist view on things. That involves some real work on themes, you could say, because you need to dig deep both into history and into social studies and into genetics. I had a discussion with a boy whose opinions were slightly dubious. He didn't exactly say explicitly that he belonged to any right-wing extremist group, but what he said made you think that could be the case. /.../ He said things that would have made Herman Lundborg[1] proud. So, we had quite the debate. And I'm not sure how I could have had that same debate with a whole class of students. It was okay one on one, but I'm not sure how I would have managed in a teaching situation. (Focus Group Interview 2, Teacher Malin)

In this example, the teacher seeks to realign a student's understanding of history and society that cannot be viewed as historically accurate. The teacher is clear that such a discussion would not be possible in a whole-class situation; rather, it is one that should be had individually with a student. The challenging use of narrative as a didactic resource is thus principally about disrupting or, when required, realigning what is seen to be a student's understanding of society.

The Unifying Narrative

Another way that the teachers in this study used historical narratives as a didactic resource to nuance the understanding of society held by students has been termed the *unifying* narrative. This is when teachers highlight the similarities that exist within the current social order. Rather than stressing the contradictions within the framework of existing society, they attempt to bridge them. This is notable in this study when, for example, the teachers articulated their efforts to highlight the mutual dependency of rural and urban society. Teacher Therese states, "And I think it's important as well to make it clear to students that rural and urban societies, they're not separate. They are actually interlinked." Here Therese is expressing a historical narrative that points out what unifies rather than sets a society apart.

The teacher Malin points out that students, through their social media networks, interact on a regular basis with people from different backgrounds to themselves and that these interactions can help them to substitute the negative images they have received from elsewhere about what rural or urban communities are like. In this way, the teachers maintained that stereotypical images of the town and country can be bridged by students' personal experiences. Malin states:

> … but I also think that... this thing with the internet... I think we touched on this in our first seminar – I don't know if it was Nils who said it... it's that both us and the students are fed negative images on a constant basis. It's always negative news we hear, in the newspapers too... it's the same thing with the history of rural society, and there are shootings in the big cities, and such contradictions I believe lead to students having the opinions that they do about rural areas and urban areas. But then if we can show that there are good aspects too, if we're now

[1] Herman Lundborg was head of Sweden's State Institute for Racial Biology in the 1920s and 1930s.

> talking about stories, well then this can be done on the internet. And then you can inform students of the fact that the people you are networking with online, they're actually from a city. (Focus Group Interview 3, Teacher Malin)

Here, the teacher is referring to the frequent media portrayal of rural communities as hotbeds for right-wing extremist groups and urban suburbs as rife with criminality. She is suggesting that such stereotypes can be surmounted by the views students develop as a result of their social media interactions. In such a way, personal experience can overcome these simplistic contemporary portrayals.

This is also something that is associated with the historical growth of rural areas and historical involvement in national and global collaborations. The teachers themselves highlighted ways in which they could use historical narratives to nuance these negative student attitudes and point out the strong interconnections between rural and urban in both national and global contexts. As the teacher Nils suggested when talking about a unifying narrative he might use:

> If I were to do something that has to do with history, it would be obvious considering how I teach the industry and technology programme, and that I, they would work within industry, that is to say capable students, so I would likely focus on large industries. Historically speaking, how [industry] was built up, what it does now, and what it will become. And, you know, how it has changed owners – they are global; they ship throughout the world. Such a large company that in actual fact keeps this rural community afloat – that is something well worth working on – at least that's what I think. (Focus Group Interview 3, Teacher Nils)

In such a way, it is about showing how people's lives and work opportunities are closely interlinked in the historical sense with the local community and its ties to the rest of the country and the wider world. This use of a unifying narrative is about trying to encourage students to see connections and not simply divisions – about pointing out to them how aspects of society are, historically speaking, built on cooperation and collaboration rather than contradiction and conflict.

The Engaging Narrative

The third way the teachers suggested using historical narratives as a didactic resource has, in this article, been termed an *engaging* narrative. At a fundamental level, an engaging narrative is about putting forward the notion that society has developed in an unfair way and that efforts to combat inequality have been, at different times, more or less successful. Narratives of unfairness, then, can generate friction amongst students, which has the potential to lead to engagement, a state where students begin to ask questions and show an interest in wider social issues. Getting students to this point is often about finding some common ground with their experiences and their everyday thinking. Teacher Camilla gives one example that she uses to increase student engagement, and that is the different opportunities there are to play football in rural and urban communities. She states, "They can see that in this regard things are much better in towns. There the opportunities to play sport are at a completely different level. I'm talking about, well, playing time and arenas and football pitches and then maybe even teams too." She also points out that children interested in playing football have access to something in the region of 10,000 training hours, a figure that could never be matched in rural areas. An injustice like this can prompt students to a sense of engagement and can encourage them, through their own initiative, to do something about it.

With the aim of clarifying how it is possible to work more in-depth with an engaging narrative that aims to increase student involvement, teacher Niklas suggests that examples of unfairness in history can serve to increase student interest – in his case, the historical allocation of natural resources. Niklas says:

> So, if I can just add to what Anna says, and I don't know if it is about time or geography, but, you know, this type of story that is sketched out, I recognise it much more from when I lived in Norrland in my student days. Sort of like, "Us, our forest, our ore, that this country has built its welfare on, and we get nothing in return." Up there I thought this story was much more powerful. (Focus Group Interview 2, Teacher Niklas)

Niklas is referring to the perception that many people in northern Sweden have that the state takes their natural resources while giving them little in return. This sense of injustice informed many of the attitudes he encountered while a student in the region. Niklas is suggesting that, as a teacher, exposing students to historical injustices and inequalities can help them to better understand the often complex nuances that surround contemporary situations. Rural areas may lack sufficient sporting resources because of strategic decisions taken by remote government agencies. By making apparent such historical factors, student engagement can be sought on the one hand to recognise their knowledge and understanding about the matter in question and on the other to build engagement and agency on the part of the student.

The use of the historical perspective to activate student engagement is something several teachers mention. To further this point**,** teacher Malin states that comparisons can be made between the urban and the rural in relation to colonial history:

> Malin: No, I think there's a point in what [Niklas] is saying, because when you teach about, for example, colonial history and the like, you look a lot at how the Western world benefited from less-developed continents. The same thing should be do-able within a country. There may well be good reason for [students] to be made aware of the structures that exist and that maybe cities, to a certain extent, attract the most educated workforce or in some other way benefit from rural areas. Then you could ask students whether it is worth it for small communities to put so much money into schooling, for example. If that leads to students being better educated or pursuing higher education, then it will mean that they disappear from the local community and then, all future tax revenue that they generate won't benefit the place they come from – it will be the cities that benefit. This is absolutely what we may think. (Focus Group Interview 3, Teacher Malin)

In this example, what is made clear is the relationship between the individual and the opportunities they have and how these are dependent on the structural framework of the relationship between urban and rural. This relationship is compared to a historical one, that of a colonial network, where the flow of goods and services is consistently away from the periphery and towards the centre. This narrative can then become one way of explaining the traditional rivalries between city and country, and of making injustice more apparent.

The Complementing Narrative

The fourth way that teachers use historical narratives as a didactic resource has been termed a *complementing* narrative. This approach is about finding other, more inspirational historical narratives that can complement and improve what students feel they know about their local society. Teacher Camilla points this out when she talks about how she gets her students to interview both young and old people for the purpose of broadening their views on the lives of the people around them. She states, "And then, and what we did is that [the students] put the same questions to classmates that they then put to older people so that they could see the difference between those who are old and young… so when you are working on identity and, you know, what it is in life that forms us into who we are."

This approach is about developing the way students understand the rural community where they grew up. Life is not pre-determined; instead, there is room for manoeuvre. In this case, teacher Niklas provides an example from the life of the journalist Erik Niva that he usually incorporates into his teaching. He states:

> The football journalist Erik Niva, who talked on a national summer radio programme a couple of years back, spoke about being born and growing up in Malmberget and what he took with him from that time. He spoke very concretely about how when he was at high school, 13 students took their own life, because Malmberget as a place was on the verge of physically disappearing because of the situation with the mine there. And he goes into a story that you can react to, that "my place in life is disappearing". And then he talks about choosing another story – "what did I take with me from Malmberget?" There are such things as he never wears a suit jacket in the football studio, unlike everyone else. … He was the only one among his classmates who had bookshelves with books – when he was growing up and what this has meant to him. When you have such concrete examples, then students can themselves begin to remember, "What has this place given me, regardless of whether I stay or move away, what is it about me that has been formed by this place?" (Focus Group Interview 2, Teacher Niklas)

Here, Niklas is suggesting that another way of presenting rural society to students can be to highlight its opportunities rather than its limitations. Students can, much like Niva, choose to view their time growing up as something positive as opposed to negative, and their experiences will be richer as a result. Highlighting inspirational life stories that have connections with rural communities can be a good mechanism for articulating complementing narratives.

Nuancing student attitudes about rural life can also be done by offering an alternative, complementary historical perspective. The point is to show how two closely related societies have over the years flourished on different occasions and that this changes throughout history. What this shows is that society is not static. Teacher Therese states:

> Well, it's pretty much like everything else, I would say, that happens in the world, historically speaking. There are times of boom and then things die out in some way. And this applies to rural communities too, I think. You show that before industry existed in these places, it was actually neighbouring communities that were flourishing, much like it is now. And just because things are the way they are now, it doesn't mean that their history is somehow worse. So, you have to demonstrate this in some way. (Focus Group Interview 3, Teacher Therese)

By highlighting how a place was different in the past, it is possible to show that there are opportunities for change. Society is not static, and there is always potential for changing the circumstances we live in. Using a complementing narrative, therefore, is about identifying and presenting other narratives that point out the opportunities and potential in a particular situation. In such a way, what is made apparent is the potential for change in relation to both the individual and the historical perspective relating to society.

Discussion and Conclusion

Our ambition with the writing of this article was to investigate the narratives teachers articulated when discussing the understandings of society that they perceive students to have. In so doing, we identified that for teachers, historical narratives are regarded as a didactic resource in those situational teaching contexts where teachers are looking to nuance student attitudes. The purpose has thus been "to analyse the didactic function that underlies historical narratives in teaching in relation to students' understanding of society". When seeking to nuance students' understandings, teachers adopted what we have identified as four uses of historical narratives and used them for a set of four complementary didactic purposes.

For example, when teachers use *challenging* narratives as a didactic resource, their function is to try to *realign* the present thinking of students – to challenge their current understanding by contributing competing, more nuanced notions. The table below shows how it is a matter of challenging and confronting students who express historically inaccurate narratives as well as narratives that are tendentious and firmly skewed.

Didactic Resource	Didactic Function	Empirical Examples
The Use of the Challenging Narrative	Disrupt, realign	Historical narratives that counteract tendentious and inaccurate historical narratives within society
The Use of the Engaging Narrative	Involve, activate	Historical narratives that demonstrate unjust and inaccurate historical narratives within society
The Use of the Unifying Narrative	Bridge contradictions, see opportunities	Historical narratives that demonstrate similarities and mutual dependency within society
The Use of the Complementing Narrative	Broaden, open up	Historical narratives that show different paths and opportunities within society

Table 1: The Didactic Function of Narratives

By using an *engaging* narrative, however, it can be said that teachers are adopting a mechanism that *activates* student engagement. By exposing students to narratives of injustice and inequality, teachers seek *to involve* students in history so that change seems important. Here it is possible to see how teachers are trying to give students a sense of agency in relation to current society.

When teachers use a *unifying* narrative as a didactic resource, they seek to enact the didactic function of *bridging* the contradictions that they see in students' understanding of society. In this way, it is also about *seeing the possibilities* in the current social order. Here, the focus is more on what connects things rather than what sets them apart – for example, the subject of urban and rural and what connects them historically. The function of the final narrative – the *complementing* narrative – is to *broaden* the understanding that students have by introducing them to additional, positive, and complementary narratives about the history of rural society. As such, the function of this narrative can also be said to be about *opening up* and to a certain extent also inspiring students to consider not just the negatives but also the opportunities that a situation has to offer. In the examples presented here, teachers have tried to show how experiences gained at a young age from highly negative situations can contribute in a positive way to a person's life in later years.

The purpose of this article has been formulated based on the premise that we live at a time and in a historical cultural context that are characterised by great diversity of opinion. This is something that affects schools too. Teachers believe that students, at times, express unilaterally-formulated historical narratives. When the question about the narrative as a didactic resource and function in relation to this is examined, several general conclusions can be drawn. It is evident that the use of historical narratives as a didactic resource is based on the considerations teachers make in relation to the situated conditions that can be seen in the teaching situations discussed here. In this sense, it cannot be said that teachers employ pre-formulated content or adopt presupposed goals in the way they go about their teaching.

Instead, teachers have a general wish to problematise the understandings that students express (cf. Persson & Berg, 2020; Irisdotter Aldenmyr, 2020). If students express a narrative that is not historically accurate, then it should be disrupted. A narrative that is based on notions of differences should be met with a narrative stressing similarities. By using narratives as a didactic resource, teachers gain access to the didactic functions that disrupt, activate, bridge, and broaden the understanding students have of society, and in so doing, teachers provide students more with an opportunity for reflection than with any clear answers. The results thus demonstrate a will on the part of teachers to meet students in terms of their present understanding, regardless of what that may be. The choices teachers make when deciding on the historical narrative to use as a didactic resource should thus be seen as a reflection of their experience within the profession and their ability to make appropriate judgements.

The professional perspective used in this article, along with teachers' everyday professional experiences, helps to highlight several considerations that otherwise risk being overlooked were other more deductive approaches to have been adopted (cf. Berg, 2021; Persson, 2022; Persson & Berg, 2022). This approach has generated a clear empirical base that shows, in specific and

situated teaching situations, teachers understand how the use of different narratives can be used to achieve certain purposes such as *involving* or *activating* students. Using this evidence has allowed for the inductive formulation of narrative categories that the teachers find effective in a given siutation, depending on what students express and experience. This is therefore a research approach that must be seen as theory-generating rather than theory-testing.

As such, this research contributes important theoretical and empirical knowledge that either complements or contrasts with more common interventionist and deductively oriented research approaches, both those with pre-determined theoretical typologies, models and goals and those where pre-determined competencies are to be implemented in schools (cf. Rüsen, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Persson, 2018; Nordgren, 2021; Johansson, 2021). Beyond the construction of a set of inductively-shaped categories of historical narrative as outlined in this article, we also argue that the results reveal a kind of everyday theoretical perspective on the teaching profession, which constitutes an important contribution to the ongoing debate about how complex social questions can be addressed in school**s**. The everyday theoretical awareness that the teachers in this study demonstrate should form the starting point for future research. When studies of teachers' work are conducted, this theoretical perspective should be considered and tested to a greater extent than has previously been the case (cf. Berg & Persson, 2020b; Irisdotter Aldenmyr, 2020).

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Focus Group interview 3, 2020-12-10.

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Illuminating historical causal reasoning: Designing a theory-informed cognition model for assessment purposes

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ABSTRACT

This study presents a theory-informed cognition model of causal reasoning in history as a foundation for assessment tasks. This model details the levels of achievement of individuals' causal reasoning in history and the underlying beliefs and knowledge types that should be mastered to become proficient in this form of reasoning. The model was developed following a design approach. First, a literature study was conducted on the nature of causation in history. This study led to the creation of an initial model that was submitted to two mixed expert panels comprising experts from various backgrounds who critiqued the model. Based on their feedback, the model was further refined. This process resulted in a description of levels of achievement for three dimensions: an epistemic dimension, a second-order knowledge dimension and a first-order knowledge dimension. For each dimension, we identified concrete behaviour and underlying knowledge and beliefs. This cognition model can form the foundation for developing assessment tasks that can help improve students' causal reasoning in history.

KEYWORDS

Causal reasoning in history, Cognition model, Historical thinking, Historical reasoning, Assessment

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Introduction

Research has shown that assessment can be a powerful tool for teachers to enhance student achievement in secondary education (Black & Williams 1998; Van der Kleij et al., 2015). According to Pellegrino et al. (2001), good assessment design should follow the principles of the assessment triangle: Tasks should be derived from '1) a *cognition* model of student learning in a given domain; 2) a set of beliefs about the kinds of *observations* that can be used as evidence for student learning and 3) the means to *interpret* this evidence' (p. 45). However, Brown and Wilson (2011) have noted that cognition models are often missing or 'backgrounded' (p. 224) in the development of assessment tasks and have emphasized that 'having a model of how students represent knowledge and develop competence strongly benefits curriculum, instruction and evaluation' (p. 225).

In recent decades, the focus of history education has shifted from rote learning and memorizing facts about the past to using this knowledge and developing an understanding of the nature of history to think and reason historically (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; Lévèsque, 2008). However, several scholars have pointed out that in secondary school, assessment is often aimed at factual recall instead of historical thinking abilities (Ercikan & Seixas, 2015; VanSledright, 2014). The definition of cognition models is an essential step in bridging the gap between the intended and actual goals of history curricula (Ercikan & Seixas, 2015). In this study, we report on the design of such a cognition model of causal reasoning in history. The following questions guided our investigation:

What constitutes causal reasoning in history, and how can we describe the incremental development of student proficiency in this ability?

Designing a cognition model

Both educational researchers (e.g., Voss & Wiley, 2006; Seixas & Morton, 2012) and many historians (e.g., Carr, 1961; Gaddis, 2002; Hewitson, 2014) consider causal reasoning an important aspect of historical study and expertise. Consequently, it features in most theories and frameworks on historical thinking (e.g., Seixas & Morton, 2012; Wineburg, 2001) and historical reasoning (Author, 2008; Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2018). While research into historical causation has provided many insights into the challenges that students face and has led to strategies for teachers to overcome such challenges, a cognition model specifically aimed at assessment does not yet exist.

We adopted a design approach consisting of an exploration stage, a construction stage, and an evaluation stage (McKenny & Reeves, 2012). In the first stage, we explored historical causation through a study of relevant literature. Discussion about causation, its practice and its nature can be found in both history education research and in publications on the philosophy and theory of history. We chose to incorporate the literature from both perspectives to better understand causal reasoning in history. However, it is important to note that causation is not a subject without disagreement. Among historians and theorists, there is much discussion about the 'what' and the 'how' of causation and its importance within the discipline (Hewitson, 2014). Tosh (2015), citing famed British historian A.J.P. Taylor (1969), explains that some historians question whether seeking causes should even be the purpose of historical enquiry. The philosopher of history Paul (2014) distinguishes four explanatory models regarding causation that cover the various positions within the discipline: the intentionalist model, which focuses on actions by agents; the covering law model, which leans into causal laws similar to the natural sciences; the comparative model, which determines causes through comparison; and the probabilistic model, which substitutes laws for rules that make the occurrence of an event more or less likely. While this paper is not aimed at resolving this discussion, we do feel that it further underlines why it is important to focus on causation specifically and that, to create a valid cognition model, this discussion needs to be explored, which we will do below in the section on second order knowledge.

We used two different strategies to gather literature. First, we sought relevant peer-reviewed articles about causal reasoning in history in the ERIC (Educational Resources Information

Center) and Google Scholar databases with terms such as 'historical causation' and 'historical causal reasoning'. Second, we asked experts on history education and the philosophy of history for seminal studies in this field, and then, through a 'snowballing' process, we gathered more literature to broaden our understanding of causation in history. In the construction stage, we used our findings to create a preliminary cognition model, which, in the subsequent evaluation stage, was submitted to two expert panels who critiqued the model. This feedback was used to refine the model.

At the outset, we formulated five principles that steered the design process. First, the model should describe causal reasoning in history in a manner that disciplinary practitioners expect. Second, assessment 'cannot offer a direct window into a student's mind' (Radinsky et al., 2015, p. 133), so to 'know what students know', this knowledge should be transformed into observable behaviour that can serve as evidence of that knowledge. Therefore, the observable behaviour that students undertake when they construct a causal explanation and the underlying knowledge and beliefs that enable or impede them from doing so should be separated. Third, Alexander (2003) notes that traditional models of expertise tend to portray progression in dual terms but that such novice-expert trajectories mask actual progression. Thus, our model should be multileveled instead of dichotomous. Fourth, the description of the various levels of achievement should be both clear and comprehensive as well as logical and consistent. Fifth and finally, the model should support teachers and teacher educators in the construction and use of assessment tasks.

This report is organized around the phases of the design process, exploration, construction and evaluation as outlined above. After discussing the evaluation stage, we briefly discuss two examples of how the model could be used. Finally, in the conclusion and discussion, we reflect on the model and on our design approach.

Exploration and construction stage

Causal reasoning in history forms part of several models of historical reasoning or thinking (e.g., Seixas & Morton, 2012; Stoel, et al., 2015, Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). In their model, Van Boxtel & Van Drie (2018) define historical reasoning as reaching justifiable conclusions about processes of continuity and change, causes and consequences, and differences and similarities between historical phenomena or periods. They conceptualize historical reasoning in terms of student behaviour and activities such as identifying causes, contextualizing causes, differentiating among types of causes, and the necessary cognitive resources for reasoning: first-order knowledge, second-order knowledge and epistemological beliefs. First-order knowledge refers to the dates, names, facts and phenomena that make up our knowledge of the past. Second-order knowledge refers to meta-concepts in history such as evidence, change and causation. Epistemological beliefs refer to the validity and justification of first-order knowledge (VanSledright & Limón, 2006).

In answer to the first part of our research question, we have defined causal reasoning in history as *the ability to construct or evaluate a historical causal explanation by relating the actions of historical actors, historical conditions and context to the phenomenon, event or development that needs to be explained while considering the relevant disciplinary criteria for constructing such an explanation.*

The three dimensions that constitute causal reasoning in history formed the framework within which we conducted our literature study to answer the second part of our research question: *How can we describe the incremental proficiency of students?* In the following sections, we will discuss each dimension in relation to this question.

Second-order knowledge

Since much research on history education has been devoted to second-order knowledge, we began our enquiry here. Both historians and educators in history education have written extensively on causation. Historians tend to approach the subject from a more abstract point of view and ask questions about the nature of causation and what constitutes a 'cause' (e.g., Carr, 1961; Hewitson, 2014; Paul, 2014). Various studies performed in the 1990s by educational researchers focused on second-order knowledge and examined students' understanding of historical causation from a cognition perspective (e.g., Carretero et al., 1997; Halldén, 1997; 1998; Lee et al., 1998; Voss et al., 1994). This research charted the difficulties that students encounter when engaging in historical causal reasoning and provided some understanding of the difference between 'naïve' and 'disciplinary' causal reasoning. More recent studies have focused on possible teacher strategies for improving reasoning (Chapman, 2003; Reisman, 2009; Seixas & Morton, 2012; Stoel et al., 2015).

For the purpose of this literature study, the work by Seixas and Morton (2012) and Lee, Dickinson and Ashby (1998) is of particular interest. The former distinguish between naïve and expert causal reasoning and offer concrete examples of desired student behaviour in causal reasoning in history. The latter conducted a large-scale study, project CHATA (Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches, 7 to 14), in Great Britain, in which students completed various tasks and were interviewed about their understanding of second-order knowledge of history, such as causation, evidence and change. The resulting data led to the creation of, among other things, a progression model of historical explanation or causal reasoning (Lee et al., 2001; Lee & Shemilt, 2009).

The model is built around three different themes. First, it addresses several common misconceptions students hold about causation and which strategies experts use when reasoning with causation. For instance, students tend to place more emphasis on human action, while experts also consider the conditions within which individuals operate. These strategies can also be found in the work by Seixas and Morton (2012). The second theme concerns how causal explanations about the past are created, for instance, by basing them on historical evidence. As a result, such explanations are constructed by the historian and are not immanent in events. Third, the model strives to show that the past is not determined, i.e., that events were not necessary results from their antecedents. Progression is set along six stages in which students achieve a deeper understanding about both the nature and practice of causation in history. Although the progression model is comprehensive, there is no clear separation between second-order knowledge and epistemological beliefs. Additionally, the role of first-order knowledge in reasoning remains unclear.

The strategies that experts use as described in the model correspond loosely with the explanatory models that historians use when explaining the past. Paul (2014) distinguishes three explanatory models. The *intentionalist* model of explanation argues that it is primarily the intention of historical agents that explains why events occur. Intentionalist historians focus on the particular and emphasize empathizing with people in the past to understand their motives. Conversely, the *covering law* model, and its less deterministic cousin the *probabilistic* model, focus on the conditions that drive human action. The covering law model is rooted in positivist science whereby events are connected to antecedent conditions through general laws, i.e., laws that *cover* every instance of such an event. Discovering covering laws is problematic because the past, unlike natural science, is not observable. The probabilistic model attempts to solve this problem by referring to rules instead of laws that make the occurrence of an event more *probable*. Both of these models refer to conditions and structures that govern the occurrence of events. Finally, the *comparative* model of explanation contrasts the occurrence of past events with other similar or counterfactual events to determine its causes (Paul, 2014).

The models described above reflect different approaches to historical explanation as they developed over time. Thus, these models may seem mutually exclusive, as they correspond with different disciplinary practices of the past and present. Bevir (2007), for instance, argues for an

agentive approach and against positivist social science techniques such as laws. However, according to Paul (2014), these models are often intermingled in practice. Likewise, Chapman (2017) distinguishes between 'agency and structure' (p. 3) but states that 'they interact in practice' (p. 3). Similarly, Hewitson (2014) argues in his study on causation that causes are 'intersecting sets of actions' (p. 217), that are determined by social and cultural circumstances, i.e., conditions and context. These sets of actions may refer to singular and individual actions or constitute broader conditions that produce or enable change. Therefore, the difference among causes, actions and conditions 'is one of degree' (Hewitson, 2014, p. 217), and intentions, structures and comparisons should be used cumulatively rather than independently. In our view, this cumulative approach fits best with the strategies expounded by Lee et al. (2001). We agree with Bevir (2007) that laws in historical study are problematic and thus advocate the probabilistic model as set out above. Conditions then should not be seen as laws that determine behaviour but rather make certain actions more *probable* than others, considering the context and conditions in which they took place.

We used the three explanatory models described by Paul (2014) and the model of Lee and Shemilt (2009), complemented by the work by Seixas and Morton (2012), to describe students' understanding of historical causation and the corresponding observable activities students undertake, resulting in four separate levels of achievement (see Figure 1). The middle two columns show the development of second-order knowledge and associated student behaviour. Students with a descriptive view of causation tend to give no explanation but merely describe events. Students who have learned that events happen for a reason move to an intentionalist view of causation whereby events are presented as the result of the will of great individuals. Insofar as conditions are considered, they are personified. When realization occurs, historical agents act within certain conditions, and the next stage is reached, in which intentionalism is complemented by structuralism. Causal explanations become less sequential, and historical conditions are considered, corresponding to a probabilistic view of historical causation. In the last stage, students become aware of the constructed nature of historical explanations and that conditions and actions must be placed within a historical context.

Epistemological beliefs

Epistemology is the philosophical branch that questions the nature and justification of knowledge (Hofer, 2002). Kuhn and Park (2005) explicitly link epistemological beliefs to the need for critical thinking. In their model, they distinguish four different epistemological stances. In the first two conceptions, realist and absolutist, the external reality is normative, meaning that knowledge is the result of objective external sources. Knowledge is therefore authoritative and true, and mistakes are the result of human error. In the latter stances, the realization occurs that knowledge is achieved by human thought and actively constructed. This understanding can lead to relativism, the relativist stance, in which 'knowledge' devolves into an opinion and one person's claim is no better than another. This approach changes in the final (evaluative) stance, where it is recognized that not all knowledge is constructed equally. The creation of knowledge needs to adhere to scientific criteria, and as such, the justification of knowledge can be evaluated.

Drawing on the work by Kuhn and Park (2005) and others, Maggioni et al. (2009) created a framework focused on historical evidence that distinguishes three different stances. In the first stance, a conflation of the aforementioned realist and absolutist stances, sources are considered hard evidence that provide true information about the past. History, as a written account, is a copy or an exact representation of past reality. Maggioni et al. (2009) coined this the copier stance. In the borrower stance, students become aware that access to the past is more complex. Sources are not objective copies but subjective accounts by contemporaries that can conflict and contradict. Generating history means piecing together the parts that fit best by borrowing from the sources what is necessary, but decisions about what to include and what to exclude seem ungrounded. History is now a matter of opinion, especially when no evidence is available to resolve biased and contradictory sources. Finally, in the criterialist stance, students become aware of the strategies

and criteria that historians use for their enquiries into the past. Sources are not merely biased accounts that need to be mined for information that 'fits' but can be used as evidence through comparison with other sources and by asking the right questions.

Our initial conception of epistemological beliefs was largely informed by the two models outlined above, the former being more general, while the latter is more specific to the use of evidence in historical accounts. In our initial model, at the first level, causal explanations are seen as copies based on certain knowledge of the past contained in external sources. Consequently, causal explanations are accepted without criticism. At the second level, causal explanations are seen as facts that can be either right or wrong. These explanations are certain and based on sources; however, the distance of the past may result in mistakes. This approach means that one causal explanation, the correct one, is accepted as all the others must be wrong. In line with Maggioni et al. (2009), we decided later in the design to combine these two stances. At the third level, causal explanations are seen as opinions and are the result of interpretations of sources. Knowledge is therefore the product of human endeavours, not transmitted through objective, albeit sometimes erroneous, sources. Consequently, multiple explanations may be accepted, but no judgement can be made regarding their truth value. At the fourth level, causal explanations are seen as judgments based on the interpretation of sources that are bound by criteria. This approach means that although multiple explanations can be accepted, they can be evaluated based on these criteria. After consultation with experts, we added an extra level, in line with more postmodern approaches to history, the reasoning for which we will explain below.

First-order knowledge

According to Jin et al. (2019), inquiry and content are inseparable. Content knowledge, or first-order knowledge, is a prerequisite to becoming proficient in inquiry in a domain. This requirement applies to school history as well. The importance of first-order knowledge when explaining historical events has been recognized by many scholars (Chapman, 2021; Seixas et al., 2015; Stoel et al., 2017; Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2018). According to a review by Alexander and Judy (1988), domain-specific or first-order knowledge is a prerequisite for the use of strategies within a domain, such as causal reasoning, whereas inaccurate knowledge may impede learning. However, not only the quantity of knowledge but also its quality matters. Experts tend to have deep, well-structured and automated domain-specific knowledge that is often both pictorial and verbal. Conversely, novices tend to have superficial, unorganized, nonautomated and more general knowledge that relies on verbal instead of pictorial representations (De Jong and Ferguson-Hessler, 1996). The quality of knowledge then refers to its organization, but how can historical knowledge be organized?

First, facts, events, historical actors, and historical phenomena are often encapsulated in historical *concepts* such as 'the Enlightenment' and 'the feudal system'. Such concepts are abstract references to an idea, a class, category or relationship within a body of knowledge. They give meaning to facts by designating them as, for example, a political system, economic activity, mode of thought or other category. Colligatory concepts encompass within a single construct a large range of events and ideas that are connected to them (Halldén, 1997). Such concepts share a certain theme or development that binds events within a period together by colligation. Historians use these concepts as explanatory tools, for instance, by referring to the Renaissance and its associated ideals and thoughts to explain the increase in critiques of the Catholic Church (Lévèsque, 2008). A historical concept thus carries an intrinsic difficulty and level of abstractness depending on its degree of colligation, that is, the degree to which other events, phenomena and concepts are connected to it. A further layer exists whereby one becomes aware that colligatory concepts do not have a fixed meaning. Their definitions change over time as historians refine or question existing standards or as concepts acquire new meaning (Limón, 2002). Research has suggested that the ability to understand such concepts is connected to more general conceptual thinking, moving from more concrete attributes to more abstract ones (Carretero & Lee, 2014).

Second, historical knowledge is organized in *time*. Periodization and chronologies allow historical facts and events to be organized in a sequence. As causality is intrinsically chronological, such knowledge is imperative. Chronological knowledge of historical periods can range from broad to specific dating and from concrete (e.g., knowledge of clothing, transport, or architecture) to more abstract (e.g., on political and religious structures) knowledge (DE Groot-Reuvenkamp et al., 2014) and knowledge of turning points such as 'the fall of Constantinople in 1453' or 'the French Revolution'. Like concepts, periodizations and historical narratives are constructs that are changeable rather than fixed, depending on new insights and meanings attributed to the past (Green, 1992).

Drawing on these insights, we designed four levels similar to the other two dimensions (the rightmost columns in Figure 1). In the first stage, a severe lack of organization of historical knowledge impedes causal reasoning, and no explanation is given. In the second stage, historical knowledge is mostly concrete, and its organization is still rather limited. Concrete concepts and simple periodizations can be used when reasoning. In the third stage, knowledge becomes more abstract and better organized, resulting in an increased and better use of periodizations and colligatory concepts when reasoning. In the final stage, concepts and periodizations are used reflectively. The underlying knowledge is thorough and well organized, and, more importantly, there is an awareness that concepts and periodizations are constructs that can change over time and are bound by culture, time and space.

Evaluation stage

Validation of the model through expert panels

We submitted our preliminary model to two groups of experts consisting of history teachers, educational researchers in the field of history and historians. The composition of these panels was deliberately mixed because experts on content, i.e., historical knowledge, often have insufficient knowledge of pedagogy; thus, including educational specialists and history teachers from secondary education contributed to the content validity of the model (Brown and Wilson, 2011). Moreover, as the model is aimed at secondary school practice, the input of both educational researchers and teachers was essential.

Using formal and informal networks, invitations were sent to schools and institutions across the Netherlands. According to Clayton (1997), a heterogeneous group should consist of 5-10 participants, so the two panels each consisted of seven participants: two secondary school history teachers, three teacher educators from teacher education programs, and two historians, of which one at least had a specific background in historical theory. Prior to the meeting, each participant received the preliminary model and a written explanation. Each meeting on the model was introduced by the researchers, followed by two feedback rounds. The first round consisted of four questions posed to the panel based on the design principles discussed earlier: 1) Is the model clear and comprehensibly organized? 2) Are the descriptions of the various levels logical and consistent? 3) Does the model accurately represent the ability of historical causal reasoning, both from a historical-theoretical point of view and from a pedagogical point of view? 4) Is the model usable in an educational context? In the second round, participants could offer commentary unrelated to these questions.

Results of expert meetings

Overall, the reception of our model was positive. Experts believed that the model gave a good indication of the steps that students need to master to become better at causal reasoning. Experts viewed the inclusion of first-order knowledge in the model positively. In general, the descriptions in the model, barring some exceptions, were considered clear and consistent. Finally, experts found the theoretical operationalization of the model accurate, although there was debate among experts about whether the epistemological dimension sufficiently reflected the practices of the

historical community. Table 1 shows condensed descriptions of the critical feedback in each category. In the following, we will elaborate on this feedback and how it influenced our revision of the cognition model.

Critical feedback	**Action taken**
General	
Language aspect of reasoning is absent. Layout seemed confusing.	*No language dimension was added.* *Layout adjusted.*
Q1 and 2: Clarity and consistency	
No connection made to specific schooling tracks. Large transition between level 2 and 3 (second-order knowledge dimension). Distinction between concrete and abstract concepts is difficult from an assessment perspective. Wording of certain descriptions in the model.	*No further connection made due to lack of theoretical and empirical evidence.* *Transition maintained due to lack of theoretical and empirical evidence.* *Distinction maintained based on theory, descriptions refined and clarified.* *Descriptions re-evaluated and reworded where necessary.*
Q3: Historical and educational validity	
Focus on a specific type (positivist) of explanation neglecting other approaches.	*Revision of epistemological dimension based on a re-evaluation of the literature*
Q4: Usability in classroom practice	
Activities and standards are beyond secondary school curricula. Complex jargon and language makes the model less accessible for teachers.	*The highest level was maintained.* *Descriptions re-evaluated but overall language maintained to ensure accuracy.*

Table 1: Condensed descriptions of critical feedback from the two expert panels and the resulting implemented changes.

General feedback

Feedback in this section focused on the wording of some categories, the general layout of the model and the absence of a language dimension. We carefully reread and adjusted the descriptions in certain areas of the model. We agreed with experts that the original layout of the model was confusing, as it was not immediately apparent that it was a cognition model. Thus, we redesigned the model to be more in line with similar models in science education (for example, Wilson, 2011). The final point concerned the absence of a language dimension. Research has shown that language is of vital importance to historical reasoning (Monte-Sano & De La Paz, 2012) and is often, unwittingly, the focus of assessment instead of the reasoning itself (Reisman, 2015). However, we refrained from devoting an entire dimension to language because language skills, particularly writing skills, are vital for educational achievement in general and as such should be a focus within every discipline, not only history. Moreover, when and if students master certain levels within our model, such achievement implies mastery of the accompanying language.

Feedback on clarity, consistency, and usability in classroom practice

Two considerations were offered with regard to clarity and consistency. First, experts found the gap between stage 2 and stage 3 of the second-order knowledge dimension quite large. Second, there is a lack of a connection between the levels in the model and specific schooling tracks, a feature of the Dutch secondary education system. We left the model unchanged on both counts because of a lack of empirical or theoretical evidence to present it otherwise. The researchers from Project CHATA found no evidence that the development of second-order concepts is linked to specific age groups or grades (Lee & Ashby, 2000). To date, no further large-scale testing has been performed that focuses on differences in performance across age or track groups (Körber and Meyer-Hamme, 2015).

Experts further expressed concern about the high standards the model seemed to impose, the complicated behaviour and understanding that was expected of students in the highest achievement levels, and the extensive use of complex jargon in some of its descriptions. While we

agree that the language of the model is complicated, accuracy in the descriptions is vital; thus, in our view, the use of complex language is not always avoidable.

Concerning the high standards, two considerations should be made. First, the model portrays no arbitrary ceiling for the kind of reasoning that can be expected of students because evidence of such a ceiling is lacking. Second, some of the insights expected of students in history in secondary education correspond with the highest levels of achievement in our model. For instance, in the Netherlands, students must be aware that historical narratives are an interpretation (College of Examination, 2014). Similarly, in Great Britain, students need to 'analyse and evaluate the causes and consequences of historical events and situations' (DfE, 2014, p. 14 as cited in Chapman, 2016, p. 2).

Validity

Concerning the validity of the model, some experts felt that the model leaned towards a positivist view of causation and neglected other forms of historical explanation, specifically postmodern history. However, not all experts agreed, as some felt that the focus on contextualization in the second-order knowledge dimension implied other methods. The disagreement among experts showed that our model was still unclear. Therefore, we revisited and re-evaluated the literature to gain a better understanding of postmodern traditions within the historical discipline.

Postmodern scholars of history, or deconstructionists, dispute the claim that the past is a knowable entity through the use of empirical methods. Language, it is argued, is a meaning-making device employed to construct narratives that do not originate in the past itself but are imposed on historical facts by historians. While singular facts may hold truth, the historical accounts through which these facts are moulded are inherently subjective interpretations and reflect a particular purpose of the historian, for instance, the shaping of a national identity or the promotion of an ideology. Such narratives hold no basis in reality and only serve to maintain or attempt to change power struggles between groups within society (Donnelly & Norton, 2011).

Seixas (2000) has posed the question of whether this postmodern approach should be taught in schools. Such an approach could bring attention to the purpose of the historian to create a certain narrative, such as the narratives in school history books. Furthermore, Seixas (2000) emphasizes that postmodern scholars have justifiably called into question some of the disciplinary methods that historians employ to reconstruct the past and subsequently concludes that it is important to be conscious of the time-bound nature of disciplinary criteria. This observation is echoed by Paul (2011), who contends that 'disciplinary standards' are variable and bound by different disciplinary practices. Donnely and Norton (2011) point out how historians tend to focus on different methodologies to arrive at explanations of the past, such as a focus on economic factors or class-based explanations. In other words, the various paradigms can influence historians' interpretations.

Because we wanted the model to reflect historical practice as accurately as possible, we decided to add a *reflexive* level of achievement to the epistemological dimension. This level represents how individuals should reflect on the changing and time-bound nature of the different methodological criteria that govern the creation of historical knowledge, for instance, the focus on different types of (analysis of) sources, or a preference for certain types of interpretations based on class-struggle or political or economic factors. Finally, such reflection should focus on the purposes of historical narratives, such as nation-building.

Application

While this report focuses on the model itself, it makes sense to discuss briefly the ways in which the model could be applied. Its purpose is twofold. One is to inform teachers on the design of tasks, and the other is to support teachers in the assessment and monitoring of students' progress in causal historical reasoning. The design of assessment tasks requires a clear idea of the progression

that is the goal. Such tasks could focus on a complete dimension or on one or more levels within a dimension. For instance, a task could focus on the epistemic dimension. Students could be presented with conflicting causal explanations regarding a historical event, for example, the outbreak of World War I, and asked to explain why these explanations differ. Student answers could then be assessed through the descriptions in the epistemic dimension to gain insight into their beliefs. If a teacher would rather focus on a particular element of the model, say, counterfactual thinking, students could be presented with a prediction task in which they are given various scenarios and asked how they would play out to determine whether students grasp the nature of such thinking. In this case, the teacher could design an assessment rubric based on the criteria at that level. The actual design of such tasks is a logical next step in our research.

Conclusion: A theory-informed cognition model of historical causal reasoning

We started this report with the following question: '*What constitutes causal reasoning in history, and how can we describe the incremental development of student proficiency in this ability?*' Having defined causal reasoning in history, we then set out to create a model that describes student proficiency. Having explained how we revised the model, we present here our adapted cognition model for historical causal reasoning, as shown in Figure 1.

Discussion

The final cognition model that we present in this study is based on a broad range of literature on causation and the feedback of two groups of experts from various disciplines, both practical (i.e., teachers) and theoretical (i.e., historians and history educators). In this section, we reflect on our approach, the practical applications of this model and possible further research.

We chose the format of expert panels as a way to ensure that our operationalization of historical causation met the standards we set ourselves at the outset of our endeavour. The use of these panels had several benefits that positively influenced the creation of our model. First, the inclusion of different experts helped deepen our insight into historical causation, not only through their comments but also through expert debate. Second, because the groups were heterogeneous, we received a broad array of feedback. Third, the use of two different panels helped prioritize feedback through repetition: Issues raised in both groups could be considered more valid than issues raised only sporadically or by only a few experts. Fourth, experts were keen on not only supplying criticism but also considering solutions. Conversely, the use of panels also posed a drawback. Foremost, the diversity of opinions, while fruitful, also created tension. Central to this was the mediation between the scientific community and the community of practitioners, i.e., between historians and history teachers. This finding brings us to the results of the expert panels, in which we will elaborate on the latter.

We started out with five principles that directed the design of the model: 1) The model should accurately model historical causal reasoning; 2) second, the model should describe both behaviour and underlying knowledge; 3) the model should be multileveled; 4) the model should be clear, consistent, logical and comprehensive; and finally, 5) the model should support teachers in assessment. We applied the second and third principles in the construction of the model itself. Each dimension consists of four levels, and each level describes both knowledge and behaviour. The other principles were transformed into questions posed to the expert panel. The model yielded mostly practical concerns, such as the wording, layout, the apparent large gap between certain levels and the lack of a connection between levels and schooling tracks. As discussed, the wording and layout were adapted and clarified. Due to of a lack of evidence for either action, we did not attempt to assign levels to different schooling tracks, nor did we change the gap in levels. The questions regarding whether the model accurately represents the ability to perform historical causal reasoning, both from a historical-theoretical point of view and from a pedagogical point of view, and whether the model is usable in an educational context yielded more pressing matters

and illustrated the tension between historians and teachers, as mentioned above. The historians were generally critical of our operationalization of epistemology in history, referring to a 'positivist bias' that did not resonate with the practice of actual historians and also pointing to a discrepancy between how history is conceptualized for education versus historiographical development of the discipline. The teachers pointed to the high intellectual standards set by the model and the use of complex jargon, which threatened the usability of the model as a basis for the creation of assessment tasks. In essence, the principle of validity competed with the principle of usability. Ultimately, validity proved decisive in adapting our model, as we explained earlier.

The principal application of our model is as a reference tool for teachers in the development of tasks, including assessment rubrics or marking schemes specifically tailored to those individual tasks. Through this focus, this model aims to alleviate the difficulty of ensuring that a task assesses the desired construct as described by Ercikan and Seixas (2015).

Although the model could serve many purposes, it also has limitations. First, its empirical foundations are weak. The model is rooted strongly in relevant literature on causation in history; however, evidence for how the various dimensions progress remains scarce. Furthermore, as became apparent from the expert meetings, teachers found the model theoretically challenging and at first difficult to comprehend, in particular the epistemic dimension, thus lowering its immediate usability in the classroom. Implementing teacher training aimed at applying the model and developing examples of how the model can be used to design assessment tasks is a first step to neutralizing this problem. More specifically, teacher training about epistemology in history could further alleviate this problem.

Other limitations concern the measurability of certain levels or behaviour within levels and the relatively narrow scope of the model, as it focuses only on causal reasoning within history, whereas different forms of reasoning, for example, causal reasoning, reasoning about aspects of change and continuity, and reasoning about differences and similarities are often strongly interrelated (Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2018). Similarly, measuring epistemological beliefs has proven to be a difficult process. Maggioni et al. (2009) found, in their study on epistemological beliefs of elementary school teachers, that epistemological beliefs are not necessarily stable but may be context dependent, a result recently echoed by Wansink et al. (2017) in their study of epistemological beliefs of prospective Dutch history teachers. Regarding the latter, while we acknowledge this limitation, causal reasoning, as explained earlier, is an important skill within historical reasoning in school history and essentially different from other such concepts, such as sourcing. Therefore, we believe such an in-depth focus is warranted. When teachers use tasks that require a more holistic approach, relevant parts of this model can be used where appropriate, perhaps in tandem with models that describe other second-order concepts.

Following the assessment triangle by Pellegrino et al. (2001), the next logical step is to develop assessment instruments, such as the examples we discussed earlier, based on the model presented here. Such instruments should make visible the observable behaviour of students in such a way that they can be used to make valid claims about students' understanding of historical causal reasoning. These instruments could be used not only for classroom assessment but also to further our understanding of the actual progression of knowledge and beliefs, as presented in our model. This understanding includes the relationship between the knowledge and beliefs and the behaviour that students demonstrate when they reason with causes.

Epistemological beliefs (Kuhn & Park, 2005; Maggioni, et al. 2009; Seixas, 2000; O'Donnely & Norton, 2009)		Second-order knowledge (Lee & Shemilt, 2009; Seixas and Morton, 2012; Paul, 2012; Hewitson, 2014)		First-order knowledge	
Understanding	**Behaviour**	**Understanding**	**Behaviour**	**Understanding**	**Behaviour**
Reflexive		***Possibility thinking***		***Rich and reflexive***	
Assertions about causal explanations are seen as temporal claims that must be justified and historical knowledge as the product of the time-bound purpose of the historian and thus uncertain. The validity of historical knowledge can be assessed through temporal scientific criteria, which reflect change and various practices in the historical discipline.	The student is able to give and/or accept multiple causal explanations and assess their quality while demonstrating awareness of the relative and time-bound nature of both the scientific criteria and different purposes of historians and their explanations within a given time.	The student understands that history is not determined, and alternative explanations are possible. Explanations are constructions dependent on the historical context.	The student constructs an historical explanation supported by historical evidence consisting of actors and conditions that are placed in an appropriate historical context. The student can evaluate the weight of different causes, is able to think counterfactually, is aware of his/her own and others' (historical) context, and uses historical evidence.	The student has substantial and well-organized knowledge of historical facts, concrete and abstract concepts and chronology and understands the constructed nature of historical knowledge.	The student uses historical facts, concrete and abstract concepts and chronology reflectively when explaining events.
Criterialist		***Intentionalism and structuralism***		***Rich***	
Assertions about causal explanations are seen as claims that must be justified and historical knowledge as the product of human thoughts and thus uncertain. The validity of historical knowledge can be assessed through scientific criteria.	The student is able to give and/or accept multiple causal explanations and assess their quality based on scientific criteria.	The student understands historical events as the result of a network of related causes and is aware that causes are also effects.	The student constructs a historical explanation consisting of conditions and actors and tries to order these in a sequence or network. The student looks for possible unintended consequences, uses multiple and different types of causes, and pays attention to the role of actors and conditions.	The student has substantial knowledge of historical facts, concrete and abstract concepts and chronology.	The student uses historical facts, concrete and abstract concepts and chronology when explaining events.
Subjectivist		***Naïve intentionalism***		***Limited***	
Assertions about causal explanations are seen as opinions and historical knowledge as the product of human thoughts and thus uncertain. The validity of historical knowledge cannot be assessed.	The student is able to give and/or accept multiple causal explanations. However, the student is unable to determine their quality.	The student understands causes as 'things' that act and cause events and can be categorized. Events are considered the result of motives of acting agents.	The student constructs a historical explanation based on the intentions of historical actors. Causes are personified. The student tends to look for a single cause, is able to categorize causes, and tends to look for purposeful consequences caused by active purposeful agents (both individuals and inanimate conditions).	The student has a reasonable amount of knowledge of historical facts, concrete concepts and chronology, but limited knowledge of abstract historical concepts.	The student uses historical facts, concrete concepts and chronology when explaining events.
Copier		***Descriptive***		***Poor***	
Assertions about causal explanations are seen as copies of the past and historical knowledge is the product of external sources and is certain. The validity of historical knowledge is either right or wrong because the past is not directly accessible.	The student accepts a causal explanation without criticism. The student is unable to give and/or accept multiple (valid/conflicting) explanations.	The student understands causes as inherent in events.	The student gives a description of events but no historical explanation.	The student has limited, and often inaccurate, knowledge of historical facts, concepts and chronology.	The student gives no historical explanation.

Figure 1: Cognition model for historical causal reasoning: underlying knowledge and beliefs, behaviour, and activities.

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Using historical evidence: The semantic profiles of Ancient History in senior secondary school

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents findings from the Australian Research Council funded 'Disciplinarity, Knowledge and Schooling' project (DISKS) which investigates knowledge-building practices in Australian secondary schools and gave rise to the ground-breaking notions of 'semantic waves' (Maton, 2013) and 'power pedagogy' (Martin, 2013). In this paper, we investigate student writing in senior secondary school Ancient History. We focus on how students use evidence in their responses to different types of exam questions. Our research question focuses on the extent to which key features of responses to short answer questions appear in extended responses and vice versa. This focus arose through findings that teachers in our study tended to view short answer questions as a 'mini' version of extended responses and prepared students accordingly. The similarities and differences are important to identify as extended responses make a significant contribution to the overall exam grade.

To better understand the use of evidence in responses to different types of exam questions, the study draws on the dimension of Semantics in Legitimation Code Theory (Maton, 2013). We use the newly developed wording and clausing tools (Doran & Maton, 2018, forthcoming) to analyse the relative strength of context dependence in responses to Year 12 exam questions. Context dependence is particularly relevant to how students use evidence, as it involves relating the concrete particulars of specific historical artefacts, events, and the behaviours of historical figures to more abstract concepts in the discipline of history that are not bound to one historical setting. Our analysis tracks relative shifts in context dependence in student texts to generate semantic profiles of their exam responses.

Findings show that although teachers may use the writing of short answer questions as preparation towards the high-stakes extended writing tasks, short answer responses are not 'minature' versions of extended responses. We argue that the differences are teachable and propose the use of model texts to make these features visible to students. Beyond the timeframe of secondary school education, learning to use evidence, particularly for the development of arguments, may provide a robust foundation for tertiary level writing tasks where students need to control degrees of context dependence.

KEYWORDS

Ancient History, Argument genres, Exam responses, Legitimation Code Theory, Semantic gravity, Context dependence, Academic writing

CITATION

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Introduction

Learning history is widely seen to involve the development of advanced historical thinking. Students learn 'how knowledge has been constructed and what it means' (Levesque, 2008, p. 27). This encompasses the ability to understand significance, interpret and use evidence, identify continuity and change, analyse cause and effect, take different perspectives, and understand ethical and moral dimensions of history (Allender, Clark, & Parkes, 2019; Seixas, 2017). There is strong agreement that in order to learn how to think historically, students must also develop skills in analysis and the ability to express their thoughts through argumentation. As Barton and Levstik (2004) explain, "analysis is the activity most often promoted, defended and justified by historians and other educators" (p. 70). The emphasis on historical thinking is visible in current syllabus documents of many countries, including the UK (Department for Education, 2014), the US (National Governors Association Center for Best Practices and the Council of Chief State School Officers, 2019), and Australia (NSW Education Standards Authority, 2017a).

The importance placed on gradually learning history as skills is evident in the genres that students produce in history across their schooling years. One fundamental shift that students face is from writing about history as *story* to writing history as *argument.* For students, this means a change from crafting temporally to rhetorically organised texts (Christie & Derewianka, 2008; Coffin, 1997, 2006). For example, in early secondary schooling, students often write *historical accounts* in which events are presented in a temporal sequence, but causal links are also established between them (Christie & Derewianka, 2008; Coffin, 2006). By mid-secondary schooling, however, students write more explanations, including genres like *factorial* and *consequential explanations*, which explain complex cause and complex effect respectively. Such texts are no longer chronologically organised around events. Linguistic analysis shows that they contain more abstraction, nominalisation, and causation expressed within the clause as a noun or a verb (Christie & Derewianka, 2008, Coffin, 2006; Eggins, Martin, & Wignell, 1987).

In the senior secondary years, student writing in history is very strongly oriented towards writing rhetorically organised argument texts such as *expositions* and *discussions*. Such texts are typically organised around a claim, commonly referred to as a *thesis statement*. Claims are then substantiated by several *arguments* providing the grounds for the claim (see Martin & Rose, 2007 for more detail on the generic structures of argument texts). Among other linguistic developments, such as the ability to manage abstraction, increased lexical density (Christie & Derewianka, 2008) and grammatical metaphor (Martin, 2002), this shift into argument requires students to be able to draw on facts and evidence to write convincing arguments. Such arguments need to be 'substantiated, empirically detailed, well-researched and balanced' (Coffin, 2006, p. 9). However, the ability to manage evidenced argument in a contested knowledge space is complex, and many

students face challenges developing both the historical analysis and the language skills necessary to do so (Matruglio, 2018; Barton & Levstik, 2004; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Veijola & Mikkonen, 2016).

While it is well understood that in argumentative genres students must substantiate abstract historical arguments with empirical evidence, what is less understood is precisely *how* students do this. This study explores the means through which students link abstract ideas with empirical evidence in written arguments by drawing upon a theoretical concept known as *semantic gravity* (Maton, 2014). Semantic gravity describes the degree of context-dependence of meaning. It can vary on a continuum from stronger to weaker. Where something has *stronger* semantic gravity (SG+), it is said to have more dependence on a particular context for its meaning. For example, writing about *the details of the arrowhead found in Ötzi, the Iceman* (SG+) has relatively strong semantic gravity as it discusses a specific artifact (*the arrowhead*) in a specific setting (*found in Ötzi, the Iceman*). By contrast, writing about *the process of natural mummification* (SG–) has weaker semantic gravity as it is not bound to one artefact or setting, but rather it is discussed in general terms. In relation to our data, we are particularly interested in where and how students create relative shifts in context dependence as they interpret and say something about the concrete particulars of historical evidence. We visualise this through what is known as a *semantic profile* (Maton, 2013), which plots the relative strength of semantic gravity as it changes through students' texts.

Teaching students to control varying degrees of context dependence is not only relevant to their studies of Ancient History or history generally (Oteíza, 2020). Empirical studies of student writing and other educational texts have shown that relative shifts between stronger and weaker semantic gravity, known as *semantic waves* (Maton, 2013), are a regular pattern in successful knowledge-building across subjects, including in physics (Conana, et al. 2021), chemistry (Blackie, 2014) and English literature (Christie, 2016). In the following sections, we will introduce more detailed analytical tools for examining semantic gravity in student writing and using them to map semantic profiles.

Methods

The research reported on in this paper is from a project called Disciplinary, Knowledge and Schooling (DISKS). This project is approved by the University of Sydney ethics committee and by SERAP, the public schools research approvals body in the Australian state of New South Wales (NSW). It was funded by the Australian Research Council (Grant Number DP0988123). The DISKS project was led by Professor Peter Freebody, Professor Karl Maton, and Professor James Martin. It was concerned with knowledge-building practices in secondary school classrooms (Martin & Maton, 2013; Freebody, 2013). The project involved three stages: the first stage focused on the collection of classroom video data and interviews with teachers; the second stage involved the analysis of teaching practices and texts produced by students; and the third stage involved an intervention where researchers worked with classroom teachers to enact and document new teaching and learning practices. This paper reports on part of stage two. It examines the use of evidence in student responses to different types of exam questions in Year 12 Ancient History. (See Matruglio (2013) for the analysis of temporality in Ancient History; Matruglio (2020) for further analysis of mode; Macnaught, Maton, Martin, and Matruglio (2013) for writing in secondary school Biology; and theory central to analysis in Maton (2013, 2014), Martin (2013), Martin and Matruglio (2020)).

Context

In the Australian state of New South Wales, the study of history in secondary school is mandatory up until Year 10. For the final two years, history becomes an elective. At this level, it is differentiated into three separate subjects: *Modern History*, *Ancient History* and *History Extension* (see NSW Education Standards Authority, 2017a, 2017b, n.d.). In this paper, we focus on teaching and learning of Ancient History in the final year (Year 12). In Australia, Year 12 is the final year of

students' secondary school education in which they strive to obtain the Higher School Certificate (HSC). Students' results in their HSC subjects consist of a calculation involving two marks: a school assessment mark aggregated from a series of school-designed assessment tasks throughout their final year, and the mark they receive in an end-of course, external examination. Each of these marks contributes 50% of the final mark. The school-based assessment marks are moderated by performance in the centralised examination to ensure parity across schools. Percentage weightings for the school-designed assessment tasks, including weightings for each topic, are specified in the syllabus documents. The students' marks in all their subjects are then aggregated, subjected to further scaling processes, and a final overall ranking is generated – upon which competitive places in tertiary education are allocated.

The Ancient History syllabus for the HSC specifies the outcomes to be achieved by students. Several of these syllabus outcomes specify the use of evidence in the construction of warranted argument, such as: '*analyses and interprets different types of sources for evidence to support an account or argument*' (outcome 12-6); and '*presents reasoned conclusions, using relevant evidence from a range of sources*' (outcome 12-8) (NSW Education Standards Authority, 2017a, p. 11). As this wording indicates, in the high-stakes exams, students need to skilfully use multiple sources of evidence to construct their arguments.

Participants

The data drawn on for this paper come from one of the six schools involved in the wider research project. The school is a large, comprehensive high school (Years 7-12) in metropolitan Sydney, serving a low-socio-economic community. The school's population is culturally and linguistically diverse with approximately 90 percent of its 900 students coming from a language background other than English. The participating class consisted of 25 students and was taught by a very experienced teacher of history. Her motivation for participating in the research was to help her students improve their writing for external examinations. As the main research assistant, Matruglio was responsible for liaising with the teacher throughout the project, collecting data and attending school visits and class observations. As an additional research assistant, Macnaught conducted the data analysis, liaising with Doran about the newly developed analytical tools.

Data

Data encompassing the wider DISKS project included interviews, classroom observations and student texts. For this paper, we draw on an interview with one participating teacher conducted at the end of the project. Our interest lies in what she says about the different types of exam questions and what she says she does to prepare students for their final exams. We then relate these reflections to findings from the discourse analysis of student writing.

Data involving student writing focuses on classroom preparation for their final assessment task. This assessment task constitutes a three-hour exam and requires students to write answers to a mix of 'short answer' and 'extended response' questions. (See Appendix 1 for example exam questions for extended responses from the 2019 Ancient History HSC exam). The extended responses are worth up to 25 marks each and comprise roughly 50% of the exam. There is thus considerable importance placed on excelling in extended responses in order to obtain a high overall exam grade.

The data pertaining to student writing comprised of their written responses during practice or 'mock' exams. This refers to an in-class practice exam where students experience exam conditions and practice managing their writing time. In our data set, the teacher used her extensive experience as an HSC examiner, HSC senior marker, and standards-setter for over 15 years, as well as her access to the exam questions of previous years to write her own practice exam questions (see Table 1, p. 80). These questions closely follow the questions given to students in the final HSC examinations of prior years (see Appendix 1).

Table 1

Practice Exam Questions

Exam question type	Examples
Short answer	*How are human remains preserved?*
	Describe the method used in constructing the terracotta soldiers.
Extended response	*Assess Chin as a successful ruler of China.*
	What did the discovery of the Terracotta Warriors reveal about the First Emperor of China?

In total, 74 texts were collected from 19 students with several students absent during the mock exam. These texts constituted a mix of both short answer and extended responses – depending on what students completed. As previously outlined, the purpose of collecting students' responses to these different types of exam questions was to identify similarities and differences in key features for the purpose of informing future classroom teaching. In this paper, we show analysis from one sample of student writing for each of the two different types of exam questions. These samples were chosen as they illustrate what most students in the data set were currently doing, as well as common areas for possible improvement. Further student writing samples appear as Appendices.

Data collection

The interview between the main research assistant and the teacher was audio recorded and transcribed for later analysis (see the Data Analysis section). It was semi-structured and followed an interview protocol which sought primarily to probe the teacher's experience as a teacher of her subject, her prior experiences teaching literacy in her subject, and her reasons for participation in the project, including benefits and challenges.

Following ethics protocols, the student texts were collected by the classroom teacher. She collected them after administering the mock exams during regular class time. The teacher then provided individual and whole classroom feedback. She also shared the student texts with the wider research team for analysis.

Data analysis

Our analysis of context dependence (as introduced earlier) draws on analytical tools for fine-grained analysis of English discourse. Specifically, this study uses a newly developed *generic translation device* by Doran and Maton (2018, forthcoming)[1] that explores how a particular kind of semantic gravity is realized within English discourse.[2] This generic translation device provides a set of 'rules of thumb' for how an LCT concept is realized within an object of study and thus how what is conceptualised can be seen in data. In the case of this study, we 'translate' or operationalise how semantic gravity is realised in student texts that constitute responses to mock exam questions in Year 12 Ancient History. Translation devices (see Maton & Chen 2016; Maton & Doran, 2017a, 2017b) that have recently been developed for other data include those for body movement in ballet (Lambrinos, 2020), doctoral thesis writing (Wilmot, 2020), writing and critiquing blog posts in teacher education (Macnaught, in press) and scientific images (Yu, Maton, & Doran, 2023).

More specifically, the focus of the generic translation device by Doran and Maton (forthcoming) is *epistemic–semantic gravity*. This concept explores the context-dependence of meanings involving formal definitions and empirical descriptions, rather than *axiological-semantic gravity*, which concerns "affective, aesthetic, ethical, political and moral stances" (Maton 2014, p. 153). Doran and Maton are developing several tools, which explore how context-dependence for these kinds of meanings appear in English discourse at the levels of wording, word-grouping, clausing and sequencing. Here we focus on wording and clausing.

The wording tool identifies how changes in epistemic–semantic gravity (ESG) are created from one word to other words; some kinds of wording change context-dependence more than others, and some not at all. The clausing tool identifies how changes in ESG are created when words are brought together into clauses; it explores how different combinations change the context-dependence of the constituent meanings in different ways. This change in ESG is called *epistemological gravitation* (EG). Like types of 'wording', some kinds of 'clausing' change context-dependence more than others, and some not at all. During our analysis phase, these tools allowed us to categorise each word or clause into different strengths of semantic gravity. We then plotted these different strengths, as they unfolded through 'text time', into what are called 'semantic profiles' (Maton, 2013). From this, we were able to identify recurrent changes in semantic gravity throughout the student texts.

The wording tool for ESG

The first analytical tool we used for analysis focused specifically on the semantic gravity of words in student writing. This tool is shown in Table 2. The wording tool is useful for research questions about the use of evidence in our data set, because it can illuminate the range of historical concepts that students are expected to relate to each other, as well as relationships between those concepts and specific details about people, things, events, and settings, etc.

Table 2

The Wording Tool for ESG (Doran & Maton, 2018; forthcoming)

ESG	Type	Subtype	Examples in our data
ESG – ▲	*symbolic*	*conceptual*	Legalism Qin dynasty
		material	Terracotta warriors Emperor Qin
	manifest	*intangible*	characteristics cruel
▼ ESG+		*tangible*	soldiers criminals

Note. Concepts translated for use with our specific data set

At a broad level, the wording tool distinguishes between *symbolic* wordings, which show weaker semantic gravity (less context-dependence, ESG–) and *manifest* wordings that show stronger semantic gravity (more context-dependence, ESG +) (Doran & Maton, 2018, forthcoming), as shown in Table 2. Symbolic wordings are those that have relatively stable meanings by being part of a broader intellectual field. That is, they do not shift their meaning due to a particular situation as they have very definite technical meanings in a particular field. For example, in our history student responses, the term *Legalism* maintains a very specific meaning in the fields of history and politics, referring to a particular type of political organisation. Similarly, the term *Qin dynasty* (spelt in some of our examples as *Chin dynasty*) refers to the first Imperial dynasty of China in the third century BC. These terms maintain stability in meaning across

contexts in that they do not shift their meanings depending on the situation they are used in. In this sense they exhibit weaker semantic gravity (less context-dependence). In contrast, manifest wordings are those which have relatively more flexible meanings thanks to being common-sense and less rigidly defined. Such words include *characteristics,* and *criminals,* etc. As a language choice, manifest words are less likely to have precise boundaries and definitions associated with them, and therefore exhibit relatively stronger semantic gravity (stronger context-dependence) as their meaning is more bound to a particular setting.

The wording tool further differentiates each of symbolic and manifest wording into two subtypes. These subtypes depend upon whether the word refers to something that is physical or in some sense sense-able (stronger ESG) or whether it is something that is non-physical and more intangible. For example, we can distinguish between the *symbolic-material* wording *Emperor Qin*, describing the physical person (stronger ESG), and the *symbolic-conceptual* wording *Qin dynasty* describing the period and system of government (weaker ESG). Similarly, for manifests, we can distinguish between the *manifest-tangible* wordings of *people, soldiers* and *criminals* that refer to physical things (stronger ESG) and the *manifest-intangible* wordings of *characteristics* and *powerful* (weaker ESG) that refer to more intangible ideas.

A clausing tool for EG

The second analytical tool we used for analysis focused specifically on the semantic gravity shown through clauses. This tool is shown in Table 3. The clausing tool is useful for our research question about the use of evidence, as it focuses on how time is conceptualised in clauses - a key component of historical discourse (Coffin, 2006; Matruglio, Maton, & Martin, 2013).

Table 3

The Clausing Tool for EG (Doran & Maton, 2018)

EG	Type	Subtype	Examples in our data
EG –			
	atemporal	*transcendent*	Naturally mummified bacteria occur by accident.
		potential	Human remains can be either preserved by natural or artificial processes of mummification.
	temporal	*elsewhen*	He was a brutal and cruel king.
		current	Historians are trying to determine the facts.
EG+			

Note. Concepts translated for use with our specific data set

As outlined, the clausing tool identifies changes in epistemological gravitation (EG). In the analysis of one clause compared to another, stronger epistemological-gravitation (EG+) means that there is more strengthening of epistemic-semantic gravity, whereas weaker gravitation (EG–) means there is less strengthening of semantic gravity (with the weakest EG being no change in semantic gravity at all).

Like for the wording tool, there are two broad types of clausing: those that indicate that the meanings are tied to some particular time, known as temporal clausing (stronger gravitation), and those that are not tied to any particular time, known as atemporal clausing (weaker gravitation).

An example of *temporal* clausing (EG+) with the underlined verb indicating the time is:

> He was a firm believer in Legalism.

In this example, the passage specifically ties the Emperor's belief to a time in the past (through the past tense *was*). In contrast, the following example does not indicate any particular time, but positions a broader habitual meaning, and so is not tied to any particular time period:

> The warriors signify the unification of the seven warring barbaric states.

Like the wording tool, both temporal and atemporal clausing have two subtypes. For temporals, current clausing (stronger EG) indicates the meanings are occurring at the current time, such as in:

> Historians are trying to determine the facts. [temporal-current]

Whereas *elsewhen* clausing (weaker EG) indicates the meanings occur at a different time, generally either the past or the future:

> He was a brutal and cruel king. [temporal-elsewhen]

For atemporal clausing, we can distinguish between those that indicate some sort of modality in terms of possibility, obligation, necessity etc. known as *potential* clausing (stronger EG):

> Human remains can be either preserved by natural or artificial processes of mummification. [atemporal-potential]

And those that indicate some sort of habitual or generalised time, known as *transcendent* clausing (weaker EG):

> Naturally mummified bacteria occur by accident. [atemporal-transcendent]

Overall, these two analytical tools enable close analysis of English discourse in student texts and the means to consistently pinpoint changes in context dependence. This generates rich findings for interpreting how possible changes may be significant in relation to the way that students write about historical evidence.

Findings and discussion

This section begins by identifying how findings from interview data lead to refinement of the main research question and selection of data. Examples of each response type are then presented, followed by data analysis. By using the wording and clausing tools, we track relative shifts in context dependence to generate what is known as a *semantic profile* for each of the responses. The findings about the relative strength of ESG and EG are used to highlight similarities and crucial differences between our sample of short and extended exam responses. The implications of these findings for teaching practices are then discussed in the subsequent section.

Motivation for text analysis

As previously outlined, one of the teachers in our study is an experienced HSC examiner for history in NSW, and head of the history department in her school. In an interview at the end of the project, she reported that a common approach to preparing students for writing essays in exams is to teach the writing of short answer questions first. Such teaching centres on supporting students to write one paragraph and then using this as a building block towards more extended writing. As she reflects: *"I found starting with a paragraph and then going to an extended response and then the essay really helped [the students]…If we [had] jumped in and gone straight to an essay, I think*

that would have been very difficult for them." Her rationale for this teaching approach is expressed as follows:

> Kids just say, 'I can't write an essay. I can't write an essay.' When really, you say, 'Can you do this mathematical equation?' 'Yes.' 'Well, it's the same thing. You just follow the steps and you'll come up with your conclusion'. And I used to actually teach, it used to be I+B=C. Introduction plus body equals conclusion. And I said, 'if you think about it mathematically, it's just a format, it's just, you know, it's just something that you just go through.'

These reflections highlight the desire to gradually build the confidence of students through guidance about text structure. The analogy to tackling maths highlights the perception that there are formulaic ways of successfully putting parts together to create extended written responses in exams. These reflections also indicate that short answer questions may be viewed as 'mini' extended responses. One possible underlying assumption here is that if students gain confidence and mastery with short answers, then they are well positioned to take on the extended writing tasks. This focus on parts and the overall length of texts seemed to arise because the teacher reported that many students find the longer responses daunting. Therefore, a central concern for her was supporting students to write 'more' with less focus on how the texts may have distinctive properties. This finding lead to the refinement of our main research question about the use of evidence to focus more specifically on the extent to which responses to short answer exam questions may replicate key features of the extended responses and vice versa.

Short and extended exam responses

One common type of short answer exam question centres on the explanation of processes. These types of questions typically start with a *how* prompt, such as, *How are human remains preserved*? An excerpt from a student response that is indicative of our data sample appears below. Based on her extensive experience as an examiner, the classroom teacher judged that this response would be awarded a grade in a higher range for the final examination.

> Excerpt from Student 1 – short answer response
>
> Human remains can either be preserved by natural or artificial process of mummification. For a body to decompose, bacteria must be present in order for the decaying process to occur. Certain conditions may disallow bacteria to use a human body as host and as a result, a preserved human remain is left.
>
> Naturally mummified bacteria occur by accident and are dependent on the conditions of the environment of which the body lies. An example is the iceman who was frozen in ice, those frozen are not suitable for bacteria to flourish and as a result the body was preserved.
>
> Artificial mummification, or embalming was for such reasons like religion and an example are the ancient eqyptian mummies where the body was preserved with chemicals for the "after life" and religious sacrificial purposes.

In contrast, one common type of extended response in Ancient History exams is less concerned with explaining process and focuses more on relating historical artefacts to historical figures. This is evident in prompts, such as, *What did the discovery of the terracotta warriors reveal about the rule of the First Emperor of China?* An excerpt from a student response that is indicative of our data sample appears below. Based on her extensive experience as an examiner, the classroom teacher judged that this response would be awarded a mid-ranging grade for the final examination.

Excerpt from student 21 – extended response

> The terracotta warriors indicate that the First Emperor was powerful. He had a lot of soldiers who helped him to unify China. Before the rule of the first Emperor, there were many independent states in China. These independent states began to war amongst themselves to widen their territories. It ended when China was unified under a single empire, Chin Dynasty…
>
> However the Terracotta warriors revealed about the characteristics of the Emperor. He was a brutal and cruel king. He forced people to make the Terracotta warriors and build one of the most famous wall in the world, Great Wall of China. Besides that, he also executed more than 400 scholars because he did not want anyone to be superior than him. Furthermore, he was a firm believer in Legalism. He punished the criminals harshly since legalism believed people were born as evil.

Using evidence in responses to 'short' exam questions

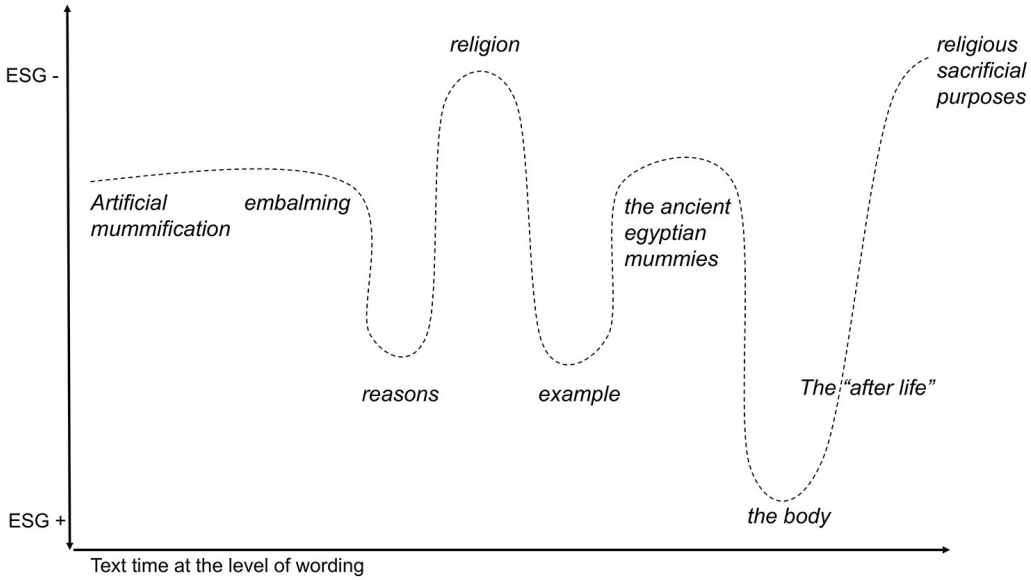
The analysis of epistemic semantic gravity shows that such short answer questions require students to relate physical substances and processes to non-physical substances. For instance, *naturally mummified bacteria* and the example of *iceman* are related to the concept of *conditions of the environment*; similarly, *ancient Egyptian mummies* are related to the concepts of *religion* and *the afterlife*. In other words, students bring in physical evidence, such as identifiable artefacts and or wording that describes what has happened to them, and then use these physical descriptions as a stepping-stone towards making a generalisation about recurrent processes or cultural practices.

Analysis with the wording tool pinpoints where and how physical to non-physical relationships are made in student writing. They predominately involve an initial focus on symbolic material wording (e.g., *process of mummificatio*n) and then shifts to other types of wording with stronger context dependence, such as *body, bacteria and ice*, or weaker context dependence, such as, *religious sacrificial purposes.*

To visualise how semantic gravity changes, Figure 1 (p. 86) tracks these relative shifts in a *semantic profile* (Maton, 2013). This semantic profile plots the relative strength of semantic gravity on the vertical axis (by convention with weaker semantic gravity toward the top of the profile and stronger toward the bottom) against the linear unfolding of the text (known as 'text time') on the horizontal axis, from the beginning of any particular text excerpt on the left to the end of the text excerpt on the right. The semantic profile in Figure 1 corresponds to the third paragraph of student 1's text.

Figure 1

The Profile of Epistemic Semantic Gravity in the Wording of the Response to a Short Answer Question

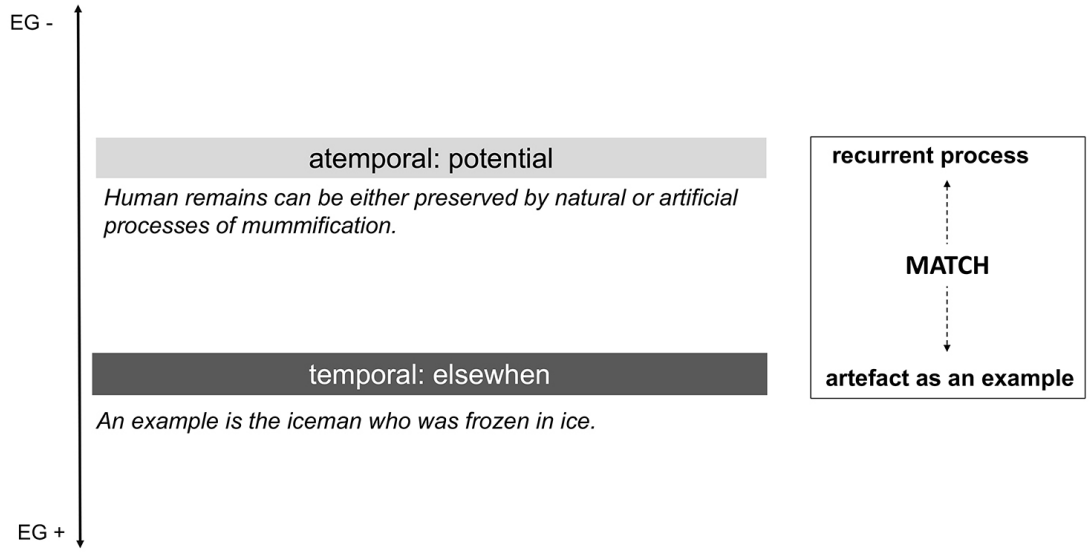


This paragraph starts with relatively weak context dependence with the symbolic material wording of *artificial mummification* and *embalming.* These meanings are about physical things. They are stable and specific in the field of history but can be related to many different historical settings and artefacts. Context dependence is then strengthened with manifest intangible wording (*reasons, religion, example*). Here the student is introducing more specific but non-physical, intangible ideas. Then a shift to a general a type of artefact (*the ancient Egyptian mummies*) involves a weakening of context dependence through a return to symbolic material wording. This is followed by a strengthening of context dependence as the student writes about more concrete particulars related to a specific artefact, such as *the body* and *chemicals*. These examples of manifest tangible wording draw attention to physical evidence. Finally, a weakening of context dependence is used to relate the evidence to non-physical ideas: firstly, through manifest intangible wording (*the "after life");* and secondly through symbolic conceptual wording (*religious sacrificial purposes*). These shifts in the degree of context dependence at level of wording highlight the importance of using physical evidence to say something beyond the physical, such as linking a fragment of evidence to a cultural or religious practice. Such physical to non-physical relationships between entities provide insight into what interpreting history involves for this common type of exam question.

Further analysis with the clausing tool shows that writing about physical evidence also requires students to relate a specific example of evidence to processes that happen throughout history. From the perspective of epistemic gravitation this can be achieved when evidence is positioned temporally as part of a specific completed event (EG+), but it is also related to a type of potential or recurrent event (EG-). This kind of change is illustrated in Figure 2 (p. 87), using the previous excerpt of student writing. The student first states that *Human remains <u>can be</u> either preserved by natural or artificial processes of mummification*. This is an example of *atemporal: potential* clausing. He then uses *temporal: elsewhen* clausing to link this potential event to an example of a specific past event: *An example is iceman who <u>was frozen</u> in ice*. Such shifts in context dependence are important to short answer questions because it means students are not bound to discussing one artefact (like the Iceman) in one answer. Instead, the physical evidence they select is used to establish a connection, or 'match' between their example of historical evidence and something that has or could have happened to other artefacts in other settings.

Figure 2

The Semantic Range of Epistemological-Gravitation in a Response to a Short Answer Question



Overall, the analysis of short answer questions highlights specific ways in which students interpret evidence. A description of physical evidence alone is insufficient. Students are required to explain physical to non-physical relationships as a way of interpreting the entities that they identify and describe. This includes connections to recurrent processes and more abstract historical concepts. While physical to non-physical relationships between entities are also important to interpreting history in the extended responses, the following section identifies how additional means of interpreting evidence are crucial.

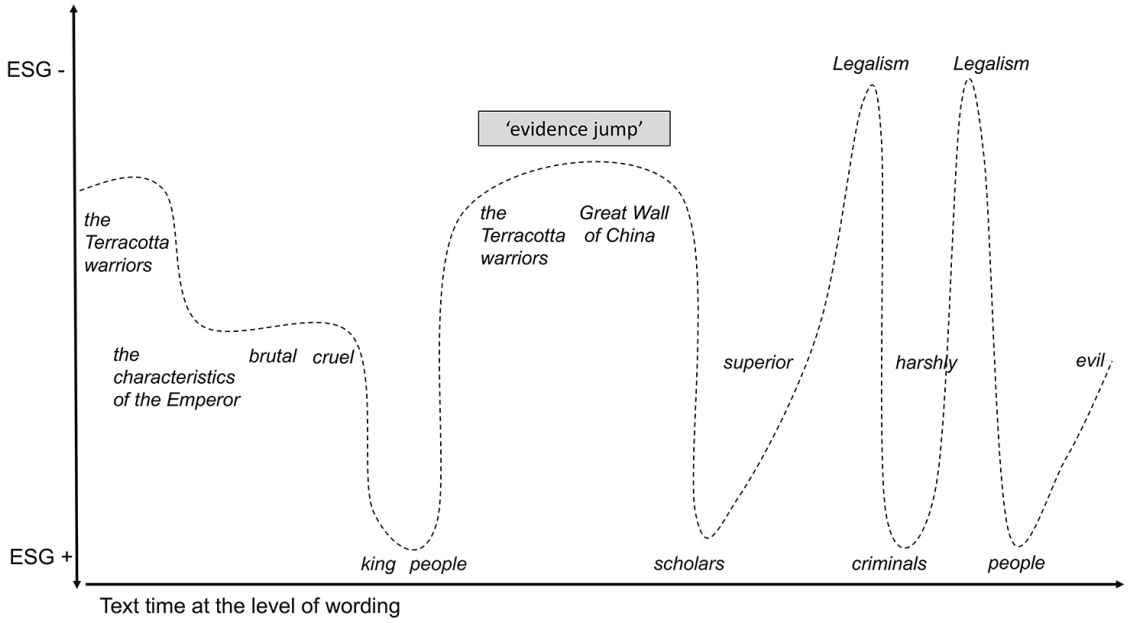
Using evidence in responses to extended exam questions

Like the responses to short answers, in extended responses, students create relationships between physical to non-physical entities. This again involves managing the relative strengthening or weakening of epistemic semantic gravity at the level of wording. However, a significant difference is that, in extended responses, such relative shifts serve the purpose of evaluating past events and figures rather than just identifying and explaining processes. For example, Figure 3 (p. 88) shows shifts in the degree of context dependence in the second paragraph of student 21's text.

Here, the student relates historical evidence to the historical figure of Emperor Qin. Specifically, his behaviour is evaluated: *However the Terracotta warriors revealed about the characteristics of the Emperor. He was a brutal and cruel king.* With these wording choices, the student connects symbolic material wording (*the Terracotta warriors*) to manifest intangible wording (*the characteristics of the Emperor, brutal, cruel*). Such wording choices create a relationship between physical and non-physical entities, and, more specifically, enables students to use evidence for interpreting the qualities and actions of a historical figure. In our data set, this way of interpreting history was well used by students.

Figure 3

The Profile of Epistemic Semantic Gravity in the Wording of an Extended Response Question (Paragraph 2 of Student 21's Response)

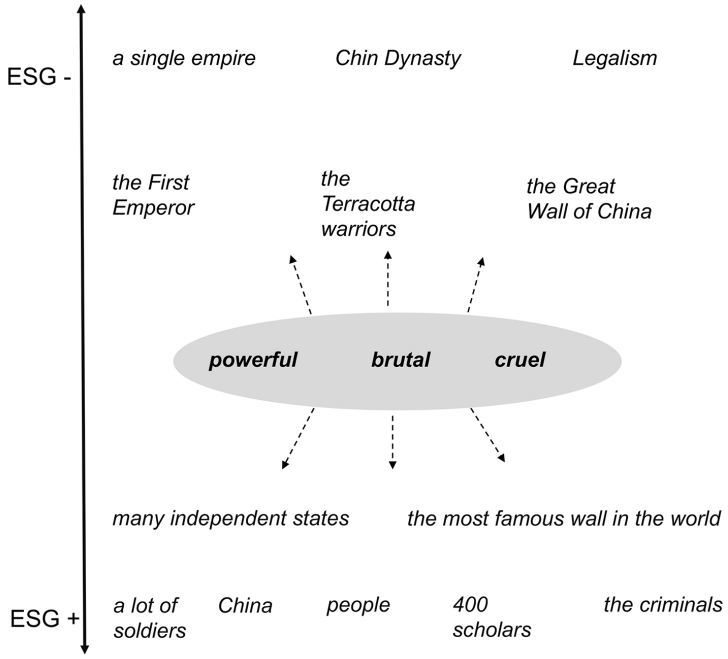


Less common, however, were examples where students connected specific events and characteristics to a collection or set of values. An example appears at the end of student 21's paragraph: *Furthermore, he was a firm believer in Legalism. He punished the criminals harshly since legalism believed people were born as evil.* Here, the quality of *harshly* (manifest intangible wording) and the event of punishing criminals are related to the ideology of *Legalism.* As an instance of symbolic conceptual wording, *legalism* has a relatively stable meaning in the field of history and could be related to the specific behaviours of many historical figures. Student 21 has, therefore, used a wide semantic range: more context dependent examples of evidence are connected to conceptual terms with much weaker context dependence, as represented in the right-hand side of the semantic profile in Figure 3.

This connection of evidence to an ideology raises the issue of how and where students bring 'fragments' of evidence (NSW Education Standards Authority, 2017a) and evaluation together as they construct an argument. A further look at Student 21's use of evidence shows that he opens with an evaluative claim: *The terracotta warriors indicate that the First Emperor was powerful.* Here, the manifest intangible wording (*powerful*) contributes to an explicit evaluation. In this opening position, *powerful* then pertains to more than one example of evidence that follows: *powerful* is relevant to Chin having *a lot of soldiers*, unifying *many independent states*, and building *the most famous wall in the world*, etc. Similarly, other instances of manifest intangible wording, such as *brutal* and *cruel,* can be related to multiple examples of evidence, as represented in Figure 4 (p. 89). Therefore, even though the question was about the terracotta warriors, it is deemed acceptable and not 'off topic' for student 21 to create an 'evidence jump' to other artefacts, such as the Great Wall of China. In other words, fragments of evidence can be brought together through qualities that are related to a historical figure (e.g., *powerful, brutal*) and by being related to a broader set of portable values, such as *Legalism.*

Figure 4

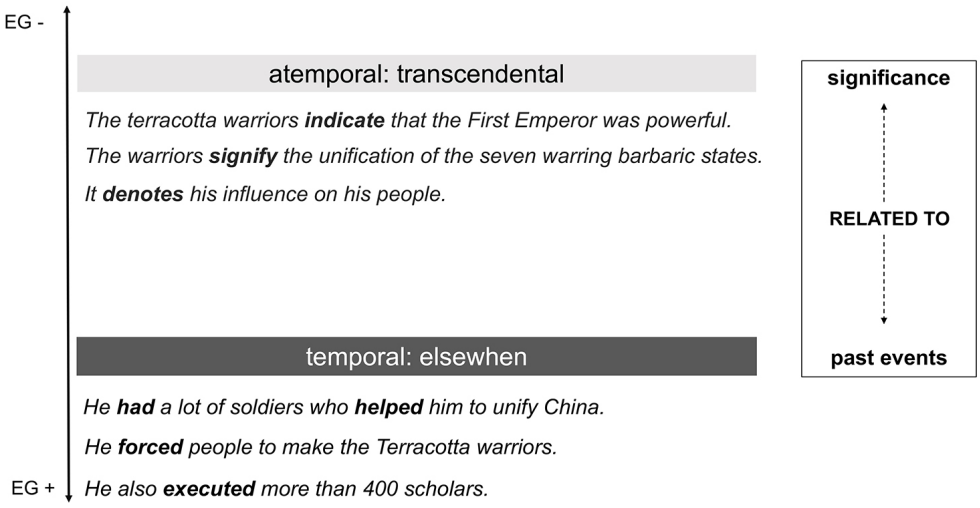
Manifest Intangible Wording to Connect Fragments of Evidence



Further analysis with the clausing tool also shows that developing an argument in an extended response requires evaluative statements about the significance of physical evidence. For this purpose, some students changed the strength of EG to connect claims about the broad significance of evidence (EG-) to concrete particulars of past events (EG+). For example, student 21 starts with: *The terracotta warriors indicate that the First Emperor was powerful* (clause type of *atemporal: transcendent*); and then elaborates with specific examples, such as, *He had a lot of soldiers who helped him to unify China* (clause type of *temporal: elsewhen*). These changes in epistemological-gravitation are illustrated in Figure 5 with additional examples from the data set for each clause type.

Figure 5

The Semantic Epistemological-Gravitation in Extended Responses



This analysis shows that, in extended responses, the ability to manage evidence with atemporality is critical to establishing significance. By changing the degree of context dependence, students transcend the concrete particulars of one historical artefact, event, or behaviour, and make an evaluative claim about why the evidence is so important. In the case of questions asking students to assess historical figures, such as Emperor Qin, weaker EG enables students to introduce an overall evaluative stance about the Emperor's reign (e.g., *The terracotta warriors indicate that the First Emperor was powerful),* and then use the concrete particulars of evidence to elaborate and provide insight into an underpinning ideology, such as Legalism.

Summary of differences between student responses to short and extended exam questions

From the perspective of epistemic semantic gravity in wording, the semantic profiles in Figures 1 and 3 have illustrated that both types of exam questions require a wide range of context dependence in order to create relationships between physical and non-physical entities. In responses to short answer questions, the relative shifts in ESG are deployed to explain why certain types of artefacts are in their current state. However, in extended responses, the relative shifts in ESG include qualities and values being assigned to one or more historical artefacts or figures. Such evaluation is a crucial strategy that students deploy to link fragments of evidence.

From the perspective of clausing, the semantic profiles in Figures 1 and 3 have also revealed that both types of exam questions require stronger epistemological-gravitation in order to position historical artefacts or figures in relation to completed actions or events. Similarly, the texts both make use of weaker epistemological-gravitation, though for different reasons. In short answer questions, weaker EG is used to explain recurrent processes that have not only happened to specific artefacts but could happen to other artefacts in other settings. In contrast, a change to weaker EG in the extended responses focuses on using atemporality to make evaluative claims about significance. These similarities and differences are summarised in Table 4.

Table 4

Similarities and Differences between Student Responses to Exam Question Types

Translation tools	**Short answer exam questions about process**	**Extended response exam questions about historical figures**
Wording (ESG)	Using physical artefacts and historical figures to say something about the non-physical	
	Describing why artefacts are in their current state and their past use in cultural practices	Assigning qualities and values to people and things
Clausing (EG)	Positioning artefacts or figures in relation to historical actions or events	
	Explaining recurrent processes or cultural practices that can happen to other artefacts in other settings	Making evaluative claims about the significance of evidence

The summary of differences in context dependence has illuminated different requirements for interpreting evidence. However, as our text analysis indicates, and past research has also highlighted, these requirements may not be fully understood by students. For example, in one Finnish secondary school context, researchers identified that students predominantly understood history 'as a collection of facts' (Veijola & Mikkonen, 2016, p. 11). Similarly, a study of student writing in a Swedish secondary school found that some students did not see 'the need to explain events or processes of change' as history was understood more as 'the factual unfolding events'

(Nersäter, 2018, p. 86). These wider findings about how students understand what is required of them highlight the need to explicitly discuss assessment expectations with students. They also point to the opportunity for systematically teaching specific requirements.

In the context of our study, analysis has identified two important areas of writing development that are not yet consistently visible in students' extended responses. These are: organising evaluation within paragraphs; and creating an accumulation of values in a concluding paragraph. In addition to the analysis presented so far, these areas of development arise from further findings that some students patched together fragments of evidence but struggled to consistently develop and elaborate on their claims (see an example in Appendix 2), others did not restate any claims in their conclusions (see student 3 and student 15's texts in Appendix 3), or, if a conclusion was present, some students tended to only briefly sum up their position (see multiple examples in Appendix 3). Few students used their concluding paragraph to re-state alternate sides of an argument, and make an overall evaluative claim based on the evidence that they had previously introduced. However, we argue that these are teachable features of constructing arguments in Ancient History.

Pedagogic insights

In this section we use 'hybrid texts' to model teachable features of extended responses. By 'hybrid', we mean excerpts of student writing from our data set that have been woven together into one response. The purpose of doing so is to show combinations of wording and clausing choices that are critical to specific ways of interpreting evidence. We do not specify classroom metalanguage that teachers could use to explain and annotate these features (as adapting theoretical terms for teaching purposes can be highly context specific and is, in of itself, an object of study for possible future research), but rather focus on example texts that could be used in teaching.

One teachable feature of the extended responses is introducing and then elaborating on one evaluative claim at a time. Drawing on the concept of gravitation, one possibility for teaching is to model starting and finishing a paragraph with atemporal clausing. Such organisation would enable students to introduce and restate a claim about significance, and, in between, support this claim with evidence. Examples of atemporal clausing are annotated in bold font in Table 5: ***The terracotta warriors indicate that the First Emperor was a powerful leader…Thus, the warriors represent the unification of China and Qin's extraordinary influence as a leader.*** Here, weaker EG is used to state and then restate the significance of evidence. In between these clauses is substantial elaboration of the claims through strengthening gravitation which, in this case, involves concrete particulars about past events related to the unification of China.

Table 5

Organising Evaluation within a Paragraph

Argumentation	Hybrid text example 1	Clausing	Wording
evaluative claim about significance	***The terracotta warriors indicate that the First Emperor was a powerful leader.*** *He had a lot of soldiers who helped him to unify China. Before the rule of the first Emperor, there were seven warring barbaric states in China. These independent states fought to widen their own territory. Years of vicious fighting ended when the Emperor's mighty army conquered the states and formed a single empire.*	**atemporal**	**symbolic material**
elaboration with evidence		temporal	**manifest intangible**
			symbolic material
evaluative claim about significance	***Thus, the warriors represent the unification of China and Qin's extraordinary influence as a leader.***	**atemporal**	**symbolic conceptual**
			manifest intangible

From the perspective of wording, this type of 'atemporal sandwich' across a paragraph is more than just reinforcement of a claim through the repetition. As illustrated in Table 5 (p. 91), interpreting the significance of evidence involves connecting symbolic material wording about artefacts with manifest intangible wording about qualities, such as in the opening claim of: *The terracotta warriors [symbolic material] indicate that the First Emperor [symbolic material] was a powerful [manifest intangible] leader.* Similar wording choices appear in the restatement of the claim: *Thus, the warriors* [symbolic material] *represent the unification of China* [symbolic conceptual] *and Qin's* [symbolic material] *extraordinary* [manifest intangible] *influence as a leader*. In such a restatement, the use of symbolic conceptual wording, such as *the unification of China,* is particularly important for relating fragments of evidence to a type of historical change (e.g., *unification*). These wording and clausing choices are critical for using historical evidence in a way that is not bound to one setting or set of events.

A second teachable feature of extended responses involves bringing together evaluation in a concluding paragraph. One approach is to highlight the function of a concluding paragraph as not only restating a position, but also bringing together an accumulation of values that have been previously introduced. An example of a concluding paragraph with both these functions appears in hybrid text 2 in Table 6 (p. 93).

Table 6

A Concluding Paragraph to Restate a Position and Bring Together Values

Hybrid text example 2	Manifest intangibles for - evaluation	Manifest intangibles for + evaluation
In conclusion, the discovery of the Terracotta Warriors reveals both negative and positive aspects of Qin's rule. He can be perceived as a successful leader with respect to his role in the unification of China and reforms which led to a more prosperous and advanced society. However, the ruthless and barbaric bloodshed of his own people reveals an underlying obsession for power and control. For Qin, it seems that the price of progress and domination was never too high. **Ultimately, the rigidity and brutality of leadership grounded in Legalism led to the demise of the Qin dynasty**.	negative ruthless barbaric obsession rigidity brutality	positive successful prosperous advanced

In this example, manifest intangible wording is once again key to evaluating the behaviour and events related to a historical figure. It is first used in a generalised claim: *In conclusion, the discovery of the Terracotta Warriors reveals both the negative and positive aspects of Qin's rule.* Then additional qualities specify those positive (*successful, prosperous, advanced*) and negative (*ruthless, barbaric, obsession*) aspects. Finally, the overall position is made clear with further instances of manifest intangible wording which specify qualities about Qin's overall leadership style: *Ultimately, the rigidity and brutality of leadership grounded in Legalism led to the demise of the Qin dynasty*. In this final sentence, the qualities have three important functions: first, they summarise behaviour (previous examples are re-packaged as instances of *rigidity* and *brutality);* second, they are related to a set of portable values (as represented by the ideology of *Legalism*); and third, they are used to interpret a historical outcome, in this case, *the demise of the Qin dynasty.* This kind of evaluation in a concluding paragraph could be taught to students to support them with using evidence for managing contrasting points of view, while also making their own position clear.

Further inquiry

The findings have provided significant insights into fundamental differences between how students use evidence in responding to different types of exam questions. Analysis has shown that short responses are not miniture versions of extended ones. Findings have identified potential areas of writing development pertaining to students in our study, and we have argued that specific requirements for using evidence, such as connecting evidence to recurrent processes, interpreting significance, and relating multiple fragments of evidence to an evaluative claim can be taught explicitly. We have created text examples that could contribute to making such requirements more visible in classroom teaching.

One main limitation of this study is that the samples of student writing are taken from practice exams, rather than their actual final exams. The data set may, therefore, not fully represent all writing choices that students deploy in the 'real' exam, and not necessarily be a sample of their very best writing. A further factor that limits our ability to make generalisations about the required use of evidence in HSC exams for Ancient History is that we have only explored two main types of exam questions. Similar analysis could be conducted with responses to other types of exam questions to better capture the range of ways in which students control context dependence when writing about historical evidence. A further step would be to closely align students' management of relative shifts in context dependence with different assessment grades (A range, C range, etc). Such findings could inform marking rubrics and be used to support students' gradual and cumulative writing development prior to and during their final year of senior school.

More specifically, the identification of 'teachable features' invites further inquiry into the use of evaluative resources when writing extended responses in Ancient History. In this regard, future research could draw on developments in Appraisal theory in Systemic Functional Linguistics, which focuses on the language used for evaluation (e.g., Martin, 2017, 2019), and complementary analysis of axiologies in Legitimation Code Theory, which explore the systems of values that underpin evaluative claims (e.g., Doran, 2020; Tilakaratna & Szenes, 2020). Future research could also examine the extent to which learning how to use historical evidence in the development of arguments may function as a useful foundation for studies at a tertiary level. As Matruglio (2018) has begun to explore, one such area includes students learning how to manipulate language to manage multiple points of view in contested knowledge spaces. Similarly, a better understanding of how to build students' skills in using evidence and facts with more generalised, abstract ideas and theories could usefully prepare them for different types of writing that they are required to do at university level. The abundance of reflective writing tasks, for example, often require undergraduate students to make precise connections between their personal experiences in one specific context and the more generalised concepts within the theoretical frameworks of their disciplines (Macnaught, 2020; Ryan & Ryan, 2013; Szenes, Tilakaratna & Maton, 2015; Szenes & Tilakaratna, 2021). It therefore seems likely that better supporting secondary students with writing in subjects like Ancient History, including learning to use evidence to explain recurrent processes and development arguments, could provide a robust foundation for controlling degrees of context dependence in their future tertiary studies.

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Endnotes

[1] As the tool has yet to be published, changes by Doran and Maton to the names of categories may occur. However, if this does happen, which categories we are referring to will be clear.

[2] This generic translation device is not a model of English discourse, not a model of clauses and not a model of context-dependence. It is a means of describing for a broad phenomenon how a concept may be realized.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Exam questions from the 2019 HSC exam for Ancient History

How useful are the private buildings in Pompeii and Herculaneum in providing evidence about the economy? Support your response using evidence from source A and other sources (short answer - 5 marks).
Assess the values and limitations of sources as evidence about religion in Pompeii and Herculaneum. Support your response using Sources C and D and other relevant sources (extended response -12 marks).

Evaluate the view that Ahmose made the greatest contribution to Egypt in this period (extended response - 25 marks).

Appendix 2. A response to an extended response exam question

Student 20 (more fragmented use of evidence)

…Under the power of the emperor Chin, he had made several change[s] [to the] organisation of land, standardisation, law code. Peasants [were] divided [within] the empire into proviences [sic] to control them by loyal administrators and destroyed ancient literature and historical records to eradicate any past ideas. His high taxes in economic did not make him a popular figure as the heavy tax imposed [was used] towards lavish palaces for himself and his governors.

Appendix 3. Concluding paragraphs to an extended response exam question

Student 3 (entire final paragraph)
In conclusion, all of the knowledge entombed and preserved in the tomb along with the terracotta warriors is an valuable link to Chin's dynasty.

Student 15 (entire final paragraph)

In conclusion, the discovery of the Terracotta warriors revealed a great deal about Emperor Chin's rule.

Student 21 (entire final paragraph)

Despite his achievements to unify China he should still be considered a cruel king.

Student 6 (entire final paragraph)

Therefore, both positive and negative actions of Chin ultimately leads to his infamous notoriety considering him as an unsuccessful ruler of China.

Student 12 (entire final paragraph)

Consequently, Chin must be judged as a successful leader through his various reforms which unified the seven feudal states of China. However, his cruel treatment and lack of empathy for his people severely detract from his achievements. In conclusion, Chin was a successful ruler as if he didn't unify China, it would've been destroyed by the warring states, and through him, the country became strong and prosperous.

Appendix 4. First and final paragraphs in an extended response exam question

Student 8 (first and final paragraphs)

The discovery of the Terracotta Warriors was representative of the ***wealth, power*** *and the* ***superior status*** *the First Emperor of China possessed. The Terracotta Soldiers relate to how his sinister methods lead to a prosperous country…..*

Ultimately, Chin unified the country, brought economic and administrative reforms and contributed to societal events and religion. The discovery of the Terracotta Soldiers represents his ***power, status*** *and* ***wealth****.*

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Representation of political conflicts in history textbooks

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ABSTRACT

This research scrutinizes the representation of political conflict within contemporary Indonesian history textbooks. The research question is about how the contemporary history textbooks present political conflicts in Indonesian historiography for the younger generation within the frame of political interests, nation-building, and the demand of conflict reconciliation and transformation. Discourse Historical Analysis was used as the research method, particularly in investigating conflict representation from the analysis of nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and intensification. The object is Indonesian History textbook used in schools. Data analysis techniques are carried out with discourse historical analysis techniques through analysis of nominations, predicates, arguments, and perspectives. The findings show that historical conflicts in the textbooks are represented in two forms of historical narrative logic. The first is a simple plot and heroism narrative logic to present the conflicts in Indonesia from 1945 to 1965. The second is a cooperative-constructive narrative logic that emphasizes the conflict reconciliation rather than the conflictual process in presenting the conflicts in Indonesia from 1965 to 1998. Those logics consist of the binary system and schizophrenic feeling that shows the confusion of the historians in narrating conflict within the history textbook. Therefore, the chance to take advantage of the textbook in supporting conflict transformation in Indonesia can be hard to achieve. The historian has to find an alternative approach to solve the problem of conflict representation within the Indonesian history textbook. This alternative approach is carried out as an effort to support the transformation of conflict in Indonesian society.

KEYWORDS

Conflict Representation, Indonesian History, Textbooks, Nation Building

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Introduction

The representation of conflict within history textbooks comes to be an essential issue nowadays especially in the term of conflict reconciliation and transformation. The point of issueis about the possibility to provide an alternative approach in writing a history textbook as part ofconflict transformation, cultivate social trust, and diminish structural and cultural violence (Marková and Gillespie,, 2011). This issue is always contested and negotiated by many political and social agents inside of a nation, including the government, historians, communities, social- cultural or religious entities. It is because, as mentioned by Carretero (2011) and Bentrovato, Korostelina, and Schulze (2016), the shadows of historical conflicts still useful for contemporarycollective struggles such as for nationalism, radicalism, separatism, or even terrorism. The contestation and negotiation mostly locate the question about the role of history textbooks, whether the history textbook serves as a material for strengthening integration and supporting social justice inside of a nation or it is merely used to legitimate the political regime and violence (Purwanta, 2017).

Those contestations have made the government of many nation-states across the globe set an educational policy to regulate the writing of history textbooks. In South Asian nations, the conflict and disintegration have forced the governments in that area to revise and rewrite history textbooks based on the political dynamic in that region. Nair (2010) marked that history textbooks were used to build memory and national identity of each South Asian country, especially when they separated from India. Other patterns related to conflict representation appear in Israel's history textbooks that substantially describe the conflict between Israel, Arab, and Palestine. Podeh (2010) highlighted that in the conflict of Israel, Arab, and Palestine, the history textbooks tend to create a worldview and negative stereotype towards other groups, which result in the continuing silent conflict. Meanwhile, Rwanda used a pragmatist approach by deleting the conflict narrative from school historiography (Bentrovato, 2017). From that exploration, it can beseen that every nation-state had developed and adopted a particular approach to present their historical conflicts based on social and political interests.

In the context of Indonesia, the issue of conflict representation becomes more complicated under the historical legacy and the nature of multiculturality inside of the nation. Historically, Indonesia can be categorized as a nation-state comprising a complex society. Some scholars, suchas Anderson (1983), argued that Indonesian is an imagined community. The nation has been integrated into one nation as the result of collectivity based on printed capitalism. The consciousness of the nation-state could not be perceived from solid ideological consensus, but it was a dynamic form of cognitive consensus of society (Reid, 2009). The internal conflicts that are mostly caused by political and ideological contestation always threaten the nation-state. Since the early independence era in 1945 until nowadays, many political and ideological conflicts, which mostly related to elite political rivalries and economic gaps between local and central governments occurred in Indonesia (Cribb, 2001). Moreover, conflicts in some areas of Indonesia, such as Aceh and West Papua, occurred as the result of regionalism and separatism movements (Legge 1965). Those conflicts have made the issue of conflict representation withinthe Indonesian history textbook become critical.

However, the study about conflict representation in the Indonesian history textbook is still unexamined. Most of the researchers who tackle the problem of Indonesian school historiography tend to investigate the politics of education and political discourse within history textbooks. The findings of the research regarding Indonesia's history textbooks mainly relate to the issue of politics of education, such as the development of national identity and power legitimation (Purwanta, 2017). The recent critical study of the Indonesian history textbook presented by Abidin (2017) and Joebagio and Djono (2019) had given a little portrayal of conflict representation. Abidin scrutinizes the logic of historical narrative in the Indonesian history textbook. The findingof his research shows that the textbooks tend to use binary opposition logic as a frame in narratingthe historical event.

On the other hand, Joebagio and Djono indicated the unequal position between unity and diversity within the history textbook. They believe that this inequality will result in the

marginalization of others. To a certain degree, those researchers display a fundamental problem in the Indonesian history textbook that tends to use binary logical opposition, emphasize merely on nationalism, and neglect diversity and other aspects of human life include historical conflicts. The author assumed that Indonesian society struggles to deal with past conflicts. The society refers to society that has experienced national conflicts in the past, such as the society in the era of the old period (1945 - 1965) and the new period (1966 - 1998). In the shadowsof binary opposition logic and the lust of blind nationalism, the fundamental problem is to represent conflict in transformative and productive ways. Nevertheless, this assumption should be more deeply examined by further research. Based on those problems, this paper aims to analyze the conflict representation within Indonesian compulsory history textbooks. The questionproposed in this research is about how is the form of historical narratives used in the Indonesianhistory textbook to present historical conflicts.

Conflict representation

Theoretical discussion regarding conflict representation should be understood in the term of representation theory. In general, representation refers to the process of interpretation as wellas knowledge production and distribution through the use of language, texts, images, illustrations, signs, and other forms of objects (Saussure 1914; Foucault 1980). Representation stands between two mechanisms of human interpretation. The first system related to the process of calibrating the meaning of an object with human cognition and mental representation. The second system related to the process of representing the concept from human cognition and mental representation. The linking process between meaning, representing, and objectification is called representation. It means representation attains with human cognition, mental representation, objectification about an object. Representation could not be directly associated with reality. Foucault (1980) believed that representation is a mere imitation of reality; it is not a purely realistic representation of an event or objects. Foucault added that representation constructed in and by discourse in which it engaged with the problem of power/knowledge and the question of subject. Based on this critical stance, Hall (1997) then categorized three accounts of representation, namely reflective, intuitive, and constructionist. The assumption in the reflective account posits representation as to the image of reality. The intuitive account believes that inside of representation lies an expression of the intended meaning of writer or speaker. Meanwhile, the constructionist account stated that representation was constructed through language and discourse. Based on those theoretical discussions, it can be highlighted that conflict representation refers to a process of knowledge production and distribution of historical conflicts in the form of texts, illustrations, images, visualization, language, or other forms of media.

Consequently, based on this theoretical framework, in discussing conflict representation within history textbooks, the content of the history textbook should be posited as historical discourse. It means the representation of conflict within history textbooks can only be observed from all presented forms of discourse and discursive practices in the textbooks encompassing the texts, description, assessment, narratives, images, and illustration. Among those of forms, the narrative comes to be the dominant form of representation in the textbook. The history textbooks contain historical narratives derived from the historian's works, which are commonly perceived by academicians as a form of school historiography. White (2011) gave a more critical stance towards the nature of historical narratives as merely a narrative and could not directly represent historical events. Therefore, in the same way with Foucault's stance, conflict representation within history textbooks should be seen as only a narrative of historical conflicts. As a form of narrative, the representation of conflict within history textbooks can be examined through its narrative logic. Ankersmit (1983) articulated the logic of historical narratives as a law of historical representation used by the historian to narrate historical events. The logic of historicalnarratives shows the position of the subject, the objects, the nomination, and alsoperspectivization taken by historians to narrate a particular object. In the narrative constructed bythe binary system, the position determines the side of the actors or parties within historical events.It will show the good

and the wrong side in the narratives arranged in history textbooks. By examining the logic of narratives, the representation of conflict within history textbooks can be traced. Therefore, the analysis of conflict representation in this study will be focused on the narrative logic within Indonesian history textbooks to reveal the law and system of representationin narrating historical conflict in Indonesian history.

Conflicts of the learning of history in the 2013 curriculum

The 2013 curriculum is an integrated curriculum with skills, themes, concepts, and topics both within single disciplines, across several disciplines, and within and across learners. The essence of the 2013 Curriculum is simplification and thematic-integrative nature. The 2013 curriculum aims to make students have a better ability to observe, ask, think, and communicate (Ulhaq et al., 2017).

During the implementation of 2013 curriculum related to history learning, there are many problems faced by teachers since the government do not examine the implementation of the 2013 curriculum in designated schools. In the learning of history, 2013 curriculum has not been evaluated based on the suitability of ideas, designs, documents, and curriculum impacts (Umam & Cahyadi, 2020). In addition, conflicts about the similarity of themes throughout the classroom, learning methods, content, and textbooks indicate to be contrary to the National Education System Law. There is inequality between core competencies and basic competencies in history lessons. The crucial issue is the government unprepared in printing and circulating history books, causing delay and unavailable of history books (Rofik, 2019).

The function and purpose of historical education have benefit to nation-building. The learning of history is no longer separate from the values and exemplification of national figures. Through the study of history, students are introduced to their people in the past. As Hunt (2007) explains, that learning of history in schools aims (1) to understand the present in the context of the past, (2) to arouse interest from the past, (3) to provide the identity of the students (nationality), (4) to give students an understanding of their roots and cultural heritage, (5) to contribute on the students' understanding and knowledge about the past countries and cultures in the modern world, (6) to develop the mind with the study of historical disciplines, (7) to introduce students about typical historical methodologies, (8) to encourage other parts of the curriculum, (9) to prepare students for adult life.

The conflict analysis in Indonesia on the learning of history is available in textbooks so that students recognize and experience past events as well as illustrate abstract things (which are not yet known) into a series of stories that become whole stories and are easy for the general public to understand (Yefterson et al., 2020). Through this conflict analysis, it is also a way to combine the facts of the whole field with the concept of the 2013 curriculum. This blend will demonstrate the relevance of history learning needs in the 2013 curriculum.

Method

Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) was used as the method to examine conflictrepresentation within the history textbook. Methodologically, DHA provides a tool to examine the conflict representation and the logic of historical narratives by examining three related aspects: discourse-immanent critique, socio-diagnostic critique, and prospective critique. A critical analysis of discursive strategies was used to investigate those aspects covering the analysis of nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification (Reisigl, 2017). Those discursive strategies were intended to reveal ‘a law of narrative logic’ thatcan be observed from the dichotomy and structural narratives of conflict narratives within the history textbook.

Five compulsory history textbooks published by the Indonesian Ministry of Education forthe learning history process in senior high school were posited as the research subject. Those five books are written by professional historians as follow:

1. Amurwani D. Lestari, Restu Gunawan, & Sardiman A. M. (2014). *Sejarah Indonesia (History of Indonesia) for the first semester of tenth Grade*. Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture;
2. Amurwani D. Lestari, Restu Gunawan, & Sardiman A. M. (2014). *Sejarah Indonesia (History of Indonesia) for the second semester of tenth grade*. Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture;
3. Sardiman, A. M., Amurwani D. Lestari. (2014). *Sejarah Indonesia (History of Indonesia) for the first semester of eleventh grade*. Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture;
4. Sardiman, A. M, & Amurwani D. Lestari (2014). *Sejarah Indonesia (History of Indonesia) for the second semester of eleventh grade.* Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture; and
5. Abdurakhman, Arif Pradono, Linda Sunarti, & Susanto Zuhdi. (2014). *Sejarah Indonesia (History of Indonesia) for the twelfth grade.* Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture.

The content of those textbooks included periods of early civilization in Indonesia until Hindu-Buddha Empires; economic-political activities during the Hindu-Buddhist era and Islamization; colonialism-imperialism and Indonesian identity; Japanese occupation until the Indonesia independence; and the early period of independence until the contemporary era.

Based on those five history textbooks, for further analysis, the author selected the history textbook for the twelfth grade (Abdurakhman et al., 2014) that contains the narratives of conflict representation. The focus of the analysis was the narration of conflict during the early period of independence to the contemporary era, including the narration of nation-state development, which was full of conflicts and consensus both at local and national levels. The sequence of those conflicts can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1

The Content of Conflict Narratives in Indonesian History Textbooks

Lesson Topics	Pages	Total number of pages
A. Domestic Upheaval (1948-1965)		
1. Conflict and Upheaval based on Ideologies	8 – 22	15
2. Conflict and Upheaval based on Interest	22 – 24	4
3. Conflict and Upheaval based on Governmental System	25 – 28	4
B. Conflicts and Learning Consensus		
1. Awareness of State Integration Importance	31 – 31	3
2. Unity Figures as Role Model	33 - 40	8
3. Realizing Integration through Art and Literature	41	1
4. Female Warriors	42 – 44	3

The representative narratives were then examined by using DHA by emphasizing system and form of conflict representation'. Data analysis techniques were carried out by discourse analysis through analyzing the nomination, predication, argumentation, and perspectivization in the conflict narratives. The analysis of nomination aims to reveal the discursive construction of social events, actors, actions, and process within narratives. Nomination is related to information about an actor or group regarding an issue that is not clearly displayed. Analysis of nominations is carried out by answering the question "How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, process, actions named and referred to linguistically?" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). The analysis of predication focuses on examining the discursive qualification of social actors and events. The analysis of argumentation aims to examine the justification of the claims of truth and normative

rightness in the conflict narratives. Meanwhile, the analysis of perspectivization aims to examine the positioning of the writer's point of view within conflict narratives. Based on those analyses, the author then deciphers the form of conflict representation within Indonesian history textbooks.

In addition, content analysis was also applied in the study. Content analysis discusses research in-depth on the content of written or printed media / information. It aims to analyze any form of material from various documentation, such as textbooks. Content analysis describes the content of a message from different contexts.

The representation of conflict in Indonesian contemporary history textbooks

In history textbooks, the narratives of the conflict from 1945 to 1965 are posited in a chapter, namely 'Struggle toward National Disintegration,' which consisted of two sub-chapter: 'The Domestic Upheaval (1948-1965)', and 'Conflicts and Consensus.' The conflicts are categorized into three types of conflict: ideological conflict, political interests, and government system. The historical conflicts categorized as the ideological problem are The Communist Movement in Madiun Affair 1948, 30 September 1965 Movement, and Islamic State Movement,such as *Darul Islam* Movement. The textbook emphasized that ideological conflicts are essentialto be narrated to build national awareness.

The textbook also explains the conflict based on the political interest between local and central elites through the narrative of the uprising of three movements: *Angkatan Perang Ratu Adil* (APRA) or The Messianism Army led by Raymond Westerling, the desertion of Colonel Andi Aziz, and the rebellion of the *Republik Maluku Selatan* or the South Moluccas Republic. Inthe textbook, the conflicts are narrated in the form of National Army repulsion of the United Republic of Indonesia at the local and regional level.

Furthermore, the conflicts regarding the governmental system are narrated in the textbookas the form of regional dissatisfaction towards the central governmental system. The textbook categorizes two historical conflicts as the governmental system conflict: the establishment of *Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia* or The Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia in the West of Sumatra and the movement of *Perjuangan Rakyat Semesta*(Permesta) or The Total Struggle of People.

From this point, the author identifies an identical plot of narrative in presenting those conflicts. Firstly, the textbook narrates the existence of fragmented factions in the national stagecaused by ideological contestation and regional interest. Contestation and disagreement could escalate that was marked by disintegration, demonstration, massacred, and military movement. The central government attempted diplomatic policies to diminish the conflict escalation but failed. Moreover, the government used military operation as a final step to eradicate the rebellionmovement. In this plot, the textbook narrates the military operation as a turning point of conflictescalation. The textbook emphasizes that military power can muffle the conflict. This plot was used in most of the conflict narratives within the Indonesian history textbook, especially in the representation of the 30 September 1965 Movement and local upheaval movements.

The history textbook narrates the history of 30 September 1965 Movement and the role ofthe military operation as follows: 'In this uncertain situation, the Commander of Army Command Strategy Major General Suharto soon decided to take over the highest command of the army, and after being successful in gathering the faithful troops to Pancasila, the subjugation of the 30 September 1965 Movement's operation was conducted (Abdurakhman et al., 2014). The textbook also emphasizes the military role in the PRRI and Permesta Movement that 'The central government does not hesitate to act decisively. The military operation was conducted to act upon rebels' (Abdurakhman et al., 2014).

The presence of a binary system that is used to distinguish the bad and the good in the conflictual process appears in that identical plot of conflict narratives. The protagonist, who is always right, is the central government. On the other hand, the movements against the

government are negated as the hostile act that threatened the national existence. Those movements are stigmatized in the textbooks as the rebellion, regional turmoil, and disintegration.

The traces of the binary system used to perceive the historical conflict come into sight at the beginning of every sub-chapter that describe the learning objectives. The writers of textbookstry to harvest the values from historical conflicts. The writers emphasize that wisdom can be generated from the history of humankind. The students can feel the historical experience and connect it with the present contexts. The textbook states that success in the past will give experience in the present. Vice versa, the mistakes of the past will be a valuable lesson for the present. The wisdom from those incidents will be a lesson in facing the threat of conflicts nowadays.

From the above analysis, it can be highlighted that the textbooks use an identical and straightforward plot to narrate historical conflict from 1945 to 1965. The general plot of narratives can be described in the sequence from conflict uprising, conflict escalation, and the intervention of the military operation. The center of that plot is the binary opposition in which the protagonist and antagonist are posited and nominated.

After describing the conflictual process from 1945 to 1965, the textbook then narrates the role of national heroes, which are described in the sub-chapter 'From Conflict to Consensus.' Six national heroes are narrated in the textbook, namely Frans Kaisiepo, Silas Papare, Marthen Indey, Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, Sultan Syarif Kasim II, Ismail Marzuki, and Opu Daeng Risaju. The first three names of those national heroes have a unique role besides the fact that they are the heroes from the eastern region of Indonesia. They were selected to be narrated in the textbook because many students in Indonesia have yet to recognize these figures despite their magnificent roles in fighting and defending for Indonesia's independence (Abdurakhman et al., 2014). The nomination of heroes from the Eastern Indonesian region indicates the tendency of pragmatism in Indonesian school historiography. The narrative exposed the role of heroes as the reflection to defend the nation-building (Zinn, 1990). Those heroes are perceived to be able to represent the importance of national integration.

After 1965, there were frequent conflicts in Indonesia. The events of the G30S PKI in 1965 became one of the dark records in the history of the Republic of Indonesia. This started from the power struggle between a number of Indonesian Army officers and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) people and ended with the killing of several military officers (Hartono & Huda, 2020). In 1966, there was anti-communist in Jakarta involving tens of thousands of people, including the Indonesian Student Action Unit (KAMI) movement. The communist purges led to inter-people's unrest. A rally was held in front of the Jakarta State Palace which led to clashes with the Presidential Guard Regiment and claimed lives.

In 1974, the events of the Fifteen January Catastrophe (Malari) became the first mass riots in the new periode regime. The mass movement was dominated by students walking from the University of Indonesia to Trisakti University. They burned buildings and damaged in the capital (Sahrasad & Ridwan, 2020). From this incident, President Soeharto began to apply stricter rules to students.

In 1984, there was a bloody event in Tanjung Priok precisely after Malari. There were riots between Muslims and New Periode officials and almost all the victims died due to army fire (Saibih, 2018). In 1998, President Soeharto were attending the G-15 summit in Cairo during a demonstration in Jakarta. The mob began to damage and burn vehicles in the neighborhood so that Suharto declared a departure from the presidency. At that time, there were many destructions of Chinese assets and many cases of sexual harassment, rape, and murder (Plat et al., 2018). In 2019, there was chaos in various points of the Capital City. The mob pelted the police with stones and fireworks because of the public's disapproval of the results of the announcement of the pair of presidential candidates and vice presidential candidates.

On the other hand, the selection of Frans Kaisiepo, Silas Papare, and Marthen Indey relatedto the current situation of Papua, where the Free Papua Organization movement demands independence from Indonesia (Setiawan, 2014; Norotouw, 2012). Thus, it was expected for students to become

fully aware that there are many figures from the Eastern region of Indonesia who actively strengthened the national integration and independence. From this point of view, the narrative of national heroes from the Eastern region of Indonesia tries to overthrow the propaganda of the Free Papua Movement that commonly uses the narrative that historically Papuais not part of the Republic of Indonesia.

Meanwhile, Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Syarif Kasim, two local leaders in Indonesia, represent primordial-traditional community loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia. The textbook narrates that from the historical perspective; the nation-state of Indonesia was established based on consensus and visions of primordial communities. Thus, the narratives are intended to conserve the awareness of unity in a nation-state. The same pattern also can be found in the selection of Ismail Marzuki, a national artist, and Opu Daeng Risaju, a female leader. These two figures are selected to represent artists and females in the process of national integration. Previously, in the textbook narrations of the New Order era, artists and females have yet to be placed in the nation-building narration. The New Period is the name for the reign of President Soeharto in Indonesia. It is approximately 32 years on March 11, 1966 to 1988. The naming of the New Period is used as a comparison with the Old period. During this new period, the system of government is the presidential that executive decisions are in the hands of the president and have a form of government, namely the republic. The constitutional basis of the Indonesian state is the 1945 Constitution. In the grand narrative of Indonesia's history, the artists and the females were silenced during the New Order era. Their appearance in nation-building narrative after Reformation 1998 is the new phenomenon in Indonesia school historiography.

The narratives of selected national heroes represent the uses of historical figures to enhance national consensus. Even though they are not narrated in the term of a conflictual process, the textbook tries to deliver a message that many elements of the society support the nation-building process including artists and females.

For historical conflicts from 1965 to 1998, the textbook narrates the historical conflicts in the term of 'stabilization of uniformity.' From 1965 to 1998, Indonesian was governed by President Soeharto, the former general of the military party, which was known in Indonesian historiography as the New Order era. The textbook explains that the New Order tries to prevent the issue related to ethnicity, religiosity, races, and groups that is the sensitive issue in Indonesia and often triggering conflict or social unrest.

The conflicts occurred at the end of the New Order era are represented as the socio- economic phenomenon triggered by the economic gap between the central and regional government. The textbook narrates the economic gap as the legacy of the New Order era. The textbook blames the New Order for the economic crisis in 1997 and, at the same moment, portraysthe Reformation era as the birth of new hope of Indonesian society. During the new period, there were many economic issues in the central and regional regions due to economic policies that led to development in all fields. The result is inflation, increasing foreign debt, soaring basic needs, low per capita of the Indonesian population, and inequality (Lutfi et al., 2020). The peak occurred in 1998, namely the monetary crisis that resulted in the resignation of President Soeharto at that time.

The textbook does not focus on the explanations of the chronologies of conflict. The discussion is focused on conflict resolution through reconciliation. The framework of reconciliation in the textbook is similar to Deutsch's (2012) concept. Conflict reconciliation can be defined as a particular condition that posits conflicts as the problem that must be settled down through cooperation. In conflict resolution, there is neither winner nor loser. Every party tried to gain agreement, reducing the demands that are acceptable as a consensus in conflict resolution. Two complementary psychological processes occurred in the reconciliation are substitutability, which refers to an act of how one party can complete the demands of other parties, and inducibility, which refers to the readiness of accepting others' influence.

In the textbook, the government takes a protagonist role, who always attempts to reconcilethe conflict by minimizing the demands and reaching the agreements with other parties in the conflict. In the opposite, the textbook narrates the obstacle of the reconciliation from the local interests. In

the case of conflict narratives of Aceh, the textbook narrates Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as the President of Indonesia tries to promote dialogues from the local stages in negotiating with Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) or Free Aceh Movement. The textbook narratesthat during his visit to Aceh on 26 November 2004, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono emphasized the importance of special autonomy implementation in Aceh and amnesty for GAM members. President emphasized that military solutions cannot solve the Aceh conflict permanently (Abdurakhman et al., 2014, pp. 179-180). The challenge of conflict reconciliation is thestubbornness of the local citizens who do not accept government kindness. The narratives in thetextbook only perceive from the central government perspective; on the other hand, the rejectionof the locals is un-narrated.

In comparison with the previous pattern, it can be seen the shifting of narrative logic in the textbook from explanative-pragmatist, which is used to narrate the conflicts from 1945 to 1965, comes into cooperative-constructive logic of the narrative, which is used to narrate the conflicts from 1965 to 1998. In the cooperative-constructive logic of the narrative, the willingness to solve conflicts without violence becomes the central discourse to be brought in the narratives. The government is predicated as the party that always tries using dialogues rather than military operations. The cooperative-constructive logic of the narratives aims to create a robust national integration as the top of the conflict reconciliation process.

The cooperative-constructive logic of the narratives demands the selection of essential historical events that are in line with the nation-building process. Consequently, the history textbook does not discuss the background and the process of conflict as well as the settlement effort by using the repression methods and violence. The omission of the background and the process of conflict can be seen in narratives of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Free Papua Organization (OPM). The textbook describes the conflict of GAM and OPM only on the reconciliation process during President Megawati Soekarno Putri and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. GAM and OPM are nominated as the disintegration and the separatist movement ina subchapter of 'disintegration and sovereignty problems' and also in the 'domestic affair conflict settlement.' Meanwhile, the backgrounds and chronology of the conflict had not explained clearlyin the textbook. GAM and OPM are two local movements that always destabilize the position ofcentral government at the national scale (Ricklefs, 1993).

The omission of GAM and OPM in the textbook can be sensed the part of the active forgetting process or a denial process of acceptance of something outside of individual awareness.In this context, the textbook encouraged the active forgetting process by selecting, deleting, as well as proposing information regarding historical conflict to the students. The historical information displayed in the textbook creates collective memory regarding the historical conflictthat must be remembered and forgotten by the students. The omission creates a partial understanding of conflicts in Indonesia. By this omission, the conflict regarding Aceh and Papuawill be only partially understood by the students.

The above description shows the conflict narratives from 1965 to 1998 focuses on the conflict reconciliation process. The focus shows the shift in conflict narrative logic heading toward cooperative-constructive. The shift does not change the central construction of the textbook narrative that is mainly constructed by the frame of nation-building progress. Conflictsare only seen as the disturbance from regional citizens toward the nation-building programs. Theselective process created an omission and forgotten conflict memory in the Indonesian history textbook, which headed to the narration of marginalization. Consequently, the roots of the conflict are never narrated in the textbook, causing students' incomprehension in understanding historical conflicts.

Schizoid history in conflict representation

Based on the above findings, it can be seen that historical conflicts are represented in thehistory textbook in three logic narratives. As mentioned before, the conflicts from 1945 to 1965are represented in a simple plot, from the episodes of conflict uprising, conflict escalation, and

military intervention as the end of the conflict. This plot is constructed in a binary system in which the textbook clearly distinguishes the protagonist and antagonist parties. The occurrence of the history of the national heroes in the conflict representation shows a tendency for emphasizing consensus and integration after the conflictual process. The presence of national heroes was then supported in the conflict narratives from 1965 to 1998, which tend to emphasize the reconciliation process by simplifying the plot of the conflict only in the reconciliation process. The contemporary history textbooks are trying to create a moderate model of conflict representation. Those models of the logic of historical narratives in Indonesian history textbooks are different from the other policy and strategy implemented by other nation-states across the globe. The Indonesian history textbook accommodates the historical conflicts in comparison with other states such as Rwanda. Rwanda decided to write an absolute narrative and deleted the multiperspectivity in the history textbooks (Bentrovato, Korostelina, & Schulze, 2016; Bentrovato, 2017). Three models of historical narrative logic indicated in the Indonesian history textbooks show a tendency of the government and the writers to diminish single authoritative narrative even, unfortunately, it seems to have failed. The Indonesian textbooks tend to select andprovide a guideline for history teachers to teach historical conflicts. This pattern is similar to thecase of Israel (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2011) and Cyprus (Klerides & Philippou, 2015), in which the textbooks tend to provide a guideline to narrate the conflict following their political interest.

The main problem in the Indonesian context is the schizophrenic feeling in narrating the historical conflict, especially when the conflict related to controversial issues such as communism, violence, and genocide. In the context of school historiography, this feeling can besensed in the term of schizo-history, which refers to a paradoxical phenomenon when the curiosity of the past collided with fear of the defacement of national integration narration. This feeling leads to the marginalization and stigmatization of a particular group as part of the separatist movement. The result is that they can be detached from the collective memory of the nation. The memory marginalization relates to the present and future identity omission, and it threatens the existence of a particular group (White 2011).

The schizophrenic feeling can be sensed in the paradox of conflict representation within the history textbook. The paradox means that it seems the historians and also the government tries to promote transition in the textbook from the narratives based on the framework of the NewOrder era into the post-reformation framework that is hopefully more democratic and critical thanbefore. However, they are also still haunted by the historical legacy that significantly related to the social-political problems in society, such as the issues of communism, disintegration, and nationalism. It makes the writers of the textbook afraid to critically represent the historical conflict within the history textbook.

This feeling derives from the philosophical contestation regarding the direction of Indonesian school historiography between the demands of nation-building and the spirit of scientific culture that occurred in the first history conference 1957 (Abidin, 2017). It seems the historian who concerns school historiography still feels that contestation between choosing the direction to strengthen nationalism and sacrifice the critical aspect of history, which is deeply rooted in the school historiography or tries to promote a middle way to solve this contestation.

From the above discussion, it can be highlighted that conflict representations within Indonesian history textbooks are narrated in the paradoxical models. The inconsistency of conflict representation indicates the confusion of the government and also the writers to narrate historical conflict. The writer of the textbook seems to realize that many essential parts in history textbooks remain as the legacy of New Order narratives. The writers of the textbook tend to revise the narratives, but unfortunately, they are still haunted by historical legacy. In this circumstance, the conflict representation could not generate a productive outcome of society and tend to preserve the conflict as a memory of violence and disintegration of the past. Therefore, the chanceto take advantage of the textbook to support conflict transformation in Indonesia will be hard to achieve. The historian has to find an alternative approach to solve the problem of conflict representation within the Indonesian history textbook.

Conclusion

The textbook narrates conflicts in the frame of nation-building progress. In this narrative, the historical conflicts are predicated with the term 'the rebellions,' 'regional upheavals,' and 'disintegration.' The representation of those words indicates that conflicts are the disturbance or excessive episode in the progress of the nation-state. The textbook uses two types of narrative logics in the textbook. First is the explanatory-pragmatic logic for narrating the conflicts from 1945 to 1965. The second is the cooperative-constructive logic for narrating the conflicts from 1965 to 1998. In the explanatory-pragmatic logic, conflicts are described in detail and settled in receiving lessons for the present time.

Meanwhile, in the term of cooperative-constructive logic, reconciliation becomes the focusof conflict narratives. The cooperative-constructive logic encourages the selective process of essential events, which are in line with nation-building progress. The selection process resulted in the omission and oblivion of conflict memories appearing in Indonesia history textbooks, such as in the narratives of GAM and OPM. The omission can be seen as the symptoms of schizoid-history. This can lead to the oblivion of history and endangered the continuity of the nation-state. In this situation, the expectation of transforming the conflict to become productive seems to be hard to achieve. Therefore, historians or educators who are concerned in school historiography should provide a middle way to solve those problems and transform the conflict representation to be more transformative.

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Using history to protect children from extremist ideologies: The example of *Noor Magazine* in Egypt

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ABSTRACT

In the past few years, cultural institutions in the Arab world have increased their interest in introducing history for children through different media channels, including printed magazines. One of these recent publications is *Noor Magazine*. One feature of *Noor Magazine* is its focus on the dissemination of Egyptian and Arabic and Islamic history along with its aim to protect children from extremist ideology. The present study aims to analyze the history presented in *Noor Magazine* in relation to how it may promote social welfare. The results of the present study show a rather great diversity among the included historical topics, which range from ancient Egyptian history to modern history, Arabic and Islamic history, and also world history. In regards to how this history is presented, there is a strong focus on politico-pedagogical, ideological, and moral uses of history, where children are presented with positive and character-building examples from the historical past to serve contemporary interests. A final prominent result is a focus on a traditional grand-narrative approach to the historical past where children are invited to learn about historical facts, rather than critically assess or engage with the historical narratives they are presented with and thus foster inclusive historical culture.

KEYWORDS

Popular History; Use of History; Historical Culture; Historical Media; Memory and History; Collective Memory

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Introduction

It is often claimed that history performs many functions in everyday society, including the formation of identity and the cultural identification of 'the self' and 'the other' (Carretero, 2017; Karlsson, 2009; Nordgren, 2016). Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the Arabic people's growing interest in history is commonly attributed to what has been called the 'Arab Awakening' at the beginning of the 19th century, which resulted from contact with the West (Chejne, 1960). Egyptian society has recently witnessed a number of challenges stemming from the revolution in 2011, and one of the more acute ones has been the rise of religious fundamentalism and terrorism (Brown, 2017). These crises have led to a focus on ways to steer Egyptian youth away from extremist groups in society. In this context, Egypt's leading Islamic institution Al-Azhar, which is commonly described as a proponent of moderate interpretations of Islam, started publication of *Noor Magazine* which is directed at Egyptian children between ages 8 and 18. While *Noor Magazine* covers many aspects related to childhood, one prominent feature of the magazine is its focus on Egyptian and Arab history as a conduit for promoting positive views on modern Egyptian society (Barak, 2016). Hence, the historical content of *Noor Magazine* is explicitly used to foster certain values among Egyptian youth, and as such it provides an interesting source for research on the historical culture of contemporary Egypt.

Broadly speaking, research on historical culture in the Middle East has identified three dominant historical discourses in the Arab world: (i) the Islamic historical discourse that focuses on social, political, scientific, and religious aspects of Islam during history, (ii) the Ancient historical discourse that focuses on the ancient history of the Middle East, and (iii) the Arab nationalist historical discourse that attempts to reconcile the two previous historical discourses through a focus on the unity of Arab history and the Arab peoples (Aljamil, 1989; Chejne, 1960). Together these discourses form the basis of an Arab collective memory and historical culture that by some researchers have been labelled as nostalgic and focused on the portrayal of a glorious past in contrast to a chaotic and dysfunctional present (Hanafi, 2012). As historian Eric Hobsbawm noted, this is one central function of collective memory in relation to history and historical culture: from the vantage point of our present needs, we construct narratives about the past that forms the basis of historical culture and traditions (E. Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012). One problematic aspect of this view on historical culture that has been noted in research, is that it tends to present a rather limited view of the past: history is presented mostly in terms of the positive aspects of past societies and actors, which in turn leads to a highly selective history that gives rise to an incomplete and potentially misleading understanding of history among the public and its leaders (Shalak, 1994). Hence, some historians and opinion leaders have attributed the failure of the attempts of renaissance in the Arab world to the absence of an historical culture that wholly embraces the past in order to avoid presenting an idealised and nostalgic version of it (Shakry, 2021).

The present study seeks to engage with these aspects through analysing the historical content of *Noor Magazine*, which is an Egyptian based journal for children published by the Al-Azhar institution. The journal started publication in 2015 with the aim of providing Egyptian and Arabic youth with positive examples and advice in order to counter religious radicalisation, or in the words of Ahmad Al-Tayeb, the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar:

> My dear daughters and sons, the publication of this magazine comes at a critical time in which your nation is in dire need of your strength and innovative brains. You have a moral responsibility towards this great nation since you are the youths and leaders of tomorrow. Come on dear ones! Let us study our lessons hard, save our time, and look forward to excellence. To be the real loyal men of the future is never impossible for you; you are the grandchildren of the great Egyptians who built Al-Azhar Al-Sharif and carried the Muslim culture and sciences to all people everywhere in the world, East and West[1] (Al-Tayeb, 2015).

As noted above, a prominent and recurring feature in *Noor Magazine* is a focus on Arabic and Egyptian history in popular form for children. Given these circumstances and the professed aim of the journal, we believe that this makes the *Noor Magazine* an excellent source to study the current collective memory practices and historical culture of Egypt and the Arab world. In our analyses we focused on three aspects: (i) what aspects of historical culture are prominent in *Noor Magazine*, (ii) what uses of history are constituted in the historical presentations, and (iii) how can the historical representations (theoretically) promote historical consciousness and social welfare in Egyptian society?

Previous research

Given what was written above, we can characterise the challenges of any effort in Egypt to promote a positive view on society and counter radicalism through the use of history, as being centered around two inter-related aspects that have been dealt with rather extensively in research: (i) how is history narrated? and (ii) how can history promote social welfare?

In relation to how history is narrated, research has shown that history is often narrated in a form that uses the national perspective as a more or less naturalised narrative frame (Berger & Conrad, 2015). As such, historical narratives are closely linked to matters of ethnicity and/or cultural homogeneity (Berger & Conrad, 2015; Carretero et al., 2012; Elmersjö, 2013; Giakoumis & Kalemaj, 2017; Kumar, 2002; Persson, 2016; Spjut, 2018). In this sense, history serves as a medium for legitimizing and constructing the nation state (E. J. Hobsbawm, 2012; Stoddard, 2021; Wertsch, 2000). One central aspect of this is to construct a sense of exclusivity in relation to ethnicity and/or culture: we are members of a nation because there is something exclusive about us. One common way of constructing this sense of exclusivity is to show contrast with other nations or peoples. Sometimes this is done in an explicitly hostile way where the national Other is vilified and posed as a serious threat, but it can also be done through ignoring and silencing (Giakoumis & Kalemaj, 2017; Kumar, 2002).

Another pertinent feature in relation to the narration of history highlighted in research is narrative form. American researcher James Wertsch argues that national histories often apply schematic narrative templates (Wertsch, 2002). Schematic narrative templates should be seen as abstract narrative forms that can be applied to multiple specific narratives, and these templates are often transparent to the people making use of them, thus taking on the shape of commonsensical ways of narrating historical events. According to Wertsch, when these schematic narrative templates gain wide public acceptance, they work to produce mnemonic communities with deep rooted collective ways of remembering the past as 'what really happened' (Wertsch, 2000). When these ways of perceiving the past are threatened, it can cause aggressive responses on the part of its proponents, as Wertsch has shown in present day Estonia (Wertsch, 2008). An important question then becomes how do we approach history in an inclusive way to promote social welfare and mutual understanding?

Research stresses the importance of an inclusive approach to history, where students are invited to deliberate competing narratives (Ahonen, 2017; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2017). Finnish researcher Sirkka Ahonen contends that in order for this to succeed, individuals first need to be exposed to conflicting stories, then they need tools to epistemologically assess the legitimacy of these narratives, and finally to recognise the conflicting elements in these narratives (Ahonen, 2017, p. 57). This does not necessarily entail that they agree with these conflicting narratives, but rather realise their place within historical culture and that they are able to have a dialogue about them without feeling threatened.

On a similar note, Israeli researcher Tsafrir Goldberg studied three approaches to history in Israel and their propensity to promote mutual understanding and trust between Israeli and Palestinian students (Goldberg, 2017). The official approach adopts a clear single-narrative approach to history that stresses in-group righteousness, the empathetic approach adopts multiple perspectives on the past and stresses mutual understanding between in- and out-group

members, and the critical approach adopts a disciplinary view on history that stresses a critical stance on self-legitimising narratives in order to curb bias (Goldberg, 2017, pp. 279–280). While Goldberg's study did not give any conclusive results as to which of these approaches was best served in promoting mutual understanding and trust among the informants, it showed that the official single-narrative approach only promoted out-group distrust and entrenchment among both the Israeli and Palestinian participants (Goldberg, 2017).

Theoretical Framework

From what was written above it seems plausible to claim that how we narrate history and how we approach it is contingent on three inter-related aspects. On a more general level we can argue that any reconstruction and representation of history takes place within an historical culture that precedes these reconstructions or representations. Historical culture in this sense both enables us to reconstruct and represent history and at the same time it also places constraints on these reconstructions and representations (Grever & Adriaansen, 2017). It enables us in the sense that when we enter into society there are already discourses of history present (Carr, 2014; Rüsen, 2005). How these discourses appear may differ between social contexts and societies, but we can argue that as we learn about history and as we construct meaning in the world these discourses are essential to us. They enable us to understand and participate in society (Kumar, 2002). These discourses do also, however, place limits on what is sensible or appropriate to say about history. Furthermore, we can also discern that how we approach historical narratives and, consequently, historical culture matters much. There seems to be a strong consensus in research that an uncritical adoption of historical narratives may be problematic since it reproduces one particular perspective on the past as the only legitimate one, and at the same time it omits or discards other perspectives (cf. Lévesque, 2017; Seixas, 2000). Thus, we can argue that how we make use of and understand history is important to promote social welfare.

Two history didactical concepts that enable us to describe and analyze how we use and understand history are uses of history and historical consciousness. Uses of history pertains to how we interact with the past; whenever we use history for any reason, we make a use of history (Karlsson, 2014; Thorp, 2016). From the perspective of how we use history and interact within an historical culture, we argue that there are two perspectives that are particularly interesting: (i) for what reasons do we make use of history, and, when we do make use of history, (ii) how do we represent history. In regards to reasons for using history, we can say that any use of history corresponds to some kind of need on behalf of its user (Karlsson, 2014). Hence, we use history to achieve something, and as such these uses of history can be called teleological. Swedish historian Klas-Göran Karlsson typified six different ways of using history from this perspective:

- A scientific use of history aims at obtaining and constructing new knowledge through an analytical and methodological approach;
- A politico-pedagogical use of history aims at illustrating, making public, and creating debate;
- A moral use of history aims at rediscovering and showing historical wrong-doings and shortcomings;
- An ideological use of history aims at justifying and/or arguing something, and to make sense of the past;
- An existential use of history aims at remembering, creating meaning in life, and building identities;
- A non-use of history aims covering up, concealing, or trying to make some historical events, persons or periods fall into public neglect (Karlsson, 2014, pp. 73–78).

When we apply this typology, we can discern and analyse a wide variety of ways of using history for different reasons. More importantly, however, this typology enables us to direct attention towards individual and collective representations of history and, as such, the typology offers us a way of analysing interactions with history as cultural phenomena at play in social contexts. It is also evident that what historians do at universities is merely one way of using the past that perhaps is quite marginal in a broader social context.

When it comes to analysing how individuals and collectives understand history, we can apply the second perspective of uses of history, the narratological one (Thorp, 2016). While the typology above offers us a way of reflecting on reasons for using history, it does not allow us to say anything about how we interact with history from a cognitive perspective. If we look at the narratological properties of uses of history we can discern three different ways of cognitively representing the past:

- A traditional use of history represents history as static and a-contextual;
- A critical use of history represents history as a means of destabilising or criticising historical narratives;
- A genetic use of history represents history as dynamic and contingent on perspective and context (Thorp, 2016, p. 27).

This typology allows us to analyse how history, when used, is represented cognitively. A traditional narratological use of history represents history as something disconnected from perspective and context and thus static. Historical accounts here take on the appearance of representing history as 'what really happened' and as such historical representations are conflated with past realities. The critical narratological use of history is quite similar to the traditional one, but here perspective and context are taken into account. The aim here, however, is to delegitimise rivalling historical narratives. Cognitively we can still know 'what really happened' if only we get matters right in terms of perspective and context. The genetic narratological use of history, finally, represents history as inherently contingent on perspective and context. History is always a matter of perspective and context and this refers to how we cognitively go about constructing history: we can never know 'what really happened' but we can reconstruct past events through asking questions and gathering and interpreting evidence to answer these questions.

Thus, an appreciation of perspective and context is an essential aspect of the historicity of historical representations; this is what makes them history in the first place. Importantly, this use of history acknowledges that there may be more than one legitimate narrative about any historical event depending on how and where we approach this event. Cognitively, we can see two distinct epistemic stances towards history: one that contends that history is knowable in an absolute (perhaps ontological) sense, and one that contends that history is knowable only through contextually contingent reconstructions of past events. If we relate these epistemic stances to historical consciousness, i.e. awareness of historicity (Gadamer, 1975; Jeismann, 1979; Thorp, 2017), we can see that the traditional and critical narratological uses of history do not indicate historical consciousness, while the genetic narratological use of history does. In regards to promoting an inclusive historical culture, it could thus be argued that a fostering of historical consciousness is indispensable in order to promote a complex reflexive understanding of history that takes perspective and context into consideration (Körber & Pearce, 2021; Thorp & Vinterek, 2020).

Methodology

From the perspective of the present study, we can apply this theoretical perspective to analyse the historical content in *Noor Magazine* from three perspectives: (i) what aspects of historical culture are prominent in the studied material, (ii) what uses of history, both teleological and

narratological, are applied when representing history, and (iii) how can these narratives (theoretically) stimulate historical consciousness among the readers of *Noor Magazine.*

Given that *Noor Magazine* is published in Arabic, the data collection and initial analyses were carried out by the first author of this article who is a native Arabic speaker. In total 36 issues of *Noor Magazine* were analysed. The data collection was carried out in early 2021. All issues of the magazine that were analysed were retrieved online on the website www.noormaga.com. All issues were surveyed for historical content to be used for further analyses by the first author and in total 237 accounts were coded as containing historical content.

These accounts were then closely read by the first author of this article and inductively categorised according to what geopolitical perspective that was applied, i.e. Egyptian history, Arabic and Islamic history, and Global history. The accounts that pertain only to Egypt, such as the Pharaonic civilization, or have an Arab and Islamic extension, but are presented from an exclusively Egyptian perspective, were coded as Egyptian. The accounts that present common Arabic and Muslim history, such as the biography of the Prophet Muhammad and scholars of Islamic civilisation, were coded as Arabic and Islamic. The accounts that present history in which people participate around the world, such as models of successful and pioneering personalities in literary or social and charitable work, were coded as Global. The historical accounts were then classified according to which topics they covered. Finally, quantitative analysis was applied to determine the number of historical accounts in each of the above categories to help clarify the relative importance attributed to each of them.

The first author then selected accounts suitable for further analyses in accordance with purposeful sampling strategy and translated these from Arabic into English (Palinkas et al., 2015). In the next step of the analysis, we applied the typologies of teleological and narratological uses of history in a qualitative analysis of the selected accounts in order to analyse approaches and representations of history in the accounts studied. Regarding the teleological uses of history, we coded the narratives as follows:

- Scientific: aims at promoting an academical or scientific approach to history;
- Politico-pedagogical: aims at presenting history as a good example to follow;
- Moral: aims at promoting moral values through history;
- Ideological: aims at promoting a certain understanding of the world;
- Existential: aims at promoting both collective and individual identities through history;
- Non-use: explicitly omits or silences historical events, agents or perspectives.

It should be noted that this typology is difficult to apply analytically to categorise a certain use of history since we cannot always be certain with what motives the historical narratives were presented and uses of history always exist in communicative relationship between sender and receiver (cf. Thorp, 2020), but still they can be used to reflect on what motives, however intermingled, that lay behind the narrative at hand. When coding the narratological uses of history, we proceeded as follows:

- Traditional: focusses on presenting one view of history and omits interpretative and contextual aspects of historical representation;
- Critical: focusses on criticising and/or correcting flawed or incorrect representations of history;
- Genetic: focusses on perspective and context in how history is presented.

Results

Since we conducted two different types of analyses, we have decided to divide this section into two sub-sections. In the first sub-section we focus on content in the accounts in relation to historical culture, and in the second sub-section we present the results of our analyses according to teleological and narratological perspectives on uses of history.

Historical culture

In general terms the content of the historical accounts in *Noor Magazine* is presented from three perspectives: (i) Egyptian history, (ii) Arabic and Islamic history, and (iii) Global history. Of these perspectives, Egyptian history is the dominant one, closely followed by Arabic and Islamic history (see Table 1 below).

Table 1
Perspectives and Content of Historical Accounts in 'Noor Magazine'

Egyptian history	106	**Arabic and Islamic history**	102	**Global history**	29
Military history	24	Arab and Islamic scholars	16	Historical figures	20
Ancient history	17	Political history	7	Historical events	9
Heritage from different Egyptian eras	31	Religious history	73		
Al-Azhar	7	Social history	6		
Social history	27				

Egyptian history

The accounts that were coded as military history all focus on recent Egyptian history in two time periods: from 1967-1982 and from 2011 to present time. In a chapter called "The World's Best Soldiers" the narrative focuses on the period from War 1967 until the recapture of Sinai by Egyptian forces in April 1982.[2] In the time period from 2011 until today the focus is entirely on how the Egyptian army fights jihadists in Sinai after the Egyptian revolution of 2011. The narrative starts with the terrorist attack on army forces in Sinai in 2015 and how Egyptian soldiers managed to defeat the jihadist insurgents. There is a focus on leaders and young recruits of the Egyptian army as individual heroes and martyrs with accounts of their heroic deeds or martyrdom in defense of their homeland.[3] Another example is a story about a boy called Amr who wants to go to church to help his friends after a terrorist attack on the church. His father refuses him to help his Christian friends, to which the boy replies:

> I remind you, my father, of your colleague in the October war (Peter), who sacrificed his soul for you to cross the Bar Liev line in the war, and that the one who came up with the idea of demolishing the impenetrable Bar Lev line was the Christian (Baqi Zaki Youssef). They did not leave us and say that Egypt is the homeland of Muslims, so, with your permission, I will leave in order to not be late.[4]

In the history of the Pharaonic civilization of ancient Egypt, titled 'Mother of the world,' a narrative unfolds that presents the achievements of the great civilisations of Ancient Egypt. We learn that the first dentist and the first architect in history were in Egypt, the first water channel in history was constructed in Egypt, the first regular army in the world was in Egypt, the ancient Egyptians invented papyrus and the solar calendar, established the first stone-based engineering architecture, Egypt was the first country in the world to have an organised government apparatus,

they presented the first ruling queen in history, the first thunderbolt squad in history, the first antibiotic, and the first examples of organised cultivation carried out according to specific dates.[5] Thus, there is a strong focus on scientific inventions within these accounts. There are also portrayals of cultural heritage sites in Egypt from different historical periods, such as the Mallawi Museum, Sultan Hassan Mosque, the Coptic Museum, the Hanging Church, the Textile Museum, the Agency of Bazraa, the Islamic art museum, the Citadel of Saladin, and the Military Museum.[6]

The accounts that have been coded as Al-Azhar all present the history of Al-Azhar in different eras and its role in political, cultural and scientific life. Issues 16-19 of the magazine contain a series called 'Al-Azhar Tells,' which deals with the history of Al-Azhar in chronological order, starting with the Fatimids entering Egypt in 969 AD.[7] The accounts coded as social history focus on the history of Egyptian customs in celebrating various occasions such as, the lanterns of Ramadan, the customs and history of celebrating different holidays (national and religious) throughout Egyptian history, for example the history of the customs of celebrating Eid al-Fitr. These accounts also include the histories of prominent national figures such as Ahmed Zewail who won the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1999, the religious scientist Imam Muhammad Abdo, and Egyptian physicist Mostafa Mosharafa.[8]

Arabic and Islamic history

In general, the Arabic history presented is closely associated to Islamic history, and there is generally a mix between Arabic and Islamic history throughout the issues of *Noor Magazine*. There are four main themes in these accounts. The first theme deals with the history of scholars who influenced human civilisation, such as Ibn Al-Haytham, Ibn Al-Nafis, Jaber Ibn Hayyan, Abbas Ibn Firnas, Abu Bakr Al-Razi, Ibn Battuta, Mary Al Astrolabe, and Al-Zarib.[9] The second theme deals with political history, such as the illustrated story 'The clock ghost,' which argues in support of the power of historical Arab rulers versus the rulers of the West, and how this power was derived from the scientific development of the Arabs. The illustrated story 'I will not bow to anyone but Allah' details the relationship between Arab rulers and their Roman counterparts. Other topics are the Islamic caliphate, the spread of Islam, and the treatment of non-Muslims in the Islamic world.[10] The third theme deals with religious history, such as the biography of the Prophet Muhammad which is presented in issues 10 to 36, and stories from the Holy Quran, which recur in each issue. Finally, the fourth theme deals with the general history of the social life of the Arabs. One interesting example from this category is a dialogue between two individuals on the spread of Islam, that clearly argues against warfare as a means of spreading religion:

> Person 1: 'We must regain our glory, and go back to conquering the world again under the banner of Islam.'
>
> Person 2: 'Since when was Islam an invader, an attacker? There is a big difference between the conquests that took place peacefully and tyrannical invasions. You prove the claim of the enemies of Islam that we are a religion that was spread by the sword. Has Islam invaded Indonesia and Malaysia? Of course not. Islam has spread there due to the good behavior and honesty of Muslim merchants. Religion is good treatment of people.'
>
> Person 1: 'Yes, but we fought the Persians and conquered Egypt with the army.'
>
> Person 2: 'As for the Persians, they were the people of occupation, and Khosrow tore up the book of the Messenger and demanded that his governor on the Arabian Peninsula bring Muhammad to kill him, so they were the ones who started the war. As for Egypt, it was occupied by the Romans, and their oppression of the people of Egypt intensified, so the Muslims entered it in defense of humanity, and they were not forced to change their religion, so that some historians describe the joy of the Egyptians at the arrival of the Muslim armies. My friend, is it correct to describe the one about whom God Almighty said "and we have not sent you except as a mercy to the worlds" as the invader'?[11]

Global history

Global history, which is devoted the least space in *Noor Magazine*, generally focusses on individuals and their accomplishments. The focus of these narratives is international personalities from history and explanations how they succeeded in their lives and affected humanity. We meet historical persons such as scientist Thomas Edison, cartoonist Walt Disney, writer Carlo Goldoni, and Mother Teresa, among others.[12] International historical events and traditions, such as the story of the Marathon, the history of the Olympic Games, the celebration of New Year's Day, the history of popular Western food items (e.g. Kentucky chicken, pizza, sandwich), and important scientific interventions in history.[13]

Uses of history

Teleological uses of history

The dominant teleological uses of history in *Noor Magazine* are the politico-pedagogical, moral, and ideological uses of history. The politico-pedagogical uses of history generally focus on showing positive examples from history to motivate the young readership to work and seek knowledge (e.g. the sections 'Noor and the gate of history' and 'Al-Azhar tells'), to remind them that they are the descendants of Muslim scholars who enlightened the world, and that they are the descendants of the Egyptians who built the Al-Azhar mosque and preserved the culture of Islam and Muslim science. There is a strong focus on science and scientific development among the politico-pedagogical uses of history, as is shown in the following example:

> Japan was hit in World War II by the worst massacre in history when America dropped two atomic bombs that killed thousands in an instant. The Japanese understood that the reason for their defeat was that their enemy was more knowledgeable. They paid great attention to science until they became at the forefront of countries in science, and the first among countries in morals, due to their respect for science and ethics.[14]

Here we learn that the Japanese chose to focus on science and hard work in order to stave off the threat of the American enemies, which illustrates the importance of zeal for the young readers of the magazine. This quotation also shows how intermingled teleological uses of history may be, since what we get here is not only a story of the importance of science and hard work, but also an explanation of how the world works: the country with the most scientific power, will also be the leader of the world. As such, this quotation was also coded as an ideological use of history.

The ideological uses of history prominent in *Noor Magazine* also focus on the necessity of work and search of knowledge as the only way to salvation and renaissance. In the story of 'The Clock Ghost' we learn about a gift presented by Harun al-Rashid, a Muslim ruler in the Abbasid era, to Charlemagne in 807 A.D., a period when we learn that Europe was mired in backwardness and ignorance, while the Arabs were at the height of their scientific glory.[15] At the end of the story a sentence directed to the reader says:

> Know, my son, that your ancestors, the Arab scholars, had a great merit over European civilization when they were aware of the value of knowledge. Are you striving to restore their glories?[16]

While this example clearly argues for a specific understanding of historical progression as closely linked to scientific progress, there is also another ideological undercurrent that posits Western civilisation or the West as the historical *Other* that poses a threat (as in the example with Japan above), or has displaced Arab and Egyptian societies as the leaders of the world, even though all major scientific inventions are claimed to stem from ancient Egypt or the medieval Arab world. In this sense, the West has taken the position as leader of the world which was not theirs in the first place. As such, this example was also coded as a moral use of history: history is used to portray how Egyptian and Arab civilizations used to be superior to Western ones. Another example of an

ideological and moral use of history is present in the illustrated story 'Religion is for God and the homeland for all,' which tells the story of the coordinated struggle of Muslims and Christians in Egypt in the attempt of ousting the British colonial power in the revolution of 1919 despite British efforts to set Egyptian Muslims and Christians against each other in order to maintain power.[17] The image presented here is that national unity will benefit the strength of Egyptian society.

Narratological uses of history

The dominant narratological use of history in *Noor Magazine* is the traditional one, as has been portrayed in the examples above. What we get is history from a zero-perspective that is devoid of perspective and context, resulting in a conflation between history and the past. Instead, the naturalised context is that of contemporary Egypt and the contemporary Arab world, and the common perspective is that of national and Muslim unity particularly in relation to the West and radical interpretations of Islam. The narratives stress the importance of hard work, scientific development, and moderate interpretations of Islam.

While there are no examples in *Noor Magazine* of genetic narratological uses of history, there are examples of critical ones. These critical uses of history are all guided towards perceived misconceptions promoted by Islamic terrorists and extremists and take the form of historically informed dialogues between moderate and radical interpretations of Islam on issues such as the return of the Islamic Caliphate, the murder of a Christian wine merchant in 2017, the Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris in 2015, the Botroseya Church bombing in 2016, the Al-Rawda Mosque bombing in Bir al-Abed, Sinai, Egypt, and other ISIS related acts.[18] Individuals who believe in radical interpretations of Islam are presented as having false ideas because they have not learned the religion at the hands of specialists and interpret the Quran and Sunnah according to their whims, and confuse the history of Islam with the history of Muslims. Another example of a critical narratological use of history is presented in the accounts of scientists Jabir Ibn Hayyan (721-813 AD) and Abbas Ibn Firnas (810-887 AD). Hayyan was accused of working with magic, assaulted, and his laboratory burned, and Firnas was accused of insanity, witchcraft, and sorcery by ignorant people.[19] The examples are thus used to portray how ignorance is always the seed of extremism and terrorism and that knowledge and science is the only way forward. Thus, the narratives aim to replace inaccurate historical narratives with accurate ones.

Concluding discussion

In conclusion, we want to stress that the historical content of *Noor Magazine* reflects the cultural and political context during the period of its publication to a high degree. While there was criticism in Egyptian society of Al-Azhar and its political and cultural role, the magazine presents Al-Azhar as a kind of national nexus and safeguard of the Egyptian state and culture throughout history (Brown, 2011). When the Egyptian army was criticised in Egypt after the ousting of President Mursi, *Noor Magazine* published accounts to show that Egyptian soldiers were the best soldiers in the world and stressed the sacrifices made by the Egyptian army in order to preserve the Egyptian nation. At a time when ISIS appeared to distort the image of Islam, we get accounts presenting a moderate image of Islam by introducing children to scholars of Islamic civilisation. In the continuous attempts to distinguish between the two elements of the Egyptian nation (Muslims and Christians), events and places that testify to the unity of the Egyptian people are presented. As such, it can be argued that history is consciously used to address contemporary societal issues in Egypt. Another conspicuous feature in *Noor Magazine* is its inclusive focus on minorities in Egyptian society and their role in Egyptian history.[20]

From what has been presented above, we can discern a fourfold strategy that is consistently employed in *Noor Magazine* when presenting history to protect children from extremist ideology: (i) the historical example is used to strengthen pride and a sense of belonging to the entire nation, (ii) the historical example is used to enhance tolerance and co-existence in Egyptian society, (iii) the historical example is used to confront extremists' uses of history and promote a moderate

view of Islam, and (iv) the historical example is used to argue the importance of science as the only path to advancement and elevation. The first strategy seeks to support unity and promote pride in Egyptian society through stressing the continuity of Egyptian history and imposing the modern Egyptian nation as the narrative frame through which the past is narrated. Historical discontinuities, such as Egypt before and after Islamisation, and historical conflicts between Islamic, Arabic, and national historical trends are passed over to construct what has been called an integrated Egyptian nationalism (Gershoni & Jankowski, 1995). Furthermore, this strategy confronts the thought of religious extremists who believe that belonging, pride, and loyalty should be to religion and not to the Egyptian nation. The history presented also constructs the narrative template of the golden age narrative, where contemporary problems are juxtaposed with a glorious past that should be coveted and approximated (Spjut, 2018).

In relation to the second strategy, we can see that *Noor Magazine* uses what we might call positive modeling through the use of history by persistently presenting positive models of tolerance and coexistence between Muslims and Christians in Egypt through history. Moreover, it seeks to refute the historical arguments on which the extremists rely to justify religious intolerance, which leads us to the third strategy in which history is used to confront extremists' use of history. This strategy aims at providing counter-arguments to extremist groups that often rely on historical practices and interpretations of religious texts to justify their actions and consolidate and support their extremist ideas (Awan, 2016). The main argument, as we have shown above, is to focus on historical examples to show that violence cannot be a path to leadership, but rather that of knowledge and scientific evolution. Which leads us to the fourth strategy: using history to promote an understanding of the importance of science. The narratives consistently show that it is only through a serious study of the past great deeds of Egyptian and Arab scholars, and scientific advances that Egypt can solve its contemporary problems, i.e. religious extremism and reliance on the West.

In one sense, these strategies reflect a tradition in which the Quran uses history as an educational tool in order to learn from the past. This strategy is one of the more common aspects of the Islamic view of the function of history in society, and might explain the influence of a traditional and doctrinal use of history in *Noor Magazine*, and Egyptian society at large (Abdou, 2016). Thus, religion is closely connected to the study of history and history is meant to provide us with good examples of how to conduct our lives (Qasim, 1982).

If we relate these findings to what has been established in research, we can see that *Noor Magazine* aims at providing a new model for children's media with a strong focus on history that is related to contemporary issues, which in itself is unusual for Arab media directed at children. This may open the way to include these controversial topics in history textbooks and various media presented to Arab children, which would promote an historical understanding among the youth that would enable them to make connections between their present-day lives and the history covered in school. As such, we argue that history is used to promote social welfare. However, we can also see that the history presented in *Noor Magazine* neither introduces its readers to disciplinary aspects of Egyptian history, nor addresses its readers in an inclusive dialogue on the Egyptian past. Instead, the accounts typically employ a single-narrative a-contextual traditional narratological use of history that clearly defines the in- and out-groups of Egyptian history, something research has shown to be potentially problematic. An important caveat here is, of course, that in order for us to say something with any degree of certainty regarding this, we would have to study how Egyptian children and youth interpret and interact with these narratives.

Thus, it can be argued that the strategies employed in *Noor Magazine* may build an awareness of history and how it relates to contemporary society, but not the contextual contingencies that characterise historical narratives and our encounters with them that is instrumental in fostering a complex understanding of history and historical consciousness. Therefore, we tentatively argue that presenting history to children should be done in a way that is broader than fostering pride or giving guidance. A one-sided presentation of history only focusing on the positive aspects of the past does not achieve a 'true' picture of history. Rather, we would like to argue for the importance

of showing children a balanced picture of Egyptian, Arab and Islamic history; a history full of victories and accomplishments, but also failures and competing perspectives on the past that we must appreciate in order to avoid their impact on our present and future. Instead of nurturing nostalgia, history can be used to engage with the complexities, continuities, and discontinuities that characterise both historical and contemporary societies.

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Endnotes

[1] All translations from Arabic to English by the first author of this article.

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Democracy is opposed to dictatorship: Danish Holocaust memory and the didactic practices of Danish history teachers

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ABSTRACT

This article addresses the collective memory of the Holocaust in Denmark. It suggests that narratives about Denmark as a particularly democratic nation generate a national bias, which may impede the understanding of the Holocaust as a transnational event and the development of an intercultural and analytical approach to Holocaust education. Through the lenses of Jan Assmann's theory of communicative and cultural memory and based on interviews with 25 informants, the article explores how the didactic practices of Danish history teachers intermingle with the communicative memory of the students' families and social networks to stabilize the canonized narrative of the Denmark as a democratic nation, but also how this narrative might be challenged by drawing on alternative archives.

KEYWORDS

Holocaust Education; Didactic Practice; Secondary School; Democracy and National Identity; Denmark

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Introduction

The dramatic rescue of the Danish Jews across Oresund to Sweden in October 1943 is a popular story, even outside of Denmark. The rescue, so the story goes, was possible due to the support of the Danish people, ordinary men and women who helped their Jewish compatriots because they had been socialized into a democratic culture immune to fascist ideologies (Buckser, 2001). In this narrative, the Holocaust is construed as part of a national history of democracy and resistance, and thus reflects a national bias, which belies the Holocaust as a transnational tragedy that befell European Jewry (Holmila & Gevert, 2011; Lammers, 2011).

The story of Danish democracy and resistance against German oppression results from a blend of historical research, educational efforts and popular culture, which forged the cultural memory of the Second World War in Denmark in the immediate post-war decades, and it has been important for shaping post-war identities and for guiding political orientations and worldviews. (Bak, 2001; Kirchhoff, 1998 and 2013; Lammers, 2011; Warring & Bryld, 1998). However, by the 1980's, researchers began to challenge it. Inspired by the international Holocaust literature, part of this research criticized earlier attempts to entrench the Holocaust in a national history rather than portray it as a transnational event (Lammers, 2011). For example, Lone Rüniz (2000) pointed to the restrictive asylum policy, which barred Jewish refugees' access to Denmark in the 1930s; others such as Bent Blüdnikow and Klaus Rothstein (1993) helped increase the focus on Holocaust memory, and Cecilie Banke and Anders Jerichow (2013) focused on the lessons to be learned from states and individuals' failures to act in the face of state oppression and marginalization of minority groups. Thus, there was a distinct ethical concern in the new Danish Holocaust literature, which brought it into line with international research and its long-standing concern with the legacies of mass atrocity crimes (Spiegel, 2002). The literature thus had a latent, hopeful expectation that a more analytical and intercultural approach could bring the collective memory of the Second World War in tune with an increasingly globalized and multicultural society. By the mid-2000s, this ethical concern could also be detected in informal narratives of the Second World War. At least, a transnational study, which investigated the collective memory of the Second World War, concluded that while the Danish master narrative of resistance was present in the minds of the grandchildren's generation, it was accompanied by an ethical concern specifically tied to the Holocaust (Bjerg, 2011, pp. 241-256).

This shift suggests that the intersection between the German occupation of Denmark and the Holocaust generates what we could call difficult history. There are various definitions of this term. For example, Elisabeth Cole suggests that difficult histories are linked to processes of transitional justice and the coming to terms with the violent past of the nation state. Difficult histories bring differing perspectives, especially the perspectives of victims, into the open and allow them to become part of the collective memory of the new and hopefully democratic nation (Cole, 2007). Similarly, Tsafrir Goldberg and Geerte M. Saveniji argue that difficult histories involve intense, controversial issues, which stem from a clash of memories between different identity groups (Goldberg and Savenjii, 2018, p. 508). Others, such as Deborah Britzman and Dominic LaCapra tie it specifically to the reappearance of collective traumas such as genocide, ethnic cleansing or severe oppression of social groups, and the damage such traumas cause to the integrity of social or national identity and the collective memory which upholds it (LaCapra, D. 2004; Britzman, D. 2000). While these definitions vary, they share in relating difficult history to collective memory understood as the images and narratives which construct the unity and identity of groups, especially national groups. We could perhaps say that collective memory is transformed into difficult history when standard narratives that uphold the integrity of national identity are being challenged. This challenge may originate from groups or individuals who cannot recognize themselves in the narratives that are told, or from historical scholars and journalists who challenge their historical accuracy or point of view. Magdelena Gross and Luke Terra have offered a comprehensive list of the characteristics of difficult history, which exposes this link between difficult history and collective memory (Gross & Terra, 2018). According to Gross and Terra, difficult histories are central to the nation's history, refute broadly accepted versions of the past

or stated national values, connect us with questions or problems facing us in the present, involves violence, and creates disequilibria that challenge existing, historical understanding. I we consider this list in relation to narratives of Danish resistance and the Holocaust, these events clearly involve violence, and they are central to perceptions of national identity as shown above. However, the Danish government's collaboration with Nazi Germany and the restrictive asylum policy, which barred Jewish refugees' access to Denmark in the 1930s refute the broadly accepted version of Denmark as a country of fierce, democratic resistance and connects us with present issues such as human rights abuses and the contemporary treatment of refugees and asylum seekers. As such, it challenges existing historical understanding.

While Helle Bjerg has documented how the new ethical perspective informs the collective memory of the Second World War in the third generation, it is difficult to say whether it reinforces or challenges the national bias, that is, it is difficult to say whether it qualifies as difficult history. The anthropologically oriented research literature does not explore the interrelation between narratives of resistance and the Holocaust, nor the relationship between formal, educational institutions and informal settings such as the family in developing the cultural memory of the Second World War. While the historical research literature is overtly critical of the national approach and calls for a transnational understanding of the Holocaust and for a critical engagement with the policies and world views that led to the marginalization, segregation and murder of a whole people, this understanding does not automatically translate into an analytical or intercultural approach to Holocaust education. It might therefore be worthwhile exploring the interrelation between narratives of democracy and resistance on one hand and the Holocaust on the other by addressing two questions: 1) Do the didactic practices of history teachers maintain or alter narratives of democracy and resistance, and what role does the Holocaust play in that regard? 2) What is the relationship between the process of cultural memory making in the school setting and the communicative memory of the Second World War in the students' families and social networks?

Method

Participants and school context

This article addresses these questions by analyzing six interviews conducted in 2019 with twenty eighth-grade students and 6 history teachers from three schools in the area around Aalborg, Northern Denmark: 1) GL, an urban school with a high concentration of social housing occupied by immigrant families, 2) FRS, a suburban school with a predominantly white middle class, 3) and AAS, a school situated in a small town outside of the urban area with various, social segments but little ethnic diversity. Four of the teachers had more than ten years of teaching experience and two of them less than five. The teachers were selected from the researcher's own network; however, the three schools represent different social segments and an urban-countryside division, which is representative of the area. The students who participated in the interviews were selected by the teachers based on their diverse, academic levels and with a view to a representative gender and ethnic distribution. At the time of the interviews, the students were fourteen years old and had not studied the Holocaust or other aspects of the Second World War systematically. This age group was therefore appropriate for gauging the informal transmission of the Second World War, including the Holocaust, in the students' families and social networks.

Procedure

The student interviews were conducted as semi-structured group interviews and were meant to improve understanding of the communicative memory of the Second World War in the students' families and social networks (the second question). The interviewer told the students that she was interested in their perceptions of important historical events, including their perception of the genocide of the European Jews. The students were also asked to present themselves and their

general interests to stimulate talk between interviewer and students and offer the interviewer clues to talking points. The students were then asked four questions. First, they were asked to identify important, historical events, and they were asked to identify the social settings in which they had encountered them and whether they discussed them with others. The purpose of this line of questioning was to learn about the informal transmission of historical events in the students' families and social networks, and whether they classified the occupation of Denmark and the Holocaust as important events, as one would expect. Secondly, the students were asked directly about their encounters with the Holocaust. They were asked to make free associations with the word "Holocaust," and they were asked when and where they had heard the term (if at all). Finally, they were asked to consider whether they believed people were still affected by the event today. The purpose of this line of questioning was to learn if and how the Holocaust informs the memory of the Second World War in the students' families and social networks, and whether they, as representatives of the fourth generation, still associate the Holocaust with an ethical concern. Thirdly, the students were asked questions about the German occupation of Denmark. They were asked about their own participation in commemoration practices (such as lighting candles on May 4 to mark the liberation of Denmark), their understanding of the role of Denmark during the Second World War, and the contexts in which they encountered the history of occupation. The purpose of this line of questioning was to assess how narratives of the occupation years informed the historical consciousness of the students *vis a vis* narratives of the Holocaust, and to understand whether they perceived the intersection of these narratives as "difficult history". Finally, the students were asked about their knowledge of the state of Israel and of contemporary Jewish communities. This last question was added under the assumption that the conflict between the state of Israel and the Palestinian people might influence perceptions of the Holocaust, especially among Muslim students.

The teacher interviews were semi-structured group or individual interviews at the three schools. The overall purpose of the interviews was to sketch the teachers' understanding of the Second World War including the Holocaust as a school subject, and to examine the formalized transmission of these events *vis a vis* the informal transmission in the students' families and social networks. Thus, the teachers' interviews were primarily aimed at answering the first question: "Do the didactic practices of history teachers maintain or alter narratives of democracy and resistance, and what role does the Holocaust play in that regard?"

The teachers were asked questions pertaining to three themes 1) their understanding of the status of the Holocaust and the German occupation of Denmark in the national curriculum and their own syllabi, 2) their main didactic approaches, and 3) their choice of teaching materials. In relation to the first theme, they were asked to define the term "Holocaust," to discuss the salience of the topic for the students, and to identify the most important learning objectives. They were also asked to relate the Holocaust to the German occupation of Denmark and to the Israel-Palestinian conflict. Regarding the second and third theme, they were asked about their substantive focus when teaching about the Holocaust (which countries, which actors, which concepts etc.), and how they organize their teaching (which didactic models, pacing and sequencing, which historical thinking concepts, etc.), and finally which teaching materials they preferred. The first theme was supposed to highlight the teachers' own historical identities and values and how these might inform their choice of didactic approach and teaching materials, whereas the last two themes highlighted concrete practices and what these practices might reveal about the transmission of the cultural memory of the Holocaust in the school.

Analysis

The interview data was analyzed using Jan Assmann's theory of collective memory. Assmann's theory focuses on the formation of collective identities in the interplay between formal institutions and the informal interactions of social groups, mostly within the framework of the nation state. The theory is therefore appropriate for analyzing how the interplay between formal and informal transmissions of narratives of resistance *vis a vis* the Holocaust may maintain or

challenge the national bias. Assmann's theory of collective memory is supplemented with an account of the Danish history curriculum, which constitutes the obligatory framework of the teachers' syllabi and teaching methods, and it reflects the official understanding of the cultural memory of the Second World War in Denmark.

Communicative memory, cultural memory, historical knowledge

In his theory of collective memory, Jan Assmann draws on Maurice Halbwach's idea that memory is a social phenomenon which occurs in group interactions and forms group identities. According to this theory, groups form their unity and identity by constructing a common image or narrative of the past. In the modern age, this group identity ultimately refers to a national identity. Assmann agrees with Halbwachs that memory is a social phenomenon but offers a correction to his theory. In Assmann's view, Halbwachs neglected institutionalized forms of memory, which transmit meaning across generations and allow the group to become conscious of its specificity and unity and to reproduce its identity over time. Therefore, Assmann distinguishes between two aspects of collective memory: communicative memory and cultural memory. Where communicative memory is characterized by its proximity to everyday life and spans the three generations within living memory, cultural memory is distanced from the everyday. It transcends the horizon between past and present and can span thousands of years (J. Assmann, 1995). Through its social frames, communicative memory grants meaning and identity to a social group, whereas the cultural frames of cultural memory grant meaning to the cultural collective, typically the nation; and where communicative memory relates to the recent past and can be captured by oral history, cultural memory is objectified and can be captured in mnemonic artifacts such as monuments or schoolbooks. The two domains are not isolated but overlap and influence each other. For example, the narrative of German victimhood, which is an important part of the communicative memory of the Second World War in many German families (Welzer et al., 2015), has been objectified in memoirs, unofficial sites of memory and literature and might become an important part of German identity in the future.

According to Assmann, cultural memory operates according to "fixed points" of important events the memory of which are maintained through "cultural formation and institutional communication." (J. Assmann, 1995, p. 129). The knowledge of fixed events preserved in cultural memory has two functions: it is formative because it has an educational, civilizing or humanizing function, and it is normative in that it provides ideals for rules of conduct (J. Assmann, 1995, p. 132). In that sense, cultural memory is imposed "from above" whereas communicative memory emerges "from below." We could also use Aleida Assmann's terminology and say that cultural memory "exist in two modes:" as archive and as canon. Where the archive refers to the potentiality of all the images, texts and artifacts left us by the past, the canon refers to the actual use of some of these images, texts and artifacts in a specific context (A. Assmann, 2008, pp. 97-107). Finally, Jan Assmann makes a third distinction between historical knowledge and collective memory and argues that where "knowledge has a universalistic perspective, and tendency towards generalization, memory, even cultural memory (which involves historical knowledge) is local, egocentric and specific to the group and its values" (J. Assmann, 2008, p. 113). In that sense, historical knowledge might offer a critique of collective memory, as was the case with the newer historical research literature on the Holocaust in Denmark.

The history curriculum

The national history curriculum is important for the construction of cultural memory as the schools are primary sites for the transmission of "canonical" artefacts. In Denmark, the development of the history curriculum has followed other Scandinavian countries in emphasizing historical thinking skills (Eckmann et al., 2017, p. 85 & 91). However, the curriculum carries traces of other and often contradictory traditions as well. On one hand, the curriculum states that history is an important subject for transmitting "Danish culture and history" to the next generation, and

unlike its Nordic neighbors, the government has introduced a national "canon" list of compulsory topics, the majority of which refer to national history. Here, the Holocaust is nationally anchored under the heading, "The August Rebellion and Jew Action 1943," thus echoing the tendency to embed the Holocaust in the national history of democracy and resistance by evoking the battle against the German occupation. On the other hand, an important aim of the curriculum is to develop the students' historical consciousness. This requires teachers to relate historical events to the students' lifeworlds and engage them in reflections on their own and others' identities, including reflections on the use of history in collective memory making. This approach seems in opposition the canon approach: instead of emphasizing national unity, the historical consciousness approach highlights existential uses of history and its role in identity-making processes (Lytje 2022, p. 63). Recently, historical thinking skills have become central to the curriculum. Historical thinking asks us to discriminate between substantial and structural knowledge (Lee, 2004). Substantial knowledge refers to "knowledge about the past," whereas structural knowledge refers to the production and presentation of substantial knowledge. This requires students to develop the formal skills necessary for producing historical knowledge, and to use these skills in different contexts (Seixas, 2017).

At first, the Danish curriculum appears to be a hotchpot of didactic approaches. On one hand, it emphasizes identity formation and asks students to engage in the cognitive process of social categorization of self and other, either by positing social categories as stable (the canon approach) or as fluid (the historical consciousness approach). On the other hand, students are expected to critically read and analyze texts and other artefacts and place them in historical contexts, and they are expected to produce historical explanations or narratives. These seem to be rational skills which require students to exercise emotional restraint and step away from the question of identity. However, in a study about teaching difficult histories, Tsafrir Goldberg has shown that the salience of identity has a considerable impact on students' motivation to explore historical thinking concepts such as historical empathy and source analysis. Even though students peruse historical sources for information that will confirm the virtue of their own identity, the emotional need for social identification still promotes historical learning as the students are forced to consider and argue for their positions (Goldberg, 2013). In the Danish context, the differing didactic approaches visible in the curriculum also share another common denominator: they are all brought to bear on the question of democratic education (Lytje, 2022), and they hark back at the Educational Act, which since the post-war years has highlighted democracy as an educational target in response to the experience with Nazi and fascist dictatorships. Today the act specifies in the preamble that "it is the duty of the school to prepare the students for participation … in a society characterized by freedom and democracy […] and to familiarize the students with Danish culture and history [my translation]" (Ministry of Education, 2020). This means that history is easily brought under the sway of civics understood as the intentional educational effort to affect students' beliefs, commitments, capabilities, and actions as members or prospective members of the Danish community and the Danish state. For example, historical thinking skills offer the students some critical, analytical tools which might be beneficial in public life as well as the labor market; and the canon point "The August Rebellion and the Jew Action 1943" is easily adjusted to discussions of freedom, democracy, and dictatorship, which are brought to bear on the national context, thereby familiarizing the students with "Danish culture and history." It should be noted here that civics is not an independent subject in the national curriculum. In principle, it is built into all subjects and refers to the democratic values laid out in the preamble of the educational act. In practice, it is often taught as part of history and social science classes, but in an unsystematic manner given the lack of curriculum specifications.

Historical consciousness and national identity: The teacher interviews

Curriculum developments and the emphasis on "freedom and democracy" have a significant impact and manifest themselves in the teachers' syllabi and didactic approaches. Regarding the syllabus, the teachers generally place the Holocaust under the umbrella of the Second World War

and emphasize Danish resistance and German perpetration. Regarding the didactic approach, the teachers emphasize the development of the students' historical consciousness and try to relate historical events to the students' lifeworlds.

Syllabus

The Second World War as an umbrella term includes the power politics of the European states in the early twentieth century, the rise of Nazism with a focus on propaganda and anti-Semitism, and the occupation of Denmark, often with an emphasis on Danish resistance. Thus, the Holocaust is cast as part of a general political development, rather than an historical event, which befell the European Jews. In this development, Denmark occupies a special place in that it is perceived as the primary site of resistance, whereas Germany becomes the primary site of totalitarian ideologies and perpetration. This tendency is reinforced by the choice of textbooks or IT-platforms, which are influenced by the canon list and has a significant impact on the teachers' choice of content and contextualization. For example, one teacher at FRS referred directly to the role of textbooks in lesson planning, stating that, "it fits the textbook system." Another said that he knew that he was "supposed to answer that they found their own materials," clearly embarrassed by letting the textbook guide his lesson planning. Three other teachers initially stated that they used textbook materials sparsely, but later revealed that textbooks form the core of their syllabi and that other materials function as supplements.

Karen, the most experienced history teacher at FRS, exemplifies the tendency to cast Denmark as the primary site of resistance and Germany as the primary site of perpetration. In her teaching, she focuses on Danish resistance, including the rescue of the Danish Jews, and on the rise of the Nazi regime, thus framing the Holocaust as part of a national history of the Second World War. In her view, stories of resistance and perpetration are important: where stories of resistance provide the students with suitable ideals, stories of perpetration allow them to understand the complexity of choice in difficult situations, and the human capacity for perpetration given the right circumstances. However, there are conflicting views about the status of Danish resistance. For example, Karen's colleague, Martin thinks that the privileged status of Danish resistance in the history curriculum is problematic: it casts Denmark as a victim nation, despite the Danish government's collaboration with Nazi Germany and the relative tranquility in Denmark during the occupation years. Therefore, Martin would ideally like to challenge the cultural memory of the Second World War. Despite his intentions, however, Martin has noted that stories of resistance stick with the students, whereas stories of collaboration and perpetration do not. This is perhaps not surprising given the canon list, the teaching materials and the educational act. However, as the analysis of the student interviews will show, another explanation might be that narratives of democracy and resistance dominate the communicative memory of the Second World War in many of the students' families.

Didactic approaches

The canon list and the educational act might partly explain the tendency to frame the Holocaust as part of a national history focusing on the virtues of "freedom" and "democracy." Another explanation might be found in the teachers' didactic approaches. In the interviews, most of the teachers explicitly state that the main objective of teaching history is to develop the students' historical consciousness. The teachers follow Jörn Rüsen (2004) and Bernard Eric Jensen's (2003) in understanding historical consciousness as a narrative category by which we use our interpretations of the past to understand the present and form guidelines for future actions. Consequently, they believe it is important that history takes its point of departure in the students' lifeworlds. For example, Paul from the urban school, GL, believes that teaching history ideally means forging a connection between the communicative memory of the individual student and the cultural memory of the community. This is his reason for teaching about the Holocaust rather than other genocides. According to Paul, the community to which the students belong have a direct connection to the Holocaust, insofar as many of the students "have great grandparents who

experienced the war," and "it has impacted the way in which the world is organized today." The special status assigned to national history, then, could be a consequence of the teachers' wishes to relate history to the students' own, (national) identities and to enable them to deal with the historical and political culture of which they are part.

The focus on developing the students' historical consciousness might also explain why the Holocaust is regularly taught within the framework of civics. For example, the teacher might ask the students to compare the discriminatory measures of the Nazi regime to discriminatory measures of contemporary regimes or to the current radicalization of the public debate about Muslim minority groups. According to some of the teachers, the contemporary perspective renders the Holocaust relevant to the students' lifeworlds and thus contribute to the development of their historical consciousness. It also falls in line with the educational act and its emphasis on democracy.

The teachers' emphasis on developing the students' historical consciousness as well as the tendency to embed the Holocaust within the framework of civics renders the Holocaust a negative symbol of the fundamental values of democracy, much in the same way as the master narrative of Danish resistance and German perpetration. The Holocaust is what might happen if we fail to uphold the nation's democratic values. In that sense, the Holocaust is meant to develop the students' democratic sensibilities by alerting them to the deterioration of moral norms and the poor treatment of minority groups. For example, Paul from GL perceives contemporary atrocities as a failure to learn from history, and all the teachers from FRS agree on the analogy between the status of the German Jewish communities in the 1930s and Syriacs in the 2010s.

There was one exception to this pattern, though. According to Anders from AAS – the school outside of the urban area – students who learn about the Holocaust or related matters often develop an "acute sense of ethical responsibility," which he refers to as "a reactionary revival:" they come to believe that we should treat each other with dignity and respect and live peacefully together. In his view, there is "*trop de morale, pas assez d'histoire* (Eckmann, 2017, p. 57). According to Anders, the students' responses to learning about the Holocaust are predominantly emotional rather than cognitive, and they are incapable of understanding scales of grey in xenophobic statements and perceive all such statements as "racist." The lack of nuance and the perceived moralizing tendency of Holocaust education bothers Anders, who would like the students to discriminate, e.g. between different types of xenophobia.

The conflicting views on the moral prospect of the Holocaust might be explained by differing understandings of the Holocaust as history and as memory. Most of the teachers, rightfully, see the Holocaust as the mirror image of good and decent democratic practices, and they are adamant that this image is embedded in the students' consciousness as a symbol of what not to do, and as a reflective tool when thinking about discrimination today. As such, they perceive it as part of the cultural memory of the nation in that it has "an educational, civilizing or humanizing function, and […] provides ideals for rules of conduct" (J. Assmann, 1995, p. 132). Anders, on the other hand, is interested in imparting historical knowledge in order to develop the students' universal analytical skills and ability to discriminate between varieties of the same phenomenon.

Summary of teacher interviews

The teacher interviews indicate that the school reinforces the master narrative of Danish resistance and the particularity of Danish democracy, sometimes against their expressed intentions. The Holocaust is often used as an ethical signifier and a symbol of anti-democratic developments, which should be avoided in democratic-minded societies. The teachers want the Holocaust to inform the students' historical consciousness and therefore seek to relate it to their lifeworlds, and teaching about the Holocaust becomes a way of reflecting on concepts such as "freedom" and "democracy," thereby almost unwittingly familiarizing the students with "Danish culture and history." In that sense, the teachers clearly assign significance to the Holocaust, but as an historical event, it remains strangely detached from cultural memory insofar as it functions as

a mirror image of who we want to be; it is not "local, egocentric and specific to the group and its values" (J. Assmann, 2008, p. 113).

The status assigned to the Holocaust partly stems from the Danish curriculum, which maintains the established "canon." However, it also stems from the teachers' emphasis on developing the students' historical consciousness, which seems to favor a Danish perspective and sometimes renders historical events exemplary, reflexive tools. On the other hand, the "historical knowledge" approach may be equally reactionary. Anders' statement that the students' ethical concerns constitute a "reactionary revival" echoes the *Keule Swung* in Holocaust education, where those who point to the xenophobic tendencies of contemporary, far right-wing groups are charged with promoting the oppressive agenda of liberal elites.

The master narrative of victimhood and perpetration: Student interviews

Like the teacher interviews, the student interviews showed clear traces of the master narrative of democracy and resistance. These traces were often linked to family narratives, historical feature films, various group experiences, and social media, and were present in the part of the interview focusing on the students' perceptions of important historical events, where many of the students talked about the Second World War without being prompted by the interviewer.

In the two schools close to the city of Aalborg, GL and FRS, family narratives often pivoted around German aircrafts and the fear of air bombardment. For example, Nina from FRS relayed with some pride that her great grandfather participated in the resistance as "planes were crashing," thereby prompting her fellow student, Ursula to state that her grandparents also "saw the planes crash." At GL, Michael, a student with Danish background, opens the discussion of important historical events by mentioning his great grandmother, whose farm was expropriated by the Germans due to its proximity to Aalborg Airport. Michael remembers his great grandmother talking about the bunker in the backyard, and the fear of air bombardments. According to Michael, "they spent a great deal of time in the bunker." The recurring aircraft theme is not surprising given the proximity of Aalborg Airport, which played an important role for the German engagement in the North Sea.

Outside the urban area at AAS, the students do not draw directly on family narratives. Instead, they use snippets of information about the Second World War to reflect on the possible consequences for their own lives had Germany won the war. One of the students, Kasper opens the train of reflections by pointing to the Second World War as an important historical event. He believes that "if they hadn't done it [liberated Denmark], they [the Germans] would probably still be gassing people and have large territories around the world." The information about gassing stems from *The Boy in the Striped Pajamas*, which the students have seen in school in their Danish lessons. Prompted by Kasper, another student, Emma, mentions a family visit to Dachau, which she describes as "very emotional" and "chocking," particularly the gas chamber, and then relates the emotional experience to the importance of Denmark being a democracy as opposed to a dictatorship.

For many of the students, the evil of dictatorship is incarnated in the use of symbols such as the Swastika and the Nazi salute. The association between Nazi symbols and the evil of dictatorship seems to be a result of adult responses to the use of such symbols. For example, Kenneth from FRS recounts an episode when he, as a seven-year-old boy, had greeted his father with the Nazi salute without knowing its meaning. Kenneth still recalls his father's anger and his subsequent talk about Hitler and the evil he represents. Despite these adult responses, the students also perceive Hitler as a farcical figure, which they encounter in various memes on social media. At first, the students are embarrassed to disclose the content of the memes but prompted, a Polish-born student from GL mentions a meme of Hitler next to an image of a cleaning fluid entitled "Polish remover." The students are clearly aware that adults might disprove of such imagery, much in the same way as Kenneth's father disproved of the Nazi salute.

In the part of the student interviews focusing on important, historical events, there are clear traces of the master narrative of Danish victimhood and resistance and German perpetration. These traces are scattered and consist of locally anchored family stories about resistance and the fear of air bombardment, images of Hitler and Nazi symbols such as salutes which are prohibited, tourist visits to memorial sites, and snippets of information from feature films. Thus, the students' depictions of the Second World War partly echo the teachers' and suggest a high level of correspondence between the communicative and cultural memory of the Second World War. However, there are some indications that the students' use of social media might alter aspects of this narrative. At least, Hitler as a farcical, cartoon-like figure suggests a distance between the students and the event and a down-playing of the atrocities committed by the national-socialist regime.

The Holocaust: An ethical signifier?

In the first part of the interview, the students make ample references to the Holocaust, especially to "gassing." When prompted by the interviewer, the students also reiterate statements about "learning from history so as not to repeat it." However, there are indications that the Holocaust plays a lesser role for the students' historical consciousness. For example, when asked about the significance of the Holocaust today, many of the students respond that it no longer concerns them, even though they have mentioned the Second World War as an important historical event. It is also telling that references to "gassing" and concentration camps in the first part of the interview do not prompt the students to reflect on the Holocaust. Instead, they take it as a cue to reflect on their own lives and the virtue of democracy as opposed to dictatorship.

Lack of knowledge cannot explain the minor role of the Holocaust in the students' communicative memory of the Second World War. When prompted, high-performing students offer a variety of information, for example about the *Kristalnacht* or the geography and chronology of the genocide, and most of the students recognize the term "Holocaust" as "what happened to the Jews," or offer snippets of information about the concentration camps. Nevertheless, the students feel little personal investment in the event. As one student puts it: "I think that older people are affected by it, but not younger people." Another student adds that this might be the reason young people make jokes about it, while old people find such jokes insulting.

During the interview, it transpires that most of the students have encountered the Holocaust in the context of the school. This might explain why it plays a lesser role than narratives of democracy and dictatorship. Stories of Danish resistance and German perpetration are anchored in both communicative and cultural memory, whereas the Holocaust exists in a floating gap between the two. The significant overlap between cultural and communicative memory in the fourth generation thus suggests a high degree of success in forging a cultural memory "from above", and that newer historical research literature has not been successful in challenging it.

Ethnicity and the archive

In the interviews some of the students from immigrant communities offered alternative perspectives on the master narrative of democracy and resistance, and the Holocaust as an ethical signifier. Alternative narratives were often framed as oppositional national narratives, whereas the Holocaust was used to reflect on the experience of immigration and alienation from the national community.

The former perspective might be illustrated by the Polish-born student, Nicolai from GL, who displayed a keen interest in Poland during the Second World War. This interest stems from family narratives and from his father who is an educated historian. Nicolai's great grandmother was sent to Auschwitz as a forced laborer, but Nicolai stresses that his "family is not Jewish." The Auschwitz narrative clearly plays an important role in the construction of a Polish identity in the family and is based on the premise that Polish suffering matches the suffering of the European Jews, a point that Nicolai makes twice during the interview. Similarly, he denies Polish complicity in the

Holocaust and the national character of the Judaism. The Auschwitz story was presented as a response to the story of air bombardment, and thus offered an alternative story of national victimhood – one permeated by anti-Semitic tendencies.

The latter perspective might be illustrated by Annisa from AAS, who has Indonesian background. Throughout the interview, Annisa highlights her Muslim identity. For example, she mentions that her family often talk about the Second World War because they are "Muslim and it is important for our culture." She does not specify why the event is important, but during the discussion about the Holocaust she repeatedly relates the situation of the Jews during the Holocaust to her own Muslim identity and her experience of intolerance. For example, she believes it is unfair that "they [the Jews] were not allowed to have their own culture," and interjects that "one should respect other people's faith," and that we " should all be equal." It was a general pattern that students who identified themselves as Muslims were more prone to using the Holocaust as an ethical signifier and relate it to their own experiences of not belonging to the majority culture. For example, two female students with Iraqi backgrounds from GL, who showed no interest in the history of the Middle East, identified the Holocaust as an act of intolerance like the one they experience as children of Arab immigrants.

Concluding remarks

This article began by problematizing the national bias embedded in the cultural memory of the Second World War in Denmark. It suggested that while newer research literature calls for a transnational understanding of the Holocaust and for a critical engagement with the marginalization of minority groups, this does not automatically translate into an analytical or intercultural approach to Holocaust education in the school setting. The article therefore asked two questions: 1) Do the didactic practices of history teachers maintain or alter narratives of democracy and resistance, and what role does the Holocaust play in that regard? and 2) What is the relationship between the process of cultural memory making in the school setting and the communicative memory of the Second World War in the students' families and social networks? The student interviews suggest that narratives of democracy and resistance play an important role in the communicative memory of many of the students' families. However, there were differences between the schools in this regard. In the city and suburban schools, the students readily drew on family narratives, which informed their engagement with the cultural memory of the Second World War, whereas the communicative memory of the students from the small-town school, AAS was profoundly informed by cultural memory. This suggests significant local differences in the extent to which communicative memory informs cultural memory and vice-versa.

The teacher interviews showed that teachers generally uphold the intentions of the history curriculum and the educational act by focusing on the importance of "freedom" and "democracy," thereby reproducing the "canon." The teachers' emphasis on historical consciousness and the tendency to ask students to use history to reflect on themselves and their own lifeworlds also tends to reinforce the narrative of Denmark as a particularly democratic society. The communicative memory of the students' families and social networks is thus imbued with influences stemming from the school and vice versa, and there are clear overlaps and exchanges between the two memory domains. We could also use Aleida Assmann's terminology and say that the teachers draw on the already established canon of cultural memory, rather than drawing on the "archive" and its vast potential for introducing other perspectives.

The Holocaust is an important part of teaching about the Second World War in Danish schools, and the teachers often use the Holocaust as a mirror image, reflecting the virtues of Danish democracy as the inverse of German dictatorship. The student interviews indicated that the Holocaust plays a fairly small role for the fourth generation, and that their use of social media might alter the status of the Holocaust as an ethical signifier. At least, Hitler as a farcical, cartoon-like figure and memes making light of the Holocaust suggests a distance between the students and

the event and a down-playing of the atrocities committed by the national-socialist regime. This also means that the students do not automatically see the Holocaust as a "difficult history" that challenges their identity and historical understanding.

Neither students nor teachers showed awareness of former European, Jewish communities, and most of the students had no perception of the state of Israel, except for Nicolai who was overtly anti-Semitic, and Amir who had Palestinian parents. The last theme of the student interviews focusing on the students' perceptions of the state of Israel and contemporary Jewish communities rendered very few responses, which were limited to anti-Semitic prejudices about Jews being clever, wealthy, or highly religious, and when asked if they had Jewish friends, the students did not understand the question at first. In a similar vein, the teachers were generally reluctant to teach the Holocaust from a transnational perspective because they believed it would impede the students' ability to relate to the event. Thus, the increased focus on the transnational character of the Holocaust in the research literature does not translate into history teaching, and the established "canon", and the teachers' focus on developing the students' historical consciousness might even impede the development of such understanding.

In the data, gender and class did not play a significant role in determining the students' understanding of Second World War, including the Holocaust, whereas the city-country divide and ethnicity did. In the multi-ethnic classroom, the correspondence between the communicative and cultural memory of the Second World War was not a given, and the master narrative of Danish democracy and resistance was occasionally challenged. Nicolai, for example, deliberately used another hyper-national narrative of the Second World War to emphasize his Polishness *vis a vis* the other students' Danishness and against the "Jewishness" associated with the Holocaust, thus proposing an overtly anti-Semitic counter-narrative. For Annisa, the Holocaust found resonance with her own experiences of intolerance.

The article points towards future research perspectives, some related specifically to Holocaust education, others related more generally to history didactics. For example, it remains an open question whether the emphasis on developing the students' historical consciousness generally has an inbuilt national bias which favors the "canon" rather than the "archive." Goldberg's (2013) research suggests that identity issues associated with the students' historical consciousness might be tempered by a deliberate focus on developing historical thinking skills in peer-to-peer interactions and debates about difficult histories. In the Danish context, however, the students do not necessarily perceive the Holocaust as part of a difficult history, and the event does not automatically activate processes of social identification. It also remains an open question how democracy and nationalism become linked in various school subjects and textbook materials, and how this might influence the political consciousness of adolescence. Regarding Holocaust education, the interviews have shown a need to develop materials which can address the transnational character of the Holocaust. However, one of the most interesting perspective arising from the interviews regarding Holocaust education pertains to the way in which the interviewed Muslim students in Northern Denmark relate to the Holocaust. The interviews directly contradict other studies such as Short (2013) in indicating that Muslim students are more prone to sympathizing with the victims of the Holocaust and relating it to their own experiences of discrimination and marginalization. It would be interesting to explore whether this tendency is general for the local area in which the interviews were conducted and if so, what might account for it.

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About the author

Maren Lytje holds a Ph.D. in intellectual history (2015) and currently works as associate professor at the Department of Education at UCN. Her Ph.D. thesis explores how democracies decide on the lives worthy of protection. It analyzes the contemporary just war literature and the political justification of the War on Terror through a range of political and philosophical issues such as human rights, biopolitics and the relationship between the aesthetic value of the visual world and the discursive value of democratic politics. It was subsequently published as a book by Peter Lang and has resulted in three articles related to the themes developed in the thesis. Her post-Ph.D. research has primarily focused on Holocaust education, Holocaust memory, critical theory and the use of primary source material in history teaching. The current article is part of a research project about the Holocaust in the historical consciousness of Danish adolescence, and the potential for developing historical thinking skills and historical empathy through a close engagement with primary source material.

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Writing to learn history: intertextuality in secondary school and university students in Chile

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Abstract

The objective of this article is to identify and compare some features of intertextuality in texts written by secondary school and university students in Chile. Employing the perspective afforded by historical literacy, academic discourse analysis, and expert-novice studies, we analyzed 17 written texts based on questions and historical evidence. The two groups were found to differ in terms of evidence usage and writing quality. Intertextual resources are much more commonly used in university-level expert writing than in secondary education. However, surprisingly, they also appeared in a significant part of the texts produced by secondary school students through elements such as paraphrasis, direct and indirect discourse, and integral and non-integral citations. These findings provide a comparative and situated perspective of historical writing across two educational levels, posing some challenges to literate practices in Historical Education and their modeling for learning.

Keywords

History Writing; Intertextuality; Secondary Education; Higher Education

Citation

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Introduction: Writing to learn history

From the perspective of disciplinary literacy (DL) studies, learning is a process whereby people acquire, produce, and transform knowledge (Moje, 2008). Shanahan and Shanahan (2008) define three levels of literacy: i) basic: skills for decoding academic texts; ii) intermediate: skills for understanding more complex concepts; and iii) disciplinary literacy: reading and writing skills that characterize scientific disciplines. In our discipline, the development of historical literacy skills has been defined in a variety of ways, with authors considering elements such as temporal comprehension or historical consciousness (Rüsen, 2004; Lee, 2005), the heuristic processes involved in reading historical sources (Wineburg, 1991: 2001), and the processes of historical writing (Martin, 2002; Monte-Sano, 2010; Martin & Rose, 2008). However, as Virta (2007) and Maposa and Wassermann (2009) warn, the concept of historical literacy can be ambiguous due to the wide range of processes that it examines (e.g. cognitive, written, visual, cultural, and epistemological). Among these processes, our study focuses on the development of historical writing. Particularly, we seek to determine how students incorporate the information contained in historical sources into their writing.

Studies conducted over the last two decades have identified the positive effects of disciplinary writing on learning. Authors have highlighted the importance of encouraging disciplinary writing in educational practice because it allows complex thought skills to develop. Such skills include epistemic thought and reflectivity, both of which are key to people's personal and social development (Figueroa et al., 2019; Miras, 2000; Atorresi et al., 2010). In this context, academic writing with an educational purpose —as opposed to professional academic writing— comprises the set of performances that students must exhibit in a course or program to demonstrate their learning. Therefore, this type of writing has a triple function: epistemic, rhetorical, and qualifying (Navarro, 2018). The educational development of disciplinary reading and writing is the most commonly recommended method for incorporating academic language into educational practice (Figueroa et al., 2019).

Snow and Ucelli (2009) define *academic language* as a "lexical, grammatical, discursive, and disciplinary domain that makes it possible to 'pack' complex and abstract ideas in writing while also enabling subjects to understand school texts and those produced by academic communities" (in Concha et al., 2010, p. 91). Academic language is learned by means of "academic literacy learning", whose field comprises the set of reading and writing practices acquired in order to access and participate in the cultures of each discipline (Calle & Ávila, 2020; Carlino, 2003). The visibilization of these literate practices in school and university education has revealed that their learning and teaching are highly specialized and sophisticated rather than evident, instrumental, or basic (Ávila et al., 2013). The explanation of historical causes constitutes an example of the development of a literate practice, since it requires the learner to actively select, manipulate, assess, and transform disciplinary content (Miras & Solé, 2007). However, as noted by Calle and Ávila (2020), literate practices cannot be acquired merely by writing. They must be purposively targeted by the teaching model implemented, by means of strategies that integrate writing into the learning process. Furthermore, these strategies should prioritize feedback over punitive measures (Atorresi et al., 2010).

Studies on the learning of historical writing support the above. Several teaching practices have been identified, including the comprehension-oriented reading of historical evidence (Monte-Sano et al., 2014), the development of writing tasks based on historical evidence and questions (Monte-Sano et al., 2012; De la Paz & Felton, 2010), the use of information and communication technologies (Hernández-Ramos & De la Paz, 2009), and the organization of debates related to writing tasks (Van Drie et al., 2017). All these authors report improvements in areas such as the length and complexity of students' historical descriptions and explanations, as well as in their historical thinking. Authors tend to ascribe these improvements to teaching practices that a) emphasize historical thinking while reading evidence (Monte-Sano, 2010; Grant et al., 2004; Young et al., 1998) and b) focus on the development of literate practices that explicitly address concepts such as evidence, historical context, authorial point of view, accuracy, comparison of

sources, and causality (Coffin, 2004; De la Paz et al., 2010; Monte-Sano, 2010; Young et al., 1998; Vansledright et al., 1998; De la Paz, 2005).

Complementing the above, recent studies have emphasized the relevance of teaching practices aimed at making historical writing strategies explicit (Van Drie et al., 2021; De la Paz, 2022; Miller, 2022). Likewise, researchers have found significant correlations between historical writing knowledge and historical reasoning in students who have taken part in specific learning interventions versus others who have not done so (Van Drie et al., 2021, De la Paz et al., 2022). In line with this, Miller (2022) has stressed the importance of implementing designs such as writing tasks as a way of reducing the socioeconomic gap (in the United States) in standardized History tests with open-ended questions versus tests with multiple-choice items.

The present study is aimed at complementing research on historical learning from the perspective of historical literacy. To date, studies on the use of evidence (Rouet et al., 1997; Monte-Sano & De la Paz, 2012; Nokes, 2017) have focused on interpretative criteria for analyzing historical writing, paying less attention to the specific features of the texts employed. In this context, our study focuses on the written resources used to cite a text.

The relevance of the present study lies in the fact that the identification of historical intertextuality in texts produced in response to an evidence-based writing task makes it possible to characterize challenges specific to academic writing. Pedagogical practices such as modeling and feedback can be used in both professionalizing history writing and secondary school students' writing acquisition in order to improve the abstraction and argumentation skills of the History undergraduates and school students completing such tasks.

Theoretical framework. Intertextuality and academic writing in university- and school-level History education

Many of the educational purposes of secondary school and university are fulfilled by means of writing tasks that rely on historical evidence. To complete such tasks, learners must utilize a repertoire of cognitive and linguistic skills that reflect the voices of the texts consulted, while at the same time acknowledging the consensus views of historiography. Thus, resources such as footnotes or paraphrasis enable students to incorporate authoritative academic voices as they construct an authorial voice of their own (Navarro, 2018). This phenomenon, known as intertextuality, has been defined by Bazerman (2004) as the explicit inclusion of other texts, which can be presented in multiple ways. Intertextuality can vary depending on its level of visibility. For instance, it can be explicit (e.g. quoting or referencing a text) or semi-explicit (e.g. paraphrasing, summarizing, or mentioning an idea) (Bazerman, 2004). In this regard, research shows that, in the Humanities, people attach great value to the explicit syntactic inclusion of voices (e.g. "as Habermas points out") and paraphrasis (e.g. "Habermas' theory of language can be summarized as..."). Thus, many educational goals not only require students to have a good command of these resources to show that they understand the contents and perspectives found in the sources: they are also expected to employ these sources critically and originally.

Citation is one of the prototypical examples of intertextuality in historiography and school-level historical literacy. Swales (1990) distinguishes "integral" from "non-integral" citations. In the former, the cited author is incorporated into the syntax of the sentence. In the latter, the cited author appears in parentheses or in a footnote, without a role in the syntax (Fahler et al., 2019). In non-integral citations, the voice of the citing author plays a more relevant role than that of the cited author.

The epistemic role of the citation will vary depending on its purpose, its discursive genre, and the writing task being completed, among other factors. According to Hyland (2004), selecting one type of citation over another depends on the writer's competence in generating intertextual frameworks that reflect the literature of a field and identify the accumulated knowledge of the discipline (Fahler et al., 2019). Competent writers decide to employ integral or non-integral

citations based on their knowledge of the epistemological and rhetorical objective that they wish to fulfill.

For the semi-explicit level, Fahler et al. (2019) suggest differentiating between "direct discourse" and "indirect discourse". The former employs quotation marks and reproduces the words of the cited text literally, while the latter is expressed by paraphrasing, summarizing, or interpreting the words of the cited author. Direct discourse is used to support the position of the citing author or to analyze, discuss, or contradict it. In contrast, indirect discourse establishes a connection with the cited author.

Our literature review for the present study revealed that the results of research on academic writing are uneven. Although research has assessed the quality of school-level writing based on its suitability for the communicative situation, coherence, cohesion, structure, and punctuation (Sotomayor et al., 2016), to the best of our knowledge, no discipline-specific studies have been conducted, let alone studies on historical writing at the school and university level. What is currently known is that students have a better command of the narrative genres than of the explanatory and argumentative ones (Figueroa, Meneses, et al., 2018). This also occurs in school History lessons: the narrative genre predominates in teaching practices, among other reasons because it makes it possible to summarize historical events in a linear temporal sequence, with events being arranged one after another (Martin et al., 2008; Coffin, 2006). In contrast, the explanatory and argumentative genres require more rhetorical and disciplinary resources and further development of historical abstraction.

However, historical literacy research has yielded consistent evidence on the positive effects of purposive reading and writing tasks. Reading modeling and source interpretation tasks, together with guided writing practices, have been shown to be the most effective ways of developing written historical thinking. Research indicates that these practices foster the extension and complexity of students' historical explanations and arguments (De la Paz et al., 2010; Monte-Sano et al., 2012; Monte-Sano et al., 2014; Freedman, 2015; De La Paz et al., 2017; Van Drie et al., 2017).

In this context, the present article draws on the contributions of these historical literacy studies, focusing on the historical intertextuality strategies employed by secondary school and university students. The question that guided our study was: how do high school and university students incorporate intertextuality –considering the visibilization of evidence, the type of inclusion, and the quality of inclusion– into writing tasks focused on source examination?

Methodology and corpus

The methodology used is qualitative and descriptive; furthermore, the study benefits from the use of academic writing analysis tools (Hyland, 2011; Swales, 1990). Specifically, we took into account the criteria that authors in this field use to identify the intertextual resources employed by students. We adopted the perspective of expert-novice studies, focusing on those that have examined the development of historical thinking (Wineburg, 1991; Carreteto & Limón, 1996; Domínguez, 2015). We employed a coding scheme for the analysis of texts produced in Humanities (Fahler et al., 2019) and History programs (Navarro, Henríquez, & Álvarez, 2019).

Three methodological limitations can be identified. First, the corpus used was taken from two different studies. However, these studies belong to our line of research on historical literacy, were temporally consecutive, and involved similar purposes and methods. For instance, both studies dealt with historical writing tasks based on problems and evidence (See Appendix 1).

The second limitation is methodological in nature and concerns the use of discourse analysis methods to examine the corpus. Even though these categories belong to educational linguistics, they were adapted to historical discourse thanks to the interdisciplinary expertise of the research team, which features linguists and historians.

The third limitation concerns the number of texts used (17 in total), representing only a small selection of the total number of university and school students in Chile. Nevertheless, the study focuses on detecting phenomena within texts that are composed of 14,227 words in total. This

makes it possible to conduct a more specific analysis of writing. We trust that these limitations have been adequately solved, thus enabling the present study to offer an interdisciplinary contribution to the analysis of historical writing.

Corpus

The corpus comprises 17 texts (14,227 words) produced by students. Eight texts were written by History undergraduates, while nine were written by secondary school students (see table 1). We selected texts whose features would ensure a larger presence of intertextual resources, a strategy found to be effective in prior research (Thaiss & Zawacki, 2006; Fahler et al., 2019).

Table 1
Corpus Composition

Participants	No. of texts	No. of words
9th, 10th, and 11th grade students (Secondary Education)	9	5505
History Undergraduates (Research Seminar, 5th to 8th semester)	8	8722
Total	17	14,227

Participants

The authors of the texts are students belonging to two educational levels. One subgroup is composed of secondary school students from a State-subsidized private school located in a municipality of southern Santiago de Chile. The students, between 14 and 17 years old, are in 9th, 10th, and 11th grade. All 9 students have taken part in purposive reading and writing practices reported in Henríquez, Carmona, Quinteros, and Garrido (2018). The other subgroup is composed of 8 senior students enrolled in a Bachelor's Degree Program in History at a university of Santiago de Chile. By means of informed assent and consent forms approved by an Institutional Review Board, the participants granted their permission for their texts to be used for research purposes and subsequently disseminated. The research team strove to safeguard the participants' anonymity while processing their answers. The corpus was analyzed using Nvivo12, which made it possible to iterate and calibrate the analysis criteria over several stages.

Instruments

The instrument administered was a writing task based on historical sources which used a historical question or an instruction as a prompt (See Appendix 1).

The sources were read by the participants (secondary school students and university undergraduates) in prior sessions and discussed with their teachers in class settings. The texts were produced in similar conditions: individually, over a 90-minute period, and with the specific instruction to use the evidence provided, which the participants were allowed to use freely during the completion of the task.

The writing tasks involved the use of authentic material (Mierwald, 2022). The documents provided were primary historical sources and a selection of historiographic texts. As pointed out by Mierwald, these sources have yielded better results in tasks aimed at producing historical arguments compared to less authentic materials such as school textbooks or media-produced historical narrations (Mierwald, 2022). Furthermore, we incorporated the criterion proposed by Van Drie (2021), which consists in presenting historical problems with multiple possible interpretations. The contents (Contemporary World History and History of the 19th and 20th

Centuries in Chile) were selected in accordance with Chile's national school curriculum. For the university group, the students worked with secondary sources chosen by their professors.

Analysis criteria

Intertextuality was identified using the following categories: visibility of the citation, type of inclusion, and quality of inclusion (Swales, 1990; Fahkler et al., 2019; Oteíza et al., 2014). Table 2 summarizes the main characteristics of the indicators associated with each criterion. Using the codes selected to explore the corpus, the researchers coded it collectively. This iterative process, with auditing stages, made it possible to refine, reclassify, and organize the occurrences observed.

Table 2
Dimensions of Intertextuality Criteria

1. Visibility of the citation	
Integral	The cited author is present in the sentence.
Non-integral	The cited author is absent from the sentence, appearing in brackets on in a footnote.
Reference with no citation	One or more authors are explicitly mentioned without a reference.
No inclusion	No citations are included.

2. Type of evidence inclusion	
Direct	Verbatim citation with quotation marks.
Indirect	Paraphrasis, summary, or interpretation of the source.
Mixed	Combination of direct and indirect inclusion.

3. Quality	
Incorrect strategic	Incorrect, pointless, or "cut-and-paste" inclusion of source material in the text.
Reformulation -	The core ideas of the source are preserved without incorporating the student's point of view.
Reformulation with a historical meaning	Aspects of the source are incorporated into the text through a deductive process that enables the student to construct a historical meaning.

Source: Own work based on Fahler et al. (2019), and Oteíza et al. (2014).

Results

This section describes how intertextuality manifested itself in the participants' texts. Given that the texts examined differed in length, we first note the number of citations and their rate of appearance every 1000 words to homogenize the intertextual analysis conducted. To increase clarity, *secondary school* will be shortened to *SS* and university to *U.*

a) Intertextuality

Instances of intertextuality (table 3) in the form of citations are more frequent in texts produced by university students than in those written by school students. U texts feature 9.1 instances per 1000 words, while SS texts exhibit 8.2 instances per 1000 words (see table 6). The explicit appearance of intertextuality in writing is a feature of the quality of academic writing (Fahler et al., 2019); therefore, its presence in U texts is consistent with the disciplinary education of undergraduates. Its presence in the SS corpus is relevant, since it indicates that it has been purposely developed and exercised as part of regular teaching.

Table 3
Total No. of Instances of Intertextuality

	Total no. of citations	**Instances per 1000 words**
Secondary School	45	8.2
University	79	9.1

b) Visibility of the citation

Major differences can be observed between school and university writing. Integral citations predominate in the latter (8.7 instances per 1000 words), while non-integral citations are much scarcer (0.3 instances per 1000 words). We found no references with no citation. In SS texts, even though integral citations predominate (5.3 instances per 1000 words), they are comparatively less prevalent than in U texts. Still, it is worth noting the presence of non-integral citations (2.9 instances per 1000 words) and the large number of references with no citation (2.5 instances per 1000 words), as shown in table 7.

Table 4
Visibility of the Citation

	Secondary School		**University**	
	N	Instances per 1000 words	N	Instances per 1000 words
Integral	29	5.3	76	8.7
Non-integral	16	2.9	3	0.3
Reference with no citation	14	2.5	0	0

Table 4 shows that both groups use integral citations more frequently than non-integral ones. The limited presence of the latter in U texts is noteworthy. Possibly, the large number of texts that the participants were required to use forced them to include their sources explicitly in the syntax. Non-integral footnotes had little visibility in this type of task.

Recurrent citations, the most common ones, have two recurrent forms: a) more literally attached to the perspective presented in the text, with a weaker historical perspective, and b) exhibiting a richer interpretation of the cited author (more common in U texts). Two examples taken from SS texts will be presented. In the first one, it is worth noting the repetition used by the author: *"… as can be observed in source no. 2": "Another consequence in the social domain is the patriotism generated during and after the war, which produced patriots who were loyal and committed to their nation, as source no. 2 indicates"* (ID8). Although the source plays a syntactic role, the text does not deviate from the point of view that it introduces. The second example is

similar: the text cites the source, but it is not possible to identify an author who adopts a position with respect to the perspective advanced by the source. *"All this, added to the secret involvement of the United States, resulted in a coup launched on Tuesday, September 11th, 1973, led by Commander in Chief Augusto Pinochet who, together with the military junta, sought to "extirpate the Marxist cancer from Chile" (1st Statement of the Military Junta)"* (ID 15).

In contrast, in U writing, the inclusion of an author is based on the identification of its perspective. This recurrent feature can be illustrated by two excerpts: *"Enzo Traverso has discussed the usage of memory, where certain discourses vie for the hegemony of the predominant memory, given that weak and strong memories can coexist"* (ID 21) and *"The existence of different memories —although only three have been mentioned, Stern insists that many memories are possible— leads to a so-called 'clash of memories', since memory is regarded as a disputed field by many authors"* (ID 17).

Another significant difference is that References with no Citation appear in SS texts but not in their U counterparts.

c) Type of evidence inclusion

Evidence is inserted in significantly different ways (see table 5). While SS texts have relatively similar rates of mixed, direct, and indirect discourse, indirect discourse is strongly predominant in U texts (6.9 instances per 1000 words). This phenomenon, reported in the literature on university-level historical writing (Fahler et al., 2019), is indicative of students' larger set of rhetorical and historical resources and their stronger comprehension skills, which enable them to reformulate the discourse of the cited authors. Indirect discourse, whose most recurrent manifestation is paraphrasis, has been highlighted as a strategy aimed at generating "intimacy" between the author of the text and that of the source. In addition, it is a resource employed by students to demonstrate their acquisition of the material to a teacher or examiner (Oteíza et al., 2014). This perspective adoption strategy is present in both U and SS texts. In the former, the following excerpt is illustrative: *"Alejandro Portelli, in his book on the 'Ardeatine massacre', referred to the manipulated discourse of the Italian right wing"* (ID 21). In SS texts, the inclusion of indirect discourse is strongly associated with integral citations, as the following example shows: *"In the economic domain, one consequence is that thanks to the capture of the saltpeter companies, Chile managed to leave behind an economic crisis, increasing its income, as can be observed in source no. 1"* (ID 8).

Table 5
Type of Evidence Inclusion

	Secondary School		**History Undergraduates**	
	N	Instances per 1000 words	N	Instances per 1000 words
Direct	15	2.7	14	1.6
Indirect	12	2.2	60	6.9
Mixed	17	3.1	19	2.2

Mixed discourse is more prevalent in SS texts (3.1 instances per 1000 words) than in U ones (2.2 instances per 1000 words). However, U texts exhibit more rhetorical resources for incorporating and connecting the citation into the syntax of the sentence. As shown in the following example, this function enables students to support an argument: *Their "failed" existence can be justified if it at least arouses reactions such as that of Villalobos and opens a debate on the memory of this critical period. As Jelin points out, memory is "is a construction that is always open, never closed"* (ID 18). In contrast, in SS writing, evidence is inserted by mentioning the number of the source, but not the name of the author or his/her perspective: *as can be observed in source no.*

2, "… the emergence of a State power determined to create patriots who were loyal and committed to their nation, as can be observed in source no. 2" (ID 5).

d) Inclusion quality

Two tendencies can be observed in table 6. First, both groups (especially History undergraduates) reformulate the evidence found in the sources preserving their core meaning. SS texts feature 4 instances per 1000 words, while their U counterparts exhibit 4.9 instances per 1000 words. The main difference is that U texts extend the reformulation of the source with historical judgments (4.5 instances per 1000 words compared to 1.5 instances per 1000 words in SS texts). It is reasonable to think that university students possess a larger rhetorical repertoire and have acquired more disciplinary contents, all of which enables them to establish connections between the meanings of the source and their personal views.

Table 6
Quality of the Inclusion

	Secondary School		**University**	
	N	Instances per 1000 words	N	Instances per 1000 words
Strategic	19	3.5	12	1.4
Reformulation	22	4	43	4.9
Reformulation with judgment	8	1.5	39	4.5

Another noteworthy aspect is that SS texts feature more examples of "strategic and/or incorrect incorporation", with 3.5 instances per 1000 words. Several factors reported in the literature can shed light on this situation, ranging from insufficient reading comprehension skills for understanding the meanings conveyed in the source to the student's expectation that the reader will correctly evaluate the mere naming of the author of the source (Calle-Arango & Ávila-Reyes, 2020).

One of the most common ways in which sources are incorporated is through the author's endorsement of their content without identifying their perspective. This is illustrated in the following example: *"First, there is the internal War in Chile between the Marxist resistance and the military government "the Marxist resistance is not over yet, there still are extremists around. I must say that Chile is currently in a state of internal war (…) neutralization or elimination of all those elements identified as enemies of the nation"* (ID 1). The student does not distinguish the perspective of the source and the content that it provides to answer the question about the reasons for the coup in Chile in 1973.

At the Reformulation level, SS and U discourses are clearly similar. However, the most significant and recurrent difference is that SS texts mention the source as an object, while U texts refer to the author and his/her perspective. This can be illustrated with a SS example: *"A consequence that influences the social and economic domain in a single concept is the evident change in the distribution of the GDP in Chile. Chart number two of source number four illustrates this change, mining increases and the percentage of agriculture decreases"* (ID 9). U students write differently: *"Enzo Traverso has referred to the usage of memory, where certain discourses vie for the hegemony of the predominant memory, given that weak and strong memories can coexist"* (ID 21).

Reformulation with a historical meaning is much more common in U texts (4.5 instances per 1000 words) than in SS texts (1.5 instances per 1000 words). This indicates that it is the most prevalent resource in expert writing. For instance, in one U text (ID17), the writer contradicts one author (Villalobos) using an argument advanced by another author (Portelli) to construct an argument to validate the existence of the Museum of Memory in Chile: *"I do not think the museum*

represents "a desire to falsify the past" as Villalobos states, because it contains no invented or fictional events, such as what happened with collective Roman memory based on the Ardeatine massacre, described by Portelli; as previously explained, it cannot be said that the museum is lying, since all memories are valid and the museum represents one hegemonic memory about that period. The State's officialization of what happened can violate one of the main features of memory, invisibilizing one memory and not another" (ID17).

Interestingly, a handful of SS texts – such as ID 14 – featured resources similar to those of their U counterparts: "On the same day of the coup, the Commander in Chief of the Air Force, General Leigh, announced that the country was in a state of war and that the enemy was "the Marxist cancer", which he believed was not representative of the identity of the country's inhabitants. Therefore, his mission was to eliminate this political faction whose very existence was, supposedly, an attack on the republic and its democratic tradition. This "mission" was legitimized by means of constitutional reforms that violated the human rights to life, freedom, and free association (decree-laws no. 5, 77, 1629). But, what is the origin of this idea that the mere notion of this socialist thought represented an attack on freedom and democracy?" (ID 14). In both examples (ID 17 and ID 14), the writers include voices of authorship using historical evidence.

Discussion and conclusions

Learning a school- or university-level discipline involves acquiring a set of literate and oral discursive practices which can be used to observe and evaluate the learner's acquisition of the discipline and his/her progression in it. The explicit teaching of academic writing through recurrent modeling practices is a powerful tool for learning the contents and skills of a discipline (Calle & Ávila, 2020). In History, intertextual skills are developed through practices that make explicit their rhetorical and epistemological functions. Results show that the rhetorical function predominates over the epistemological function in SS texts, while U texts exhibit the opposite situation. U writers have more intertextuality resources than SS students (9.1 instances per 1000 words versus 8.2). This should not come as a surprise given that the objective of university education is to prepare professional historians. What is indeed surprising, however, is the small numerical difference between the instances found in U and SS texts. This indicates that some expert practices are present in SS writing. This aspect, examined in studies on reading practices (Reisman, 2012) and historical writing (Nokes, 2017), shows that writing requires phases that include constant modeling and feedback. However, these conditions are not commonly found in secondary school and university teaching in Chile.

In line with Fahler et al. (2019), we also found that university-level historical writing has a tendency to feature indirect discourse more frequently than its direct counterpart. This tends to highlight the voice of the cited author by incorporating it syntactically in the text, which results in greater closeness or ideological solidarity with him/her (Oteíza et al., 2014). In contrast, verbatim or direct citations are the least common variety. These citations are frequently used to examine sources and offer a direct look at them. Nevertheless, given the nature of the writing task and the conditions under which the texts were produced (90 minutes), both SS and U students chose to reformulate the contents of the sources by means of indirect discourse. It is worth mentioning that the participants used inclusion through indirect discourse, which reveals the presence of rhetorical and disciplinary resources for including the author's authoritative voice. The difference between SS and U participants is that the former used citations as a voice of authority, while the latter employed them to construct arguments.

The visibilization of the author is another of the resources that, according to our findings, is indicative of the higher levels of complexity found in U texts. In contrast, SS students, despite mentioning historical evidence, often fail to include proper citations in their texts. This phenomenon, observed in Chilean students (Henríquez & Ruiz, 2014), is one of the challenges that educational practices must address. The ability to incorporate, paraphrase, and use historical evidence needs practice and feedback. Nevertheless, literate educational practices are scarce in school and university classes and, when they exist, effective feedback is not provided (Atorresi et

al., 2010). Despite these shortcomings, expert students are highly efficient at reformulating the meanings of the sources in their written texts. In addition, they are able to elaborate on this content by means of judgments, assertions, and connections with the topic that must be covered in each task. SS students are much more likely to incorporate historical evidence wrongly or partially.

Our results show that, even though U writers possess more intertextual resources for constructing historical discourse, SS writers deploy a variety of complex strategies such as indirect discourse and verbatim citations. These results are consistent with the literature on the teaching of writing, which highlights the importance of modeling this skill using specific tasks (De la Paz, 2022; Miller, 2022; Van Drie et al., 2021).

Despite the limitations of the present study, such as the number of texts analyzed and the small size of the random sample, the results obtained make it possible to determine certain quality criteria for the development of causality and intertextuality in academic historical writing. Another limitation was the closeness of the historical sources used. Even though we employed authentic materials (Mierwald, 2022) and historical tasks (Van Drie, 2021), the school students worked on historical questions and problems following the explicit guidance of their teachers, producing texts aligned with clearly identifiable historical genres, but which also reflected less engagement with the sources, whereas the university students, despite discussing the documents and analyzing them with their professors, were given a more open-ended analysis task (See Appendix 1). Furthermore, although the historical tasks presented were authentic, topics such as the Cold War (20th century) and the War of the Pacific (19th century) are less relevant to students than recent Chilean history (Coup of 1973 and Historical Memory of the Recent Past); therefore, 11th grade and university students may have been more closely connected to their topics and their associated arguments than 9th and 10th graders.

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