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CONTACT DETAILS

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

EDITORIAL TEAM

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ARTICLES

Monumental refraction: Monuments, identity, and historical consciousness 1-23
Gabriel A. Reich

A global history in a global world? Human rights in history education in the Global North and South 24-49
Olle Nolgård, Thomas Nygren, Felisa Tibbitts, Anamika Anamika, Denise Bentrovato, Paul Enright, Johan Wassermann, Oakleigh Welply

How to develop historical consciousness through uses of history - A Swedish perspective 50-61
Robert Thorp

From bits to templates: Uncovering digital interventions in everyday history assignments at secondary school 62-76
Inés Matres

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Monumental refraction: Monuments, identity, and historical consciousness

Gabriel A. Reich
Virginia Commonwealth University, United States

ABSTRACT: Over the past several years, controversies have emerged throughout the U.S. South over the future of monuments to Confederate leaders. The Confederacy was an attempt to create a new republic in the American South with enslavement as its cornerstone. Although Secession and the ensuing Civil War were disastrous for the South, many venerated those leaders and after the war they constructed monuments to promote a collective memory that promoted Southern nationalism and White supremacy. This article explores data in the form of letters a group of 10th-grade, mostly African American students wrote to the new mayor of their city, Richmond, Virginia. Richmond is the former capitol of the Confederacy and site of Monument Avenue where many Confederate statues stand to this day. It is also the sight of previous controversies, such as when a monument of African American tennis champion, and Richmond native, Arthur Ashe was added to the avenue. Those letters are analyzed using Rüsen's (2005) typology of historical consciousness. That framework has proven useful as a heuristic for describing historical arguments in the sphere of everyday life. However, it has also been critiqued for undertheorizing identity, compromising its utility as a tool to analyze the ways in which members of minority groups in heterogeneous and unequal societies make sense of the past, present, and future. Two emerging theories: King's (2019; 2018) theory of Black historical consciousness, and Zanazanian's (2012) dialogic framework for identity are also brought to bear on these data. Findings are discussed in two ways. First, as a cross case analysis based on relevant elements of the frameworks that focuses on patterns evident in the student work as a whole. Second, as three case-studies based on a sample of student work that exemplified three of Rüsen's historical consciousness types. The article concludes with a discussion of how research on historical consciousness that uses Rüsen's typology can better account for identity in heterogeneous societies.

KEYWORDS: Historical consciousness; monuments; race.

Introduction

Monuments were designed as *sites of memory* (Nora, 2001), pedagogical tools to teach young people a cultural curriculum, a set of beliefs that transcend time (Leib, 2002; Seixas & Clark, 2004). In her history of memorialization in public art in the United States, Doss (2010) explains that monuments "are archives of public affect," (p. 13) designed to create a strong emotional tie to a symbolic representation of an imagined past. Stone, metal and concrete are used to construct monuments because their function is to provide people with an unchanging symbol that survives historical flux and thus helps to reproduce identities with more continuity than change (Aruajo, 2014; Doss, 2010; Leib, 2002; Seixas & Clark, 2004; Wertsch, 2008; cf. Neitzsche, 1997/1874). Whether contemporary people perceive the intended message of such monuments or whether that message is refracted through the prism of people's own context, positionality, ideology, and identity is less clear. This article

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explores the intersection of controversial public monuments and historical consciousness in Richmond, Virginia, the former capital of the Confederate States of America, the breakaway republic dedicated to the perpetuation of enslavement.

The landscape of the United States is dotted with monuments that commemorate the U.S. Civil War. It was the bloodiest war in American history, and it changed the nation's economy, culture, and identity. Those with the most to gain from the Union victory in the Civil War were millions of African Americans, most of whom were enslaved before the war. African Americans were actively involved in the war effort and made up 10% of the Union military by its end (Foner, 2005). They earned full citizenship rights when the Confederacy was defeated, occupied by Federal troops, and the U.S. Constitution Amended (Foner, 2005). The period known as Reconstruction lasted from 1865-1877, and during that time there was revolutionary change in many parts of the South as African Americans organized institutions such as schools and churches, and attained political power through the federally protected vote (Du Bois, 2013/1935; Foner, 2005). It was also a time when a reactionary terror campaign to remove those rights began. That extra-legal campaign was later coupled with legal moves once Reconstruction ended, with the result being a denial of citizenship rights, a loss of political power, economic peonage, and the institutionalization of social inequality known as Jim Crow.

Confederate monuments began to be built in the last decade of the 19th century, when White southerners were experiencing political ascendance and improved economic circumstances, and when the rest of the nation had largely accepted or acceded to their historical narrative of the Civil War (Blight, 2001; Cobb, 2005; Lieb, 2002). That narrative, called the *Lost Cause*, framed the Southern position in the Civil War as a defense against the industrialized North who sought to unconstitutionally limit their sovereignty and way of life. In that narrative the issue of enslavement is diminished and the actual lives and aspirations of Black people are completely occluded. Confederate monuments were erected as a symbol of the reinstatement of White supremacy, and as a pedagogical device to teach that ideology to subsequent generations. African Americans resisted the erection of such monuments (Brown, 2004), as well as the pedagogical message they represented (Brown, 2010) at that time and ever after.

It should come as no surprise that Confederate monuments regularly become sites of public debate about how the Civil War should be remembered. That is because the Civil War is a *difficult history* (Gross & Terra, 2018), one of those "periods that reverberate in the present and surface fundamental disagreements over who we are and what values we hold" (p. 52). Such debates are a significant civic activity in which divided communities struggle over which historical narratives will be represented by their public art (Leib, 2002; Gibson & Reich, 2017). In such debates, history is evoked to support emotional and ethical arguments about who and what ought to represent the community, its identity and values, and is thus a highly relevant field for the study of historical consciousness (Seixas & Clarke, 2004; Wertsch, 2012).

This article considers arguments constructed by mostly African American 10th grade (~15 years of age) students (n=10) about Richmond's monuments in light of German philosopher Jörn Rüsen's (2005) theory of *historical consciousness*. Historical consciousness is a term that describes how people use history in everyday life to orient themselves with regard to identity, and ethics, and to inform their beliefs about what is likely to happen in the future. That theory has gained great popularity, particularly in Europe, and has been used heuristically to characterize the historical consciousness evident in students' reactions to controversial public art (Seixas & Clarke, 2004). The theory, however, has several problematic blind spots, particularly in relation to how historical consciousness and identity are related to each other in

unequal, heterogeneous societies. To address those blind spots, two additional theories of historical consciousness are juxtaposed with Rüsen's: King's (2019; 2018) work on Black historical consciousness and Zanazanian's (2012) work on the dialogic nature of identity. Findings are described first as a set of descriptive features that appeared across the ten student letters, and then as exemplary case studies that go into greater detail about three student letters, each of which were categorized differently using Rüsen's (2005) typology.

The work is guided by the following research questions: How can historical consciousness be characterized when the arguments of marginalized people in a heterogeneous and deeply unequal society are foregrounded?; To what extent is Rüsen's theory of historical consciousness adequate for that task?; and ultimately, how can that theory be amended to be more useful in contexts such as the one described here?

Monuments and historical consciousness: Towards a theoretical framework

Previous studies have discussed public monuments as a tool to influence young peoples' historical consciousness (Seixas & Clark, 2004; Wertsch, 2008). Particularly relevant is Seixas and Clark's (2004) study of students' written reactions to a set of murals that hung in the Legislative Assembly building in Vancouver, in the Canadian province of British Columbia that celebrate White supremacy over the indigenous peoples who lived there for millennia. Data for that study included 553 essays written by grade 11 (~15-16 years old) students who voluntarily submitted their work to a provincial essay contest. Student demographic information was not recorded and the analysis was carried out without a consideration of identity. Rather, Seixas and Clark (2004) employed a framework developed by German philosopher Jörn Rüsen (2005; 1989; cf. Nietzsche, 1997/1874) to focus solely on the way that student arguments considered ethics and epistemological issues related to the truth of the historical accounts represented in the murals. Central to that study were the following questions about anachronistic public art:

> What is to be done with these artifacts of earlier power configurations, outdated modes of understanding, bygone identities? Destroy them? Maintain them but strip them of their monumental status? Erect alternative monuments to celebrate those who were excluded? (Seixas and Clark, 2004, p. 146).

Those questions are neither historical, nor empirical. They are asking the reader to use judgment in the present that is informed by a consideration of ethics and historical knowledge about what ought to be done in the future. Rüsen (2005) calls exercises in such judgment historical consciousness. In other words, for Rüsen (2005), historical consciousness is a reaction to something, particularly something that represents a change from patterns of life we expect to continue.

Rüsen's theory of historical consciousness

Rüsen (2005) uses the term *history* ecumenically to describe any use or reference to the past, regardless of how truthful or accurate that reference may be. Thus, history is not only the domain of historians with specialized preparation, nor is it differentiated from *collective memory* as it is in other frameworks (see Wertsch, 2002; Reich, & Corning, 2017). Rather, history is a cultural resource that everyone uses to make sense of their identity, and of continuity and change in the world around them. In Rüsen's (2005) framework, collective memory is a form of historical knowledge that helps shape what seems possible or plausible in the course of human events. Historical consciousness is the cognitive activity of making use of that knowledge to make sense of the present and imagine what might be possible in the

future. That framing of history is particularly useful when examining young peoples' historical reasoning because it helps to minimize the tendency towards judging them using standards set by adults who have greater knowledge and disciplinary preparation.

When discussing historical consciousness, Rüsen was primarily concerned with those moments in which people are faced with a change or an ethical decision in which they draw upon their knowledge of the past and present to make sense of it and to construct a response. His typology of historical consciousness describes such responses as a developmental trajectory. The trajectory begins with little awareness of historical change to more abstract understandings of change, epistemology, ontology, and ethics. It consists of four types of historical consciousness—*traditional, exemplary*, *critical*, and *genetic*.

Traditional historical consciousness

Traditional historical consciousness does not perceive change between past, present and future. Time is essentially flat, and made up of repeating patterns of existence stretching out infinitely into the past and future. With regards to a moral stance, the repetition of patterns of meaning over time is its own moral justification. As applied to the monuments in question, Seixas and Clark (2004) identified traditional historical consciousness with the belief that the monuments should remain untouched because they have stood over a long period of time (see also Rüsen, 2012).

Exemplary historical consciousness

Exemplary historical consciousness is guided by the belief that abstract, generalizable, and eternal moral-truths govern the past, present and future. These moral-truths are manifest in historical narratives as the drivers of continuity and change over time. Seixas and Clark (2004) associate the exemplary orientation with a strong desire to build monuments to "extraordinary people" who exemplify, for example, the "collective historical trajectory, the founding and progress of the nation" (p. 154).

Critical historical consciousness

Critical historical consciousness holds all rules, maxims, traces and narratives of the past under scrutiny. Critical historical consciousness does not associate a warrant for truth with the continuity of interpreted meaning in an historical account. Instead, the critical stance seeks to scrutinize what is taken for granted, to criticize the hierarchical power relations inherent in the ways of being, doing, and thinking that traditional types take for granted and exemplary types hold up as natural, moral and good. As such, this stance is more open to change, even radical change in the future. Regarding monuments, the critical orientation is most likely to argue for the removal or destruction of monuments that symbolize oppression in order to destabilize and denaturalize the ideologies such monuments were designed to convey (Seixas & Clark, 2004).

Genetic historical consciousness

Genetic historical consciousness seeks meaning in the inter-related nature of change and continuity. In this sense, rather than destroy historical narratives that support White supremacy and replace them with narratives that restructure racial identity, the genetic stance seeks to historicize all categories as human constructions that change over time in response to dynamic and changeable social, political, cultural, economic and geographical contexts. Evidence of such a stance in the context of monuments is the belief that the monuments should stand, either where they are or in a museum, and be historicized. In other words,

plaques should be added that explain the political, ideological (for example, racial) context in which the monuments were erected (Seixas & Clark, 2004).

Rüsen's model of historical consciousness will be used to analyze the data because it is a heuristic that synthesizes a number of salient factors related to what Rüsen calls "narrative competence": an understanding of time, epistemology, historical significance, moral reasoning, and one's orientation towards the self and others. However, such use is not unproblematic. Rüsen's hierarchical arrangement places the historical consciousness of a well-educated cosmopolitan as the highest achievement in a developmental trajectory. That trajectory is largely defined by the adoption of a succession of epistemological positions that mirror the development of Western historiography (from the medieval to the post-modern). It is unclear to what extent Rüsen's arrangement is tied to the development of what Lee (2004) would call "historical understanding." Lee's work on student learning, as well as the works cited in subsequent sections below (for example, Bermudez, 2012) indicate that the positions students take in response to questions that link past, present, and future are mediated by complex relationships between context and historical content. In other words, it is possible that the same student might be judged to produce responses at different levels of historical consciousness depending on what content is being discussed. Identity is likely to be particularly salient in such situations, which presents us with the second caveat to the analysis using Rüsen's typology. Rüsen's theory is characterized by an understanding of identity that is informed by more homogeneous societies, such as the Scottish example he used to illustrate how each of the four forms of consciousness might manifest. In more diverse societies in which multiple identities exist and intersect in complex context-bound hierarchical relationships, and in which the process of assigning and defining identity is one that involves not just one's own social groups but other social groups as well, Rüsen's abstracted and simplified model may not be enough to account for the empirical data in this study.

King's Black historical consciousness

Currently, an effort is underway to theorize *Black historical consciousness* that emerges from the unique perspectives, historical contexts, and intellectual traditions of the African diaspora. In the field of history education, that project has been most recently taken up by LaGarrett King (2019; 2018). King's (2019; 2018) formulation draws on theories of historical consciousness that have emerged in history education and synthesized them with *diaspora literacy* (King, 1992), and *Black critical theory* (Dumas, 2016). King (2018) describes his aim as historicizing Blackness through "Black people's epistemologies, gazes, and imaginations" (p. 5), an aim that reaches back to the late 19th century in the fields of Black historiography and social studies (Brown, 2010). The urgency of that project emerges from the practical need to make sense of and confront "the psychic and material assault on Black flesh" (Dumas, 2016, p. 12), a phenomenon that began with enslavement and continues in the form of state violence (such as, mass incarceration, violent policing), social and financial disinvestment, and the persistent belief that the U.S. is a meritocracy in the face of those structural conditions.

The curricular end of King's project is the humanization of the Black subject as complex, and as having a "set of historical contexts independent of Western knowledge," (King, 2019, p. 164). It is through knowledge about the history of Black people, that one can gain a consciousness about the historicity (i.e. change and continuity over time) of Blackness. That commitment suggests an epistemological position that assumes human equality through time and calls for the voices of silenced historical actors of the African diaspora as a historiographical corrective (see for example, Trouillot, 1995). That position has implications

for the legitimacy, selection, and interpretation of historical sources, raising historiographical concerns that are less central in Rüsen's work.

King's theory is descriptive in the sense that he describes the centrality of race in the development of history and culture, particularly in the United States. He has identified three areas of empirical concern: *narrative*, *use of history*, and *historical culture* (cf. Thorp, 2014) that will help to shape the presentation of data below. King's concerns with narrative revolve around the use of archetypical forms that are associated with Black history in the popular culture (for example, victims or messiahs, see Woodson, 2016); the implications those archetypes have for how Black history is used to make social and political arguments in the present; and the treatment of ideologies such as race, racism, and anti-Blackness as individual beliefs, or as a central structural component of the historical culture.

Affect and the significant Other

Rüsen's and King's theories of historical consciousness are both centered on the idea of identity as a profound factor that helps people orient themselves in time and space. However, neither theory accounts for the dialogical construction of identity, nor do they account for the affective dimension of identity, particularly when it is invoked in the context of a difficult history. Both of those ideas are briefly sketched below, and similar to the treatment of King's work, will be used to enrich the analysis of student work.

Zanazanian's (2012) work on historical consciousness frames identity formation dialogically in contexts that are occupied by multiple others in a tense "rapport" (p. 218) with each other. Zanazanian (2012) highlights the role in such rapport of what he calls the "significant Other" (p. 216), another identity group with which one's own group vies for cultural, social, economic and political power. Zanazanian (2012) found that "'ethnic' individuals (implicitly) evaluate their ethical motives in order to bind their personal identity to that of their group and to orient their actions toward the out-group (p. 218)." If, as Rüsen (2005) claims, history is a moral argument in narrative form, and historical consciousness is the activation of a moral response to questions that implicate those narratives, then it stands to reason that in politically and culturally unequal and competitive milieus expressions of historical consciousness are affected by the meta-dialogue with the significant Other.

In a somewhat similar vein, W. E. B. Du Bois (1993/1903) described a phenomenon he called "dual consciousness," a metaphor that he described as measuring "your worth through the eyes of others" (Moore, 2005, p. 753). Although Du Bois's (1993/1903) original meaning is contested, the metaphor continues to be invoked because of its descriptive power with regard to the epistemic tension many African Americans and other minorities experience. That tension lies between an awareness of a culturally dominant perspective, e.g. the perspective of a significant Other, and a perspective that emerges from their own non-dominant experiences (Allen Jr., 2003; Ciccariello-Maher, 2009; Gooding-Williams, 1987; Moore, 2005). That tension affects not only how the world is perceived and described, but also how members of one's own group, and ultimately oneself, are perceived. Both Du Bois (1993/1903) and Zanazanian (2012) describe how identity groups attempt to manage the perception of their group by both insiders and outsiders alike, a concern that contrasts with Rüsen's (2005) framework for identity in which such ontological categories are rooted in historical memory and formed in isolation.

The concern for managing perceptions of one's group suggests that affect plays an important role in the relationship between identity and historical consciousness (Helmsing, 2014; Scribner, 2019). Affect describes the experience of heightened attention to particular subjects one might encounter. In the intersection of history and identity, people tend to be

both more interested in and more emotionally engaged with content that relates to their own identity. The Western cultural tradition frames affect and reason dichotomously, and valorizes the latter over the former. Helmsing (2014, cf. Ahmed, 2004) points out, however, that affect is central to the use of history as a way to orient oneself in time and space, and thus is integral to historical sense-making (see also Barton & McCully, 2005; Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012; Reich, 2018; Scribner, 2019; Wertsch, 1998). Similarly, Bermudez (2012) reminds us that history is a discursive activity that people engage in with others. She urges scholars to consider the "discursive activities of negotiation, affirmation, recognition and contestation around competing social narratives, value conflicts, and power differences" (Bermudez, 2012, p. 207) that are at play when history is evoked (see also Anagnostopoulos, Everett, & Carey, 2013; Kollikant Pollack, 2015; Perkins, Chan-Frazier, & Roland, 2018; Wertsch, 2012; Zanazanian, 2012).

The data analyzed in this study consists of the productions of African American students in a largely African American school who considered controversies about monuments that evoke both their own identity and that of their significant Other in a racially contested space. The inclusion of the considerations suggested by King (2019; 2018), Zanazanian (2012) and others draws attention to the historical context of identity formation and the ongoing dialogical work of (re)constructing those identities when engaging in historical culture.

Monument Avenue: A recurring controversy

This study was conducted in Richmond Virginia, the former capitol of the Confederacy that became known as the "Mecca of the Lost Cause," (Wilson, 1983, p. 29; as quoted in Leib, 2002, p. 286) in part because of the presence of Monument Avenue, a street of stately homes and larger-than-life monuments to Confederate soldiers and statesmen, such as Robert E. Lee, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, and Jefferson Davis (Wilson, 1994). Confederate monuments were erected there between 1890 and 1929, but in 1996 a new monument to Richmond native, tennis champion, and human rights activist Arthur Ashe was added. The symbolism of placing a statue of an African American on Monument Avenue was not lost on Richmonders, and the plan to do so engendered significant public debate both between and within White and Black communities in Richmond (Leib, 2002; Gibson & Reich, 2017). Some Whites argued that Monument Avenue was not the appropriate location to place the Ashe statue because he was not a military hero (Moore, 1995). Some African Americans agreed that he should not be placed there, citing Ashe's own wishes and discomfort that one of their own would be associated with an avenue whose icons represent White supremacy (Boone, 1995). Other African Americans, including then Governor Douglas Wilder, believed that placing Ashe on Monument Avenue would change the story that unfolds there, indicating that the Lost Cause interpretation is no longer taken as gospel in Virginia and that Virginia recognizes its African American heroes (Williams, 1995). The Ashe controversy was not the first regarding Monument Avenue, however. African Americans in Richmond spoke out against the deification of Confederates back in 1890 when the Lee statue was unveiled (Brown, 2004), and today debates continue about the future of Richmond's iconic boulevard (Ferguson, 2017).

In 2015, a terror attack on Charleston's Emanuel A.M.E. Church left nine African American parishioners dead at the hands of a White-nationalist who reveled in the iconography of the Confederacy. That attack rekindled debate about the display of such symbols on public property throughout the South. In Richmond, a citizen painted "Black Lives Matter" on the statue of Jefferson Davis (Moomaw, & Shuleeta, 2015), and a flurry of opinion pieces and public meetings appeared in which citizens discussed what should be done. In those discussions, opinions fell into several broad categories. Some believed that the

Confederate statues should be removed and placed in a museum (Williams, 2015). Others felt that the statues were legitimate expressions of southern heritage and should remain untouched (Virginia Flaggers, 2015). Still others believed that the statues should remain, but that historical placards should be added to provide context to visitors about what the statues symbolize and why they were erected (Zullo, 2017). In June 2017, six months after this study was conducted, the new Mayor of Richmond, Levar Stoney created a commission to consider these alternatives and produce a plan for addressing how the city's past is represented (Ferguson, 2017). The reader should note that the deadly encounter in Charlottesville Virginia sparked by controversy regarding the future of a statue to R. E. Lee there, had not yet occurred when these data were collected, but the election of Donald Trump as the 45th President of the United States had occurred.

Figure 1 Photos of the monuments to Confederate General R. E. Lee and tennis champion and human rights activist Arthur Ashe. (photos used by permission Buffington, M.)

Method

Sight, participants, and data source

The student work analyzed in this article was completed as part of a cross-curricular unit on the public art of Monument Avenue at Thurmond high school (a pseudonym). Data for this study consists of letters students wrote for the English teacher to the new mayor of Richmond about what they believed should be done with the statues on Monument Avenue. The English teacher, Ms. O'Shea (a pseudonym), discussed persuasive argumentation with the students and the genre of a formal letter to city officials. She engaged her students in a visual analysis of the Monuments and documents, mostly newspaper editorials about the controversy surrounding the Ashe monument in 1995. Her ultimate goal was for the students to understand

that the Confederate Monuments create a narrative of the Lost Cause and that the insertion of Arthur Ashe was a deliberate attempt to disrupt that narrative. Her second goal was to have students practice the art of civic argumentation in the form of letters to the mayor of the city.

Thurmond High School enrolled 902 students in the 2015-2016 school year (the year before these data were collected). Students who participated in this study come from a more selective *International Baccalaureate* program within Thurmond High that enrolls 71 (9.6%) of those 902 students. The school is 72% African American, 2% Asian, 4% Latinx, and 18% White, with less than 2% being Native American or mixed race. 51% receive free or reduced-price lunch. A total of 22 students from Ms. O'Shea's English class were eligible to participate in this study, and of those 10 elected to do so. All 10 completed the letter to the mayor. Eight of the ten participants were African-American, one was Latino and one was mixed White and Asian. Ms. O'Shea and the researcher are both White. The permissions secured for this study from the school did not allow interviews and questionnaires of students' backgrounds. The participating teacher was relied upon as an informant regarding students' ethnic/racial backgrounds. Such a method is problematic for a number of reasons: teachers may have developed incorrect impressions and are likely to have different amounts of knowledge about different students, and identities tend to be plural and fluid (Peck, 2019). The reader should take that lack of clarity into consideration when considering the evidence. However, the reader should also consider the ways in which forced choice categories on a questionnaire refract when people engage in in-depth interviews about their identities (Peck, 2019). Data were collected for this study in the Fall of the 2016-2017 school year. After securing permission from the participants, the letters were collected by the researcher from Ms. O'Shea.

Data analysis and presentation

The nature of the research questions, the data, and the use of three juxtaposed frameworks necessitated recursive analyses of both parts and whole. Rüsen's typology is holistic. It combines differences among a number of inter-related elements into a type. The elements of students' discourse most relevant to that holistic judgment were their theses regarding the future of the monuments, the support for the thesis(es), and the way in which participants discussed time. Rüsen's typology, however, undertheorizes issues of identity that are more central to Black historical consciousness (King, 2019; 2018), and the dialogic approach to identity in Zanazanian's (2012) work. In order to juxtapose those frameworks in the analysis and presentation of the data, several elements of participants' discourse were analyzed. Those included structural racism, narrative direction (progress or decline), explicit mentions of race, identity, and the connections made between identity and the controversy over the monuments. All analyses were conducted using the AtlasTi software package.

To assign each letter to one or more of Rüsen's historical consciousness types, three steps were taken. The first step was to identify the students' thesis (or theses) on what should be done with the Ashe statue and the Confederate monuments. Second, the reasons students gave to support the thesis(es) were identified. Third, the utterances in the letters that referenced a period in time were coded (Seixas & Clark, 2004). "Far past" was used if they referred to the period after Reconstruction when Confederate statues were installed. "Near past" was used for utterances about the addition of Ashe's statue in the mid-1990s. "Present" was used for utterances referring to events around the time of the study, and "future" was used for utterances about what they believed might occur after the present. The constant comparison method (Miles & Huberman, 1994) was used in order to construct an argument for categorizing the thesis(es) in the letters by the historical consciousness type (Rüsen, 2005; Seixas & Clark, 2004). The constant comparison in this instance is deductive. Each thesis and

the evidence used to support it were compared to the features of the ideal types developed by Rüsen (2005) to ensure that categorizations were consistent. Out of the constant comparison method a series of codes were developed to describe the timeless principles that participants applied when making arguments in the exemplary register. Those coded principles were "Ashe doesn't fit," "build monuments to inspire," "controversy is bad," "progress is a break with the past," "respect people's wishes (regarding their likeness)," and "shared representation."

Following that initial analysis, a secondary analysis was conducted that made use of insights on historical consciousness from King (2019; 2018), Du Bois (1993/1903), Helmsing, (2014), and Zanazanian (2012). The data were coded first for explicit mentions of "structural racism," defined as mentions of disproportionality regarding who is represented (as historical structural racism), or mentions of Confederate racism, and/or segregation of the city and tennis courts in Ashe's youth. Second, the letters were coded with race if they mentioned "race," "Black," "African American," "White," and "Confederate." Confederate was coded as an explicit mention of race because in the context of these letters it referred to statues and supporters of those statues who were clearly assumed to be White. Linguistic research on *race talk* has found that members of minority groups are reluctant to name the majority group particularly in mixed settings (Anagnostopoulos, et al., 2013; Perkins, et al., 2018). Mentions of Arthur Ashe were not coded as a mention of race because although students are conscious of his blackness, they treated him both as an individual and a representative member of the group. The letters were also coded for "identity," defined here as a reference to in- and out-group, to personal identity, to Ashe as mismatched with Monument Avenue, and references to the identity of the city. After coding for explicit mention of race, the discourse employed for such mentions was organized into sub-categories that delineated common terms for African Americans and Whites from euphemistic ones, such as "Confederate Americans." The AtlasTi query tool was used to look at co-occurrences of discussions of controversy and identity, as well as controversy and explicit mentions of race. When reviewing coded text in these categories, particular attention was paid to the emotional valence of the discourse, in particular around the intersections of controversy, race, and identity.

Data are presented in two ways in the findings below. First, each of the elements discussed above, are presented independently across all 10 cases to provide the reader with a clear description of them and to indicate how those elements were distributed across the sample. Second, data are presented holistically in the form of three case studies of letters categorized as exemplary, critical, and genetic according to Rüsen's typology. Case studies of individual letters were included because the form illustrates the inter-related nature of the three analytical lenses (Flyvbjerg, 2011; 2001). The case studies are *critical cases* with a strategic sample. Critical cases are those that "have strategic importance in relation to the general problem" (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 307). The general problem is to explore the ways in which Rüsen's typology works and does not work when characterizing the historical consciousness of young people from a marginalized group. Quotes from the participants' letters are included without editing or indication of grammatical errors or inconsistency in regard to capitalization.

Findings

Responses categorized using Rüsen's typology

Student participants composed a variety of arguments about what should be done with the Ashe statue and Monument Avenue in general. The arguments that they made with regard to

the statues did not indicate the type of historical consciousness they employed (see figure 2). Of the ten participants in this study, eight wrote theses about what should be done with Arthur Ashe's statue that can be classified as exemplary. Exemplary historical consciousness is characterized by the use of timeless principles that explain the past, present and future. These principles can be either ethical or temporal in nature, and the responses discussed here represent both. The three most common principles employed were that 1) there should be homogeneity to the art displayed public spaces (e.g., Ashe does not "fit" on Monument Avenue), 2) that people's wishes should be respected (e.g., Ashe did not want his statue on Monument Avenue), and 3) that it is good to break with a "negative" past to progress to a "positive" future (e.g., add more diverse statues that represent an improved present). There were three participants, Amos, Naomi, and Daniel whose responses exemplified, at least in part, a critical historical consciousness. There was one response by Kehinde that was characterized as critical and genetic.

Participant and Race	**Historical Consciousness Evident**	**Remove or Maintain Ashe** **Statue on Monument Avenue**	**Remove or Maintain Confederate Statues on Monument Avenue**
Amos[1] - African American	Critical	Maintain Ashe and add statues of the underrepresented	Maintain Confederate Statues
Ariella – African American	Exemplary	Move Ashe	Maintain Confederate Statues
Cassandra – Asian and White	Exemplary	Maintain Ashe and add statues of the underrepresented	Maintain Confederate Statues
Daniel – African American	Exemplary and Critical	Maintain Ashe and add statues of the underrepresented	Maintain Confederate Statues
Jabari – African American	Exemplary	Move Ashe	Maintain Confederate Statues
Jeané – African American	Exemplary	Move Ashe or add monuments of the underrepresented	Maintain Confederate Statues
Kehinde – African American	Critical and Genetic	Move Ashe	Maintain Confederate Statues
Marco – Latino	Exemplary	Move Ashe	Maintain Confederate Statues
Naomi – African American	Exemplary and Critical	Move Ashe	Replace Confederate Statues
Te'Anna – African American	Exemplary	Move Ashe	Maintain Confederate Statues

Figure 2 Historical consciousness and arguments about the monuments evident in participants' letters

Most, but not all, of the respondents proposed that the Ashe statue be removed from Monument Avenue and placed somewhere the student deemed more appropriate. Cassandra and Daniel's exemplary responses argued that the Ashe statue should remain where it is and that further statues representing people of color and women should be added to Monument Avenue. Others, such as Ariella, Jeané, and Naomi argued that Ashe should be moved, but added a second thesis that argued that if he is going to stay, more statues be added. Curiously, only one student, Naomi, argued that the Confederate statues be removed. Other students, such as Amos, presented proposals that would diminish the iconic power of those monuments, but for many the idea of provoking a reaction from Whites was not attractive.

The presence of race, affect, and the significant Other

In King's (2019; 2018) work, a key component of Black historical consciousness is a recognition of racism as a central feature of American social structure and cultural matrixes. In these letters, 24 utterances were coded for structural racism, but three of the 10 (Marco, Jeané, and Naomi) made no such utterance at all. Of those who did describe structural racism in relation to Monument Avenue, they were clear that the presence of Confederate monuments, and the lack of representation of African Americans or members of other groups in Richmond, were evidence of structural racism (although that specific term was not used). Ariella wrote that "I agree that Monument avenue needs to showcase all the heroes of Richmond's history and not just confederate soldiers," and called for further redress, writing, "We have already successfully integrated the avenue, why not add an African American female as well?" Jabari wrote that "Currently the Ashe statue is located on monument avenue, blocks away from statues of men who wouldn't even approve his way of living and fought a bloody war in part for their beliefs that he shouldn't be able to become a famous tennis player." For these participants, Monument Avenue represents a fundamental unfairness in their city in which race—and also gender for at least one participant—determines who does and does not hold power.

Alongside the recognition of structural racism was the belief that, in America, progress unfolds over time. Discourse about the far past, near past, present, and future indicated a structural narrative of progress from a more racist past, in which one group hoarded power and recognition, to a future society in which respect for diversity replaces a racial hierarchy. Utterances referring to the distant past, specifically the time around and after the Civil War, tended to frame it negatively by describing the mistreatment of Black ancestors at that time. Daniel described the epoch in which the statues were erected as "a time in which Jim Crow laws were prevalent and racism was at its peak." In contrast, the near past—when Ashe's statue was added—and the present, were described as manifestations of positive change. Cassandra wrote of 1995 that "ever since then diversity and art have expanded in our amazing city." Included in those references to the future were their ideas about what might be done with Arthur Ashe's monument in order to end the controversy around it. Those future references expressed the belief that change was possible and that such change would be positive. Daniel asks "why not find a new solution to an old problem?" Jeané wrote that "The people of Richmond coming together and creating beautiful pieces of artwork would really make Richmond a better place to live." Kehinde blithely suggested that "I believe that, with a few tweaks here and there, these solutions could accommodate to all the people of Richmond who argue over the statue." Amos argued that the addition of Ashe should be accompanied by more monuments representing the diversity of the city in order to create a future for the avenue that has broken irrevocably with its past.

The presence of the significant Other, White Richmonders, is evident in the utterances about the controversies that surrounded the Ashe statue and in the discourse used to describe

that significant Other. Participants had diverse views about Ashe, Monument Avenue, and race, but they tended to connect identity and specifically race to the controversy. Seven of the 10 included explicit mentions of race when discussing the controversy, and eight of the 10 included identity in discussions of the controversy. Controversy was for most about the placement of the Ashe statue on Monument Avenue and the identity mismatch of an African American tennis champ and Confederate soldiers, but different students pointed blame in different directions. Cassandra connected the ideas of identity, mismatch, and controversy, but framed the placement of Ashe there as a way to move past the controversy. Kehinde described the controversy as emerging from "the people who support confederate statues", but saw the salience of race in politics as a source of confusion that "muddle[s] the options" about what to do. Jabari described the Confederate statues as the cause of controversy, with Ashe's presence diminishing divisiveness because his presence "shows growth in Richmond as a united city."

While issues of racism were clearly connected to the controversies over monuments, participants were circumspect in how they described the significant Other. Text was coded for an explicit invocation of race when participants used words such as "race," "Black," "African American," "White," and "Confederate." That code was applied 64 times, and all 10 letters included at least two such mentions of race. As you can see in table 1, while participants freely used more common terms to describe African Americans, the word "White" was used only five times, and "Confederate" was used 21 times. Research on African American race talk using critical or historical discourse analysis has found that particularly in mixed settings, a strategy of using abstractions to refer to the dominant group is used to mitigate emotional response to the use of general categories that implicate others (in this case their White teacher) in historical or contemporary racist practices (Anagnostopoulos, et al., 2013; Perkins, et al., 2018).

"Black"/"African American"	22
Euphamisms for Black (e.g. "the community," "brown bear")	6
"White"	5
Euphamisms for White (e.g. "Confederates," "polar bear")	22
"Race"	6
Total Explicit Mentions of Race	61

Table 1 Participants' Race Talk

The letters indicate that the presence of race and racism were salient to the participants when they discussed the controversies regarding Monument Avenue and the presence of the Arthur Ashe statue there. There was evidence that participants had an easier time discussing their in-group than they did the out-group: White Richmonders, a significant Other with disproportionate political and economic power in the city. In the following section, three case studies are presented that combine a description based on Rüsen's framework with elements that resonate with the other frameworks.

Case studies

Jeané's exemplary stance

Jeané framed Ashe's presence on Monument Avenue as a problem because its presence evoked strong reactions, particularly from some White Richmonders. Jeané proposed that Ashe's statue should be removed from Monument Avenue and placed elsewhere. She made a secondary proposal that if the Ashe statue remains on Monument Avenue, more statues of African American historical figures should be added. Consistent with an exemplary historical consciousness, Jeané supported both of these theses through "argumentation by judgment (*Urteilskraft*) by which rules are generated out of past cases and applied to situations in the present" (Rüsen, 2012, p. 53). The rules Jeané invoked were that a person's wishes about what is done with their likeness should be respected, and that it is dangerous to transgress traditional social arrangements, particularly if one does so alone.

Jeané's belief that a person's wishes about what is done with their likeness ought to be respected was supported by texts written by Ashe and his wife, Jeanne Moutoussamy-Ashe, that the students read in English class. As Jeané explained:

> Arthur wanted his monument be so much more than just about him and [he] hated the idea of being on Monument [Avenue, as evident in] … an article by Jeanne Ashe his wife makes me feel like he shouldn't be there.

She reiterated this point after introducing the counter-argument which she ascribed to Richmond's former mayor Dwight Jones. As Jeané explained, Jones believed that placing Ashe on Monument Avenue would change the meaning the avenue manifests. Jeané believed, however, that Jones should have prioritized Ashe's own desire not to be placed on Monument Avenue because Ashe was Jones's friend.

Jeané's second reason for placing the Ashe monument elsewhere is related to what she and others perceived as a mismatch between Ashe and a street known for over a century as the Mecca of the Lost Cause. She expressed this belief obliquely, by personifying the statue of Ashe and projecting emotions she might feel onto it. She wrote that "being the first black person to change something is a tough shoe to fill and I don't think his monument is getting as much love and admiration as it deserves." Jeané wrote sympathetically, even protectively, about how the geographic position of the Ashe monument crosses a line demarcating race and ideology that she perceived as perilous. The second part of the sentence spelled out the danger such crossing can engender in the form of negative attention rather than "love and admiration." Elsewhere, she explained that Ashe "already overcame that [desegregating a space] once so why not give him a break[?]" Jeané went further, personifying the statue and writing about its feelings by comparing its lonely existence among Confederates to "showing up to school ... and walking the hallways alone while everyone is going to look down on you." She explained further that "that is one of the worst feelings that someone could face …."

These statements expressed anxiety that being the only African American in a White space can lead to disrespect and a devaluation of one's accomplishments or value. The implication of that anxiety, however, was an acceptance of the tradition of exclusively representing the Confederacy on Monument Avenue. At the end of the letter, however, Jeané added a second thesis "I think something I would like to see is more black heroes on Monument Ave. ... My theory is if Arthur Ashe has to be there then he should have some more allies around him." This concern for allies, for not being what another participant, Ariella, called "*the* African American on monument avenue" (emphasis added), is evidence that violating the ideological and racial homogeneity of public spaces is most wisely approached through collective action.

Jeané's argument about what ought to be manifested an exemplary historical consciousness. She expressed her ideas by referencing moral principles that connected past, present and future. Those principles upheld traditions, such as the neo-Confederate ideology represented on Monument Avenue, and perhaps a tradition of fear of the consequences of violating the established order. Arthur Ashe ought to be somewhere else, where he will not cause controversy and where he will likely be accorded more deference and respect.

Amos' critical stance

Only three students approached the questions posed by Ms. O'Shea with a critical historical consciousness, and only one of the three, Amos, did so consistently. Amos argued that the monument of Ashe is "fine in its current location." In contrast to Jeané, Amos was less anxious about the recurring controversies about the Ashe statue, writing that "the controversy has not grown enough to be an urgent issue in our city." Amos's main reason for leaving the Ashe statue in place was because its presence "slightly challenges the narrative of confederate monument avenue." He acknowledged that "juxtaposing an athlete with confederate soldiers" is a "political statement" and that "it seems difficult for Monument Avenue to remain a memorial for the Confederacy and its principles when there is an african-american athlete being honored alongside them." Amos went further when he explained that the "conventional confederate narrative of Monument Avenue would be nullified if the people honored on the statue[s] were more diverse" He addressed the anxiety that Ashe seemed out of place on the avenue by calling for,

> the addition of more statues that either commemorate people of color or people who have different career paths [that] would diversify the avenue and make Arthur Ashe appear less misplaced, thus eradicating the confederate dominance.

Seixas and Clark (2004; and Rüsen, 2005) associated the critical stance with the destruction, not construction of monuments. They described this stance, in particular towards aspects of the past that violate contemporary moral positions, as in need of erasure "so that we can overcome the burden of the past" (p. 156). So why characterize Amos's letter as critical if he is arguing for the addition of more statues? The key feature of the critical stance (Rüsen,2005; Seixas & Clark, 2004; cf. Neitzsche, 1997/1874) is negation—through a variety of intellectual and rhetorical devices—of historical continuity between past and present in order to create a different future. In other words, the critical stance is one in which "history functions as the tool by which such continuity is ruptured, deconstructed, decoded—so that it loses its power as a source for present-day orientation" (Rüsen, 2005, p. 32). That rupture does not come from posing a philosophical argument, but rather from presenting a counter narrative that disrupts the hegemonic one (Rüsen, 2005). Amos understood that by adding a more diverse set of statues to Monument Avenue, the deep connection of the avenue to the Lost Cause would be ruptured. As Amos explained,

> We are no longer the capital of the Confederacy, so our city should be able to progress forward from those times. This city does not need to revolve around war memorials and regressive monument[s]; We must alter the connotation attached to the name Richmond and build a better place for generations to come.

Thus, through counternarrative, the moral power of monuments to reinforce a collective memory that sustains an identity of Richmond that is antagonistic to a plurality of its citizens is disrupted, allowing a new city to emerge.

Kehinde's genetic stance

Only Kehinde's response can be classified as representing a genetic historical consciousness. For those employing a genetic historical consciousness, change and continuity are both

perpetually unfolding. Thus, the present is "conceptualized as an intersection, ... a dynamic transition" (Rüsen, 2005, p. 33) from past to future. Seixas and Clark (2004) characterized this stance as “historicize the monument.” As they describe it,

> this type subverts the original intentions of monuments and memorials, not by destroying them, but by studying them as products of their time, by historicizing them. It achieves a connection with the past, not by preserving an unchanging continuity, but by studying and understanding change from a particular historical moment: the present. (Seixas & Clark, 2004, p. 158).

Kehinde began his letter by turning a critical eye towards the political tactics of African American civic leaders who supported the placement of the Ashe statue on Monument Avenue. He called the move a "cheap tactic" and admonished Black politicians to "stop constantly playing the victim race card" calling such a move "childish" and "cowardly" and explained that he feels "slightly embarassed that that's how my people are represented." Like many of his fellow students, he argued that Ashe is "out of place" on "an avenue dedicated to war heros" and argued that this placement is disrespectful to "those war heroes" as well as to Arthur Ashe. Kehinde's explanation of the history of Ashe's placement was characteristic of a critical historical consciousness. Through his rather harsh words, he sought to negate the connections between past and present made by the politicians who placed Ashe on Monument Avenue. Doing so, he also distanced himself from the official leadership of his community, a further negation of historical continuity. It is when he described an alternative plan for public art in Richmond, however, that a genetic historical consciousness is evident.

Kehinde's resolution “revolves around the fact that Richmond is a city of art” and that public art “can do an amazing job at telling stories of time.” He acknowledged the desire of many in Richmond to separate the identity of the city from its “racist history” but proposed that the way to do so is to “change the way people view monuments.” His proposition was the following:

> We could treat Richmond like a giant museum, and when people go through a museum it usually flows through time. For anyone who wants to learn about Richmond’s history, they could start at Monument Avenue, and slowly work their way across the city to see how its people and culture has changed through the various monuments and artworks placed around our city. This would keep the integrity of the confederate soldiers, while also being mature enough to accept that Richmond’s history had a rocky start.

Kehinde’s proposal described a way that the public art of Richmond could be historicized. Kehinde temporalized the geography of the city using the layout of an art museum as a simile when he reasoned that if a museum is laid out chronologically, with different rooms presenting art from different time periods, then the city can do the same. Rather than remove the traces of Richmond’s racist history, Kehinde argued that they should remain as reminder of that history. He further argued that other neighborhoods in the city could present art that represents different time periods, and by extension different groups of people. Thus, he described a walk through the city as a walk through time with different people and cultures from those different time periods represented.

Discussion

In Rüsen’s (2005) philosophical work, he explained his typology of historical consciousness using a fictional story about two Scottish aristocrats, an ancient blood oath, and a contemporary moral problem they both faced. In that narrative explanation the historical knowledge of the fictional characters faced with a decision is the same, but the epistemological position on historical truth, and the ontological position on identity as it relates to time varied substantially. Rüsen’s example imagines such differences as they play out within one social class in an ethnically homogeneous society. When that framework is

applied to students from an historically marginalized community in a heterogeneous and unequal society some aspects of the framework hold up, others do not, and the tension between what does and does not work are instructive.

The typology worked quite well as a heuristic for delineating different types of arguments manifest in letters, as it has in previous studies (Seixas & Clark, 2004; Zanazanian, 2012). Jeané used "argumentation by judgment" (Rüsen, 2012, p. 53) in which general rules are created from historical cases and applied to the present. For Jeané, those timeless rules were that the living should respect the wishes of the dead, and that it is dangerous to transgress traditional social arrangements, particularly if one does so alone. Amos's argument was based on the rejection of the past as an exemplar for how we should lead our civic lives today. He wanted Ashe to remain on Monument Avenue in order to erode the emotional and psychic power of Confederate Monuments and called for more monuments to marginalized Richmonders to be placed there. Kehinde historicized the monuments, contextualizing them in the period they were erected, and calling for more monuments representing different people and times in other neighborhoods so that a visitor could experience the unfolding of history by touring the city. Rüsen's typology was an effective heuristic for honing in on the different ways in which the past was invoked by these participants, highlighting deep differences in epistemology of history and understanding of time even when, such as the cases of Jeané and Kehinde, they both argued for the removal of the Ashe monument.

Using Rüsen's (2005) typology, the monuments themselves present a pedagogy of exemplary historical consciousness. They tell a monumental and timeless story of the heroism of Confederate soldiers and statesmen fighting for a Lost Cause. The effect of their *presence over time*, however, impresses upon people a traditional historical consciousness when considering their continued presence. In other words, the monuments have existed for a long time and thus should continue to exist. Only one participant out of ten suggested removal of the Confederate monuments, even though that option was in the public discourse.[2] That phenomenon begins to speak to the power of an idea, in this case White supremacy, repeated over time, exists in many people's consciousness as a given justified by its continuous existence. Rüsen (2012) associated the power of such ideas with tradition, arguing that "the past is already present (as a result of historical developments) in the circumstances and conditions under which historical thinking is performed and is obviously influenced by it" (p. 45). However, the "circumstances and conditions" (Rüsen, 2012, p. 45) evident in these data indicate that contextual factors related to identity and affect were not sufficiently theorized in Rüsen's (2005) original framework.

The shortcomings of Rüsen's typology were most clearly evident when considering other questions that arose from these data. What are we to make of Jeané's emotional projection onto the Ashe statue, or her fear that its placement in a space considered hostile to African Americans diminished the art and Ashe's legacy? What might account for Amos's more sophisticated understanding of historical negation through addition rather than destruction? What accounts for the fact that responses like Jeané's, coded at the lower end of Rüsen's (2005) scale, expressed an awareness of multiple perspectives and were thus more sophisticated than the examples that Rüsen, as well as Seixas and Clark (2004) offered at those levels?

King (2019; 2018) has argued that the material conditions as well as the oral and intellectual traditions of Black life in the Americas inform an historical culture with profound implications for the historical consciousness of Black people. In the analysis of the letters as well as in the more detailed case studies it was clear that race was salient to this historical controversy for these participants. Jeané argued for moving Ashe or adding monuments of Black and female historical figures who will be his "allies;" Amos does not call for

destruction or removal of Confederate monuments but wants the increased presence of Black bodies to diminish their power; Kehinde worries that removal of Confederate monuments will diminish contemporary understanding of Richmond's "racist history." Thus, there was strong evidence in these data of a depiction of the continuous salience of race and racism across historical time, as well as the belief that racism has diminished over time and will continue to do so into the future. These data suggest that it was students' *consciousness* of the salience of race as African Americans in a city that valorizes White enslavers that informed their positions, whether those positions were based on timeless principles, the negation of the past, or a more integrated understanding of past, present, and future.

These data also suggest that in heterogeneous and unequal societies, identity is (re)formed through dialogic processes that include a significant Other. Regardless of where participants fell in Rüsen's typology, there was evidence that they understood that White Virginians were the significant Other who's presence, gaze, and power was a perpetual consideration when considering the future of Monument Avenue (Du Bois, 1993/1903; Zanazanian, 2012). For Jeané, the gaze of that significant Other needed to be managed, for Amos it needed to be challenged directly, and for Kehinde it should have been ignored. The affective nature of those expressions was also evident. Affect was evident in participants' consciousness of their own identity and of the significant Other's. The clearest example was provided by Jeané, who personified the Ashe statue by discussing its feelings of alienation on Monument Avenue. Kehinde's expression of embarrassment of the tactics used by Black politicians in 1990s Richmond was also an expression of that affective connection.

The findings suggest that Rüsen's (2005) treatment of identity and its relationship to historical consciousness was too simple, leaving a crucial aspect of the phenomenon blurred. For Rüsen, identity is what connects people to each other in the present with reference historical categories and narratives. He leaves out the role of a significant Other (Zanazanian, 2012), a separate group whose ideas, narratives, and categorizing schema impact the ongoing dialogic process of identity construction. Those factors have a direct impact on how we understand the development of historical consciousness. For example, Rüsen (2005) theorized that as one develops towards genetic historical consciousness, one becomes better able to hold conflicting ideas and perspectives in one's head simultaneously. However, Jeané—judged to be at the lower-end of the developmental types—was clearly able to toggle between her own perspective and that of the significant Other's. For Du Bois (1993/1903), such toggling between perspectives emerges as a survival tactic amongst members of a subordinated group. King might describe that tactic as evidence of a distinctly African American historical culture. Either way, evidence of the ability to toggle between multiple historical perspectives across respondents regardless of their assessed type of consciousness suggests that members of marginalized groups may be more likely to express historical consciousness in more sophisticated ways contra-type, a potential cultural asset with regard to learning and understanding history deeply.

Conclusion

Rüsen's (2005; 1989; cf. Nietzsche, 1997/1874) philosophy provides a strong basis for an emerging theory of historical consciousness, its development, and a methodology for studying it as a phenomenon. However, it can be strengthened with a dialogic understanding of identity that focuses on the specific social context of the study and the role that knowledge and affect play in informing participant's positions on historical questions. Social factors, such as the heterogeneity and inequality of the locale, group relations there—in short its history—are salient to the arguments that people construct. Including concerns for local history, identity, and rhetoric when designing studies of historical consciousness means taking history as a

cultural resource seriously. In understanding how that resource is employed in specific cases, such as arguing what should be done with Confederate monuments, the dynamic, situated, and dialogic nature of identity is crucial to what and how people argue. That, however, is not an argument for the use of broad categories to form assumptions about how individuals might connect past, present, and future when addressing a current civic controversy. Rather, considering local context and identity helps to illustrate how context helps form the lenses through which history is refracted.

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Endnotes

[1] All names are pseudonyms.

[2] At the time these data were collected, no major removals of Confederate statues, such as the statue of R. E. Lee in New Orleans had occurred yet.

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About the Author

Gabriel A. Reich is an Associate Professor of History/Social Studies Education at Virginia Commonwealth University where he prepares middle and high school pre-service teachers. The research reported on in this article is part of a larger project on historical consciousness

and the collective memories of the U.S. Civil War. If you are interested in a correspondence regarding this work, please feel free to contact greich@vcu.edu.

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A global history in a global world? Human rights in history education in the Global North and South

Olle Nolgård
Uppsala University, Sweden

Thomas Nygren
Uppsala University, Sweden

Felisa Tibbitts
Columbia University in the City of New York, United States

Anamika Anamika
National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, India

Denise Bentrovato
University of Pretoria, South Africa

Paul Enright
Logan Park High School, New Zealand

Johan Wassermann
University of Pretoria, South Africa

Oakleigh Welply
Durham University, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT: In this study, we analyse similarities and differences in 957 students' perceptions of the history of human rights in six countries: England, India, New Zealand, South Africa, Sweden and the United States of America. This is investigated through the lens of the intended, implemented and achieved curricula. Our aim is to better understand what historical events students perceive as central in the history of human rights in different countries and how this may relate to education *about*, *through* and *for* human rights across borders. While the findings indicate a global culture of human rights, we identify several challenges in the teaching and learning of universal human rights in history education. In some instances, notions of nationalism and exceptionalism in society and history culture pose great challenges to the teaching and learning of human rights. In others, a strong focus on the global world have complicated the identification of human rights issues in the local context. Our findings also highlight the neglect of certain historical narratives, most notably the history of indigenous and minority groups. These findings are significant to researchers, teachers and decision-makers interested in furthering human rights and international understanding through education.

KEYWORDS: Comparative education; global citizenship; human rights education (HRE); history education.

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Introduction

In a globalizing world where people and ideas are constantly on the move, engaging with research on ideas related to Human Rights Education (HRE) in both the Global North and the Global South is becoming ever more important. The United Nations Human Rights charter after all intends to transcend the North-South divide. The centrality of human rights education for all has recently been re-affirmed through the UN Sustainable Development Goal Target 4.7, in which all learners by the year of 2030 should "acquire [the] knowledge and skills needed to promote" human rights, a culture of peace- and non-violence and an appreciation of cultural diversity (UN, 2015 p.17).

In principle, HRE is concerned with teaching students *about* human rights and helping them identify both their own rights and human rights around the world (Struthers, 2015, 2017; Tibbitts, 2002, 2016, 2017). This learning is widely believed to be best enabled *through* transformative, active educational designs, which have the potential to empower learners to critically engage with human rights issues and work *for* a just world. Scholars of history education argue that the study of history can be a central underpinning of democracy and cross-cultural understanding (see for example, Barton & Levstik, 2004). Historians also argue that the way we perceive the past is central to how we perceive the present and the future (Seixas, 2004), and can thus inform our actions. In light of human rights education theories, history may be *about* human rights but may also be connected to attitudes *for* human rights. Narratives from and about the past may spark action in the present and the future, but may also do the exact opposite by hindering action towards change (Osler, 2015). Noting how narratives of the past may connect people, it is relevant to better understand how the history of human rights may promote global international understanding across borders but also leave communities disconnected (Åström Elmersjö, Clark & Vinterek, 2017). Bearing in mind that history education is often underlined in international guidelines as a central part of supporting international understanding (Nygren, 2016a), it is important to grasp what history students may perceive as being associated with human rights in different parts of the world. Previous research has also noted that learning history is far more complex than reading and memorizing what is in the textbook (Levstik & Barton, 2018). Therefore, we find that asking students to reflect upon the past will add important dimensions beyond textbooks and guidelines. What students take away from schooling is central but also very diverse, making it important to map out and better understand the human rights perspectives in the historical consciousness of future citizens.

In this paper, we analyse similarities and differences in students' perceptions of the history of human rights in six selected countries, namely England, India, New Zealand, South Africa, Sweden and the United States of America (USA). Our aim is to better understand what historical events or movements students perceive as being central in a history of human rights in different countries and how this may relate to history education *about* and *for* human rights across borders.

Previous research

In relation to the teaching and learning of history, previous human rights education research has centred around issues of teaching for change, giving students agency to work for a better world and to give practitioners' and prospective teachers tools to teach human rights (Lücke, Tibbitts, Engel, Fenner, 2016; Tibbitts & Weldon, 2017). Theories of history education regard the notion of historical consciousness and a practical view of the past, which sees the present world as providing meaning to the past and vice versa (Jeismann, 1979; Rüsen, 1997; White, 2014), as key to the process of adapting a *change approach* (Lücke, 2016). In addition, a history

education emphasizing multiperspectivity has been viewed as crucial in fostering international understanding and active participation in human rights matters among adolescents (Lücke, 2016).

Human rights education research has identified different learning dimensions of human rights, which embodies said *change approach* (Løkke Rasmussen, 2013). One dimension includes that students should learn *about* human rights, related institutions and their development, as well as principles, norms and standards in order to obtain an understanding for the transfer of knowledge about human rights and systems upholding human rights. Another dimension includes learning *through* transformative pedagogies supporting and enhancing solidarity, empathy and respect for human rights values (Løkke Rasmussen, 2013; Lücke et al., 2016; Nygren & Johnsrud, 2018). Yet another dimension includes teaching and learning *for* human rights, whose aim is to empower students to assert their own and others' human rights as well as to critically engage with human rights issues and work *for* a just world. Thus, a history education that promotes human rights is one that strives towards nurturing a set of required knowledge, attitudes and skills for their promotion (Lücke et.al., 2016; Løkke Rasmussen 2013; UNESCO, 2006). In history education, studies have shown that it is possible for students to both be critical and caring (Brooks 2011; 2014; Endacott, 2010; Kohlmeier, 2006; Nolgård & Nygren, 2019; Nygren, 2016b,). This fact alone indicates that history may serve as a productive training ground for moral response, change and human rights action. While previous studies of HRE have focused on *how* good practices can be achieved, few studies have shown an interest for the classroom practice itself (OSCE, 2009). *Which* historical events and movements have students learnt about in regard to human rights remains a lacuna in human rights education research.

Furthermore, previous research has noted how international guidelines may have both a direct and indirect impact on educational policies on a national level (Irye, 2002; McNeely, 1995; Meyer et al 1997; Nygren, 2016a). A recent report, funded by UNESCO (Mc Evoy, 2017), found that aspects of human rights were evident in educational policies in 88% of the member states. Addressing human rights and fundamental freedoms was also mandatory in teacher education in 61% of the states. This, however, does not mean that students necessarily learn what is intended in policies and related recommendations. This is underscored in a recent cross-national interview study investigating adolescents understanding of the causes of human rights violations, means for protecting rights and their own role in furthering human rights for themselves and others (Barton, 2019). While the study showed that the students were able to recognize the role of both individuals and institutions to a certain degree in the task of ensuring human rights, their perceptions of the ideas influencing human rights centred on personal and local contexts rather than societal mechanisms (Barton, 2019). By delving deeper into what students perceive as important past and present events of human rights in different national and cultural contexts, this study alludes to extend this existing body of research by contributing with important knowledge on how history education can be means for furthering human rights. In addition, scholars have called for empirical comparative studies of human rights education but have found the challenges daunting (Davies et al., 2005). Thus, this article serves as an empirical contribution to the field of human rights and history education research. This is done by posing and discussing the following questions:

- What constitutes 'the global' in students' understanding of the global history[1] of human rights?
- Which historical events or movements do students perceive as being central in the history of human rights after nine years of schooling? How do their perceptions relate to formal curricula?

- How can students' perceptions of the history of human rights relate to human rights education about and for human rights across borders?

Theoretical framework

Studies have shown that recommendations and guidelines are interpreted, transferred and neglected on all levels of the educational system (Goodlad, 1979; Nygren, 2011). Policy-makers design curricula to fit ideological and cultural interests on both national and regional levels (Apple, 1992; Ball et al., 2012). In schools, teachers read, interpret and transform intended curricula into educational designs in various ways and students, coming into the classroom with a diversity of backgrounds, learn contents, skills and attitudes in a number of ways (Nygren, 2016a, 2016b). On all levels, there are a number of dilemmas regarding which contents, methods and mindsets to prioritize. Questions regarding *what*, *how* and *why* human rights can and should be taught in schools can be answered in multiple ways – opening up for some educational opportunities while hindering others.

With inspiration from Goodlad's (1979) curriculum theory, and Ball et al.'s (2012) notion of policy enactment, we will treat the implementation of human rights in history education as a process including direct transactions of ideas and interpretations in a complex interplay with the world at large. Each curricular level can contain several different perspectives. In addition, previous research has highlighted how implementing international guidelines is complex and not an automatic top-down process (Nygren, 2011, 2016a). What is formulated in recommendations and national guidelines does not automatically seep down into classroom practice and to the students.

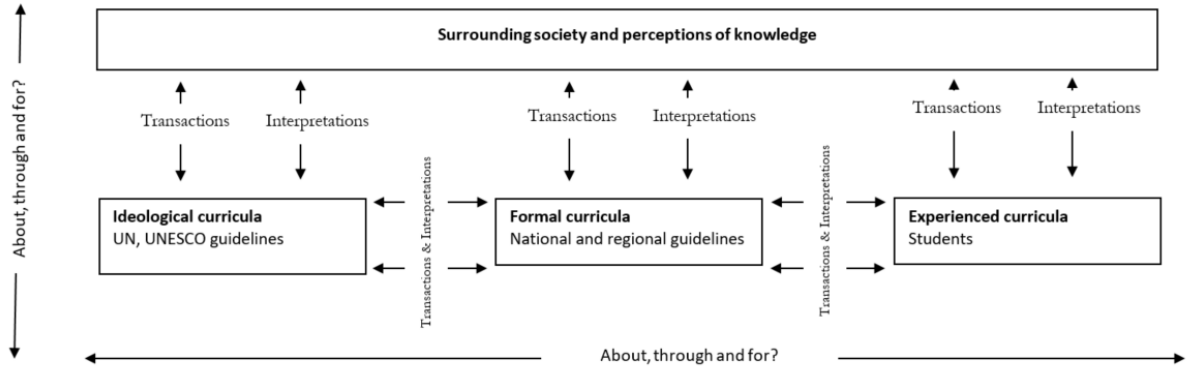

Figure 1. Theoretical and analytical model of the relationship between and within curricular realities on different levels.

Figure 1 illustrates the analytical and theoretical framework of this study: different curricular levels with different means and goals, and possible interpretations and transactions between them. The illustration shows the different curricular domains included in this study, which are further reflected in the research design. It demonstrates the great importance of interpretations for how guidelines are constructed, understood, neglected and passed on in domains with didactical considerations regarding *what*, *why* and *how* students should learn about human rights events in school. This point of departure acknowledges an interplay between the levels and opens up for critical analysis of content, ideas and values in line with previous notions of curricula as a matter of discourse within societal context (Apple, 1992). By comparing formulations in curricula, we can identify what is emphasized and ignored in the arena of formulations (Lindesjö & Lundgren, 2000); at the same time, studying and mapping students' perceptions of human rights in different educational settings – or arenas of realizations – will

help us better understand the complex reality of teaching and learning human rights within history education.

In this study, the intended ideological curricula for human rights is presented through UN and UNESCO guidelines, i.e. what in research often is described as "an international human rights regime" (see for example, Donnelley, 1986). Rather than being perceived as an actual international curriculum to be implemented top-down, this *ideological curricula* should be regarded as a set of recommendations on how education should promote universal human rights values across the globe. The *formal curricula* is in this study, comprised of descriptions of the each country's history syllabi in relations to notions of human rights. These curricular levels or dimensions, which altogether may be viewed as an *intended curricula*, are then put in light of what students perceive as being central regarding historical events of human rights in the past and present – the *experiential (experienced) curricula*. In line with Goodlad's (1979) theories, we do not see the guidelines as more important than students' experiences. Rather the opposite: the centre of this article, and the basis for our analysis, is *what* students actually find most important regarding human rights and how this relates to other levels of curricula as well as students in other countries. Thus, this paper will not offer the reader an in-depth policy analysis or set out to define a much-needed episteme of Human rights education (see Parker, 2019). Beyond the scope of the present investigation is also the implemented curriculum, such as the educational practices within school and the history classroom. Through investigating *what* students perceive as central in regards to events of human rights in history, our intention is to contribute with a body of knowledge to better understand the complex question of *how* history education and the HRE-approach can be means to accomplish a global awareness among adolescents in the Global North and South. Our hope is that these findings may be used as a springboard and guide for researchers, teachers and decision-makers interested in furthering human rights and international understanding in history education within and beyond the national contexts researched as part of this paper.

Data and methodology

As a part of a survey mapping global citizenship education in the Global North and South,[2] we asked students in six countries to answer the open-ended and qualitative question: *What are some historical events or movements that you consider to be linked to the history of human rights?* This question was designed to provide us with varied student perspectives on the history of human rights and make it possible for us to make comparisons. The open-ended responses derive from a dataset of answers from England (n = 215), India (n = 159), New Zealand (n = 220), South Africa (n = 190), Sweden (n = 230) and the USA (n = 153). The questionnaire was completed by 1072 students and 957 answered the question regarding the history of human rights. The majority of respondents were female (ca. 55%). Students ranged between year 9 and 13, age 16-19, and belonged to a variety of groups (social, cultural) within multicultural school contexts. This is also evident in the fact that many of the students would speak an additional language at home, other than what they would use in school. This was particularly the case in India and South Africa, where 96% and 71% of the respondents respectively spoke a different language than the language of instruction. In the USA this was 37%, in England 21%, in Sweden 31%, and in New Zealand 16%.[3] All surveyed students had attended school for at least nine years.

The selection of countries was based upon the purpose to study human rights and global citizenship education as global challenges. An international team of scholars of human rights education and history education conducted data collection in countries in the Global North and South and the questionnaires were administered through non-random, convenience sampling. Students commented on whether or not they had learned human rights, peace and sustainable

development in their school, the methodologies used by the teachers, how they saw these concepts represented in their learning, and *how* what they learned in school affected their thinking about these topics. Students completed the questionnaires using *Survey Monkey*. The data were then downloaded into Excel spreadsheets and codes were then developed for open-ended responses. Based upon previous research and theories regarding the implementation of history of human rights in education, we developed codes in an iterative process where we paid close attention to the responses in order to make sure we captured the richness of perspectives. A multi-step, iterative process was carried out to finalize the set of codes used for the history question, with distinctions made between spatial dimensions (for example, domestic, non-domestic, cross-national) as well as event typologies (for example, genocides and mass violence, crimes against humanity, armed conflict, social movements, key legislation or court decisions). In each country, national researchers coded the open-ended responses adding codes for all the collected comments to ensure the inclusion of the rich variety of students' perceptions of the past. Drawing from a mixed-methods approach, we combined qualitative readings of students' responses with quantitative comparisons of codes, both within and between countries (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). Percentages are in this study merely used as means to highlight prominent tendencies among the student answers, wherefore we will not make any quantitative claims in this study.

Admittedly, this small sample holds limitations and our conclusions are not generalizable. The analytical entities that we compare in this study are in many ways non-equal. Some countries more than others have distant or near histories of civil war, colonialism, slavery, apartheid and relatively complex present situations with different political tensions. Bearing this in mind, we still find that the diversity of cultural contexts can provide us with important perspectives beyond national and cultural borders. Shedding light upon the experienced curriculum in conjunction with the intended ditto may help us understand some of the challenges of implementing ideals of human rights through history education.

The ideological and formal curricula – the (inter)national guidelines

Below, the ideological and formal curricula is described. Firstly, the ideological curricula is framed as international recommendations on how to teach about, through and for human rights. Secondly, the section formal curricula provides the reader with information of each national context and their history syllabi with an emphasis on how history as a school subject underscores human rights values.

Ideological curricula

We treat the United Nations (UN) and UNESCO guidelines for human rights education as ideological curricula having the political intention to promote education *about, through* and *for* human rights. The UN (2011, p. 3) states that:

> Human rights education and training encompasses education: (a) About human rights, which includes providing knowledge and understanding of human rights norms and principles, the values that underpin them and the mechanisms for their protection; (b) Through human rights, which includes learning and teaching in a way that respects the rights of both educators and learners; (c) For human rights, which includes empowering persons to enjoy and exercise their rights and to respect and uphold the rights of others.

In the ideological curricula we also find that cultural diversity is closely linked to human rights. UNESCO (2001, p. 63) states that:

> The defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity. It implies a commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the rights of persons belonging to minorities and those of indigenous peoples.

Furthermore, UNESCO (1984, p.28) emphasizes that there "is a co-ordinated system of social, political and cultural rights, which has been incorporated in a number of United Nations resolutions, documents and conventions", which all are to be implemented in an education *about*, *through* and *for* human rights. These are as follows:

> 1948 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 1948 The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. 1952 The Convention on the Political Rights of Women. 1966 The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. 1966 The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. 1966 The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. 1973 The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (UNESCO, 1984, p. 28).

Formal curricula – the national and local guidelines

England

The history curriculum in England has been open to debate ever since the introduction of a state educational system towards the beginning of the 20th century (Cannadine, Keating and Seldon, 2011; Chapman, Burn and Kitson, 2018). Much of the focus of the history in recent years has been less on international understanding and more on the reinforcement of national identity as a response to perceived threats of fragmentation and division in society (Chapman et al., 2018; Osler, 2009; Welply, 2018). Whilst earlier curriculum versions insisted on engaging with "the diversity and complexity of human experience" (DES, 1991; DfEE/QCA, 1999) there was a marked turn from 2008 towards the reinforcement of a national framework for thinking about "*our* ethnic and cultural diversity" (QCA, 2007 p.111). The 2014 version of the national history curriculum removed all mention of transferable skills from history towards citizenship and continued the trend towards the reinforcement of English history and strengthening national identity (Chapman et al., 2018; DfE, 2013). This resonates with the declaration of former Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove, in 2010 that a history curriculum should ensure that "all students will learn our island story" (Gove, 2010). The compulsory history education in primary and secondary schools in England (which becomes optional as a GCSE subject from Year 10, the fourth year of secondary education in England) does not make any explicit reference to human rights or citizenship. In terms of content, the history curriculum is divided into umbrella themes, with non-statutory suggestions. For the "contemporary history from 1901" section, the only statutory element is the Holocaust (DfE, 2013).

In the current 2014 curriculum, the emphasis remains on history as a tool for building national identity:

> to know and understand the history of these islands as a coherent, chronological narrative, from the earliest times to the present day: how people's lives have shaped this nation and how Britain has influenced and been influenced by the wider world (DfE, 2013 p.1).

Reference to a more international perspective remains limited, contained under the term "wider world" and mentions violation of human rights under the rather ambiguous term of "the follies of mankind". The only emphasis on understanding diversity and students' own identities is put in the overall "purpose of study":

> Teaching should equip students to ask perceptive questions, think critically, weigh evidence, sift arguments, and develop perspective and judgement. History helps students to understand the

> complexity of people's lives, the process of change, the diversity of societies and relationships between different groups, as well as their own identity and the challenges of their time (DfE, 2013 p.1).

India

Drawing from the Indian constitution, the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) in use since 2005 (NCF, 2005) strongly emphasizes human rights as one of its underpinning principles. Accordingly, history education carries "a normative responsibility of creating a strong sense of human values, namely freedom, trust, mutual respect, and respect for diversity" and history education should therefore encourage a "critical moral and mental energy, making [students] alert to the social forces that threaten these values" (NCF, 2005, p. 51). The NCF provides broad guidelines and school curriculum. n India, textbooks based on the values enshrined in the constitution and national guidelines are used in order to safeguard values of universal human rights prescribed in international guidelines. While the nation and its values are held as important, "multiple ways of imagining the Indian nation" should be enabled through history education. In addition, "[t]he national perspective should be balanced with reference to the local", thus encouraging teachers to seek for local historical events elevating the narratives conveyed in the textbooks. While teaching the local history, NCF stresses that "Indian History should not be taught in isolation, and there should be reference to developments in other parts of the world" (NCF, 2005, p. 51). In line with this notion, the history textbooks used in Indian schools have excerpts from various historical declarations on the rights of humans, such as Magna Carta, the Code of Hammurabi, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen from the French Constitution.

New Zealand

New Zealand's national curriculum consists of two documents: *The New Zealand Curriculum* (for English medium schools) and *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (for Maori medium schools). The two documents present a common vision of education that "will develop the competencies they need for study, work, and lifelong learning and go on to realise their potential," while helping schools "give effect to the partnership that is at the core of our nation's founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi" (Ministry of Education, 2007, pp. 9-10).

There is no prescribed content or knowledge. Schools are required to design programmes in consultation with their broader communities that meet student needs. Those programmes are required to reflect and critically explore commonly held values, such as their own values and those of others; moral, social, cultural, aesthetic, and economic values; the values on which New Zealand's cultural and institutional traditions are based as well as the values of other groups and cultures with the aim of learning to value a range of ideals to "be expressed in everyday actions and interactions" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p.10). Many of these values – diversity, equity, community participation, sustainability, integrity and respect for self and others – emphasize global citizenship and the importance of human rights.

History only occurs in the curriculum as a separate discipline at Year 11. Prior to this, historical contexts feature (to a degree determined by each school) in Social Studies, which is part of a "core" of subjects required from Year 1 to Year 10. More guidance for teacher-planners is provided by the History Curriculum Guide which establishes broad aims in line with ideological curricula. It encourages learning programmes that help students "to ask, and [...] answer, today's questions by engaging with the past and imagining and speculating on possible futures," by presenting "the dilemmas, choices, and beliefs of people in the past", to connect them with "the wider world as they develop their own identities and sense of place" by engaging "with history at personal, local, and international levels." (Ministry of Education, 2017).

South Africa

The South African Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) in use since 2011 (Department of Basic Education, 2011) strongly emphasizes human rights as one of its underpinning principles by referring to the South African constitution. The National Curriculum Statement Grades 10 – 12 (General) (upper secondary level) is "sensitive to issues of diversity such as poverty, inequality, race, gender, language, age, disability and other factors" (Department of Basic Education, 2011, p. 4). This is directly linked to the liberal rights orientated South African Constitution. It is also clearly stated that the study of history at school level should be "promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices involving race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia" (Department of Basic Education, 2011, p. 6). In terms of content related to human rights, specific emphasis is placed on it in Grade 12, notably when addressing the post-apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The curriculum critically presents the TRC as a contested mechanism and process of dealing with historical injustice, whereby the focus was on investigating "gross human rights [while] ignoring institutional violence" (Department of Basic Education, 2011 p. 30).[4]

Overall, the idea is for learners to "ground knowledge in local contexts, while being sensitive to global imperatives". The idea is also to "prepare young people for local, regional, national, continental and global responsibility" (Department of Basic Education, 2011 p. 6). Learners in South Africa are further expected to be able to understand "the world as a set of related systems by recognising that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation" (Department of Basic Education, 2011, pp. 3-4). Accordingly, the content in CAPS is organised by means of a "comparative approach [which] shows the interconnectedness between local and world events – what happens in the rest of the world has an effect on what happens in South Africa and vice versa." (Department of Basic Education, 2011, p. 8). This is related to the key question: "How do we understand our world today?". As a consequence, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is studied alongside slavery in South Africa as it relates to the Indian Ocean Slave Trade (Grade 10); Constructions of race and eugenics are studied by comparing the USA, Australia, Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa (Grade 11); and Civil Rights Protests in the USA (1950s-1970s) are studied alongside Civil Society Protests in South Africa (1960s-1980s) (Grade 12). In the view of CAPS, "in teaching history it is important to demonstrate the current relevance of the events studied" (p.10). All of the above is linked by CAPS to thinking critically along historical lines about the past.[5]

Sweden

Swedish curricula have developed much in line with international guidelines of international understanding and emphasized the importance of human rights and global history (Åström Elmersjö & Lindmark, 2010; Nygren, 2016b; Standish & Nygren, 2018). Today the national compulsory curriculum states that each student individually should be able to: "[…] determine their views based on knowledge of human rights and fundamental democratic values, as well as personal experiences" and "empathise with and understand the situation of other people, and develop a willingness to act with their best interests at heart" (Skolverket 2011a, p. 10). In secondary school history education, this strives to underscore that Swedish students are supposed to learn "critical thinking and independently formulate standpoints based on knowledge and ethical considerations," and obtain knowledge "about the cultures, languages, religion and history of the national minorities (Jews, Romani, indigenous Samis, Swedish and Tornedal Finns)" (Skolverket 2011a, p.15). The upper secondary history syllabus stresses that students should develop an understanding of "their own identities, values and beliefs, and those of others" and learn "[h]ow history can be used to understand how the age in which people live affects their conditions and values". Furthermore, it stresses how students should meet

"[h]istorical narratives from different parts of the world" and draw conclusions from them (Skolverket, 2011b, pp. 163-175). Lastly, the weight of fostering a historical consciousness among the students is being highlighted through the process of understanding "that the past affects our view of the present, and thus our perception of the future" (Skolverket, 2011b, pp. 163-175).

The United States of America

There is no national curriculum in the United States. Reflecting a federalist form of organization, each of the 50 US states, and sometimes even school districts, have the freedom to establish their own curriculum. Many US states have voluntarily adopted 'Common Core' standards, including the state of Massachusetts, where the survey data was collected. The History Standards link 'historical literacy' and 'historical thinking' with learning goals for evaluating key ideas, looking for evidence and constructing a research-based narrative (UCLA, 2018b). Massachusetts has a History and Social Science Curriculum Framework (2003), which establishes Learning Standards, Concepts, and Skills from kindergarten through 12th grade, the final year of schooling. At the secondary school level, the history curriculum includes two required courses in World History and two required courses in US history. A content review of the 2003 curriculum shows only one instance where human rights is explicitly referred to. The second World History course includes the following guidance:

> WHII.29 Describe reasons for the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 and summarize the main ideas of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2003, p. 63).

The History and Social Science Curriculum Framework was revised by the Massachusetts Department of Education in 2018, following the administration of the survey. Notably, the new framework includes human rights numerous times: in guiding principles; in World History, U.S. History, and government electives. The term human rights is used in conjunction with both international politics and U.S. civil rights and civil liberties (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2018). The students who participated in the study had taken history courses required by the Massachusetts Department of Education and an optional course in human rights called "Facing history".

Data analysis – the experienced curricula

Our cross-national analyses of the open-ended responses collected through our survey show some prominent themes – indicating similarities and differences in how students think about human rights in the past. Students' responses to the question "What are some historical events or movements that you consider to be linked to the history of human rights?" indicate perspectives on the past foregrounding certain aspects of human rights in the past and present while neglecting others. These findings are presented below under three main themes: *knowing your rights, recognition of violence and oppression,* and *struggles for human rights*.

Knowing your rights

Human rights – a constitutional matter?

Concerning citizenship and human rights, we found an interesting relation between the cross-sections of adolescents surveyed in this study. In India, human rights are closely linked to the *fundamental rights* as outlined in the Indian constitution (last revised in 1949, immediately after independence) and the *right to freedom* and *right to equality,* noted by 10% of the Indian students. Inevitably, the decolonization of India, which is noted by 7% of our Indian respondents, may be seen as key in the development of human rights for some of these adolescents.

In America, freeing of the slaves (noted by eight students) and the constitution (noted by four students) are the political decisions and legal documents brought to the fore. It is however surprising that more Swedish students than US students link the history of human rights to the US declaration of independence from 1776. Only one US student noted the Declaration of independence – an event noted by seven Swedish students. The stronger focus on legal documents and international human rights among Swedish students may be influenced by the fact that Sweden is a small country with a history of supporting the UN. 10% of the Swedish respondents linked the United Nations to human rights, while 12% tie human rights to the French revolution. Interestingly, the French revolution is also noted by four Indian and New Zealand students, and only one English student. Conversely, it remained unobserved by the US and South African students as an example of a human rights event. For South African students, the political decision to end apartheid was central to their thinking on the history of human rights; this local event showed to be more top-of-mind than international decisions and legal documents relating to human rights among the responses.

Recognition of violence and oppression

Genocides and mass violence as human rights violations

Genocides in general, and specific genocides and state-sanctioned mass violence in particular, were noted as violations of human rights by students in the Global North and South. The Holocaust stands out as the most frequently noted genocide. This is especially the case among the US and Swedish respondents, where 32% and 17% of the students respectively mentioned the Holocaust. In the Swedish case, it may be the outcome of the formal curricula and the active politics by the Ministry of Education, which has foregrounded the holocaust as an example of genocides in the History syllabus (Skolverket, 2011). In New Zealand, the holocaust was noted as a violation of human rights by fifteen students. The lack of Indian (3) and South African accounts (0) mentioning the Holocaust suggests that this may be perceived as a European, Western and American rather than a global matter. Contradictorily, only six English respondents mentioned the holocaust despite its statutory position in the history curriculum (DfE, 2014). This suggests a predominant framing of the holocaust in terms of a historical event rather than a human rights violation.

In addition to the Holocaust, US students identified a wide range of genocides as examples of human rights violations, most notably the genocides in Rwanda (18%) and Armenia (10%). While the latter was otherwise ignored by respondents in the other countries, only one New Zealand and two Swedish students mentioned Rwanda's genocide. With the exception of apartheid, South African, English and New Zealand students did not list any other crimes against humanity in the global south or north.[6] In line with this finding, the Indian students showed no accounts of non-national mass violence as human rights violations. They exclusively mentioned the Jallianwala Bagh massacre committed by English Indian troops who fired into a crowd of Indians during protests against the arrest of two national leaders in 1919.

Only a small number of US and Swedish students mentioned recent genocides and mass violence in other parts of the world, not connected to their own national history. They

mentioned violent events in DR Congo, the Balkans and Cambodia, as well as towards the Rohingya in Myanmar, the Maya in Guatemala and the Yazidi people in Iraq. Interestingly, references to the recent violence in Rwanda and Congo were absent in South African responses – a finding that points to the complex nature of human rights matters beyond the north-south divide.

Apartheid: a collective memory in the global south and north

The system of institutionalized racial segregation and discrimination that known as apartheid was widely highlighted by adolescents in the Global North and South. 46% of the South African students, seven US students, five Indian students, three Swedes and one respondent from England identified apartheid as a violation of human rights. New Zealand stands out as the only country where apartheid was not mentioned in this respect. Noticeable is also a tendency among students from outside of South Africa towards associating the anti-apartheid movement and its front figure particularly, Nelson Mandela, to human rights.[7]

In contrast to these generic mentions, the South African students showed a more detailed understanding of this history. They mentioned several historical events connected to the struggle for civil rights in South Africa, notably the women's march against passes in 1956, the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the Soweto uprising in 1976, the Black consciousness movement and the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela. In addition, they not only mentioned Mandela, but also linked him to accounts of the country's transition from apartheid and the beginning of democratization. Previous research on the teaching and learning of genocides and mass violence in South Africa stated that:

> […] Many educators cannot divorce their own personal history [and experiences of apartheid] from that of the required curriculum and find it increasingly difficult to teach about this period" and instead turn to the Holocaust which offers a history less emotionally charged and "[…] removed from the local experience" (Nates, 2010, p. 9).

In contradiction to Nates' statement, a lack of references to the Holocaustsuggests that the Holocaust may be viewed as a "non-event" by South African learners,[8] and that they instead foreground their own emotionally charged and contested violent past more than considering other genocides and events of mass violence.[9]

Colonization, decolonization, and the abolishment of slavery

There are many examples of violations of human rights and different social movements and protests that are recognized as matters of human rights by the respondents in this study. Remarkably, only a handful of students − five in the USA, three in Sweden, three in New Zealand and three in India − identified colonization as a cross-national crime against humanity, while only four Indian students noted the ending of colonialism and decolonization processes as important human rights matters. In South Africa and England, we found no such references to colonization. An explanation for this silence in South Africa might be that the country, constituently independent since 1910, suffered what in postcolonial theory has been described as internal colonization, a system whereby the white minority oppressed the black majority in numerous ways. It is noteworthy how decades of colonial exploitation are neglected and overlooked by the English students, pointing to their silencing of their country's history of oppression. In contrast to students from the former British Empire, their Indian counterparts especially stressed matters related to colonial rule and conflicts with Great Britain, often referring to Mahatma Gandhi and the Swadeshi movement. These contrasting findings point to colonialism as being primarily in the minds of students from countries previously colonized, in which human rights are also deeply linked to liberation from colonial rule.

Slavery is another phenomenon often acknowledged as a crime against humanity. Slavery was mentioned by 10% of US students as well as by ten Swedish, six English, five Indian, four New Zealanders, and two South African respondents. The anti-slavery movement was further acknowledged in all countries but South Africa, and was especially prominent in England, where fifteen students mentioned it. The abolishment of slavery, in contrast, was noted by eight US students, two South Africans and only one English student. This suggests that slavery may primarily be viewed as a domestic matter in the USA and that there are few or no ties between slavery and colonialism among the responses.

Human rights violations in wars and armed conflicts

Many students' responses linked the history of human rights to wars and armed conflicts around the world. This is most noticeable in Sweden, where 31% of the students mentioned World War II, particularly, in relation to human rights. This conflict was otherwise only mentioned by 6% of the Americans and 2% of the Indian students and by none of the students in South Africa, New Zealand and England[8]. *In the Swedish case, this phenomenon may again be the result of the impact of the formal* curriculum; it may also be due to the historically disputed neutral stance Sweden held during the war. In the case of England and the USA, which participated and intervened more actively in the war, World War II may be seen as a domestic matter of conflict. This seems to find evidence in three US students' mentions of the Japanese internment in the US during World War II as a human rights violation.

The American Civil War is also mentioned by students in New Zealand (9%), USA (4%) and India (1%). In addition, some students in Sweden (14) and New Zealand (6) simply noted "wars" as being related to human rights violations.

Moreover, Indian students mentioned wars that have taken place in the more recent past and closer to their own nation: the war involving Tamil-speaking Indians in Sri Lanka (noted by three students), the Bangladesh liberation war (mentioned by one student) and the partition of India and Pakistan (mentioned by one student).

Struggles for human rights

A global history of women's rights and the birth of feminism

Second only to slavery as a violation of human rights, the struggle for women's rights and equality serves as the most prominent common human rights related narrative told by our respondents in the Global North and south alike. The most noted event is the struggle for women's rights fought by the Suffragettes: it was noted by 31% of the students in New Zealand, 15% of students in the USA, 12% of the English, 3% of the Swedish and 1% of the Indian students. Conversely, South African students made no references to such historical human rights struggles in the Global North. The Swedish, English and American students further noted the actual court decisions that entitled women to vote (13, 5 and 1 student(s), respectively) – a fact that is overlooked by the New Zealand, Indian and South African students. Accounts of the feminist movement of the 1960s and the present day were found across all six countries: 10% of the US students, 6% of the Swedish students, 4% of the Indian and New Zealand students, 2% of the English students and 1% of the South African students stressed feminist movements as important social movements underpinning human rights. In relation to women's rights, six Indian students specifically mentioned Sati, or widow-burning, and the prohibition of sati practice as a noteworthy human rights matter, thus highlighting religious and patriarchal traditions and related violations.

While women's rights in the past and present were prominent in students' responses across borders, mentions of LGBTA-rights, same-sex marriage and sexual harassment were less

frequent. LGBTA-rights as a social movement related to human rights is most noted by the Swedish students (five students), followed by New Zealand and England (four students) and the US (three students). Same-sex court cases and marriage rights were only brought up in six questionnaires; one in the US, one in Sweden and four in New Zealand. Furthermore, two students – one in the US and one in Sweden – highlighted the *#metoo*-movement, where women demonstrate the widespread prevalence of sexual assault and harassment through sharing their personal experiences. Remarkably, only one of the 957 students in the GlobalNorth and South highlighted problems related to human and sexual trafficking. Thus, framing gender and sexual equality issues as topics of human rights remains a challenge for Human Rights education in the global arena.

The history of Civil rights – a matter more complex than the south- and north divide

A wide acknowledgement of civil rights events suggests that there is a crosscutting interest in civil rights among the students in the Global North and South. Among the majority of US students (62%), the history of the civil rights movement served an example of a human rights struggle. Constituting a series of important events in United States domestic history, the struggle for civil rights in North America is prominent within all countries' responses. Its leader, Martin Luther King (MLK), was mentioned by 62% of all US students, 39% from New Zealand and 23% from England, whereas 11% of the Swedish students, 5% of the South African students and 4% of the Indian students acknowledged MLK and his deeds. While the picture of civil rights painted by the US and English students is done so with broad strokes, the South African and New Zealand accounts are more detailed: for example, they respectively mentioned the Black power movement and the Montgomery Bus boycott.

In India, the nation's own struggles for civil rights and liberation was a focal point in the students' responses. The leader associated with the Indian civil rights struggles, Mahatma Gandhi, was the third most noted person after Martin Luther King and Mandela: 17% of the Indian students, 3% of the US students and 2% of the Swedish and English students ascribed Gandhi the role of a liberator for the Indian people. Conversely, Gandhi and the Indian liberation movement were absent from students' responses in New Zealand and South Africa. While absent in South African responses particularly, one Indian student addressed the racism towards Gandhi whilst living in South Africa, drawing connections between these two countries' histories of human rights. Overall, the Indian students noted several historical events and movements related to the liberation, namely the Jallianwala Bagh massacre (as mentioned earlier), the Swadeshi movement, the Satyagraha movement, the Non-cooperation Movement and the Quit India movement. Finally, yet importantly, the Indian students traced human rights, such as right to freedom and right to religion, back to their own constitution (as seen above). While Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela featured across responses from the six countries to various extents, Gandhi was only mentioned to a lesser degree, while no students outside of India noted any historical events connected to the history of human rights in India. Since the same cannot be said in regard to, for instance, American historical domestic struggles, this imbalance may be interpreted as a manifestation of the prevalence of western perspectives among the responses.

In India, struggles for human rights were much seen as a national matter, but also as a present one. Nine Indian students highlighted the predicament of untouchability and oppression experienced by the Dalits as a violation of human rights. This civil rights matter is also a matter that may be regarded as much reminiscent of the struggle for black civil rights in the 1960s. In addition, four Indian students underscored that the oppressiveness of the caste system, Varna, viewing this also as a violation of human rights and possibly, thus, as a system to be done away with to ensure to cast human rights for all citizens in India.

A neglected history of indigenous and minority groups in the Global North and South

Students' responses pointed to a neglect of minority and indigenous perspectives on human rights in all six countries. Violations of indigenous peoples' rights were thus neglected by most students in the survey. In Sweden, only one student highlighted "the oppression towards indigenous people". In New Zealand, a handful of students considered the treatment of the Maori as a human rights violation; the Invasion of Parihaka, where 1600 men, volunteers and Armed Constabulary destroyed the village and dispersed its inhabitants in 1881, served as an example. In addition, two New Zealand students linked the Treaty of Waitangi (the peace treaty between the English Crown and Māori chiefs in 1840) to the development of human rights. The treatment of Native Americans, which some consider to have been a genocide (though still debated), was only raised by seven of the US students. One of them linked the oppression of Native Americans in the past to a current controversy around a planned Dakota oil pipeline.

Concluding discussion

Across all six countries, we found that formal curricula in one way or another, underpin values of universal human rights. Such values can, as seen above, be described in relation to a national constitution and thus be perceived as national values, worded as something universally human or phrased in terms of democratic values. Despite this, the students' answers showed fundamental differences across the globe.

Differences regarding history and contemporary events in India, Sweden, New Zealand, USA, South Africa and England may partly explain the differences among the answers. We are, as stated in the introduction, comparing countries with distant or near histories of civil war, colonialism, slavery, apartheid and more or less complex present situations with different political tensions. The students' responses to the survey questions, while not providing true national samples, highlight several challenges of teaching and learning human rights in history education, and pose important questions in regards to human rights and the notion of a global history in a global world. What follows is a brief discussion of the responses country by country in relation to formal curricula.

Although the responses of the young people from the English section of the survey cannot be seen as fully representative of the whole youth in the United Kingdom, some elements of explanation can be put forward to contextualize their responses. First, the tendency towards a "nationalization" of the history curriculum in the past ten years can help explain the low rate of engagement with notions of colonialism, or the mention of any other human rights violation in the Global North or Global south beyond apartheid. The curriculum's re-focusing on English national history can similarly explain the relatively limited international perspective in students' responses. Furthermore, the absence of references to actual human right violations can be understood as resulting from the absence of explicit references to human rights in the 2014 history curriculum, and the removal of transdisciplinary links between history and citizenship (which also has taken a more "national turn" and only includes limited reference to human rights in the last two years of schooling, Key Stage 4). The low response rate in mentions of the Holocaust is perhaps more surprising, given that this event is the only statutory element of England's contemporary history curriculum. Discrepancies between responses from the students in England and students in other countries (for example, the very limited mention of the French revolution as linked to human rights), could be interpreted through England's rather insular identity (epitomized by Michael Gove's speech, 2010, above), and the perception of a separation between English history and continental European history. Finally, the relatively low amount of factual references can be traced back to the status of history, which becomes optional from Year 9 (14-15 years old). Students who completed the questionnaire might not have

studied history for three to four years. The English responses all point to the pitfalls of "re-nationalizing" the curriculum and the ways in which it might lead students to omit what the curriculum loftily refers to as the "wider world".

While the Indian respondents do acknowledge the past events and declarations mentioned in the formal curricula, the strong focus on national and local events connected to human rights may be explained by the strong emphasis on Indian perspectives in the curriculum. The fact that human rights are underpinned by references to the constitution in the formal curricula can be seen in the many respondents linking human rights to *The right to freedom* and other passages in the constitution. Women's rights are also mainly highlighted through the national context: the students' responses challenge the assumption that women commit suicide through widow-burning out of free volition, thus highlighting religious and patriarchal traditions in India. While not representative, students' responses in India show the importance of constant intervention from teachers to build on the content given in textbooks in order to place issues of human rights in a global context.

The New Zealand responses show there is still work to be done towards integrating the broader curriculum aims and philosophies into the programmes as delivered to and understood by students. While there is evidence of recognition of theories and issues of human rights in some contexts, this is clearly dependent upon the content and historical context being adequately framed and focused and is a likely explanation for the strong showing of Black Civil Rights in the US, the Invasion of Parihaka and Women's Suffrage. The relative lack of identification of contexts with a significant human rights component such as the New Zealand Wars and their aftermath along with other indigenous historical contexts, points to a need to look carefully at ways to help more students develop the historical consciousness that supports critical awareness of human rights issues in national and global contexts. This may be, in part, solved by recasting focus questions and foregrounding the HRE aspects of the context. This is obviously an important consideration in the emerging local discussion around the strengths, limitations and future of the high autonomy curriculum model currently in place (Education Review Office, 2018; Ormond, 2017; Sheehan, 2017a; 2017b).

The South African formal curriculum has, as mentioned above, human rights as an underpinning principle. This ideological position has also filtered down to the content covered which, amongst others, focusses on the French Revolution as the event that birthed human rights, and the Holocaust, Social Darwinism, Civil Rights Movements, the Genocide in Rwanda and Apartheid as examples where human rights were flagrantly violated. South African learners in their responses generally steered clear of the aforementioned and focused almost exclusively on local events that related to human rights such as the struggle against apartheid, ideas of black consciousness, the messianic role of Mandela in the struggle for human rights and how this manifests itself in public holidays as an extension of the formal curriculum. In the process of backgrounding the global struggles for human rights in favour of the South African struggle in this regard, serves to reiterate the thinking of the South African struggle for human rights as being exceptional and worthy. This poses serious questions about the teaching and learning of human rights as a global phenomenon as articulated in the South African history curriculum.

In the Swedish case, some tendencies separating the responses of young Swedes may be understood in light of the formal curricula. Considering theories of human rights, it may be seen as problematic that Swedish students often fail to note violations of human rights in the past, and when they do so the adolescents note events that took place far away in regards to time and place. . The fact that the national minorities are not evident is a stark contrast to the formal curricula and an indication of that the Swedish students have not learned about human rights violations nor the history of minorities as a part of their own history. Thus, thinking local in

order to act global *for* an active engagement in human rights remains a challenge for stakeholders in Swedish education.

In line with international guidelines, the students in the global North and South shed light upon different social, political and cultural rights as protected and stressed by the conventions and declarations meant to be implemented through history education. In stark contrast to international guidelines, the defence of cultural diversity and particularly the rights of persons belonging to minorities and those of indigenous peoples, is a rights issue overlooked by most students in the survey.

What is more prominent in general is the leaning towards the national and the local, a tendency most visible among the US, the Indian and South African respondents. In India, human rights issues largely relate to the struggle for independence, civil rights for Dalits and equality within the country. When Indian students connect human rights to court decisions, conventions and systems upholding human rights, the national constitution stands out. In South Africa, recent struggles for human rights within their borders have resulted in many commemorations of national historical events connected to the crime of apartheid. These celebrations have become an integral part of South Africa's history culture and coincide with what young people associate with the history of human rights. In both the Indian and South African cases, the own past is considered important to the students; a fact partly explained by the status of the two prominent leaders and champions of human rights who, in both countries, stand out as messianic. In the South African case, the messianic role of Mandela in history culture might explain why the students steer clear of many of the statutory elements of human rights prescribed in the formal curricula. The same tendency is visible in England, where the single statutory element of human rights in history education is acknowledged by only a few respondents. In the English context, the current re-nationalizing of the curriculum and the limited acknowledgement of diversity in different areas of the curriculum (history, citizenship, literature) may also be an explanation for why colonialism and imperialism have no room in the re-narration of the island's past. Consequently, the English respondents in this survey did not view colonialism as a violation of human rights. Colonialism and the decolonization processes are, however, not top of mind among adolescents in countries that had been victims of internal and external colonialism, albeit they seem more prominent in these societies. This fact may perhaps indicate that this particular "folly of humankind" [Sic!] is not being taught in the light of human rights.

Other tendencies in the students' responses highlight in what ways students might have learnt *about* human rights. The US respondents stand out in the regard as they identify the most international violations of human rights: the genocides and mass violence in Rwanda and Armenia, and the treatment of the Rohingya in South East Asia. The Swedish students, on the other hand, would note the importance of legal documents more than the US and the other countries. The New Zealand students also stand out by linking human rights in history education to protests, social movements and their associated leaders. Especially prominent among the NZ students is the struggle for women's rights. This prominence is somewhat expected because the struggle features in courses in a variety of contexts across year levels. It was also – in 2018 – the 125th anniversary of women's suffrage in New Zealand and commemorative plans, exhibitions and publications are well publicized.

What unites the adolescents of the world and constitutes 'the global' in the global history of human rights as manifested in the responses is two-fold. Firstly, the students regard slavery as the worst possible violation of human rights. Secondly, the students, judging by their answers, consider the struggle for women's rights and equality as an important issue of human rights. These two historical events are what unites the youth and something that transcends the north-south divide.

The nature of the responses collected in all six countries, covering diverse themes of human rights, suggests that the respondents qualify to be global citizens as far as the understanding of history of human rights at international level is concerned. Yet, there is a certain leaning towards the domestic and, in some cases, students seem to have forgotten about both past and present injustices and violations of human rights. In order to safeguard human rights and foster global citizens, issues of Euro- and Americentrism, together with issues of gender and sexual equality, need to be addressed. The relationship between the global and the local also need to be understood at a deeper level. Promoting human rights is however not just about implementing normative decrees of global human rights, peace and sustainability in the classroom. In order to be fully on par with the proposals of the ideological curricula that is the modern human rights regime of the UN and UNESCO, and in a broader sense become global citizens, students also need to face their own emotionally and politically charged past and complex present.

The fact that South African, Indian and American learners, to a larger degree, noted human rights documents, movements and violations as domestic, may be interpreted as good preparation to identify and act in the local community. The South African adolescents noting *women's' march against passes* and thus highlighting women's rights in the local context is a great example of local events that may further human rights actions. However, the leaning towards the local may in other cases may also be viewed as a problematic lack of interest in human rights in the rest of the world, where the nation and the domestic are viewed as more important than promoting international understanding and universal human rights. Learning *about* human rights violations as a part of one's own history may be fruitful *for* an active engagement in human rights. In this regard, Sweden, England and New Zealand, in turn, may have to revision, recast and foreground human rights aspects of the different historical contexts brought up in history education. All three countries share the common denominator of some level of teacher autonomy in regards to the question of *what* content to foreground. Thus, dimensions of teacher autonomy in relation to topics of human rights in history education need to be better investigated in future research.

Furthermore, the responses shed light upon the fact that formal curricula in many cases do not seep down into the minds of students. In some instances, notions of nationalism and exceptionalism in society and history culture pose great challenges to the teaching and learning of human rights in history. In other instances, a stronger focus on global history have led to difficulties in identifying issues of human rights in the local context. Ultimately, it is up to each history teacher to make students aware of the history culture that surrounds the students in their everyday lives; to challenge grand narratives about one's own nation's past and by doing so giving a voice to the unheard and the minorities in the past and the present. Lastly, stakeholders in education in the Global North and South may ask themselves how to best teach *about*, *through* and *for* human rights and how to use history education as means to *change:* is it time to think local in order to act global, or vice versa, to think global in order to act local?

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Endnotes

[1] A *Global history* is a term that takes the connectedness of the world as its point of departure. (Conrad, 2016, p. 1-17). *A global history* includes narratives and histories of the marginalized, the minorities and other groups who have been disadvantaged in the past. While the term *World history* also includes the whole world, it may be regarded as a term from a colonial past and thus excluding afore-mentioned narratives. By employing the term *global history,* we acknowledge post-colonial structures and emphasize multiperspectivity in history education.

[2] The survey was developed as part of the project, "The Complexity of Implementing Ideals of Global Citizenship: A comparative Study of Human Rights, Peace and Sustainability in Education" and the research node "Global Citizenship Education in Historical and Critical Perspectives (GLOC)" directed by Thomas Nygren, Uppsala University.

[3] This research has been carried out according to the standards for ethical clearance that apply in all the different states that are surveyed in order to protect the participants of this study. For further school specific related data such as grade-level distribution and pupil exposure to Human rights education, see appendix.

[4] For an analysis, see Bentrovato & Wassermann (2018) and Tibbits & Weldon (2017).

[5] However, strong critique has been levelled at the CAPS curriculum namely that it embraces an "unacceptable presentism", that the linkages in historical comparisons are problematic as linkages between sections are not overt, that a clear lack of chronology fosters "thinking in bubbles" and finally, the good intentions are undermined by practical problems such as a lack of easily accessible published resources and teacher expertise available in most schools (Kallaway, 2012).

[6] The sole exception being a NZ student paying attention to the genocide on the Rohingya and the Palestine and one English student noting "genocide" in general.

[7] Mandela and the anti-apartheid movement is mentioned by 22 South African students, 14 English students, 6 US and NZ students respectively, 5 Swedish students and 2 Indian students.

[8] There is an argument around "South African exceptionalism" which suggests that only their suffering and achievements (for example issues related to apartheid) are worthy. Whether South African exceptionalism is the reason for the holocaust struggling to find a footing in the consciousness of learners in South Africa or not is however questionable.

[9] World War II is however present in the South African answers only as it relates to the holocaust.

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About the Authors

Olle Nolgård, MA, is a Ph.D. Candidate and researcher in history education at the department of education, Uppsala University. His research interests centre on the teaching and learning of history, the history of minorities, historical justice, global citizenship, and intercultural education. His current research project investigates Secondary school pupils' thinking and caring about the history of the Romani people.

Thomas Nygren, PhD, is Associate Professor at the department of education, Uppsala University. His research interests centre on history education, the digital impact on education, critical thinking and human rights education. His current research projects investigate students' news literacy, global citizenship education, and critical thinking across disciplinary boundaries.

Felisa Tibbitts**,** PhD, is a Lecturer at the Teachers College, Columbia University and Chair in Human Rights Education in the Department of Law, Economics and Governance at Utrecht University. Her research interests include peace, human rights and democratic citizenship education; curriculum policy; critical pedagogy; and education. Her current research projects are in global citizenship education and teacher preparation as well as human rights education in secondary schools.

Anamika**,** PhD, is a researcher working at Ministry of Human Resource and Development in New Delhi, India. She has published works on human rights education, comparative education, ideology and history curriculum. Her current research examine Indian secondary school pre-service teachers views on the pedagogy of human rights education.

Denise Bentrovato, PhD, is a Research Fellow in the Department of Humanities Education at the University of Pretoria in South Africa and co-director of the African Association for History Education. Over the past decade, she has worked in academia and for NGOs on issues of education and youth in conflict and postconflict contexts in Africa. At present, her work focuses on examining educational approaches to conflict in transitional societies.

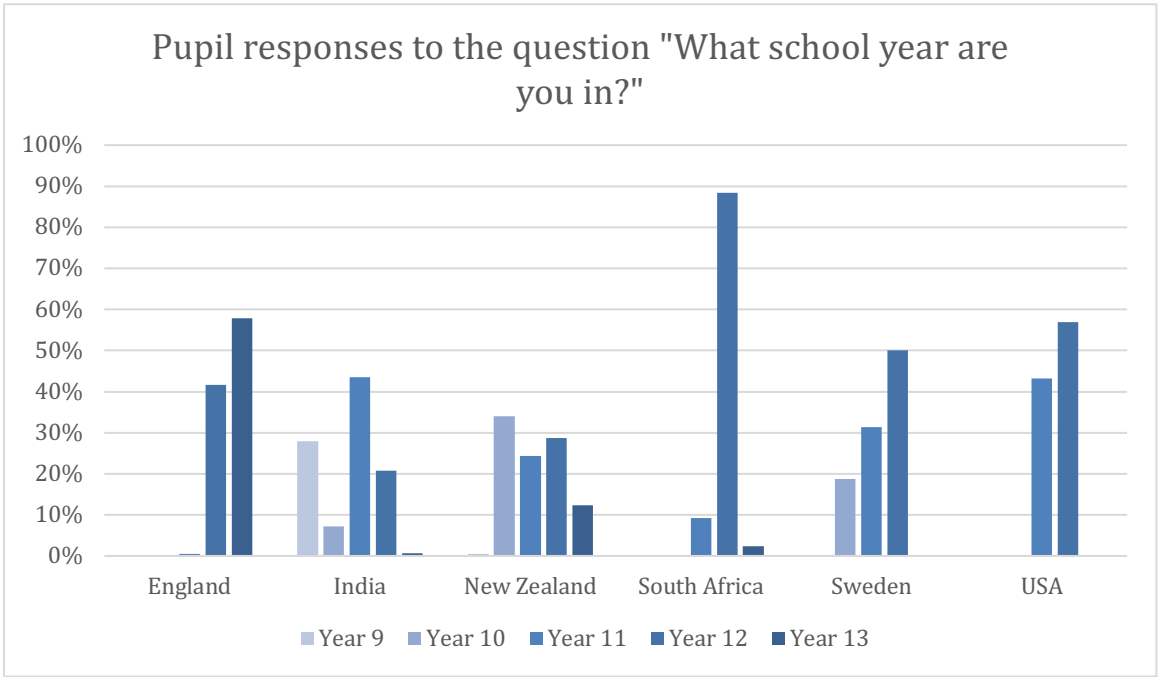
Paul Enright, MA, is a history teacher and the head of Social Studies Department at Logan Park High School, Dunedin, New Zealand. Over the past decades, he has been a research partner in projects related to historical thinking as well as controversial issues in the teaching of history. He has also co-authored and published guidelines and units on Māori history for the Ministry of Education in New Zealand.

Johan Wassermann**,** PhD, is a full professor in History Education at the University of Pretoria. He is also the co-director of the African Association for History Education. His research interests include youth and history, life histories, history textbooks, teaching controversial issues in post-conflict Africa and minorities and the minoritised in Colonial Natal. Currently, he co-leads two research projects: 'Text and Context in Africa' and 'Youth and Education in South Africa'.

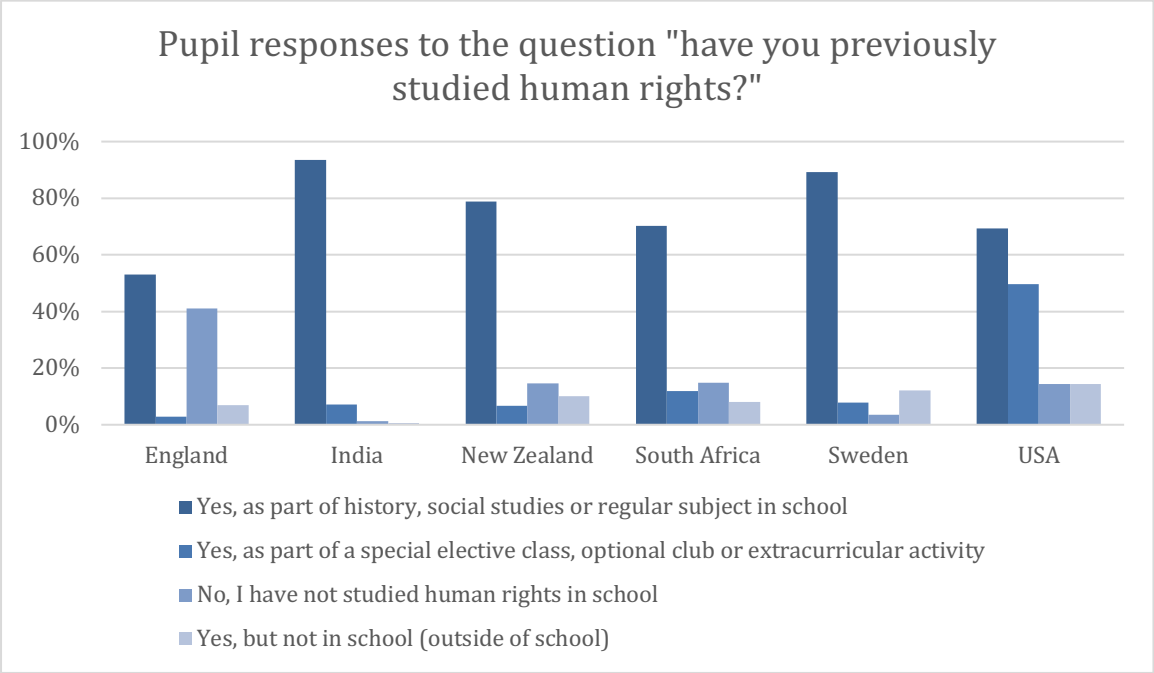
Oakleigh Welply, PhD, is an Assistant Professor in International and Intercultural Education at the School of Education, Durham University. Her main areas of research and teaching include social theory; the relationship of education to issues of language, religion, globalisation and citizenship; national policies of integration and youth identities; immigration and education in France and England; the development of cross-national methodologies for research with diverse communities in European countries.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Pupil responses to the question "what school year are you in?"



Appendix 2: Exposure to Human rights education in and outside of school



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How to develop historical consciousness through uses of history – A Swedish perspective

Robert Thorp

Uppsala University, Sweden
Stockholm University, Sweden

ABSTRACT: Historical consciousness is the central concept in Swedish history education and the aim of history teaching in Swedish schools is to develop students' historical consciousness. In 2015 the Swedish Schools Inspectorate, a government body responsible for assessing how Swedish curricula and syllabi are implemented in schools, offered a scathing critique of Swedish history education since it could not contribute to developing students' historical consciousnesses. Taking its departure in Swedish history syllabi and the Swedish Schools Inspectorate's recent critique of Swedish history teaching, this article discusses how we can come to theoretically understand how development of historical consciousness may happen. Using the results of this discussion, it is then suggested how historical consciousness could be developed in history education.

KEYWORDS: Historical consciousness; uses of history; history education; historical thinking

Introduction

Historical consciousness is a popular concept in history education across the world. Scholars from different countries with differing theoretical backgrounds have approached the concept resulting in a variety of approaches and understandings of historical consciousness (Clark & Grever, 2018; Körber, 2016; Seixas, 2016; Thorp, 2013). In Sweden you could argue that historical consciousness is the central concept in history education. The aim of teaching history in schools in Sweden is described as follows in the Swedish history syllabus:

> Teaching in history should aim at pupils developing not only their knowledge of historical contexts, but also their development and historical consciousness. This involves an insight that the past affects our view of the present, and thus our perception of the future. Teaching should give pupils the opportunities to develop their knowledge of historical conditions, historical concepts and methods, and about how history can be used for different purposes (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018, p. 208).

Thus, the aim of history education in Sweden is to provide students with knowledge of historical events and people, to educate them historically and to develop their historical consciousness, which is stipulated as an insight that the past is affected by our present day concerns, and this in turn affects our perception or view of the future. Furthermore, students should be provided

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with an understanding of how history can be used in different ways. What we get here is history education that goes well beyond just learning historical facts; students should also develop skills to construct history and to develop their historical consciousnesses.

In 2015, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate (SSI), a government body responsible for assessing quality and implementation of curricula and syllabi in Swedish schools, completed a survey of the state of history education in Swedish lower secondary schools that was highly critical of the history education surveyed. In their survey of history education in 27 Swedish lower secondary schools spread across the country, a picture of history education is presented that to a very high extent is focused on the dissemination of historical facts (Skolinspektionen, 2015).

When it comes to whether the observed history education can develop an understanding among students of how history can be used for various purposes, the SSI see grave deficits (Skolinspektionen, 2015, pp. 6–7). The SSI highlights a number of problems with this, but the most central problem is that history education that does not deal with how history can be used for various purposes cannot develop students' historical consciousness and thereby the central aim of Swedish history education cannot be met. The conclusion then, is that Swedish schools cannot provide their students with history education that enables them to pass their history courses (Skolinspektionen, 2015, p. 21). This conclusion rests on the assumption that it is only through history education aimed at developing students' understanding of uses of history that their historical consciousnesses can be developed, that is, the central aim of history education in Sweden. That historical consciousness is developed through uses of history is also a common assumption in Swedish history educational research (cf. Eliasson, Alvén, Rosenlund, Rudnert, & Zander, 2012; Karlsson, 2014; Nordgren, 2016).

The aim of the present text is to engage in a theoretical discussion of how we can understand the theoretical assumption that history education focussing on uses of history can develop students' historical consciousness, using the Swedish history syllabus and Swedish Schools Inspectorate's report from 2015 as a starting point. My contention is that this will in turn contribute to the ongoing discussion among researchers in history education as well as history teachers regarding what educational practice that can contribute to developing students' historical consciousness, but also how we can understand this as a legitimate aim for history education. In order to do this, I will begin by discussing the SSI report from 2015 and then move on to a discussion of how we can understand a theoretical connection between uses of history and historical consciousness, departing both from the SSI report and Swedish history educational research, where I highlight what I hold to be central problems in the Swedish history syllabus, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate's report, and Swedish history educational research. Finally, I will present a proposal for how we could theoretically understand this link and then I will suggest what this could mean for history educational practice.

The aim of the present text is to contribute to and inspire new thoughts on how Swedish history teachers can approach uses of history and historical consciousness in a classroom situation in order to develop historical consciousness, but also contribute to the academic debate of how we can understand and approach these central history educational concepts. Even though this discussion will be limited to the Swedish context, it is my belief that, since historical consciousness is indeed a concept that is used and discussed internationally and that is generally perceived as vague and difficult to apply in educational practice (Clark & Grever, 2018), this could be of interest to an international audience as well.

Uses of history

Since the SSI report makes the assertion that we can only develop historical consciousness in history education through uses of history, we will begin by looking closer at what the SSI writes about uses of history in order to reach a more precise understanding of what the SSI regards as wanting in the observed history education and what it proposes that history teachers should do in order to develop students understanding of uses of history and historical consciousness. Regarding uses of history, the SSI writes that:

> The syllabus emphasizes that students should develop knowledge of how history can be used for different purposes and an understanding for how historical narratives are used in society and in everyday life. This is what history educational research calls uses of history (Skolinspektionen, 2015, p. 19).

One way to understand this is that uses of history should be understood as the use of history for a particular purpose. As soon as we use history in order to achieve something, we make a use of history. Another understanding of the concept that is akin to the one above is that uses of history should be perceived as the "communicative process when aspects of the historical culture [sic!] are applied to communicate meaning and action-oriented messages" (Nordgren, 2016, p. 481). With this view of the concept we have a focus on how history is used to communicate certain messages in order to create a certain understanding or inspire action. Swedish historian Klas-Göran Karlsson is generally regarded as the person who introduced the concept of uses of history in a Swedish context, and he is also the author of a well-known typology specifying different uses of history. According to Karlsson, history can be used for the following aims:

- *Morally:* to discover and show injustices committed in the past;
- *Existentially:* to remember, create meaning in life and build identities;
- *Ideologically:* to justify or argue for something and to create meaning in the past;
- *Politico-pedagogically:* to illustrate, acknowledge or create debate;
- *Scientifically:* to obtain or create new knowledge through an analytic and methodological process;
- *Non-use*: to conceal or to make certain historical events or people fall into public oblivion (Karlsson, 2014, pp. 73–78).

Thus, the typology describes the different ways in which we can use history to create meaning and inspire action. Through applying the typology, we are able to say something about why history is used the way it is.

There are three aspects of this understanding of uses of history that can be perceived as problematic in relation to the SSI report and its criticism of Swedish history education. The first aspect is related to the definition of the concept as such. If uses of history should be understood as making use of history or a communicative process in which we make use of history for various purposes, it becomes hard to say what would not qualify as a use of history, especially in history education. It seems a teacher of history would be more or less forced to use history when she tries to disseminate a certain content to her students with this view of the concept. We should probably not understand the SSI's criticism of Swedish history education as if it did not contain any uses of history in this way, but rather that the observed history education did not invite students to reflect on their own or others' uses of history.

In other words, we should not regard the use of history itself as the primary issue (for obvious reasons), but rather the ability to reflect on the use of history and what it may pertain to. This is a subtle but important distinction to make since it may guide us towards what history teachers should do when they teach uses of history in order to develop historical consciousness: to contribute to an insight of how history can be used to obtain certain things. In this sense Klas-

Göran Karlsson's typology can be a very powerful tool to inspire such an understanding. This, however, takes us to the second problematic aspect.

This problem relates to the level on which an analysis of uses of history is made. Klas-Göran Karlsson's typology deals with how we can categorize various motives behind certain uses of history. For this reason, the analysis will not be conducted at the level of the historical text or narrative, but rather with which mental (or other) conditions that lie behind a certain use. This can be a daunting analytical task, for reasons I will explain below. We can, for instance, take a short quotation from a history textbook:

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

To begin with it can be hard to ascertain with which motives the author of this text made use of history. It could be a moral use of history, since the quotation highlights injustices committed in the past by Stalin and the Soviet Union after the end of World War II. It could also be an ideological use of history since the author seems to try to create a certain kind of meaning or understanding of the past, and to argue for a certain way to perceive the historical event at hand. It may well also be a politico-pedagogical use of history since the purpose could be to acknowledge, illustrate or create debate about what happened after the end of World War II in Eastern Europe. It could furthermore be an existential use of history since a description as the one above can be used to remember, create meaning and build identities. It could also be a scientific use of history as the narrative above could be the result of analytical and methodological efforts on the part of the author. Finally, we can also say that this could be a non-use of history since what is portrayed above omits the actions of the Western allies after World War II and how that could have contributed to an escalation of the conflict that later became the Cold War.

Another difficulty in making an analysis is that a narrative like the one above can then be used in a number of different ways. A teacher of history could, for instance, use the narrative to illustrate the wrongdoings of the Soviet Union, to show a partial and simplified way of explaining the origins of the Cold War, et cetera. Swedish history educational researcher Kenneth Nordgren developed and analytical model in order to facilitate analysis of how history can be communicated and the function that may have, but also here a difficulty is to ascertain which mental or psychological conditions that may have caused the communication of history and to say something about how it was perceived by others (Nordgren, 2016).

You could argue that this is not a weakness in the typology, model or concept, but rather a strength since it more or less forces us to reflect on how complicated and multifarious a use of history can be, in a way which enables an understanding of how history affects us in our contemporary times and the future. This means that history teachers could apply Karlsson's typology or Nordgren's model in order to induce their students to reflect on how history is used. This is where we come to the third problematic aspect: if a student should reflect on uses of history to develop his or her historical consciousness (as the SSI report and some Swedish history educational researchers suggest), how can we then understand the relationship between uses of history and historical consciousness?

Uses of history and historical consciousness

If we understand uses of history as a use of history or the reflection on a use of history, how can we understand the theoretical connection to historical consciousness? The SSI writes that the observed history education could have developed students' historical consciousnesses if they had been given the opportunity to "reflect on how agents of the past made use of the past and how we today choose to use certain parts of the past" (Skolinspektionen, 2015, p. 21), when, for instance, historical fiction is used in history education. The point here is that "the reflection on how history can be used [is] an ability that clearly creates connections between different temporal dimensions" (Skolinspektionen, 2015, p. 21). What is then a historical consciousness and how can it be developed? The SSI writes that:

> A central part of a developed historical consciousness is to mentally move in different directions between different temporal dimensions […]. Students must be able to reflect on the ways through which we have been created by the past. Here the direction flows from the past to the present. But they also have to be able to reflect on how we and others use the past according to present-day needs and challenges. Here the direction is changed and the move now starts in the present and flows towards the past towards different usable pasts that may be constructed as history. A use of history takes place when someone turns towards the past to fulfil political, moral or existential needs, for instance, in the present time (Skolinspektionen, 2015, pp. 19–20).

From the quotation above we can discern an understanding of historical consciousness that is inspired by Danish history educational researcher Bernard Eric Jensen's interpretation of the concept. Jensen in turn builds his understanding of historical consciousness on German historian Karl-Ernst Jeismann's version of the concept (Jeismann, 1979). Jensen claims that Jeismann presents four definitions of what historical consciousness can be:

1. Historical consciousness is the omnipresent awareness that all human beings and all directions and forms of co-existence that they have created exist in time, meaning that they have an origin and a future and do not represent anything stable.
2. Historical consciousness incorporates the connection between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future.
3. Historical consciousness is how the past is present in representations and conceptions.
4. Historical consciousness rests on a common understanding based on emotional experiences. This common understanding is an essential part of the construction and enforcement of human societies (Jensen, 1997, p. 53).

Jensen then argues that the second definition should be regarded as the real definition of historical consciousness and we then get an understanding of historical consciousness as something that incorporates the connection between different temporal dimensions, similar to the one we encounter in the report from the SSI. This way of understanding historical consciousness can be called the multi-chronological understanding of the concept (Ammert, 2008), and it has become the completely dominant understanding of the concept in Swedish history educational research (Thorp, 2013). There are, however, two problematic aspects of the multi-chronological understanding of historical consciousness that I would like to focus on. The first aspect has to do with what historical consciousness becomes and how it may be expressed. If we interpret the definition of historical consciousness literally, it seems as if historical consciousness then becomes the ability to view our existence from three temporal dimensions and that when we express such an ability, we are in fact expressing our historical consciousness. This could be regarded as a rather trivial phenomenon (for further discussion of this, see Thorp, 2017). We can assume that most students in Swedish (and other) schools are aware that there is a past that is connected to the present and that this in turn will affect the future. History education can certainly contribute to increasing students' knowledge of the past in order to

develop their understanding of their present and future, but it is hard to see why a focus on uses of history would be the only or best way of doing so.

Furthermore, and this is the second problematic aspect, it becomes difficult to theoretically understand the relationship between uses of history and historical consciousness that we can assume should exist in order for the SSI to make the strong and critical assertions about Swedish education that it made. In other words, if historical consciousness is the connection between interpretation of the past, understanding of the past and perspective on the future and uses of history is the use of history or the reflection on a use of history, there is a great risk that education about uses of history and historical consciousness would entail nothing more than the rather commonplace assertion that we do use history (albeit for different reasons) and that when we do so we move through different temporal dimensions. Below I will propose an alternative way of understanding uses of history and historical consciousness that evades the problems discussed above. I will then suggest how these concepts can be approached in history education.

A proposal on how to develop historical consciousness through uses of history

A good principle to follow in any theoretical presentation is that it is of vital importance to try to be as precise and detailed about the concepts you are using as possible, and I will try to adhere to this principle in what I write below. Since both uses of history and historical consciousness, deal with things pertaining to history, a good starting may be to specify how we can understand the concept of history. History has many connotations, but the dominant understanding of history in history educational research is one that stipulates history as something separated from and qualitatively different than the past. Dutch history educational researcher Arie Wilschut argues that a linear perception of time is a central element in this view of what history is. A linear understanding of time means that the past is different from the present and that it is also irrevocably lost. What once was will never come back. What we instead have to do is to recreate the past, to reconstruct it. Wilschut claims that when we started to perceive time as linear this also meant that we started to perceive history in a qualitatively different way. Since a linear perception of time meant that we no longer could rely on tradition and *status quo* to understand the world, we had to find another way of doing so. The solution to this problem was the introduction of history as the serious and scientific study of the past (Wilschut, 2012).

This in turn creates epistemological concerns: how can we come to know something that does not exist any longer? The most common answer to that question is through critical and methodologically structured inquiries into the sources the past has left behind. In that way you can argue that history is indeed qualitatively different from the past: history is quite simply the critical methodological reconstruction of the past (Berge, 1995; Torstendahl, 1971). Here the individual historian becomes a central person in the creation of history since history does not primarily deal with how to collect facts or sources from the past, but rather how to deliberately interpret and create an understanding with the help of these facts and sources (Barthes, 2001; Retz, 2016). This in turn gives rise to a contingency and historicity regarding history and the historians that create it. Historical truth does not primarily depend on its proximity or correlation to the past (cf. Roth, 2012), but rather in the plausibility of the historian's interpretation and reconstruction of the past. In this way history to a great extent deals with the reconstruction or creation of history, since its value and veracity depend on whether it is the result of a scientific study of the past (Parkes, 2011). If we follow this line of reasoning, interpretation and reconstruction then comes to form the core of what constitutes history and if we disregard this aspect it could be argued that we in fact are doing something else (cf. Lévesque, 2008; Wineburg, 2001). This is significant to how we approach the concepts of uses of history and historical consciousness.

To begin outlining what historical consciousness may be, we can return to German historian Karl-Ernst Jeismann's view of the concept:

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

Here we have an understanding of historical consciousness that looks rather different than the one Bernard Eric Jensen, the SSI present and the majority of Swedish history educational research presents, which in and of itself is quite remarkable. Historical consciousness is here defined as an awareness of how the human condition is characterized by historicity. By historicity we mean that everything is historical, i.e. that it exists in time and is contingent on historical factors (this also refers to history itself). Historical consciousness in this view does not deal with multi-chronological connections, but rather with a kind of approach or attitude towards history in particular, and our existence in general. We live in a world that is contingent on how we interpret and understand it, and history is also contingent on our interpretation and understanding. In this way you can also understand historical consciousness as related to an understanding of history as something separated from the past and it could be perceived as a kind of meta cognitive or meta historical understanding of how all history is reconstructed from traces of a past that does not exist any longer. Through an awareness of how past, present and future perspectives are temporally separated and qualitatively different but also dependent on each other, we can reach an awareness of historicity, i.e. historical consciousness (cf. Rüsen, 2006). This view of historical consciousness avoids equating it to whether we can connect past, present, and future perspectives, but instead tells us something about what this may do to our understanding of history.

This is of great significance to how we come to understand uses of history and its connection to historical consciousness. If we understand historical consciousness as related to how we understand and approach history from the perspective of historicity, it is theoretically and analytically difficult to see how it is related to an understanding of uses of history as related to what aims we can have for using or communicating history. Uses of history will then deal with the underlying content or purpose of a historical narrative rather than a particular understanding of history. For this reason, I have proposed an extended way of approaching uses of history. The typology that Klas-Göran Karlsson (2014) has developed deals with how we may use history to achieve certain aims, in other words there is a goal related aspect of a use of history. Considering this, I think that we should call Karlsson's typology a *teleological use of history*. If we are interested in how history can be used in a way that resonates with the historicity and contingency of history highlighted by the quotation from Jeismann above, I suggest that we should focus on *how* history is presented, rather than with what purpose it was done so.

Consequently, I want to introduce another dimension to uses of history that I have chosen to call *narratological uses of history*. We can understand uses of history as a narrative proposition: whenever we disseminate something historical, we do that by narrating it in written or oral form. By borrowing and modifying German historian Jörn Rüsen's typology of historical narratives (Rüsen, 2012), we can discern three different types of narratological uses of history:

- A *traditional* narratological use of history applies a historical narrative that presents history in a factual way, as something impervious to interpretation and reconstruction;
- A *critical* narratological use of history uses the historical narrative to question, critique or show alternative historical explanations;
- A *genetic* narratological use of history presents a historical narrative that acknowledges how history is a result of interpretation and meaning-making and therefore also is dynamic in character (Thorp, 2016).

In other words, if we understand historical consciousness as awareness of historicity, then we can claim that historical consciousness should be understood as a kind of epistemic stance towards history. If we are aware that history is always the result of interpretation and reconstruction that we make, that history is inherently contextually contingent, we have a different kind of understanding of history than if we did not have that awareness. These different understandings of history correspond to the narratological uses of history stipulated above. A traditional narratological use of history disregards how history is always and irrevocably a result of interpretation and reconstruction and instead presents history as similar to the past. A critical narratological use of history uses history in a way that can be perceived as a kind of intermediate position between the traditional and genetic uses, since history is presented as contingent on interpretation and perspective, but that there is one plausible way of understanding history. This means that the perspective of the user of history is not acknowledged. This can either result in a relativistic way of understanding history (in the sense that all historical narratives are equally true), or in an understanding that claims that some historical narratives are true in the traditional sense and that others are false or wrong. A genetic narratological use of history instead focuses on how all historical narratives and all approaches to history are characterized by interpretation, perspective and meaning-making and is therefore contingent on these. Here we can discern a close theoretical connection to historical consciousness as it has been described above. Furthermore, we also have a closer connection to other popular concepts in history education such as historical thinking (Lee, 2006; Lévesque & Clark, 2018), historical reasoning (van Boxtel & van Drie, 2018), historical empathy (Endacott & Brooks, 2018; Retz, 2018) and the historiographic gaze (Parkes, 2011), since it emphasizes cognitive or epistemological aspects of history and our understanding thereof. What relevance does this have for history education, then?

To teach uses of history and develop historical consciousness

From what was written above, we can discern a distinct approach to history education that teaches uses of history in order to develop students' historical consciousness. At the most fundamental level this entails history education that stresses the importance of the individual's own perspective and own pre-conceptions for how he or she will understand or approach history. With this view, the teacher and students appear as creators and disseminators of history since history always has to be reconstructed and reproduced, particularly so in history education. This gives the individual teacher and student a lot of agency, but at the same time a lot of responsibility. History education that is directed towards developing students' historical consciousness should thus be focused on stimulating reflections on how history is presented and how we can come to claim that we know the past. This does not mean that we should abandon substantive or content knowledge of history to instead foster an ability to critically scrutinize historical pieces of information, something that has been perceived as problematic by some Swedish teachers (Persson, 2017). Instead it could mean that you accompany a historical narrative with simple questions such as "How can we know that?," "What does that

mean?" or "Why is this particular event narrated in this way?," with the purpose of inspiring students to gaze beyond the narrative at hand.

Furthermore, it could be argued that content or substantive knowledge of history always should be the starting point for any history education that wants to develop students' historical consciousness: through meeting narratives detailing other ways of living and understanding the world, students are given an opportunity to grasp how their own existence is characterized and affected by historicity and that what they perceive to absolutely normal and natural in fact is dynamic and subject to change because of its historical contingency. The teacher's task can here be to try to encourage and enable students to meet history both cognitively and emotionally instead of just discarding it as strange or stupid. When this has been established, more theoretical aspects of history can be used to develop students' historical understanding further.

To more systematically work with uses of history in history education in order to develop students' historical consciousness, I suggest that teachers focus on the narratological uses of history stipulated above. The advantages here are that the theoretical connection between uses of history and historical consciousness is evident, that theoretical perspectives can be more easily introduced in history education and that the analysis of uses of history can be made at the textual level. To illustrate this, we can return to the textbook quotation that was presented above:

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

If we analyse this quotation by applying narratological uses of history, we can discern that the textbook quotation manifests a traditional narratological use of history. The text is written from what could be called a zero or null perspective with the result that the content is given a factual character and we are given no indications of history's contingency on interpretation, perspective and meaning-making. History education that would use this presentation of the origins of the Cold War to confirm a certain understanding of this historical event could be problematic with regard to what is generally held to characterize history and also regarding what is stipulated in the Swedish history syllabus concerning how an aim of history education is to foster reflection in order to further tolerance and respect for the Other (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018). History education could then instead contribute to reproducing one particular perspective among many on the past.

Through narratological uses of history, history teachers as well as students of history are then provided with a theoretical tool that could help them destabilize the textbook narrative and scrutinize the origins and view of history and the world that may lie behind what they are presented with, that is, it would direct them towards regarding the narrative as reconstruction of the past that is contingent on a variety of factors. This does not necessarily entail that they should discard or disregard what is written, but rather curiously investigate the text as a reproduction of the past. Further help here could be the use of theoretical concepts such as historical thinking, historical empathy, historical reasoning and the historiographic gaze since these valuable concepts deal more specifically with these reconstructive aspects of history. Other competing views on the same event could certainly also help an analysis of the narrative's content, but it could also suffice to just ask questions like "How can we know that?," or "Why is X presented in this way" to get at the more theoretical aspects of history that lie behind the development of an historical consciousness. This would perhaps be a welcome contribution to history teachers that struggle with having to cover a vast content. Finally, it seems as if we

would have a theoretically valid way of claiming that we can develop historical consciousness through uses of history.

Concluding comments

In conclusion I would like to emphasize that the Swedish Schools Inspectorate's (SSI) critique that Swedish history education cannot contribute to developing students' historical consciousness since it does not focus on uses of history should be problematized and discussed further. To begin with, and as I have tried to show above, the theoretical assumptions that lie behind the SSI's conclusion, and to some extent what has been written in Swedish history educational research on the relationship between uses of history and historical consciousness, can be questioned. In a Swedish history educational context these are pressing concerns since the central aim of history education in Sweden is to develop students' historical consciousnesses. Without a theoretical discussion of how this may happen, Swedish history teachers are likely to be completely left in the dark when trying to implement the central aim of the history syllabus. My hope is that the present text in some way can contribute to a discussion of how we should or could conduct history education that indeed would contribute to developing students' historical consciousness through a focus on uses of history.

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About the Author

Robert Thorp, senior lecturer in history education, obtained his doctoral degree from Umeå University and is an internationally active researcher. His research specialises in the relationship between the individual, society and history with an emphasis on how history shapes our contemporary perceptions, but also how these perceptions affect our relationship to the past. A special interest has been devoted to how historical consciousness can be understood as a descriptive, analytical and normative concept. His other research interests are educational media, class room studies and teachers' relationship to history, with a special focus on Cold War history. Robert Thorp's latest book is *Uses of history in history education* (Umeå, 2016). He has also published *Historical consciousness, historical media, and history education* (Umeå, 2014) and a number of articles and chapters in scientific publications. Thorp has previously been affiliated with Dalarna University, Stockholm University, The University of Newcastle in Australia, and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany.

Author Email: robert.thorp@edu.uu.se

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From bits to templates: Uncovering digital interventions in everyday history assignments at secondary school

Inés Matres
University of Helsinki

ABSTRACT: This article explores the way students construct historical narrations in the digital age. The study, which is based on participant observation in two secondary schools in Finland, aligns with previous ethnographic research on how digital media interrupts and integrates in the formation of everyday habits and routines. The focus of the analysis is on short oral presentations of historical phenomena given by students in front of the class. During these short assignments students engage more in digital practices than doing other activities. The findings show that the accumulation of these brief assignments allows students to develop "templates for history", which I argue are elements from which they develop expectations of historical accounts for use in building their own stories. These templates include frequently consulted digital sources such as Wikipedia, and images that students find online that affect the perspective of their presentations. To these can be added other situated factors that derive from the course dynamics, such as the limited time allocated for assignments, teacher instruction in the form of inquiry or a presentation structure, and historical substance that is fragmented and arranged around single assignments. Thus far, studies on digital transformations in school history have focused on how the use of digitized primary sources can teach students to walk in the shoes of historians. The present study, in turn, concerns the ubiquitous digital culture and paraphernalia in schools. The aim is to offer teachers ways of connecting with familiar practices and to shed light on how these practices can support peer-learning, as well as to promote the idea of doing history as a collective and ever-revisiting task: all these are important objectives of school history.

KEYWORDS: School history; digital practices; secondary school; everyday genres; ethnography

Introduction: School history torn between fragmentation and abundance

This article concerns the way students make sense of historical events in the digital age. It is a question that has attracted much attention in the study of history as a school subject – referred to here as school history − in the past decade (Bloom & Stout, 2005; Lévesque, 2006b; Rosenzweig & Bass, 2011; Nygren & Vikström, 2013; Nygren, 2015), partly as a result of ongoing efforts to digitize historical primary sources of great interest to historians (Coyle, 2006; Gooding, 2017). With regard to school history, the main ambition related to these digital collections is to enable students to "walk in the shoes of apprentice historians" while in these spaces (Lévesque, 2006b, p. 68). Such studies are significant in showing that information in the digital age and archival historical sources share the same flaw: they offer access to fragments of the past or present, but not to either in its entirety (Nygren, 2015). Nevertheless, students can develop skills to face both the past and the present if they learn to select and present evidence

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and to read sources empathically, i.e. to know the context in which they are produced and preserved (idem). Scholars recognize that sporadic engagement in this practice will fail to deliver such skills, and that teachers need to invest effort in familiarizing themselves and students with such sources (Lévesque, 2006a; Nygren & Vikström, 2013; Rosenzweig & Bass, 2011,). It has been also been recognized that materials depicting ordinary people and local perspectives, which is popular among students and shared by many archival sources, relate to, but do not provide students with the broader political context of the time (Bloom & Stout, 2005; Nygren & Vikström, 2013, p. 65; Nygren, 2015, p. 94,98). Indeed, digital archives containing historical documents, periodicals, artworks and artefacts are used sporadically in the history classroom. For the most part, teacher instruction, textbooks, history websites organized like textbooks, and other hand-picked sources, some of which are designed for teaching purposes whereas others are not, serve as the basis on which students in ordinary history classes make sense of the past. The emphasis in this article is on mundane and ordinary practices that do not reflect those of the historian but are equally new in that they are digital. This article therefore asks whether these ordinary practices could be considered transformative of school history.

As an ethnologist, in my approach to school history I focus on everyday classroom activity and the use of ordinary sources. This is in line with previous ethnographic research highlighting the need to investigate the everyday life of youth to acknowledge the fluidity of their on- and offline activities, as well as the physical and virtual spaces they inhabit in the digital age (Ito et al., 2009; Livingstone & Sefton-Green, 2016). With this in mind, in the following I describe four instances in which students prepare and give short oral presentations about historical events and phenomena. Although these presentations are not new to the digital age, they do involve some digital practices in terms of collecting information, sharing materials and presenting results. In focusing on this I contribute to the literature on transformations in school history in the digital age in broadening the perspective of digital history in school to include not only the materials and practices of the historian, but also those that belong to the everyday history class. By focusing on existing practices such as oral presentations, I agree with Roy Rosenzweig's observation that people do not change their practices from one day to the next, but "selectively appropriate" new technology in what they are already doing (Rosenzweig & Bass, 2011, p. 93). In further contextualizing digital transformations in the context of school history I am guided by two concepts. The first concerns the fragmentation of historical substance in school, which has become a preoccupation for scholars to the point that school history has been compared with pools and sushi bars (Howson, 2009, p. 31). It is claimed that, although history curricula should provide students with "coherent and usable pictures of the past", adolescents leave school with "bits and pieces of historical knowledge" (Shemilt, 2009, p. 142). Consequently, school history comprises a selection of events that, at best, allow students to "orientate themselves and move across the ladder of time" (Howson, 2009, p. 26), as well as to "do something with their knowledge of history" (Lee, 2012, p. 139). In other words, the fragmentation of historical substance is a complex idea[1] that arose well before the digital age, but that resurfaces when teachers describe digital materials, and especially how they connect them to isolated historical events:

> You find things [online], of course, but it is still very fragmentary. You have very small pieces, but not a whole picture. (Vilma, history teacher, secondary school)

> For Absolutism [the students] had to search online information about the palace and the life of Louis XIV. Then they held mini presentations of 2-3 minutes, each had specialised in one thing: the garden, the buildings, the life in palace... Then we all took a virtual tour of Versailles online. (Alma, history teacher, secondary school).

Not far from pools and sushi bars, snapshot narratives is a metaphor Niklas Ammert uses to describe the style used in history textbooks in the last thirty years. He claims that a contributing factor to this style is that textbooks are media products of our time: "[t]he snapshot narratives

embedded in today's media society, are characterized by different stories that are briefly placed under the spotlight" (2010, p. 20). I, too, found that the students' oral presentations put stories briefly under the spotlight, but Ammert does not consider what effect the style of the textbook has on the way students create or recreate the past. This is a relevant question, given that the media used include not (only) the textbook but also excerpts of texts, and hand-picked references collected by the teacher or found online by students. This brings me to the second concept guiding this study: "history as a culture of abundance". Roy Rosenzweig recognized early on that the internet would not only facilitate the access to historical and scholarly sources, it would also broaden what doing history means, who writes it and who constitutes its audience (Rosenzweig, 2003, pp. 738–739). When I visited history classes, I found that not only have the source materials diversified, the practices and the outcomes that students produce also differ from lesson to lesson: from reading material for a Q&A or a team game using Kahoot, to building a timeline, or composing their own object gallery using PowerPoint. In sum, this article addresses old and new challenges of school history (the selective appropriation of technology, fragmentation and abundance) and contributes to the literature on transformations in history as a school subject in the digital age.

The methodological framework for this study is ethnological, in other words the focus is on the ordinary and the everyday. This approach allowed me to observe how, in the history class, digital spaces and practices were used not only for information gathering, but also for collective and individual storage and performative paraphernalia. Reflecting upon ethnology that focuses on everyday life, I aimed to immerse myself in the flow of the history class to identify how digital media "interrupts and integrates into habits and routines" (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2013, p. 689; Pink et al., 2015, p. 162). Moments at which routines and habits are described are considered "the 'stuff' through which sociality and structure are enacted" (Thomson, Berriman, & Bragg, 2018, p. 5). In the context of school history, I consider the oral history presentations that students frequently give as the main vessel that allows them to "familiarize with processes that arise from the act of doing history" (Lévesque, 2008, p. 27). As a teacher participating in this study remarked, these short projects are what students remember best about the history class when they leave school.

This article focuses on everyday classroom activity rather than students' papers, or an activity designed for the purpose of this research, and thus in contrast to the literature that assesses students' historical knowledge, it examines their working processes. One reason for doing this is that few studies focus on digital history (Nygren, 2015; Nygren & Vikström, 2013), and most of those concern the later stages of school, whereas the participants in this study were transitioning from lower to upper-secondary school. Moreover, even if curriculum guidelines provide a scale of what students are supposed to know after each level, digital skills remain unrelated to history (Opetushallitus, 2015b, 2015a). On the other hand, having analyzed how students undertake digital tasks within assignments, Ibrar Bhatt argues that the pedagogical goals of teachers have not necessarily changed even if the way their students work has (Bhatt, 2017). Unlike Bhatt, who focuses on digital literacies, I acknowledge the importance of history as the context of these assignments, concretely by including the teachers' motivations and aims. One teacher participating in this study remarked that having their own digital equipment allowed students to become active researchers, which is an important aspect of history didactics (Ahonen in Castrén, Ahonen, Arola, Elio, & Pilli, 1992; Dawson, 1989). Furthermore, considering digital practice within the framework of school history responds to a call for research on communities adopting ICT and their educational settings (Samuelsson & Olsson, 2014).

Everyday history assignments: data and methodology

The main question addressed in this article concerns the extent to which the digital culture and its paraphernalia, which are increasingly present in school classrooms, intervene in how students make sense of history. In the following I therefore present an ethnographic account of history classes in two Finnish secondary schools. During the first research phase I conducted semi-structured interviews (Davies, 1999) with six history teachers in four secondary schools to learn how digitalization has affected their teaching. The interviews covered their background and their approach to the teaching of history, how digital resources were used in their classes, and their accounts of learner-centered activities from inception to evaluation. Although this paper examines assignments in which students engaged with digital resources, two interviewees did not use them in their classes, one due to a lack of familiarity with them outside school, and the other due to the inadequacy of the school's ICT infrastructure. It should be noted that the four teachers who favored ICT adoption worked in schools in which each student was equipped with a tablet, whereas the other two had to make sure that a computer lab was available for students to use digital resources. This confirms the findings of recent studies on ICT integration in education that identified both infrastructural and social factors in the digital divide (Aliagas Marín & Castellà Lidon, 2014; Samuelsson & Olsson, 2014). In this study, these inequalities are reflected in the way digital practices can be considered exceptional rather than everyday occurrences.

During the second phase, I carried out participant observation in the two schools that were more active in their use of digital resources. Participant observation has become an established method in the study of digital media, in that it facilitates the examination of "interdependencies among artefacts, practices and social arrangements around new media" (Lievrouw & Livingstone, 2006, p. 2). Two of the teachers I interviewed invited me to observe one of their ongoing courses in which students regularly made use of digital resources. In March 2017, I visited the first class, a short optional course entitled "The development of scientific thinking" taught by Sanna, with ten students aged 15-18. From January to May 2019 I visited a ninth-grade general history course taught by Alma, with four students aged 14 and 15. Although there were differences between the schools, one being a state school and the other an international school[2], both teachers completed their pedagogical studies in Finland and classroom activity was organized in a similar manner. Overall, I observed students carrying out eight assignments that culminated in an oral presentation in front of the class, the time spent on these assignments varied from one to three sessions. In addition to taking field notes during the observation, I conducted group interviews with the students to get their immediate impressions of the course and of their own work, as well as follow-up interviews with both teachers. The students' parents were informed via a consent form that students read and signed if they agreed to participate. In line with Finnish research guidelines, to guarantee participant confidentiality (Kohonen, Kuula-Luumi, & Spoof, 2019) the names assigned here to students and teachers are pseudonyms, and the nationality of the international school is given as *Ulkomaa*, which means "foreign country" in Finnish.

In my analysis of these brief periods of intense work I was guided by Mary Soliday's definition of assignments as "everyday genres of academia" through which students perform tasks dictated by a genre in a situated manner (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Soliday, 2011). The point is to practice writing academic texts in a setting in which situated aspects (the peer audience and their trial character) make everyday genres socially informed and enacted moments (Soliday, 2011). Soliday writes about academic assignments, and it is thus necessary to distinguish between college and school students. One teacher in this study characterized her students' historical skills as instinctive rather than intentional, which reflects the position of students between lower- and upper-secondary school as halfway through their journey towards

gaining a "private understanding of the concepts and tools of the historian" (Husbands, 1996, p. 26). Husbands points out that this private understanding does not include putting historical concepts and tools into practice to create new historical knowledge. The situatedness to which Soliday (2011) refers was apparent when the students received instructions, grouped, divided tasks, worked autonomously, consulted the teacher and their devices, and rehearsed their presentations before 'staging' them and giving each other feedback.

The four moments analyzed below focus on the situatedness of everyday genres. As noted earlier with reference to the goal of identifying how digital paraphernalia interrupt and integrate in the formation of habits and structures, and acknowledging the educational context of school history, in each case I also reflect on the teacher's objectives and the students' underlying strategies. I have organized these moments as a sequence outlining this process: the first one introduces the dynamic of everyday assignments; the second focuses on the interplay of social relations, instruction and media use; the third analyzes the structural elements of one presentation; and the last one considers their ephemeral nature.

From the Julian calendar to the Scramble for Africa: Bits and pieces of history

> At 8:15 Sanna informs us that today we will start the next topic of the course: time measurement; and at the end we will listen to the remaining presentations from the previous week. She refers to materials she had uploaded last week to Fronter (a pamphlet, a three-page copy with information about the Clock museum with highlights of the collection, and various typed pages with questions and answers). A Q&A starts, covering prehistoric and ancient methods of time measurement. [...] We watch a YouTube video that explains the origin of the Christian calendar, and spend some time opening the content. [...] Q&A resumes around Islamic, Chinese and Soviet calendars. [...] To close this topic for the day, Sanna invites students to share the objects and stories they remember from the visit to the Clock Museum last Friday. [...] At 9:00 Sanna sits at the back, Pertti and Timo come to the front to present the Scramble for Africa using two maps of the continent, before and after the Berlin Conference in 1884. [...] Later, Elsi and Ville present the "discovery" of the Americas (air quotes done by Elsi), their PowerPoint presentation consists of a well-known Weissmuller map of 1507, and a slide showing the 1803 expedition to Northwest America by Lewis and Clark [...] At 9:30 we applaud both presentations... (Field journal 14.3.2017, school 1).

This excerpt from my field diary best illustrates the earlier mentioned fragmentation of the historical substance into "bits and pieces" (Shemilt, 2009, p. 142) or "pools" (Howson, 2009, p. 31). This section focuses on the disruptive dynamic in which everyday assignments are embedded. This course concerned the development of scientific thinking. The focus during the three lessons each week was on a specific scientific discipline, but as happened here, two presentations from the previous week had to be allocated even though the class had moved on. The goal of the course resonated with the idea of "usable history" rather than offering a linear development of science history. As Sanna explained to me, the school was specialized in science and therefore she had created this optional course. Indeed, most of the students in the class preferred math or physics rather than history. Moreover, although some students attempted to summarize the course for me by enumerating all the topics from memory, as is common for students of this age (Ammert, 2014), two of them saw it in practical terms, as having learned where the things that interested them most originated.

Paying closer attention to how this lesson progressed, I found that the fragmentation was supported by the different activities: first, students were asked questions based on previously read materials that the teacher had collected in Fronter (the school's learning platform), then they watched and opened up the content of a YouTube video, next they shared memories of a visit to a museum the previous week, and finally we heard two oral presentations by students for which they had carried out some research, illustrated with historical maps. Sanna mentioned specific objectives of the course, particularly oral presentations: she wanted the students to practice diverse forms of collaboration and to become familiar with searching for visual sources

online. She also wanted to prepare them for their final exams, in which they usually have to analyze a visual source (for example, a painting, artefact, or map). As a student named Kimo remarked in an interview about these presentations: "It wasn't just the teacher telling the absolute truth. We have to think, is this the right thing or not? Or, we have to choose what we tell the others". These oral presentations stand out from the other activities in that they benefit from the fragmented historical substance: here, a pair presented the Scramble for Africa whereas the other talked about the discovery of the Americas. This allowed students unprecedented moments of agency. In sorting the information and deciding what and how to present, the students were processing written and visual material translating historical concepts into their own words, and they even dared give a personal evaluation of the past (Elsi questioning the concept of "discovery" using air quotes). They also became aware of and felt responsible for their peers' learning. In acknowledging their peers as an audience, oral presentations created a moment of affinity in the sense in which James Gee defined "affinity spaces" such as fan sites or strategy games, where young people are teachers and learners in some degree and depend on each other to develop expertise or to advance (Gee, 2006). In sum, fragmentation, which is traditionally seen in a negative light, could be otherwise in that it allows students to adopt an active research approach to historical subjects, which in turn reflects the objectives of school history (Castrén et al., 1992; Dawson, 1989) and resonates with the idea that, in the digital age, "history as retrospective is being overtaken by the idea of history in the making" (Tredennick in Weller, 2013, p. 57). It may not be able to supply a complete picture of the past, but it is coherent and usable, allowing students to connect history to interests and subjects outside the history class.

Friends, games and anchors back to work: Media ecologies in school

> I follow Anton's team into another classroom. Their task is to represent the opposition of the Church to the Nazi regime. They sit at a table with a boy and a girl who are working on another topic. In 20 minutes they have to upload a handout to the Office group before the presentations. Anton types into and reads his tablet, occasionally adding a bulleted paragraph in his notebook. Meanwhile, the others in his team and the girl play hangman on the whiteboard. At the same time, the boys are discussing LoL, a video game. One of them has tried it and complains that after a week you have to pay for it. Anton joins the conversation, to try to persuade one of them to play the game together over the weekend. Every now and then his groupmates suggest something, reading aloud from their phones: one has found something about Hitler. Anton responds to this dismissingly and gives him a name of a bishop to look up. Alma pops in, reminding them to upload the handouts and asking if there are any difficulties. Anton mentions that the main difficulty is to see the Church as an opposition group. He has found information about bishops who publicly criticized the regime, but he cannot identify common objectives, or consequences for the Church. (Field journal 19.1.2019, school 2).

Moving on from the previous introduction to the dynamics of assignments, the excerpt above illustrates instructional and social elements of the brief moments in which students prepare an oral presentation. Although this is only implicit in the end, the students, grouped in teams, were given a specific task by Alma, their teacher: after selecting a group in opposition to the NS regime, each team was asked to address four issues in their presentation: reasons for rebelling, types of actions, objectives, and the consequences for the group. Alma acknowledged in an interview that students of this age have great difficulties in limiting the scope of an investigation, hence her guidance. Later on, a student confirmed this: "It is a bit difficult for me, when we have long text sources, to know what the most important information for the presentation is". A presentation structure, in the form of research questions, was an aid commonly provided by the teacher when students had to undertake online searches, to help them to limit and focus the scope of their presentations.

A second interesting aspect of this field note requires zooming into the context in which these students undertook the assignment. The work and the game go on simultaneously as they

converse about weekend plans. This assemblage of work and leisure was common among students in unsupervised moments. The protagonist in this case was Anton. He was in charge of his team's assignment and distributed tasks. Unlike his fellow group members, Anton had been present in a previous lesson when opposition to the NS regime was discussed, which could explain why he took the initiative in this assignment. However, during the five months I was observing his class, Anton distinguished himself as a facilitator: while here he distributed tasks, in other sessions he would check on his peers' progress during periods of individual work, and when the school network connection was down, he shared his Wi-Fi access. Talking about how they spent time online outside of school, he explained that he persuaded his school friends to play League of Legends, a team-battle videogame, and he engaged in forums on how to play it more competitively. Learning this about him, I began to understand why he often assumed this mediating role among his peers. The similar way in which he approached team and task-oriented assignments and videogames expose the "media ecologies that youth inhabits" (Sims in Ito et al., 2009, p. 50). The concept of "media ecologies" is defined as the relationship between "the social, technical, cultural and place-based systems in which the everyday practices of youth flows" (Ito et al., 2009, p. 31). Ibrar Bhatt used the term "irruption" to describe when students undertake assignments that require them to use digital paraphernalia and in doing so revert to familiar digital practices that they engage in for non-educative contexts (Bhatt, 2017). All this shows how students' strategies in both school and out-of-school activities are related, and that task-oriented assignments can activate such relationships.

In sum, instruction provided in the form of tasks that are easily distributed among team members is a tool that not only helps students to narrow down materials and subjects but also constitutes an anchor back to work from interludes of socialization and leisure. It also enables them to engage in digital practices with which they are familiar. Next, I examine moments when students developed their own research questions.

'Things that I want for any other topic': Revealing a template for history

> When I start any subject, it is important for me that somebody explains where it fits in general. That is, how other events contributed to it. And so [in our presentation] we said what it was about. Then, details of what happened at that time, we did this with the timeline that Rosa presented. And most times, the consequences or effects of the whole, as a sort of conclusion. Personally, these are things that I want for any other topic. (Sonia, school 2, age 14).

Two students named Sonia and Rosa followed this strategy for their next assignment. Taking a presentation for which the students were free to develop their own inquiry, I focus here on the interplay between big pictures of the past and the little pictures created by students. In addition to having elements in common with a previous presentation in which Sonia used a similar structure, Sonia and Rosa's presentation seemed to reflect the structure of the circumscribing substance of the course. This class dedicated six weeks to the subject of Imperialism. When I interviewed the students, they remembered this topic better than the others. Three of them said it was unique to be able to cover a historical period in such depth. The topic was introduced taking on Ulkomaa's imperial experience, then students gave oral presentations on the British Empire (Sonia's statement refers to this). Later on, there was a discussion about the implications of the territorial and military rivalry among colonial empires at the breakout of WWI (a conflict that had been studied earlier that year), and to conclude the subject the students were briefly lectured about the process of decolonization. These topics remained fragmented in the sense I referred to earlier: each entailed a different activity, some were based on teacher instruction while others involved viewing a DVD, and for this one, students gave oral presentations.

Three presentation topics were distributed among the students: British colonies during Imperialism, the Fashoda Crisis of 1898, and India under British rule. No research questions

were suggested, but there was a short text introducing each subject, which was to be complemented with material acquired online. Sonia and Rosa chose the first topic. After enumerating the motives behind and the characteristics of British imperialism in the late 19th Century, they created a timeline on which they placed the territories colonized by Britain between 1850 and 1914, and a list of repercussions focusing on the enrichment of Britain at the cost of the human and material draining of its colonies. Sonia adopted this structure in several presentations, which was particularly evident in this one in that the slides emphasized this plot.

Later, in an interview, Sonia recognized the inadequacy of the sources regularly consulted in this class for this assignment. She admitted that "there was little information" on the two main history websites they used, and "if there was any, it was how Ulkomaa perceived these events, which is not what I needed". Focusing on Britain for this assignment conforms with the ongoing internationalization of history curriculums across Europe (Elmersjö, 2014; Poulsen, 2013), but this was challenged by the perspective gained from digital sources consulted alongside the textbook. In their search for an appropriate perspective, all the groups consulted two language versions of Wikipedia and listed it as a source on their slides, although this provoked no commentary during the presentations. This calls for additional comment as Rosa complemented her friend's statement, admitting that the structure of this presentation was somewhat inspired by the Wikipedia articles they found on the topic –something that Alma allowed when introducing new topics. Previous research on the use of digital sources of information in school characterize Wikipedia as fluctuating between legitimacy and illegitimacy (Andersson, 2017; Chandler & Gregory, 2010). From Sonia and Rosa's statements, we could consider Wikipedia a legitimate source in terms of structure and internationalization when students create their own historical narratives. One final element that Sonia felt was particularly fitting concerned having used political cartoons that emphasized and illustrated their main message: the dominant and abusive position of Britain towards its colonial territories. Later she explained that another teacher had used cartoons in every lesson; Sonia liked them because they conveyed attitudes towards historical phenomena from the same historical time.

After revealing the ingredients of one presentation, the idea of template for history arises. A "plot" can be recognized in Sonia's statement, a sequence explained in terms of antecedents and consequences[3] to make sense of the open and chaotic past. Causality is frequently taken for granted in historical accounts, but it is the creation of historians (Lévesque, 2008, pp. 66–70). Sonia's strategy shows that students connect their "little pictures" to bigger ones by drawing elements from the circumscribing substance of the course as well as what they find in regularly consulted sources. Digital images, and the slides they freely configure, accentuate both the structure of and the perspective on the subject.

'If you like history, you save it', sites for the collective revisiting of history

> Fronter is more for the teachers, they are the ones who usually put things there (…); the students use different tools, whatever suits them best (Eliel, school 1, age 16)
>
> We only do these topics once in our lives (…). It depends on the person, if you don't like history then you don't bother to save it, because you don't have to remember it. But if you like history, then you save it, to remember it. (Anton, school 2, age 15).

During my visits to both schools I noticed moments when there was a disconnection between the students and the digital environments that should have supported them in their everyday work. This section concerns the ephemeral nature of everyday assignments and focuses on how students handle their own digitally produced work. A Learning Management System (LMS) enlarged the classroom space in both courses and served as a communication channel between teachers and students. It emerged in moments when teachers referred to "new materials uploaded for today's work", and when students started wrapping up work and uploading their

presentations. These carefully prepared webpages, or temporary storerooms that dissolved at the end of the assignment, had the potential to turn into a tool with which these students could share, document, and preserve their work.

Students in the first school collected information on mortal illnesses, treatments, medical pioneers and achievements. Each team had to research a period between ancient and modern times. An empty table prepared by the teacher on LMS course-site was intended to document this effort. However, as Eliel remarks above, the table had not been filled in at the end of the assignment. Instead, the students had taken notes of each other's presentations, which they used as study material for the final test. As the teacher in the second school remarked, the sheer amount of materials that students produce for each class constitutes their digital heritage. However, Anton's words above refer to how some students kept course materials and their own presentations in their computers or the school cloud for future reference, whereas others did not.

There is an explicit sense of individuality in both statements when it comes to digitally produced work. The fact that spaces intended for students to share and for back-up work were left unused captures the ephemeral nature of everyday assignments and illustrates two untapped potential uses of digital spaces against this. First, they could contribute to the conception of individual or teamwork as part of a collective class effort, and second, they could store this effort to be revisited at later stages. Despite Anton's words: "we only do these topics once", the teacher purposefully introduced two topics that would be reviewed in the upper grades because, in her experience, time is more constrained then. Working collaboratively and reviewing past interpretations are not specific, but they are particularly relevant to history in the digital age. The collective and revisiting tasks of historical reconstruction have become more visible in Wikipedia in particular, where articles are edited by multiple authors and revised over time, and where members of the public can see and participate in this process. These social and fluid aspects of history are not necessarily new to the digital age, but they have been identified as the most relevant, which communities dedicated to the study of the past (or the present as the prospective past) should consider today (Ridge, 2014; Rosenzweig, 2006). Although LMSs are not designed for history teaching, they provide a space for collaboration and documentation, which could be used as a means of becoming familiar with these aspects of history. Even if young people engage digitally in social practices outside of school (one could characterize Anton's gameplay as such), in school their attitudes towards digitally produced work are more individualistic. It is recognized in ethnographic debate that such double articulations emerge when comparisons are made between how technology is designed and how it is used in domestic contexts (Horst & Miller, 2012; Silverstone & Hirsch, 1992). In these cases, too, individualism and collectivism are possible but do not necessarily happen to the same degree, or in beneficial ways.

Discussion of findings

As I state in the introduction, the aim of my ethnographic approach is neither to offer a diagnosis, nor to provide an image that fits every classroom. The purpose of thick descriptions, or rather interpretive inscriptions (Geertz, 1973), of a few moments from classroom activity is to convey a reconciling dialogue between familiar practices of school history and digital interventions in these practices. Taking into account the micro-level scope of this article, I dare in this section to shift from the particularity of these two classes and the four moments presented above and to reconsider the initial concepts, which are new and old challenges for school history: the selective appropriation of technology, fragmentation, and abundance.

The implementation of technology, or rather its selective appropriation into existing practices, has affected oral history presentations more than other class activities. This "everyday genre" of school history therefore constitutes the object of analysis in this article. It is a vehicle that offers students a way of self-appropriating the process of constructing historical narrations. Although digital technology is not essential to this process, accessing sources online and preparing presentation material in many forms (handouts, timelines, slides or image galleries) require students to filter and select content, as well as making them aware of having an audience and sharing the instructive task of the teacher. I have also shown that the media ecologies in which assignments are carried out (task-oriented, teamwork, peer-learning) share a grammar and activate relationships between schoolwork and vernacular practices of youth in the digital age. Even if only one student might have profited from his gameplay in getting his team to complete an assignment on time, for these brief periods all students partake in affinity spaces that so far have been related to strategy games, fan sites and community forums (Gee, 2006; Jenkins, 2008). With regard to less obvious goals of school history, which are nevertheless gaining in importance for historians in the digital age, the school learning platform, or LMS, designed for sharing course materials, facilitates conceiving everyday assignments as part of a collective class effort. Its back-up functionality (sometimes even called "archive") allows students to review this effort when they encounter the same or related historical phenomena in later years. Further research effort should be invested in how these affinity spaces, and spaces for the collective writing and later revisiting of history, could be more constructive for students because in the cases presented above, the organization of teamwork was left to decide to students, their presentation materials were not systematically collected, and some students discarded their own digitally produced work.

The fragmentation of historical substance in school has been compared with reducing history's vast subject matter to sushi bars, implying that students leave school with only bits and pieces of historical knowledge. As I have shown, fragmentation is supported by mundane factors such as time. Indeed, the need for teachers to allocate oral presentations among other activities often leads to the temporal disarrangement of historical substance, and the fact that digital sources can only be connected to isolated historical events is a new factor that strengthens fragmentation. However, having observed multiple assignments as they accumulate over time, I claim that students can overcome fragmentation, or at least connect their little pictures to the bigger picture and create templates for history. The bits and templates referred in the title of this article, aside from being two terms that have been assimilated into computer jargon, in this study they convey the role of assignments in school history. Assignments profit from this fragmentation on the one hand, but on the other hand they offer devices that facilitate bringing something into shape. In other words, templates for history are elements upon which students develop expectations from historical narrations. These elements have surfaced at diverse moments in the course of this article: a list of suggested issues to cover, the substance that circumscribes the assignment or the sources to which students repeatedly fall back. There is, however, a risk that these template elements remain underexplored in class. Although the students' historical accounts may comply with how history often organizes the chaotic past by means of causation and consequence, their statements about how they compose these accounts hint at having mirrored previous assignments or Wikipedia articles rather than choosing this structure intentionally to reflect historical discourse. Establishing connections between these template elements and historical concepts could have sparked discussion about this creative and constructive task of 'doing history'.

Finally, the notion of abundance does not necessarily imply that students make more use of historical sources just because they are available online. Abundance in the sense that Roy Rosenzweig (2003, 2006) predicted of digital history means new agents (writers of history as well as audiences) and new priorities for historians. This has transcended into school history.

With regard to the abundance of sources, teachers set limits through diverse mechanisms: falling back on familiar educational sites, preselecting readings, or narrowing topics in the form of task-related questions. Earlier, I observed that searching for images to illustrate presentations was a task that allowed students more freedom. Even then, options were narrowed by a recommendation from the teacher to use Wikimedia Commons, which is safe in terms of copyright and general in scope fulfilling the need to supply materials on diverse topics such as colonialism and medical advancement. However, student-selected sources were never the center of attention during presentations, and thus students might have not considered this task important. Abundance could also be understood as the diversity of stories facilitated by source materials, such as when students used historical maps to illustrate the Scramble for Africa and the discovery of the Americas (thus emphasizing exploration), while others illustrated their presentation on British imperialism with historical cartoons (emphasizing politics). Finally, abundance could refer to the difficulty of generalizing the purpose of the oral history presentation: as noted, both teachers said they wanted to prepare their students for things they would face in years to come, such as pre-university examinations or time constraints in upper grades. One way of taking advantage of this abundance, in terms of both sources and purpose, could be to dedicate one assignment to exploring and discussing new sources found online that students could add to their list of trusted digital spaces for future work.

Concluding remarks

Returning to Thomas Nygren's idea that digital history can prepare students to confront the past and present in that both archival sources and information in the digital age share traits (2015), I have shown how the digital culture and paraphernalia that is increasingly becoming ubiquitous in school classrooms can broaden the focus of digital history beyond practices that exclusively derive from using digitized primary sources. To educators who are not yet familiar with digital sources created for historians, or have not fully adopted new ways of working, this article offers a new approach to familiar practices, sources and platforms. The originality of this study lies in its ethnographic focus on ordinary and mundane tasks, such as ascribing legitimacy to Wikipedia and finding potential applications of the school LMS to history. This reflects the classes I observed, in which most students were aged fifteen. They were being gradually introduced to (rather than tested on) historical concepts and had recently started using each a school tablet.

The lessons learned from this study could inform future ethnographic research in schools. Observing history classes in its entirety can be time consuming as they can last full terms. Also, even if observing classes was easy once the teachers were on board with the research, it was difficult to plan access to digital spaces and unforeseen technical and privacy obstacles emerged. It should be taken into consideration in future research that assignment materials are not systematically collected or may be kept behind account credentials in the LMS and other software, and that some students might prefer using their private devices instead of the school tablet. I overcame these barriers to some extent by asking the students to demonstrate the LMS to me, or to list their online sources in their presentation material. The teachers did provide some reading materials in hard-copy, but although the students were asked voluntarily to forward the work they kept in their devices, most did not. Nevertheless, combining ethnography with an analytical focus on everyday genres is a particularly fitting approach to history education in school, to show that history is constructed and enacted daily and not only reproduced in examinations or papers. The accumulation of assignments allowed me to collect and report on what I call templates for history, from which students form expectations of historical narrations and use to build their own. This accumulation of assignments was equally effective to show that the digital culture of the classroom activates media ecologies, or

relationships between on-and-off school practice, and that it fosters affinity moments where students require each other's input to advance. Furthermore, the digital spaces that belong to the school-life of students, facilitate practices that can help students consider the collective and the revisiting tasks of history. All these are ways students can self-appropriate concepts and processes that derive from doing history in the digital age.

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Endnotes

[1] The idea of fragmentation is indeed more complex, and the literature cited refers to studies that highlight the negative aspects: 'history' is still widely understood by many students in their early and mid- teens as a huge "timeline" of which not all can be recalled or put into place. However school history in Finland nowadays emphasizes historical thinking, according to which historical substance (seen as events or themes) constitutes the basis on which to develop an understanding of disciplinary concepts such as "time, change, continuity, causality, and historical empathy" (Opetushallitus, 2015a, p. 170). The fact that history in school is characterized as usable refers to the idea of obtaining a sense of temporal orientation (Rüsen, 1994), through which young people should connect their time to the past and hopefully become aware of the present's own historicity, thus providing some guidance for the future. Another usable aspect of school history is that it should allow students "to do history". This idea was introduced by radical advocates of disciplinary history (students should not learn narratives of the past, but should focus on the logic of historical evidence and interpretation) such as Beard, Fling and Jeffries in the early 20th century (discussed in Lévesque, 2008, pp. 9–11). Nowadays scholars are aware of how complex this is, and of the need to introduce a scale according to which students gradually apply and become aware of these disciplinary concepts (VanSledright, 2004).

[2] The international school was chosen because the working language there allowed me to speak with students and teachers in their native tongue. Moreover, because it was an international school, the limited availability of publications in that language was often compensated by the use of digital resources.

[3] This, again, is a simplification of what can be said about narrative structure and temporality in history. However, in the classroom historical events were often looked at in these terms of causation (Carr, 1970), and consequences (Mink in Lévesque, 2008).

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About the Author

I have a licentiate degree in audio-visual communication from the Complutense University of Madrid (2006) and a master's degree in European media studies from the University of Potsdam (2010). Working for diverse cultural heritage institutions, I observed that the digital age has had an impact on the how we relate to the past and the relationships between memory institutions and their audiences. This has led me to conduct research on how digitalization has influenced the relationship between cultural heritage institutions and schools and to inquire into how young people relate to the past in the digital age. This article is the second of my doctoral dissertation in European ethnology at the University of Helsinki.