



Making democrats while developing their historical consciousness: A complex task

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ABSTRACT: History teaching in Sweden is, among other things, supposed to create democratic citizens appreciating certain values. These goals are described in the first chapter in the curriculum, “Fundamental values and tasks of the school”, as cross-curricular goals that every teacher should foster. At the same time the history teacher is supposed to develop the students’ historical consciousness by developing certain cognitive abilities that allow the students to interpret history on their own. These abilities are described in the history syllabus. The abilities do not, however, address any particular values to be developed. The history teachers’ assignments can therefore be in conflict. In the article I analyze the Swedish history teachers’ mission by comparing the goals for the citizenship education in the curriculum’s first chapter, with the theoretical construction of how to develop the students’ historical consciousness, found in the syllabus in history. At the end there is a discussion and a tentative suggestion how to process the tension between making democrats and at the same time develop the students’ cognitive abilities to understand and use history of their own.

KEYWORDS: curriculum, historical consciousness, citizenship education, history teaching.

Introduction

In this article I carry out a philosophical and theoretical discussion. The discussion centers around the expectations on the subject of history in Sweden to shape democratic citizens embracing certain values, and the expectations to, at the same time, develop the students’ historical consciousness in an individual, analytical and highly cognitive way. I will argue that this complex mission can carry methodological contradictions for the history teacher. In the first chapter, “Fundamental values and tasks of the school”, in the curriculum for the compulsory school in Sweden, a cross-curricular claim is stated: the education is supposed to shape citizens embracing certain values emanating from a specific culture, in the curriculum defined as “Christian tradition and Western humanism” (Skolverket 2011, p. 9). On the other hand, the history syllabus in the same curriculum aims at an education fostering students to use history to make their own individual standpoints in important and for the society vivid questions. Teaching history to internalize certain values calls for a method where history strengthens the values in question, while history teaching, where the students use history to make up their own minds, calls for a method where the students at first hand learn to interpret history and build their own historical accounts or narratives. The students own interpretations of history can, however, contradict certain values in the curriculum.

History and use of history is not a neutral science, it has political and ethical dimensions. This means that history and historical mediation also are included in political and ethical projects, such as nation building, or to criticize the contemporary society (Gaddis, 2002). History as a subject is therefore a vivid democratic tool that either can strengthen or challenge the contemporary society. The message you want to bring via history, determines your selection

of historical facts as you build your historical accounts or narratives (Ricoeur, 1984, 1985, 1988; White 1973, 1978, 1987). Historical narrative in itself is therefore not democratic. Historical facts and sources must consequently be used carefully when constructing historical narratives if it is supposed to strengthen democratic values and democratic abilities. On the other hand, a historical teaching method that tells the students an already interpreted history, does not include the citizens into the democratic process to actually form the contemporary and future society via use of history. Such students are rather fostered to preserve the contemporary society.

If we want the students to be able to use history by themselves, making their own historical interpretations and narratives, we also must understand that their use of history will contain moral and political issues. That's the nature of the historical narrative (Ricoeur, 1984, 1985, 1988; White, 1973, 1978, 1987). The students' historical interpretations can therefore either be congruent or not, to the values every student is supposed to embrace according to the curriculum's first chapter. The other alternative is a history teacher telling a grand narrative, which contains and highlights what s/he wants the students to learn from history, history as *historia magistra vitae*. The disadvantage in this case is that the students do not practice using and understanding history themselves to orient in the society, and will become easy targets for propagandistic uses of history.

First I will analyze the relationship between the different cross curricular requirements that are supposed to foster democrats, found in the curriculum for the compulsory school. To assist me in this analysis I create a table based on three different assumptions of what the base of a democracy can be. I then place the cross curricular requirements in this model. After this I analyze the relationship between the cross curricular requirements and the historical abilities the history syllabus describes as abilities for the students to develop. From this analysis I reason that the history teacher has to choose from three different starting points for their history teaching if they want to meet the demands from the curriculum as it is constructed today. At the end, I will point out a hypothesis of how to face the contradiction between telling the students what to think and at the same time letting them interpret history on their own.

The Swedish curriculum and the cross-curricular citizenship education

In its broadest definition, citizenship education embraces all the processes that affect people's beliefs, commitments, capabilities, and actions as members or prospective members of communities. Used in the school it involves a normative vision, and refers to educate the students to become good citizens (Kjellin & Stier, 2008). The Swedish curriculum for the compulsory school first of all states that:

The national school system is based on democratic foundations. The Education Act (2010:800) stipulates that education in the school system aims at pupils acquiring and developing knowledge and values.

[...]

Education should impart and establish respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values on which Swedish society is based (Skolverket, 2011, n.p.).

Ideas of what constitutes a democracy are however many, and different democracies stress different ideas. The American Declaration of Independence, despite the fact that women and slaves didn't have the right to vote, still clearly, as a document so to speak, illustrates the most vital ideas about a democracy in a western context. Those are: a) the idea that we all are born equal, b) the idea that democracy must guarantee some human rights and c) the idea that democracy is a system to make political decisions:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

These democratic ideas also correspond to ideas about how a citizen should embrace them: a) to be democratic, b) to use democracy and c) to know democracy.

The normative approach to democracy, democracy as values, is democracy as a way of life, to be democratic, that is. Normative democracy is based on the idea that citizens in a democracy are “created equal”. My rights, to use democracy, must end where another’s equality is challenged. Therefore, in a normative democracy, there is a continuous discussion about where to draw the boundaries between rights and equality. There are after all certain intrinsic values in a democracy, and to embrace them is to be democratic. But which values are we speaking about and how are they supposed to be interpreted? One way has been to base the democracy on civil rights, but since the 1980’s, frequent criticism of democratic communities based on individual rights has come from the school of communitarianism. One of the most read philosophers from this school, Michael Sandel, advocates a democracy in which citizens are united in the pursuit of a common good. Consequently, values are dependent on the definition of the good; for example, Sandel claims that the right to free speech is conditional, and that there are no good reasons to tolerate speech that is harmful to society (Sandel, 1998). The opening chapter on Fundamental Values in the Swedish curriculum for the compulsory school clearly indicates that the school should convey common cultural values:

The school has the important task of imparting, instilling and forming in pupils those fundamental values on which our society is based.

In accordance with the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism, this is achieved by fostering in the individual a sense of justice, generosity of spirit, tolerance and responsibility (Skolverket, 2011, n.p.).

The fact that these “fundamental values” should be interpreted from “*the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism*”, makes it clear that the values to be learned in the school are culturally conditioned. This makes the core values in the curriculum irrevocably culturally normative, and not based on human rights. To understand what for example gender equality, something the students are supposed to appreciate, means in this context, it must be interpreted as the culture formed by the Christian tradition and Western humanism in Sweden does it. Moreover, to foster students to embrace a society’s “fundamental values” is a much more extensive mission than to foster them to, for example, comply with democratic rules and laws.

The basic ideas for the democratic rights, on the other hand, addresses an ability to be able to use democracy. These ideas originated in the Enlightenment and were supported by liberalists as John Locke and John Stuart Mill. The autonomous individual with the capacity to critically reflect on different matters and make up his own mind is central to this idea (Rosenqvist, 2011). Jürgen Habermas’ model of a deliberative democracy in which people are free to interact in the public sphere also is an idea one can place here. In this case the democracy survives through a vital democratic dialogue, without requirements on values, more than the ones that ensures a democratic and equal discussion (Habermas, 1998, 2000). The idea about how to use democracy certainly also have support in the curriculum's first chapter stating that:

The task of the school is to encourage all pupils to discover their own uniqueness as individuals and thereby be able to participate in the life of society by giving of their best in responsible freedom. (Skolverket, 2011)

The school is responsible for ensuring that each pupil on completing compulsory school can make use of critical thinking and independently formulate standpoints based on knowledge and ethical considerations. (Skolverket, 2011)

In this perspective, to be democratic in the Swedish school, must mean not only to be able to use your democratic rights as freedom to speech but actually to use it to proclaim reflected individual standpoints.

When it comes to active participation, the students are supposed to know democracy and how it functions, for example that many institutions in a democracy have “their powers from the consent of the governed”. In the Western world, most people agree that democracy, at its core, is a form of state organization, a political method. A democratic society can, therefore, be understood primarily as a way of governing a country: a functionalist democracy. A functionalist democracy, as the starting point of a democratic vision, will lead to a focus on different forms of government and the way in which political decisions should be taken and orchestrated, this part is mostly a part of the subject of social studies.

The mission to make good citizens in the Swedish school rests on a paradox: to shape unique persons, well informed, with individual opinions but with the same values; the atomistic individual with certain rights in contrast to a universalistic idea about common democratic values. Will the school uppermost foster citizens that embrace certain values, or will it first of all foster citizens who themselves reflect upon society and from their reflections construct their own stand points and values? Table one reveals the paradox between the requirements in the first chapter in the curriculum.

Table 1. Different Democratic foundations to the left, quotes from the Declaration of Independence congruent with the different democratic foundations in the middle and requirements congruent with the different democratic foundations from the chapter “Fundamental values” in the Swedish curriculum to the right. Possible tensions between the school’s mission is most easily found in the right column and between row two and three, to be democratic and to use democracy

Different democratic foundations	<i>Quotes from the Declaration of Independence</i>	Quotes about values and competencies from the curriculum’s chapter <i>Fundamental Values</i>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The school has the important task of imparting, instilling and forming in pupils those fundamental values on which our society is based. • In accordance with the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism, this is achieved by fostering in the individual a sense of justice, generosity of spirit, tolerance and responsibility.
To be democratic	... <i>all men are created equal</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No one should be subjective to discrimination at school. • The inviolability of human life, individual freedom and integrity, the equal value of all people, equality between women and men and solidarity with the weak and vulnerable are all values that the school should represent and impart • Students should appreciate the values that are to be found in cultural diversity

To use democracy	<i>... that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Every student should discover their own uniqueness as individuals. • The students should be able to form personal standpoints. • Education should be objective and encompass a range of different approaches.
To know democracy	<i>Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The students shall learn to actively participate in social life

What category of the three, to be democratic, to use democracy or to know democracy, the history teacher chooses to start from when implementing the cross-curricular values from the chapter “Fundamental Values” also must shape the interpretation of how to develop the students’ historical consciousness.

Historical Consciousness as something to develop in the school

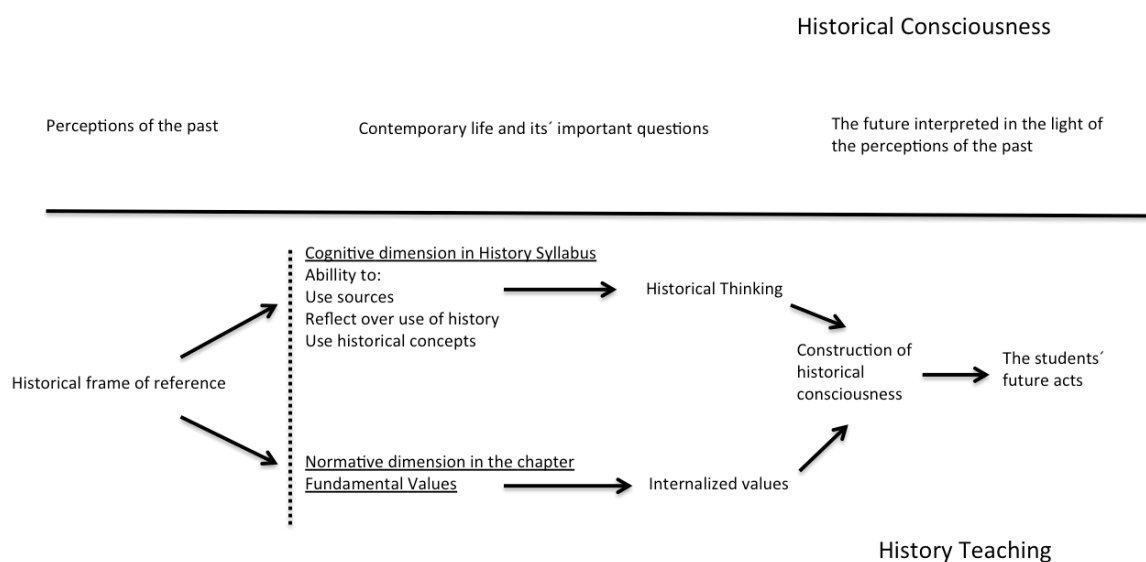
The definition of historical consciousness in the history didactic discourse is in one way similar in a German, Scandinavian, British and Canadian context. In all these countries the history didactics that use the concept mean that it covers three time dimensions: the past, the present and the future (Jensen, 1997; Rösen, 2004a; Karlsson, 2011; Lee & Howson, 2009; Shemilt, 2009; Seixas, 2004). With this starting point the concept of historical consciousness attempts to capture the mental and deeply human process whereby humans, by building on perceptions of the past, imagine the future to be able to act in the present.

Using this concept as a point of departure for the teaching of history means that the focus for history education has shifted. In Sweden along with a new curriculum from 1994. The focus is no longer about what once has happened as a way to understand the present. The ambition has become even larger; the teaching of history should prepare students for the future and enhance an understanding that different actions have different implications for the future, and that the possible actions to make are dependent on history. The concept of historical consciousness also contains processes of creating meaning for both the individual and the collective; the way we look at the past affects our perception of the present and what we think needs to be done for the future. The reverse is also true; the present affects the way we look at the past. To develop the students’ historical consciousness is to influence their future opinions and acts. In that way it’s highly normative and political. Therefore, if we truly believe in this concept, it clearly must be taken into consideration as we build our teaching around the citizenship education, while in this way history is not only a field of knowledge, but also a force that influences the way in which we choose to live our lives and what future society we are striving for (Alvén, 2011).

According to the Swedish history syllabus from 2011 the students study history to develop their historical consciousness. In the syllabus the historical consciousness is defined as a process that announces that “Man’s understanding of the past is interwoven with beliefs about the present and perspectives of the future”. It is also stated that our historical consciousness affects our choices for the future and that it is constructed on historical narratives. To develop the students’ historical consciousness the education centers around four abilities, namely the students’ ability to: a) use a historical frame of reference, b) critically examine, interpret and evaluate sources, c) reflect over their own and other’s use of history, and d) use historical concepts to analyze how historical knowledge is organized, created and used (Skolverket, 2011). Those abilities are then described through a core content, “the historical frame of reference”, and knowledge requirements to be used for assessment. Reading the syllabus in history the four abilities to be developed must be interpreted as highly cognitive abilities. The historical frame of reference as something to learn, and the other three as abilities to help the students to interpret history or to analyze use of history. Since the syllabus says nothing about what sort of acts or values the students are supposed to do or embrace after meeting the history teaching in the school you must, as a teacher, turn to the chapter “Fundamental Values” in the curriculum to understand this. The chapter “Fundamental Values” in the curriculum is also supposed to be perceived as a cross-curricular theme (Sandström & Stier, 2008), and together with the syllabus in history the history education thereby both contains cognitive and normative goals.

If you consider the whole curriculum, both the chapter about fundamental values and the syllabus in history, the idea must be that both cognitive abilities and certain values should build the students’ historical consciousness. Figure 1 shows this.

Figure 1.



The teacher assignment to shape desirable historical consciousness’ is thus manifold. A methodology that shapes a historical consciousness characterized by analytical historical thinking is not obviously embedding certain values into the students, and a methodology that will lead to certain values not primarily, have to teach analytical historical thinking skills (Lee, 2012; Lee & Shemilt, 2007).

The construction with a history syllabus aiming at developing the students' cognitive historical consciousness but without any ideas of what this historical consciousness is supposed to generate in the future, and a general citizenship proclamation containing certain values to be internalized into the students, leaves the history teacher to three different ways of teaching: a) just teaching neutral historical facts, b) teaching facts and abilities and then letting the students make their own historical interpretations and narratives which inevitably will contain moral and political issues, and c) teaching ready-made narratives in congruence with the schools' values. None of these teaching methods, however, in a natural way include the others, and this may shape tensions between them if the history teacher tries to meet them all.

Three Different Ways That History Education Can Meet the Mission to Develop Democratic Citizens Text

As early as the late nineteenth century, the German philosopher Nietzsche wrote that history mainly exists in the service of life and, therefore, has different purposes. With the concepts antiquarian, critical, and monumental history, he demonstrated different ways people relate to history. These different uses of history broadly correspond to the categories of the various divisions of the democratic starting points that can be found in table one: to know democracy, to use democracy, and to be democratic. Not as content but as methodology his categories also correspond to the three different uses of history the history teacher can choose from when fostering democratic citizens: teaching neutral historical facts, teaching historical abilities and letting the students make their own historical interpretations, and narratives which inevitably also will contain moral issues, and, at last, teaching ready-made narratives in congruence with the school's values.

Depending on which way of the three the history teacher decides to relate to history and democracy, he also needs to make choices on what history or histories to tell and what abilities to teach in the history classroom. I will now outline three ideal types of history teaching based on the three democratic starting points in the background, and Nietzsches' different uses of history. Of course, these ideal types do not exist in pure forms in the history classroom, but can serve as analytical tools when discussing the task of developing the students' historical consciousness in accordance with certain ideas of civic education. The three ideal types are: to know democracy – to learn historical facts; to use democracy – to learn historical abilities; and, to be democratic – to internalize certain values.

To know Democracy – To learn historical facts

Nietzsche's antiquarian use of history is characterized by a passion for everything old. This use of history helps our memory to cherish our heritage and gives us a sense of security, and the more you know about the past the better (Nietzsche, 1998). In 2007, Peter Lee and Dennis Shemilt co-wrote an article in *Teaching History* about various approaches to teaching history. They described three teaching models for teaching history. Their model also reminds of Nietzsche's different uses of history, and if you teach "history as cornucopia" you go on with business as usual. The hope is that the more students know about what has happened, the wiser they will become. The danger is that history as a subject becomes needless. There is no point to learn history as a particular way of thinking when it is all about memorizing. I am not sure that this type of history teaching actually exists, since somebody always has to make a selection of historical facts to know. This decision inevitably contains perceptions of what it is valuable to know about the past. Therefore, I am sceptical to the existence of an objective and neutral factual history teaching. If the teacher decides what to teach his or her identity makes the

selection from the past and if the students decide the content their identities decide where to enter the past and what to bring back to the contemporary.

In this article, I assume that history teaching and citizenship education must be understood as a simultaneous task. If so, Nietzsche's antiquarian history, and Shemilt's and Lee's cornucopian use of history is closest to an exit point where it is all about to make the students effective citizens through factual knowledge about the past. The history teacher could then teach about different types of democracies through history, how they evolved and how they functioned. A history teaching approach to meet the citizenship category of "To Know Democracy" would be to tell facts about different democratic communities, and about communities that has failed to be democratic. But there would be no distinct moral or plot in the narratives, nothing to build up a narrative historical consciousness around, a historical consciousness that acts in the future in accordance with the fundamental values in the curriculum. History teaching would be a journey through time to visit fragmented transit halls of democracy without a cohesive notion. The risk that the historical content would be simplified would be overwhelming. The aim for the history education would be students who know a lot about democratic institutions. Students who know how to act through the democratic institutions, and to recognize communities that are not democratic. It would explain the democratic societies today but have no aspiration to affect the students' activities or values in the future. Therefore, in this type of history teaching, there is no vision about the democratic society, more than active democrats knowing how to recognise and use the democratic institutions in a mechanical way. Would it take history teaching to learn the students this content? Could such a teaching claim to develop the students' historical consciousness? Probably not. Could this rather be managed through citizenship education alone? Probably. Anyway, a history teaching such as this, with the key point in the past, would have no aspiration to develop the students' historical consciousness, and therefore, as shown in figure one, it stops in the perceptions of the past, the historical frame of reference, and doesn't make it through the dotted line into the contemporary and the future.

To use democracy: To learn historical abilities

As Nietzsche talks about a critical use of history he means using history in life to question whether what has happened in the past was morally good or not. It is aimed at people who are in need of liberation in the present, and who use history to challenge the contemporary ideas in society and to try to shape a future society they want (Nietzsche, 1998). Close to this approach Lee and Shemilt write about "History as complement". This is a way of using history in the classroom in which democratic rights as freedom of opinion and speech are applied, and in which students make their own knowledge about human kind while using the past. In this case, the history teaching provides the tools to understand and use the past. Knowing history becomes more a form of knowledge of "how to", instead of "what to know". Lee and Shemilt write:

We should strive to equip students with the knowledge, conceptual and logical apparatus necessary to ensure that their decisions as citizens will be less stupid than might otherwise have been the case, but we can do no more than hope their actions will also be less cruel. To expect more would be to confuse a complementary relationship with a collaborationist one (Lee & Shemilt, 2007, p. 14).

Here Lee and Shemilt point out the difficulty in teaching a historical knowledge that develops historical abilities, which also implement specific values. If we want students who can "form personal standpoints" (Skolverket, 2011) by the use of history we should teach them history as a way of knowing. This would mean to prepare them to use their democratic rights. To be judged as skilled in the subject of history is then not about showing the right values, or to know

a lot of history in the first hand, but more about to demonstrate analytical and reflective thinking while using history (Alvén, 2011).

This line of inquiry of the students' historical consciousness focus on the individuals' process of developing historical thinking abilities, and follows the upper line in figure one. When developing the students' thinking ability the mission to shape society in the future is handed over to the prospective citizens.

Research in this field studies how students learn cognitive operations that develop their historical thinking or understanding (Dickinson, Gordon, & Lee, 2001; Dickinson, Lee, & Rogers, 1984; Leinhardt, Beck, & Stainton, 1994; Stearns, Seixas, & Wineburg, 2000; Voss & Carretero, 1998; Wineburg, 2001). Some of the researchers have even made typologies describing a more or less developed historical thinking for the students (Shemilt, 2000; Lee & Ashby, 2000) or even a more or less developed historical consciousness (Rüsen, 2004a). But this research doesn't consider what values the students develop. Rüsen of course has moral aspects in his typology for different types of historical consciousness, but he doesn't show how and why students capture some values and not others, while using and thinking history.

Although historical skills or cognitive thinking play an important role for history learning, emotions and moral thinking also often play an incredibly important role in the process of learning and understanding history (Carr, 1962; Dray, 1967; Gaddis, 2002; Low-Beer, 1967). Focusing on just rational explanations and historical skills would ignore this impact on the students. A history education like that would leave the students alone with feelings of euphoria, hate, fear, pain or trauma, strong feelings that can hinder them from telling narratives about the past to construct their identities in a positive way and narratives that give meaning to the past (Ricoeur, 1988). Traditionally history is taught via ready-made narratives, with clear values and explanations, that helps the students to give the past a meaning. But when advocating this we are in another category of teaching history, "to be democratic."

To be democratic: To internalize values through historical narratives

According to Nietzsche the monumental use of history is selective and retrieves inspiration and ideological explanation via great deeds and heroes of the past. This use of history is addressed to the industrious and active man. Those who use monumental history want to influence and guide the development in a certain and well-known direction (Nietzsche, 1998). Lee and Shemilt let us know that teaching "history as a carrier" means that the students must meet history to take a stand against evil and for the common good (Lee & Shemilt, 2007). I have chosen to refer to a teaching addressed to an affective historical consciousness via historical narratives; this teaching challenges the students' historical consciousness, not intellectually, but morally and affective (Alvén, 2011). If the students' values are conforming to the school's fundamental values, the affective historical consciousness is affirmed. If the students' values are not conforming to the school's fundamental values, their historical consciousness should be provoked, and hopefully changed. In this teaching model, the past is used to provide examples of good and bad societies, actions and persons in history and is symbolized by the lower line in figure one. The good society, interpreted through the curriculums' first chapter, must then be a society built on fundamental values "in accordance with the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism" (Skolverket, 2011). This teaching looks for assimilation into an existing society and a similar identity among the students. The vision would be a history mono-cultural in consensus. The method would be to tell a Grand Narrative with successes and failures to the utopia, a reference book of right and wrong ways to live and organize social human life. The history teacher would for example have to tell narratives about the good Athens and the bad Spartans, the bad Crusades but the good end of serfdom, the good Enlightenment but the

bad Napoleon wars, the bad capitalisms' exploitation of the working class but the good democratic breakthrough, the bad catastrophic wars in the twentieth century but the good quest for peace through UN and EU.

This way of teaching history and to develop the students' historical consciousness is more of a political ambition than a thinking skill. The directives from the power of will as Jörn Rüsen puts it (Rüsen, 2004b). Traditionally the history education has aimed for certain values and was formed around nationality and building a national identity among the students (López & Carretero, 2012). Today we also find this way of teaching history as ready-made narratives or interpretations but intended to promote aspects that are linked to a contemporary democratic citizenship (Barton & Levstik, 2008; Janowitz, 1983; Von Heyking, 2006). Barton and Levstik writes:

...our judgements are grounded in assumptions about the contribution of history to democratic society rather than in mimicry of academic discourse. Rather than claiming that this perspective is a timeless and universal one,

[...]

... we acknowledge that it derives from a particular vision of what history education might become in our own society and in our time (2004, pp. 5-6).

In their book, *Teaching History For The Common Good*, Barton and Levstik (2004) argues for a multi-perspective and critical history teaching. But at the same time they have a clear idea of which history education trends have gone wrong, namely the national one emanating from the majority people, and which one that now must be included, the historical perspectives from the minority groups, that is (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Having a clear vision from the start of what perspectives good and bad use of history includes, places them, despite their elaborated and sympathetic ideas of a critical history education, in a category of history teaching emanating from the contemporary society's values and with a clear vision of the good society.

The idea to shape a citizenship identity is based on ideas such as the future citizen's participation in the society and is centered on democratic values and participation in a contemporary society. The goal in this tradition is to foster values, patriotic or values in line with a cosmopolitan democratic citizenship. In both cases the teaching of history is more important as a way to build a desired identity than to develop historical abilities among the students (López & Carretero, 2012). Studies in this tradition emphasize the narrative structure of history and the connection between the perception of the history and the construction of identities in the present (Barton & Levstik, 1998, 2004; Hammack, 2010; Wertsch, 1997).

The Grand Narrative in the schoolbooks would in a Swedish context and in line with this way of teaching history probably be about the creation of a new equal democratic society grown from a multitude of culturally disparate peoples, a triumph of Enlightenment rationalism and humanism but also a retelling of a biblical people in diaspora, looking for a united and modern life in Sweden, all "In accordance with the ethics borne by Christian tradition and Western humanism", as the curriculum puts it (Skolverket, 2011). Historical periods would then be deemed relevant or irrelevant compared to the values they are intended to reinforce, and the moral key point would be the contemporary Sweden. Such a selection is dangerous as the students can't be permitted to draw wrong conclusions from the historical material they meet. The high risk imbedded in the historical selection forces the teachers to prescribe interpretations. To be persuasive the historical events are often abstracted from their broader temporal and geographical context, thereby the students are not allowed to search for their own truth. Wertsch has also shown that a history education that teaches beliefs risks leading to the reverse, examining students that incorporate counter-narratives (Wertsch, 2000). Lee and Shemilt also warn for this teaching model while students can think that history is not about to learn from human experience through time, but to affirm our own time (Lee & Shemilt, 2007).

In figure 1 the focus in this way of teaching history is therefore mainly on the contemporary. A contemporary that are argued for and protected into the future.

Table 2. Different democratic starting points and history teaching models to foster democratic citizens in Sweden lead to different sorts of teaching strategies, historical content, temporal key points and visions for the future.

Democratic starting point	History Teaching Model	Teaching strategy	Historical content	Temporal Key Point	Future Vision
To know democracy	To learn historical facts.	Repeat and memorize historical facts.	A fragmented journey via time and factual knowledge.	The past.	Citizens that know a lot of history.
To use democracy	To learn historical abilities.	Students learn historical methods. Students learn to handle sources. Students learn to handle historical concepts. Students learn to construct own narratives.	The students' own understanding of history	The future.	A pluralistic history culture with conflicts and ongoing discussions between reflecting individuals. The citizens are in charge for the future society.
To be democratic	To internalize values through historical narratives.	Teacher telling stories. Students reading text books. Movies and historical books containing the right values.	The Great Narrative of Good and Bad things in history.	The Contemporary.	A mono history culture in consensus built on a Christian and Western humanistic identity among the citizens. The political power is in charge for the future society.

To learn from the help of history

After analysing the curriculum from both a citizenship and a history teaching perspective I would say that the subject of history supposed to both develop the students' historical consciousness and at the same time make citizens embracing certain democratic values, must

search its identity from all the three perspectives: “to learn historical facts”, “to learn historical methods” and “to internalize certain values”, if it is supposed to be a vivid and an important subject to the society. This strategy should not, however, mean a teaching model that sometimes starts in one category and other times in another. This would puzzle the students as their private historical consciousness probably not are so harmonious to the teachers’ volatile intentions, moving from one category to another. The historical consciousness is a slow-moving process (Alvén, 2011). If you are supposed to develop it among the students you must not only be persistent, but also consistent. This means we must choose one of the categories as a starting point, but that we also can involve the other two teaching categories. One of the three categories are not at all, interested in how the students will act in the future, “to learn historical facts”, that is. Of course we impact the students’ perceptions of the past if we teach them facts about it, but we leave this input, to the process of the historical consciousness itself. We don’t know what it will bring. On the other hand the students must meet some kind of remains from the past to be able to think history at all. That selection is, however, dependent on which of the other two categories you choose to start from. The two categories left, “to internalize values” and “to learn historical methods”, are the ones left if our intention is to develop the students’ historical consciousness acting in a certain way in the future. Yet, a history education that internalizes certain values has assisted several dictators through history, and has also forced some students to dissociate from the school’s history education, mostly minorities have felt excluded. History teaching must, therefore, in a pluralistic democracy, take its starting point in students themselves using history when navigating in the contemporary, otherwise we can’t speak of a pluralistic society, neither of a pluralistic history teaching that guarantees the democratic rights for all the students. A history teaching supposed to develop the students’ historical consciousness to help them orientate in the society must start with an understanding that there are different narratives about certain historical events, otherwise it would be pointless to teach the students to “form personal standpoints” with the help of history knowledge, or to perform an education that encompasses a “range of different approaches” to empower different historical perspectives, or to foster the students to be “tolerant”, all requirements in the curriculum (Skolverket, 2011). This approach must lead to a teaching that takes into account a complex and vivid history culture. Those different narratives can indeed challenge the majority’s way of understanding history, and its’ certain values, and in that way also challenge the values the school is to implement into the students.

This requires students who are able to think about where different decisions in the past led and what consequences those decisions had. For the students to be able to think freely and not be controlled by certain fundamental values, teaching cannot be dictatorial in instilling certain ideas or values into the students since this prevents the development of the free mind. The historical frame of reference learned in school, must therefore be, as long as possible, free from moral preaching and moral exhortations. Telling readymade narratives must be done with moral caution. But is one historical narrative as good as another? Can we completely relativize history, in our effort to allow the students to use history themselves and because we are afraid to offend them? Of course not.

If teaching truly is focused on developing thinking skills, education could be based on teleological ethics. Such an ethics enables construction and deconstruction of a history culture and its narratives. In that way the future constitutes the foundation for the values in the historical consciousness as well. The students are not neutral to history as they come to school. Their narrative templates are formed in different history cultures, and if the school does not challenge those templates they will use their skills trained in the school to strengthen their personal, but contextual and moral, narratives and the school has no impact on their identities more than that they can argue for their opinions on a higher level. On the other hand, there is, however, limits to what the Swedish democratic discussion can withstand, and the school can’t abandon the

citizenship education on this point. But maybe instead of oppressing some narratives, as in the category “To internalize values through historical narratives”, the students’ narratives can always be challenged by counter narratives, and supplementary questions. An education in which different historical narratives would be grappled with would be an education that allows different ideas, but at the same time be tough on ideas that do not measure up to certain standards of thinking. This would be similar to a deliberative democracy, in which the most potent ideas live on, with the major advantage that different opinions are allowed if they have a certain quality. This would mean an education that promotes inclusion, one in which students from different history cultures must come together to explain their views on how the world works and which direction they can choose together with their classmates. This would be integration in its full sense, where different history narratives together shape the future (Alvén, 2011). The students’ use of history must then meet criteria for the facts and methods they use when building their narratives, but also ethical criteria. Have they thought about what consequences their use of history can lead to? I believe that history in large parts can be told with different perspectives, and an ethical criterion for choosing among those would be natural. Why choose perspectives that brings unhappiness and misery? Such an ethical criterion for a historical narrative could also be helpful when analysing others’ use of history in the contemporary society.

I believe that the encounter with persons who carries other narratives in a conversation also can enable you to reinterpret your own stories. If you are willing to listen to and understand others, it may mean not only that you want to offer your own view of reality, but also that you may need to reinterpret your own narrative templates. According to Rösen, this cultivation could be possible in all pluralistic classrooms, while, as an analytical tool, it is feasible to carve up the narrations and compare them to each other (Rösen, 2004a). I understand this to mean that the historical narratives should not be perceived as the persons’ own properties, instead, the narratives meet in an arena where some of them are more credible than others. This would allow different narratives to negotiate and compromise in the classroom.

Influenced by Rösen I can see three criteria to judge the students’ historical narratives as their historical and moral consciousness meet and seek compromise in the classroom. Each criterion corresponds to one of the teaching models earlier presented but are to be used at the same time:

- The historical facts criteria – Is the students’ narrative true to the historical facts, as we know them?
- The historical methods criteria – Is narrative true to the historical methods, as we know them? Is the plot in the narrative reasonable and coherently?
- The value criteria – Are there sustainable ethical arguments in the narrative? Has the student seen possible consequences with his or her narrative? What future acts does the narrative invite?

Based on these criteria, history teaching could be a communicative model in the school. If we want history to tell us how to act in society, we not only have to clarify our own relation to the past, but we also have to do so with that of others. For this to take place, we have to tell our narratives to each other and to integrate them with each other. This is not about imposing one narrative or one kind of values onto others, on the contrary, the narratives that will be listened to offer explanations that meet the criteria of facts, methods and values. This would be a teaching of history in which students with different narratives could meet and find each other. The students would then have to learn not only to create common good and sustainable narratives but also to act as critical recipients of historical narratives. Such a teaching of history would not only show respect to all students but also clearly help a pluralistic society to find the

most vital historical narratives, in plural that is, among the many that exist. The goal for the history teaching would not only be a sustainable citizenship but also history didactical, as the students must use history as they debate in the classroom to draw reflective lessons about themselves, others and the society they want to live in.

To be able to affect the students' historical consciousness the history teaching must ask for the students' own historical narratives, and dare to meet them in an honest and fair dialogue. The history teacher has the tools in the history syllabus to handle this type of dialogue when it comes to measure up to criteria about historical facts and historical methods but stands alone when it comes to the value criteria. Here the fundamental values described in the curriculum's first chapter could help, but unfortunately they are too widespread, too anxious and too culturally and contextually bound to be a good working tool for the history teachers, who now must rely on their own decision making in selecting which narratives that measure up to the value criteria and those that do not. It can lead to some narratives being excluded on unclear premises. That, if anything, can create violent counter narratives.

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