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A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education

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- historical consciousness;
- historical cultures; and
- history education.

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HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
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Editorial: Encountering history within and beyond borders

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Welcome to the inaugural issue of *Historical Encounters: A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education*, or just 'Historical Encounters' or HEJ (Historical Encounters Journal) for short. The title of the journal intends to suggest Gadamer's (1992) notion of 'the fusion of horizons', as we explore the ways in which members of our communities experience, interpret, learn, study, and respond to the historical worlds they encounter. The journal aims to publish research and scholarship – both empirical and theoretical – from within and across the fields of history curriculum, pedagogy, and didactics, historical culture, historical consciousness, history teacher education, curriculum history, history of education, history of ideas (in education), collective memory, history textbook and media studies, historical theory, narrative theory, public history, and any of the other areas where history education and the broader field of historical studies intersect, or the core themes are debated.

As a history educator and curriculum historian myself, I hope you will permit in this introduction a little bit of history about how the journal came about. I had become interested in open access journals ever since a colleague from the United States first introduced me to Open Journal Systems (developed at the University of British Columbia). I liked the ethics behind that journal system, and while on sabbatical (late 2012 and early 2013), became increasingly concerned at the way academic authors often signed away the copyright to their work once it went into publication; subsequently received little or no remuneration for their writing (unless one counts its use in job and promotion applications, resumes, and the like); and worked in universities that were then charged for access to that same work. It was thus a considered decision to adopt Open Journal Systems to manage the journal, and a philosophy that leaves copyright in the hands of the author, allowing them to republish their work, so long as a notice remains on the work that it was first published in *Historical Encounters*.

Just before the start of my sabbatical, I was invited by Professor James Albright, Chair of the Education Research Institute Newcastle (ERIN), to be a guest editor of a special issue of *Education Sciences,* a new journal (published by MDPI) with a broad scope and mission. The special issue was titled 'History curriculum, geschichtsdidaktik, and the problem of the nation' (Parkes & Vinterek, 2012), and invited colleagues from around the world to engage in a dialogue between various regional and national traditions of history education. The goal was to provide a collection of articles that explored history education within and beyond national borders. I completed that assignment with Professor Monika Vinterek (Dalarna University, Sweden), and we published 8 papers (including our editorial) in that special issue, including

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articles by well-known and emerging scholars in the field. Its publication marked a personal milestone in a developing association with history educators beyond my own nation's borders.

During the second-half of my sabbatical in 2013 I took up residence as a Visiting Research Fellow in the Department of Historical, Philosophical, and Religious Studies at Umeå University, Sweden, where I worked with the Educational History and History Didactics group led by Professor Daniel Lindmark; and attended a wonderful conference in Linköping that demonstrated the vibrancy of the *historiedidaktik* and *historia utbildning* research field in Sweden. Among these Nordic colleagues I encountered the concept of 'historical culture', which was not being used much in Australia, and a great interest in 'historical consciousness' that was aware of both the older Continental (originally Germanic) and younger North American (predominantly Canadian) scholarship (Ahonen, 2005). The significance of that experience is registered in the thematic focus of this journal, and in the interest colleagues from the Nordic region have shown in the journal (with half the articles in this inaugural issue coming from scholars located in Nordic nations).

When I returned to Australia mid-2013, I proposed to my colleagues in the HERMES (Historical Experience, Representation, Media, and Education Studies) Research Network concentrated within The University of Newcastle, that we should publish an open access journal. I am pleased to say that we shared a great enthusiasm for the project. The publication of our inaugural issue would not have been possible if it were not for the behind-the-scenes efforts of the Editorial Team – particularly Dr Heather Sharp and Dr Debra Donnelly, whose advice I regularly sought – and the many members of our outstanding Editorial Board who reviewed papers for the inaugural issue. I would also like to thank each of the authors who submitted papers. In a neoliberal world where every move an academic makes is quantified and evaluated, the courage involved in submitting your work to a fledgling journal not yet present in institutional or regional ranking systems, cannot be underestimated.

The papers in this inaugural issue reflect the wide range of scholarship currently occurring that treats historical consciousness, historical culture, and history education as its objects of analysis. With contributions from Australia, Canada, Finland, Sweden, and the Netherlands, they represent an exciting diversity of works located within a variety of intersecting research fields including: history teacher education (McLean & colleagues), historical theory (Thorp), museum studies and public pedagogy (Smith), curriculum history and history textbook studies (Elmersjö), public history (Clark), and history education (Ahonen; and Ammert). We also have our first 'provocations' piece, arguing for the use of 'counterfactuals' in history education (Huijen & Holthuis); and we are pleased to be able to share an extended abstract of a recently completed doctoral dissertation (Salter), in a section we hope will be successful in showcasing the work of new scholars in the field. The editorial team is thrilled that we have such a diverse range of contributions to offer for our inaugural issue.

I'd like to finish this introduction to the inaugural issue by encouraging you to spread the word about *Historical Encounters,* and invite scholars with expertise in areas that define the scope of the journal to submit their work for review, or to sign up as reviewers. It is safe to say that the journal will only be as good as the researchers and scholars who participate in it.

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About the Editor

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HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
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Spaces of collaboration: The poetics of place and historical consciousness

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ABSTRACT: The process of engaging students in the negotiation of their place in historical landscapes is vitalized through the development of historical consciousness as a pedagogical tool for instruction in social studies. This study uses student reflection collected from a graduate course to examine how historical consciousness is understood and expressed through experiential interaction with historical sites and the role of people, places, and historical events in the creation of social history. The participants in the study reflected on how public memory is constructed and individualized within grand and personal narratives of their chosen area of commemoration. The study's participants showed an eagerness to incorporate interactive technology to express their understanding of historical events, further highlighting technology's role in democratizing information through digital historical narratives. The student-participants also internalized and articulated their experiences with history through artistic means, which permitted a free expression across multiple media. As prospective educators, the participants negotiated the role of historical consciousness in the development and extension of curricular practices, including the critical examination of official narratives in favour of a socialized history.

KEYWORDS: Historical Consciousness; Historical Sites; Public Memory; Commemoration; Digital History; Official Narratives.

Introduction

Faced with the prospect of developing new curriculum for a graduate course on historical narratives in education, as a professor in the Faculty of Education, I began to think in terms of preparing a course based on the theoretical directives of historical consciousness (or historical thinking) and commemoration for my mostly, non-history specialist students. My curricular focus on the interplay between and among historical people, places and events, prompted an exploration of commemorated historical sites and narratives in the local community. Guided by an understanding that space is infused with meaning through human reaction and interrelations (Osborne, 2001), in the course, the students were invited to explore previously selected "sites" to understand how public narratives and memory intersected with social, ideological, cultural and political landscapes.

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This paper is a response to my curriculum-based, pedagogical dilemma. To better understand how the students experienced the course and what I as the teacher had learned from teaching it, together, four graduate students and I researched and wrote a critical account of our practice. The paper is divided into four separate, but overlapping and related 'vignettes'. The first vignette begins with the professor, providing an overview of the theoretical framework that informed her design of the course, followed by a discussion of the results of a survey that she conducted with former students who attended the course. In the second vignette, a group of three graduate students who completed one collaborative assignment wrote about their experience of completing the assignment as educators and as artists. This section is followed by the analysis of a fourth graduate student who records her separate experience of completing the assignment. In the final closing vignette, the professor and the graduate students reflect on what they learned from this experience and how these findings inform the theoretical underpinnings of their practice.

Opening vignette: the professor

In preparing this course, I drew upon three theoretical frameworks. First, I relied upon research on historical consciousness, narrative and teaching (Counsell, 2011; Lee, 2005; Levesque 2008; Seixas 2004; Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000; Straub, 2004) for insights and readings related to structuring the course. Current trends of historical thinking have been articulated by a number of educational historians and variously called historical consciousness, historical thinking, or historical mindfulness (Lee, 2004; Levesque, 2008; Osborne, 2006; Seixas, 2004; Straub, 2005). Historical thinking originated in research conducted in Britain and Germany during the 1970s and 1980s and began to be prominent in the United States and Canada during the 1990s (Rusen, 2004). More recently, scholars such as Straub (2005) and Lee (2005) have invited educators to consider ways in which historical consciousness "is inevitably connected to narrative acts" (Straub, 2005, p. 54) and to recognize that "in understanding students' prior conceptions of history and the past we need to be able to pursue different kinds of questions" (Lee, 2004, p. 37). In Canada, Peter Seixas, a leading theorist defines historical consciousness as "the intersection among public memory, citizenship, and history education" (Seixas, 2006, p. 15). This intersection can best be understood through a series of questions that are not only about the past, but about links to the present, which relate to how we see things from the past in the present and under what conditions or circumstances we have come to understand issues in this way (Hawkey, 2013; Reisman, 2012). To accomplish this objective, I took direction from Seixas' and his colleagues (2013) six historical thinking concepts (historical significance, cause and consequence, historical perspective-taking, continuity and change, the use of primary source evidence, ethical dimensions of history) and Levesque's (2008) instructions for 'thinking like historians' to shape the questions that the students encountered at the 'sites' that they visited for their course assignment. This foundation in historical consciousness also links to traditions of practice-oriented education in relation to understanding and learning about, and within, a subject discipline for students. I was therefore mindful of related educational writings that oriented understanding and learning as social practices (Barrow & White, 1993; Hirst 1974/2010), as well as seeing learning as equally participatory and rooted within students' life-narratives and must be understood for these students as related but at the same time within the culture of the discipline of history itself (Bruner, 1996; Gardner, 2001).

Equally important, I selected course readings related to my three themes of place, people and events. In so doing, I deliberately choose texts (which included videos, book chapters and articles) that invited students to move beyond the grand narratives of the past and commemorations in the present. I attempted to unsettle and disrupt prior impressions of

history as a 'national narrative' (Neatby & Hodgins, 2012) and their representations through public memory and commemoration by including provocative readings by Werner (2002) and Hall (1997), and by lecturing in the first class on related concepts of history, heritage, collective memory, representations and narratives. This lecture was followed by a workshop where the students applied theoretical concepts to a range of primary source materials drawn from the past, but with which they might have some familiarity. In sum, my goal was to 'make the familiar strange' by taking 'public memory as a sphere for developing a historical consciousness' (Simon, 2004, p. 197). To better understand the historical process of making 'memorable history' in public commemoration sites, I invited an historian from the one of the national commemoration sites (Parks Canada) to talk with my class about the rigorous background process required for a person or a location to be granted an official plaque of commemoration in Canada (Dodd, 2009).

Subsequent classes included discussions of debates – the history wars -- to frame the lengthy and divisive history wars nationally, in Canada, and internationally (Osborne, 2003; Taylor & Guyver, 2012). To help the students comprehend the context in which some of these controversies occurred, additional readings reminded the students of the seemingly banal discourses of racism that are embedded in the colonial legacies of that past and continue to be normalized in the present (Montgomery, 2005; Stanley, 2009). Finally, a piece by Brian Osborne (2001) guided the students to new ways of thinking about a history as a 'geography of place'.

To address the narrative part of the course project, I selected twelve historical sites and for the first assignment, students were invited to create their own historical narrative of the person, place or event commemorated at their chosen site. According to Kenneth Osborne (2006) historical mindedness preserves narratives as the way people make sense of the world, and for students to identify sites of power in their lives, in the ways narratives are privileged through forms of collective memory and commemoration, they must be familiar with the nation-building narrative of Canada. Although different groups have responded to the same commemorative process, they have done so at different times and often for similar or overlapping reasons – especially when responding to the role of nation building (Neatby & Hodgkins, 2012).

In order to critically reflect on this process here, we addressed the following questions: 1. We were guided by the central research question of historical consciousness: What sort of past do we carry around and for what uses do we understand the past in the present and its relationship to the future? 2. How do sites of public memory and commemoration (re)historicize people, places and events within the grand narrative? 3. What knowledge and narratives can we bring to understanding the past? In particular, what sort of knowledge and narratives exist about historical places on the internet? 4. As students, how do we represent our narratives of historical knowledge in the 'site assignment?' What do I bring to historical knowledge production?

There are multiple ways to construct narratives – grand narratives, personal narratives, digital narratives and historical narratives. The conceptual framework of historical mindedness builds on the kind of connections between past and present that are often found in the public history approach, ones that enable students to construct their own narratives. To do so, students need the skills of historical thinking to build historiographical contexts. Osborne (2006) argues that historical mindedness makes history become part of a set of problems to engage students intellectually, one that encourages them to make the imaginative leap into other people's lives and to see the world through their eyes. This in turn allows students to see the choices that were available, the decisions that were made when people like themselves did not know how things would turn out.

Drawing on the notion of a 'democratizing public memory' (Stanley, 2006) for the course assignment, I selected 'sites' which challenged the received official heroics and nation building narratives and invited students to engage with rethinking history and commemoration. Some commemorations invited students to confront racializations of Black and First Nations communities directly or through the insights that they gained when examining the controversial nature of selected sites. Informed by a national 'social memory' of the past (Neatby & Hodgins, 2012, p. 15), which I assumed many students had studied in their history classes and, in fact, proved true with only minor exceptions, as students reproduced the traditional 'grand narrative' (Counsell, 2011). To further delve into students' understandings of the past, I selected monuments which fit with the traditional national narrative featuring war, former prime ministers' residences, and places related to economic development such as the UNESCO designated Rideau Canal. With this grouping, I represented what Neatby and Hodgins (2012) describe as "cashing in on the past" (p. 15). Under these circumstances, Neatby and Hodgins (2012) assert that the process of remembering is weighted down with memories meant to strengthen among viewers "a dearly held nation" (p. 14) by building a methodology of purposeful amnesia. Unsettling notions of the past, in some instances, also meant investigating familiar places or (re)discovering new 'sites'. With Brian Osbornes' (2001) notion of historical 'place' as a frame of reference, some students explored repurposed historic spaces to uncover their past such as the renovated structure which currently houses city hall, but is the site of the former Teachers' College or condominiums located in the popular local market area that were once the site of a major language dispute at the previously occupied elementary school.

By following through on the concept of having students create their own narrative, for the final assignment or project, I wanted to pay particular attention to students' preferences for learning which invited them to be creative, and emotionally and socially engaged, (Coetzee, Munro, & Boer, 2004) – in Zeeman and Lotriet's (2013) words, to go "beyond the expected" (p. 179). As Jensen (2001), among others have argued, "arts enhance the process of learning. The systems that nourish, which include our integrated sensory, attentional, cognitive, emotional and motor capacities are in fact, the driving forces behind all other learning" (p. 2). Scheurman and Newmann's (1998) idea of 'authentic intellectual work' (p. 1) brings depth to the educational experience. To tap into the individual, creative skills of the students as researchers and artists – the site assignment offered interactive learning opportunities for constructing their own understandings of historical knowledge (Osborne, 2003).

Research that links social development with learning in the Arts (Bresler, 2007; Deasy 2002; Jensen, 2001) suggests that the Arts provide strategies for 'deepening the learning experience'. This approach is further strengthened by the constructivist views of Scheuman and Newman (1998) that support opportunities for deep learning. For the assignment, the students were offered a choice among 12 historical 'sites' that were located within a 20 minute walking distance from the university. There were three parts to the assignment: exploring the 'site' through a series of guiding questions that accompanied each destination, researching the history which was to be completed after the initial visitation, and then presenting the 'site' in a 'product' such as designing a brochure, develop a lesson, write a media report, prepare a graphic story, portrait zine, children's book or sketchbook using the RAFT (role, audience, format, topic) structure[1]. Evaluation criteria were based on the coverage of context, creativity in presentation, academic references, quality of writing, and level of background research. As a guideline, I suggested a length of five to seven pages or equivalence. Given that I was striving for authentic learning, I wanted to accommodate the students' career choices in the assignment so that teachers, for example, could prepare lesson plans or write a children's book (Ravich, 2000). The resulting assignments were unique, insightful and creative -- submissions ranged from a 'published' children's storybook and a

collection of letters, to a scrapbook, brochure, portrait zine, blog and wiki. As we shall see, among the students selected for an in depth analysis in the paper, democratization of the past, led them to the poetics of digital technology.

Methodology

To analyze the survey that I conducted with all the students, I employed Auerbach and Siverstein's (2003) coding method. Their approach contains three separate phrases -- each one dealing with a different level of analysis that moves back and forth as the complexity of the text emerges. Drawing on these three phrases, which I adapted to reading the survey results (making the text manageable, understanding what was written and analyzing the data in relation to the historical consciousness theory), I selected the relevant text and grouped repeating ideas into themes. The second part of the study, completed by the four graduate students (authored here), relied on a hermeneutic reflection of their experience with both the historical sites, and the course (Linge, 2004). These reflections are grounded in Gadamer's (1975, 2004) dialectical hermeneutics, and informed by a critical use of Seixas' (2013) method of understanding historical consciousness. Their analysis of their experience and its relation to theory is included in the second part of the paper.

To expand upon my understanding of how learning took place beyond the survey that I conducted, the research and this paper includes an in depth analysis of the experiences of two groups of graduate students. This is not a sampling of the learning experiences of all, or a sampling of the students' assignments, rather it is through the narratives of the two groups who used technology that we are attempting to understand the learning process. It's not an evaluation of this assignments' approach as a learning model (although it could be understood as providing one way to teach historical consciousness), rather, with this paper, we are trying to understand how one experiential learning model facilitated the selected groups of students' understandings of larger issues of historical consciousness, history and commemoration.

The first 'site' assignment of the semester, in part, dictated the selection of course readings. The site assignment was an integral part of the course experience and not simply the evaluative component. Some people worked on single projects and others worked in groups. I selected a single project and a group project for further analysis. These assignments were selected as examples because in these two instances, with the digital component, the students took up technology to foster knowledge production. We (the professor and the students) wanted to explore more in depth how we understood the relationship between historical consciousness and technology. In particular, as a professor of history, I was interested in finding out more about how practices of learning history and constructing historical narratives shifted with online formats. As well, each group involved a PhD student who is working in the area of historical narratives for her thesis -- the other two students are high school teachers and I was interested in how they would represent historical thinking given their prior experience as educators (Reisman, 2012).

Among the class of 27 graduate students, after completing the required ethics consent forms, eight people responded to the six-question survey. Given that four additional students participated in reflecting on the course and the assignment as authors of the paper almost half the students in the course completed the questionnaire. Although several of the respondents had history degrees, none of them were familiar with historical consciousness prior to taking this course.

In responding to questions related to exploring the site and researching the history, although some of the students were familiar with the place that they visited or the person/event that they were researching, half of the students commented on the extent of the

research that was required to locate information about their topic and to understand their site. One student within the survey reported that 'repeated site visits were necessary to understand both the location in which the monument is situated and the [composition of the] monument itself'. When asked what they learned about historical consciousness, the students addressed the following themes: commemoration and relevance, their role as educators, and the assignment as a personal experience.

For several students, this assignment took on a level of significant importance because of the way that they personally related to the site. This personal experience impacted the way they thought about the representation of the past as it is commemorated in the present. The particular importance was summed up in the comment that commemorative sites should be established 'tactfully, because for the most part, this [visit] will be the only source of information on that particular site for the public', moreover, 'commemoration of an individual or subject is complex and sometimes a controversial task'. In making the connection between commemoration and history, another student rightly observed, 'History is not always about the "facts" about an individual, but the choices that go into representing him/her'.

Further, several students connected their understanding of historical consciousness to the way in which they, as educators, have taught about the past to their students noting how connections can be made in the unlikeliest places and history can easily be manipulated with the use of random facts. For the student who researched a Canadian hero, the assignment was a big challenge to present all issues, including that of 'hero' from a perspective of critical thinking reminding him/herself 'never to present projects to students that carry your own bias'.

Finally with regard to their personal experience of connecting the site assignment to their understanding of how the past can be overlooked as (ir)relevant in the present, a respondent opined how easy it is to pass by something and not notice the features which make is distinct. Furthermore, the student observed, how easy it is to forget that there are objects that are worth noting because of what they tell us about the history of Ottawa, or anywhere in the world. One respondent who completed this assignment experienced a deep personal connection to the site. He/she remarked that this site has now become a 'favourite place' because of how eloquently the artist used a visual text in the present to speak of the way that it honours a past event. Overwhelmingly, all the respondents stated that they had enjoyed the assignment (which may, of course, explain why they completed the survey).

The influence of artistic representations and technological options was one of the surprising and enriching outcomes of the assignment. As indicated previously, the students took advantage of the RAFT model to design a range of 'products' for their assignment. Several students commented on the advantage of having options for their assignments and a couple of teachers wrote lesson plans. One student remarked on the creative benefits of the RAFT model for their product so that sensory elements of sounds, images and photographs could be included in their audio/visual assignment, while another student stated that this approach allowed him/her 'to apply my knowledge and learning in a different context than a traditional paper would have allowed me to'. Additional insights related to using technology to develop their 'product' and to further understandings of historical narratives and consciousness, will be developed in the students' vignettes in the next section.

Digital historical narratives

Graduate students' experience with the sites

The following site assignment narratives illustrate deep connections and intersections between Seixas' (2006) work on historical consciousness and (three) historical thinking concepts (Seixas et al., 2013), when coupled with digital technologies (Hennessy, Ruthven, and & Brindley, 2005). Both sites, easily accessible in the nation's capital city, were chosen for their historical significance – one of the six historical thinking concepts (Seixas et al., 2013) albeit for different reasons. The contemporary site of École Guigues (a former school), now renovated for residential and community use, changed the way the group interacted with the location, as the original structure was in tact, but the neighbourhood and function of the building no longer conveyed its historical significance. Continuity and change, a second historical thinking concept (Seixas et al., 2013), played a dominant role in the construction of the group's publicly accessible wiki for teachers and students, as the focus of the narrative was through an interdisciplinary approach, weaving themes of change into teaching resources and lesson plans in secondary Geography and Language Arts.

A student using an interactive online blog constructed the second selected narrative, which was also displayed in a publically accessible forum. The second site visit, the Rideau Canal, is unpacked by the student using a narrative that evokes cause and consequence, a third historical thinking concept (Seixas et al., 2013). This narrative engages with the site as a physical experience, to appreciate the breadth of undertaking of a large structural development, created through human labour. Both the causes and consequences of intentionally shaping of the land and displacing peoples are explored using a personal blog.

By using an online forum for displaying their narratives, both groups demonstrate the significance of digital technologies in the construction of historical consciousness. The ongoing, dialogical processes of meaning making, starting with the site visit, and continuing through the creation of online interactive technologies fuses together digital hermeneutics (Capurro 2010; van den Akker et al., 2011) and historical consciousness. As stated earlier, Seixas' (2006) definition of historical consciousness blends both public memory and history education. Through the interactive materials on the wiki page and blog site, each assignment uniquely blends public memory through historical and contemporary documents and photographs, lesson plans, resources, and critical reflections to create a 'digital historical consciousness' that weaves public memory and history education through historical thinking concepts.

First graduate students' vignette: École Guigues

We chose to visit École Guigues because as residents of the city of Ottawa (capital of Canada), we had all walked past the location, where tensions had erupted nearly 100 years before, without ever understanding the historical significance of the site. Upon arriving, we found the historical marker that was hidden in plain-view—pedestrians passed by without notice as we unpacked our cameras, notebooks, and began to explore the present-day condominium complex that was once at the forefront of the debate over French language education in Ontario, Canada. Although the site had been used by Roman Catholic schools dating back to 1864 (Bytown Museum, 2009), École Guigues was built between 1904 and 1905. École Guigues was directly affected by the provincial government's adoption of Regulation 17 in 1912.

In 1912 the Ontario provincial government, led by Premier James Whitney, passed Regulation 17. The regulation made English the official language of instruction in all schools. French language education could only be used in primary education when students did not have a functional use of the English language. In 1913, the regulation was changed to allow the use of French in later grades if it was directed by the parents and did not exceed one hour

per day (Axelrod, 1997). In response to this and other infringements upon their rights as a result of Regulation 17, the French-language community fought back in various ways. École Guigues became a symbol for this struggle for language minority rights because there was a direct confrontation between city officials and French-speaking community members on the front steps of the building. In 1915, the provincial government refused to fund French-speaking schools -- but this did not deter the administrators of École Guigues. The administrators regained control of the school in 1916, and the government eventually recognized the authority of bilingual schools in 1927 (Bytown Museum, 2009). It was on the steps of École Guigues --once a catalyst for conflict--where we, as students, artists, and educators, found ourselves tasked with creating meaning of the symbolic site.

Response as artists

We arrived at the site compelled to capture our interactions through the visual medium of photography and narrative. As we explored the perimeter of the building, we captured images of all facets of the location to situate it visually within the narrative provided by the professor. Special attention was paid to architectural features of École Guigues, including renovations matching the original building style, and noted the function and aesthetic aspects of adjacent buildings to further contextualize the constructed, commemorative space. Understanding that 'places are defined by tangible material realities that can be seen, touched, mapped, and located' (Osborne, 2001, p. 43) we circled, photographed, touched, and gained access to the lobby, to fully interact with the site.

After the École Guigues visit, we uploaded and shared our images and reflections, juxtaposing the visuals against historical records of the site. Just as we were compelled to explore and make meaning of the former school, we wanted to present our findings in a similar fashion, through an interactive approach using collaborative technology. We found the contemporary technology of the Wiki would provide both the interactivity and visual capacity to match our own experiences with the site. As Werner (2002) reminds us, 'the educator's role is to encourage the conditions that allow readers to dialogue richly with / about / against images, and to be less dependent upon he textbook's authorization of correct interpretations' (p. 425); the interactivity of the Wikispace permitted our visitors to not only learn about the history of École Guigues and Regulation 17, but to experience and contribute to the significance of the site digitally as we experienced it physically.

The movement from static digital technology to interactive (web 2.0) technology reframed the ability for students to become active participants in the study of history as opposed to passive recipients. According to a study by Hazari, North, and Moreland (2009), using Wikis in the social studies classroom promotes a sense of collaboration among students and ensures that they develop a familiarity with contemporary tools for storing, accessing, and editing data online. To construct our Wiki, we collectively and collaboratively used the internet to research the narratives surrounding the place of École Guigues and compiled them into subsections within the Wiki. By adapting this approach, we presented the information in a way that invited our audience to interact, interpret, and create their own 'memorable histories' that were meaningful to their own lives.

Response as educators

As part of the assignment requirements, we created lesson plans for educators to use to guide students through the collected-content of the site visit. We were able to extend beyond simple history lessons, and incorporate the visual arts through photography, geography through mapping, and English language arts through narrative response. As educators, we aimed to promote active, rather than passive meaning making, allowing the website visitors to connect

parts of the wiki to the overall historical significance of the site; as Werner (2002) suggests, 'readers/viewers do not passively receive meaning; they make meaning by understanding how the parts are related to the whole' (p. 403). These processes of meaning making are essential to the development of historical consciousness. According to Sexias (2009), 'students as historical agents operating in their own historical moment means this: that they understand the impossibility of knowing once and for all the story of which they might be a part, and yet have the tools to steer between mindless pie-in-the-sky utopianism and deadly despair as they shape themselves into the historical agents of their own futures' (p. 871).

The course assignments' pedagogical shift from learning about history in the classroom, to exploring dynamic historical spaces in the community, fostered collaboration among our group members and inspired a second pedagogical broadening as we created our lesson plans. Through the historical site activity, we individually envisioned innovative ways to communicate the experience of École Guigues as a historical place, connected to significant events and people. Seixas' historical thinking concepts of cause and consequence, historical perspective-taking, and continuity and change, guided the purpose and structure of the lesson plans, seeking to recreate the interactive experience of a commemorative site through use of the Wiki and online archived materials. Situating École Guigues both as a historical site of a significant event, and as a contemporary public space, acknowledges the dynamic nature of history through what Rüsen (2004) calls 'genetic' historical consciousness; 'past actualities' are understood to be temporal, transformational and evolving (p. 77). Just as we as educators questioned, interpreted, and created meaning through our experience with the site and development of our Wiki, we hoped our students and visitors would be enabled to become constructors of their own meanings as 'historical agents' as well.

As educators working with the secondary history curriculum in Canada, textbooks have traditionally played a predominant role in instruction. As they are aligned with the curriculum and are generally considered politically neutral (Issitt, 2004), textbooks are a safe resource that many history teachers rely on as a primary source of instruction. Our own education in history involved reading assigned pages and completing questions, which is a rote learning environment that did little to instil critical historical thinking. The site assignment provided an opportunity to explore alternative ways to approach the curriculum in order to foster student curiosity and historical consciousness. Whereas textbooks situate historical events in a static portrayal, the experiential exploring of the physical site in real time and place inspired a more personal interaction with history than the traditional textbook. The exploration of history through the site assignment made us rethink our pedagogical approach in our own classrooms and the role technology can play in fostering historical consciousness and historical thinking. The use of technology to engage student learning promotes an interaction rather than a mere transaction with the subject matter; it requires active rather than passive learning. The site assignment allowed us to move away from being individual learners of history through text, to a community of learners making meaning in physical and digital communities. Through the mode of digital technology, we aimed to replicate this exploratory experience for our students.

Second student vignette: Rideau Canal

Experience of the site

I chose the Rideau Canal for my site assignment for both practical reasons, as it was quite close to campus, and also because I was curious about it in relation to mapping, creating, controlling and defining Ottawa as a historic space. As a resident of the city during my studies, the canal was a banal part of the urban landscape I regularly occupied. It was in an

effort to engage in historical consciousness making in relation to this banal 'site' that I chose to investigate the Rideau Canal in relation to my own personal narratives and the larger historical narratives in which it is situated. In this way, I wanted to think through some of the historical concepts we had been engaging in class up to that point – dealing with historical narratives, Sexias' historical consciousness, as well as the ways in which commemoration, narrative and nation inform understandings of place now and in the past.

In an official way, the Rideau Canal was designated as a UNESCO world historic site in 2007 for its engineering achievement as slack water canal of 202 kilometres running from the mouth of the Ottawa River to the harbour in Kingston in Lake Ontario in Canada (UNESCO, 2007). With a large map of the canal and the city's walking and biking pathways in front of me, I was standing a couple of kilometres down from the Bytown lock portion at the end of the canal which leads into the Ottawa River. It was a sunny afternoon as I walked with a classmate to look at the canal, not as a citizen of the city, but with the lens of a student/researcher of history of place. I wanted to purposely look at the site as something constructed, and begin to unpack how I related to the site; my position in history, as well as what such a position means for understanding and engaging with historical places.

Experience as an artist

Our site assignment asked us to consider the canal in Ottawa in front of a map of the canal and its pathways. As I stared at the map, I attempted to re-see the space in historic terms, what it would have felt like in this place before the canal existed, while it was being built and in its first years of operation. Looking back at the map I took a photograph of it, not knowing how I would use such a picture, but at the same time feeling as though the map itself spoke something historically significant about understanding the Rideau Canal and the mapping of space that was so casually put up as information for tourists. I was reminded of this fact as several passers-by asked my classmate and I if we were lost, or needed help. The everydayness of the map as being marked for tourists became all at once apparent to me and the strange feeling of being placed here as student, as researcher, as tourist, and as citizen of the city for going on two years. I was reminded of Seixas' call for understanding how we know about the past, and what this tells us about our present, and our future, but also Cutrara's (2009) call to be critical and skeptical of the 'naturalness' of history as a larger narrative project of the state. As I became aware my own conflicting and overlapping interactions with the site, I decided to delve deeper into my own connections of past, and future for the assignment in relation to these tensions, but also the process by which I produce such narratives.

Response as researcher

I looked again at the photograph I had taken. It spoke of a past of mapping the canal and the Ottawa area as well as a present reflected in the glass - the poetic irony of the buildings of the university in the background. I decided to use my picture as an artistic conception of the canal in the present and relate it to other past artistic conceptions of the canal for the site assignment. Understanding my connections and understandings of the historicity of the Rideau Canal required a medium in which I could narrate my thoughts and connect them to my present and in doing so relate to the history of the Canal as a site itself. How can such a picture 'work' to relate a history of place that is situated, contextual, critical but also revealing of the ways such a place is constructed as finished and banal - part of the urban landscape as it weaves its way through Ottawa's downtown, I wondered. To make my photograph meaningful in the continuum of past, present and future understandings of the same space, I endeavoured

to relate my own narrative to other artistic conceptions of the canal from different points in its history. The artistic conceptions, related to my own, and the running narrative of my investigation, would provide a strong visual ethnography of place, and also allow me the space to write and wonder critically within, and as, I investigate such relationships (Pink, 2007). In order to do this I decided to create a blog of my experience of the research process itself within Sexias' (2009; 2012) historical consciousness framework (as I understood it then) and relate my present understandings to those of other visual representations of the Canal from the past – namely through paintings. I googled, wikied, bookmarked and clicked though the many sites in the archives and webpages of cyberspace to find two artistic conceptions of the canal from the past to keep my project manageable and within the prescribed writing limit. I chose two paintings as a way of engaging my self and my responses and documenting the dialogic relationship I began to conceive with this place, as well as the many visual representations of the past in the canal as a dynamic historical site.

Response as educator

I wanted my blog to focus on the reflexive *process* of historical consciousness making in an online environment where access to other archival visual understandings of the Rideau Canal in different points in its construction through paintings. Often research and writing focus on the product (Coylar, 2009), and the blog as a medium gave me the space (in a variety of its conceptions) to put my own understandings and historical consciousness making; the very ways I made links between the past in the paintings, the present I now experience, and a newly connected futures that allows such comparisons to make other's engagements with my blog and with the site and the paintings I put together, create a deeper and more textured understanding of the Rideau Canal. As my particular focus was both the site itself, and the colonial project it espoused, (being an antiracist educator) I looked at the ways my historical consciousness building related to the historicity of the colonial legacy the Rideau Canal engenders and how this consciousness raising has the potential to work to trouble this historicity of place. Furthermore, I wanted to see what such a framework for the engagement with historical representations and visual as well as discursive narratives would look like; what was such a process like pedagogically. I found that blogs provide a framework to foster historical thinking concepts that are in process and has the potential as a pedagogical tool to this end. Though this was not something that was directly part of the assignment, understanding our own pedagogical journey through such reflections as well, for my part, in the making of the project itself, is an important task within this work as well as academic work more largely.

Much like the group above who investigated École Guigues, the online component provided a framework for the continued engagement with histories and historical narratives that was dynamic, dialogical and continually in process. It was the potential within the online frameworks that we all gravitated towards, as they provide the much-needed flexibility and access that works for the promotion of the historical consciousness *in the making,* which our assignment asked us to consider.

Dialectic engagements: digitalizing the site assignment

The two assignments highlighted in this paper are presented as narratives of experience, first through the physical visit to the historical sites, secondly, through personal interpretations and collaborative interactions after the visit, and lastly, the finished projects are discussed in the narratives as part of their chosen digital interactive mediums: a wiki and blog. Hermeneutic

methodology underpins the site assignment evident in the multiple layers of meaning making and student narratives of experience. As a reflexive search for meaning through common-sense understandings of everyday places, hermeneutics as a methodology seeks to make the familiar strange (Linge, 2004) by engaging in a dialectical process of experiencing, reinterpreting, and reflecting on the original experience with the site visit. In the hermeneutic tradition of Gadamer (2004), this process can be understood as dialogical through three ongoing stages of engagement: initial interaction with the historical site as a text, understanding the site as part of a larger (historical) text, and creating new meaning from these engagements through the creation of projects that are available online as text. 'Text' in this case is used to encompass multiple meanings of text, which include both physical place and digital spaces of the blog and wiki. The stages in the hermeneutic process facilitate a deep engagement with the site visit by allowing students to question the everyday places they are familiar with; to make the contemporary sites 'strange' by reflecting on the historical memory and significance of that place. Interestingly, Gadamer and Fantel (1975) are critical of a disciplinary model of historical consciousness (much like Seixas' (2013) work), where historians use a methodological model to interpret historical places, people, or events. Instead of being overly formulaic, Gadamer and Fantel (1975) suggest that each interpretive experience must be situated carefully in the creation and production of knowledge and truth in that particular historian's context. In essence, , hermeneutic methodology enhances the building of historical consciousness by engaging the students to think about place in terms of its public memory and historical significance, from their perspective. A critical, historical consciousness lens was taken throughout the analyses, specifically attending to the contextualized experiences of each author, in order to safeguard against disciplinary rigidity (Gadamer & Fantel, 1975).

The digital aspect of the students' projects necessitates a discussion on the fusion of dialectical processes of engagement and understanding of the historical site, with the choice of open-access, online mediums to display the finished product. The accessible wiki and blog become another text that can further engage in the dialectic process of the site visit: teachers or students choosing to use the wiki or blog not only engage with the historical place through pictures, maps, and links, but also through the narrative engagement of the students who created the wiki and blog. This broadens historical consciousness building, and historical thinking skills through what Capurro (2010) calls 'digital hermeneutics'. Compared to traditional methods of learning history through a textbook, visiting a website, wiki, or blog created about a historically significant place prompts a student to virtually visit the site and its resources, to build on their understanding of the place as a static, flat part of history. The digitalized site assignments arguably have the potential to cobble together historical thinking and historical consciousness by expanding what we know as traditional historical teaching methods. The dialectical process, through a digital hermeneutic approach, also has the potential to continue the project via open access sites for teachers and students.

Closing vignette

As graduate students, we see the ways in which we have engaged with archival evidence to create a dialogical relationship where the past can be cut and pasted into the present. Similar to the layers we experienced in studying Seixas' (2004, 2006, 2009, 2013) concepts, with technology, we are changing the ways in which we engage with multiple pasts by shifting the emphasis from solitary, archival researching to an integrated, open and connected process of historical consciousness making. In both assignments discussed in this paper - the blog and the wiki - the process was open and known as changes occurred and we were aware that we were engaging with them in a tactile manner. For us, the very narrative nature of history and

meaning making became a more reflexive and open hermeneutic, dialogical process. This finding speaks to Rüsen's (2004) concept of seeing history as temporal, partial and changing. Not only did the internet change the way we interacted with the past, but we used the web as its own historical site in relation to the physical space we visited. This experience brings to mind larger questions that are implicit in projects as the process of 'finding history' shifted to the Internet. We discovered that history is not singular, but multiple. With these multiple pasts, the web is an ever-present reality that we can engage with to understand and negotiate sites and conceptions of our present(s) and our future(s). The internet as archive allowed for a continual re-description of pasts in relation to presents that are continually being engaged, connected and made meaningful through those connections of digital spaces to physical ones and back again.

With this course and the related 'site' assignment, as a professor I attempted, as Osborne suggests (2006), to make history become part of a set of problems to engage students intellectually, one that encourages them to make the imaginative leap into other people's lives and to see the world through their eyes. This in turn allows them to see the choices that were available, the decisions that were made when people like themselves did not know how things would turn out. As scholars and poets, the students and I explored the possibilities of a curricular focus on the interplay between and among historical people, places and events, which prompted an exploration of commemorated historical sites and narratives in the local community. Given that the students were invited to explore previously selected 'sites' to understand historical consciousness as 'the intersection among public memory, citizenship and history education', (Seixas, 2006, p. 15) and to produce creative, artistic assignments, the results, as you have read in the section above, were 'beyond the expected'. This research on historical thinking and teaching invites educators to consider the multiple ways that public narratives, memory and technological interventions can shape our experiences of understanding history as a process, as an engagement with a way of thinking about the contexts of their world and history as a way of thinking itself, whereby students come to play an active role in shaping it in the present.

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Endnotes

[1] For additional examples using RAFT see https://crmsliteracy.wikispaces.com/Role-Audience-Format-Topic+(RAFT).

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HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education

Towards an epistemological theory of historical consciousness

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ABSTRACT: This paper presents a theoretical analysis of the concept of historical consciousness. It argues that a focus on the epistemological problems concerning historical consciousness can be a way of constructing a theory of the concept that both incorporates the diverse perspectives that exist in research about the concept and specifies how a historical consciousness can be developed in an individual.

KEYWORDS: Historical Consciousness; History Didactics; Historical Culture; Historical Thinking; Uses of History.

Introduction

This paper deals with historical consciousness. By stating that, I want to inform the presumptive reader that this text will be primarily theoretical in character and that the concept of historical consciousness (or, rather, the author's attempts at coming to terms with the concept) will be what guides the theoretical investigation that follows. I will also deal with some central history didactical concepts that relate to and enhance an understanding of the concept of historical consciousness. From a Swedish perspective historical consciousness has been the central concept of history didactics for the last 30 years and recently (pre-dominantly in the last decade) it has attracted an increasing amount of attention in the UK and North America as well. I believe this may have interesting repercussions on how the concept of historical consciousness can be understood.

Historical consciousness is, however, a concept generally perceived to be vague and complex (Cf. Duquette, 2011, p. 259; Nordgren, 2006, p. 15), and at the same time it has been theoretically deployed in a variety of areas (Cf. Fausser, 2000, pp. 42–44). Consequently there are many bids as to how a historical consciousness could and should be interpreted; a historical consciousness is claimed to enhance such diverse things as sense making, history making, identity constitution, and moral character in an individual. There are also different views regarding how it is developed in an individual (Thorp, 2013a, pp. 213–217, 2013b, pp. 107–112). It has also been argued that historical consciousness is difficult (if not impossible) to study since it is an immaterial notion and that it is not obvious how it relates to its manifestations (Cf. Axelsson, 2004, pp. 23–24). Furthermore, research on historical consciousness in Germany and Scandinavia has been regarded as incompatible with research on the concept from the UK and North America (Cf. Lund, 2012, pp. 97–98, 110). These issues have rendered historical consciousness a rather multifarious notion that can be hard to grasp and the aim of this paper is to outline a comprehensive theory of historical

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consciousness that will incorporate these various perspectives and specify how it can be manifested and developed in an individual. As the title of this paper suggests, what is presented here should be regarded as a brief sketch of what such a theory could look like. As brief and sketchy as it may be, this approach to the concept is original and can hopefully inspire (or provoke) new theoretical investigations or perspectives.

I will argue that historical consciousness ought to be understood as an understanding of how matters past, present, and future relate to each other in a way that enables the individual to create a specific kind of meaning in relation to history. It will be further argued that historical consciousness can be discerned through three different manifestations that are on different levels; narratives, uses of history, and historical culture. Given these manifestations, it becomes evident that one must understand historical consciousness as a phenomenon that can be of different kinds due to basic assumptions concerning an awareness of the need of contextualisation and awareness of the temporality of truth claims, and it will be claimed that the genetic historical consciousness is the most developed form of historical consciousness in that it is a form of historical thinking that enables persons to acquire a historiographic gaze through genetic and genealogical contextualisations of history. Finally, the paper ends with a discussion concerning the significance of historical consciousness, and it is argued that understanding genetic historical consciousness as the ability to contextualise history and historical knowledge is exactly what makes historical consciousness an important history didactical concept since it can be the foundation of a development of individuals' identity and morality.

The presentation that follows will be divided into the following sections: 'Definition' (that argues for a certain definition of the concept), 'Development' (that delves into matters of how an individual develops a historical consciousness), and 'Significance' (this section offers an argument to why the concept is important to individuals).

Definition

Definition and Application

In 1979 the German historian Karl-Ernst Jeismann defined historical consciousness as a notion that '[incorporates] the connection between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present, and perspective on the future'(Jeismann, 1979, pp. 40–42), and this has become the generally accepted definition in history didactical research (Ahonen, 2005, p. 699). This is an ability that is sometimes called 'multi-chronological'(Ammert, 2008, p. 56). I believe this definition poses both ontological and epistemological problems. Ontologically, it seems to assume that there is a connection between the past, present, and future. Epistemologically, it links different types of cognitive approaches to the different temporal segments: a past is interpreted, a present understood, and a future perspectivised. With Jeismann's definition, it could be argued that it becomes essential to show that there is a connection between the temporal segments (an ontological problem), and that the different temporal segments require different kinds of cognitive approaches (an epistemological problem).

Another way of defining the concept can be as an *understanding* of the relation between past, present, and future (Cf. van der Leeuw-Roord, 2000, p. 114). With this definition the epistemological problems of Jeismann's definition are reduced to matters of understanding. This definition does, however, also has ontological problems connected to it (there is still a relation between past, present, and future), but I want to argue that these can be evaded with this definition since it focuses on our way of viewing the world, not the world *itself*. It is the

individual's *understanding* of the relation between what has been, is, and will be that is the focus, not the relation itself.

If the definition of historical consciousness is that it deals with how people understand multi-chronological relations, an extended understanding of the concept can be reached by applying it to how people understand history. It does not specify *how* this comes to be the case, but I want to argue that understanding at this general level does not have to do that. It merely suggests that an individual that has an understanding of multi-chronology makes a different sense of history than a person that does not, hence it affects the meaning she makes. Furthermore, meaning construction through an understanding of multi-chronology can be regarded as a fundamental and inclusive definition and application of historical consciousness. The sense we make of things deals with matters of cognition at a very basic and existential level. From this level it will then be possible to construct theories about historical cognition and its development, and how identity construction happens and how this affects an individual's view of morality. This is what the rest of this paper will deal with.

Manifestations

This sub-section seeks to specify how a historical consciousness can be manifested. I want to argue that at the most fundamental level a historical consciousness is manifested through narratives, and that these narratives can be applied to uses of history on an individual level and historical culture on a societal or public level.

Narratives

When an individual expresses something historical she does it through narratives (Cf. Rüsen, 2004, pp. 128–129, 2012, p. 47). Narratives could be regarded as cognitive structures we use to connect individual statements to create meaning of what we experience (Cf. Kuukkanen, 2012, p. 342). Thus, it could be argued that an individual's understanding of history and, consequently, her historical consciousness is expressed through narratives. This view has been criticised since it has been argued that history can be expressed by other means, i.e. through frameworks and facts, and that we for this reason should include other manifestations of historical consciousness (Cf. Lee & Howson, 2009, p. 241). With the basic view of narration applied above it could however be argued that these frameworks and facts have to be narrated to become meaningful as well and that they therefore could be regarded as narrative. The definition of historical consciousness presented above focuses on how an individual *understands* narratives and it is by assessing in what *manner* this is narrated that we can say something about an individual's historical consciousness.

Uses of History

When an individual narrates history she can be said to portray a use of history. Individuals use history to achieve various things, and these different uses have been typified by the Swedish historian Klas-Göran Karlsson; they can for instance be political, existential, ideological, and scientific in character (Karlsson, 1999, pp. 55–60). We can call these uses of history *what*-uses. It is, however, interesting not only to assess what use of history an individual makes, but also *how* the individual uses history. To illustrate how individuals can use history, I will employ Jörn Rüsen's typology of historical narration as strategies for what he calls 'sense-generation.' I believe this typology can be applied to illustrate *how*-uses of history since it typifies how historical narratives are used to portray history. Firstly, there is the *traditional* narration in which an individual uses history to show that traditions should be upheld in society. The next type of narration is *exemplary*, and here an individual uses history to

generate rules of conduct. The third type of narration is *critical* and here history is used to criticise both contemporary and historical societies and cultures. The fourth type is the *genetic* one, and here history is used to explain continuity and change in societies both historical and present (Rüsen, 2012, pp. 52–54).

Historical Culture

When individuals use history they uphold a historical culture. A historical culture can thus be perceived as an agglomeration of different uses of history. An important aspect of historical culture is that it is the societal historical landscape that individuals are born into. The historical culture of a society thus *a priori* affects how individuals interpret historical events or facts (Carr, 1986, pp. 50–53; Karlsson, 2008, p. 11). This means that a historical culture is constituted by the historical consciousnesses and uses of history of its members, but at the same time it determines and affects what kind of historical consciousness and use of history its members have or make. In other words, the historical culture of a society is present when the individual member is born into or otherwise enters it, but this individual member can later on influence the historical culture of that same society to a certain degree through her use of history (which is determined by her historical consciousness). Historical culture can thus be seen as a dynamic concept that shapes individuals' historical consciousnesses, but at the same time can be shaped by the historical consciousnesses and uses of history of its individual members (Cf. Karlsson, 2005, p. 724; Rüsen, 2012, pp. 57–58).

Epistemic Qualities of Historical Consciousness

From the narratives and uses of history of individuals we can discern that there can be different epistemic qualities of a historical consciousness. This sub-section presents a typology that allows us to illustrate different types of historical consciousnesses and differentiate between them. Furthermore, by using a qualitative typology of the concept it enables us not only to theorise on whether an individual understands multi-chronology, but also to say something about *how* she understands it. Peter Seixas has extended Jörn Rüsen's widely accepted typology of historical consciousness (Rüsen, 2006, p. 72) to illustrate different ways of understanding history, and I think these extensions can be helpful for the present purposes. The types of historical consciousness are the (i) traditional type, (ii) exemplary type, (iii) critical type, and (iv) genetic type.

The *traditional type* of historical consciousness is epistemologically quite rudimentary: we know history because we are told so by parents, relatives, friends, media, and history teachers. Pieces of historical knowledge have the character of being substantive and either true or false. There are no means for a critical assessment of history or historical accounts, and, consequently, no means for treating contradictory accounts of history (Seixas, 2006, p. 145).

The *exemplary type* of historical consciousness turns history into a positivist science: the truth is out there waiting to be discovered. It is only a matter of applying the right kind of method when approaching history. Furthermore, values, such as human rights, are historically derivative: we can, for instance, know what rights the individual has through studying history (Seixas, 2006, pp. 146–147). This view is similar to the traditional view because it treats historical accounts as substantive, although this view is more advanced since it engages with how to verify or falsify historical claims, albeit in a simplistic manner.

A *critical type* of historical consciousness is a move beyond the positivist view of the previous types since it questions the possibility of truth in history (Seixas, 2006, p. 148). It does not, however, offer us a method of how to treat history, apart from falsifying (or verifying) its accounts. What follows is a kind of relativism: all historical accounts are equally

false (or true). Furthermore, it displays an inability to historicise the point of view of the meaning-making subject: it is one thing to claim that everyone else makes mistakes when using history, and another to realise that the only way of making that postulation is to use the same kind of method as the others: the historical example. It is consequently a failure to realise that all categories and all statements about the world are subject to historicity, including those of the experiencing subject.

Finally, the *genetic type* of historical consciousness is the most advanced type, and a person with this kind of historical consciousness takes neither an objectivist nor a relativist stance regarding the possibility of historical knowledge from an epistemological perspective. Instead, it displays an appreciation that knowledge is constructed 'by a community of inquiry that exercises mutual checks and balances within itself.' Thus, '[h]istorical knowledge changes over time, and, yet, in any particular historical era, there are standards for valid historical accounts or arguments'(Seixas, 2006, p. 149). Hence, it is a realisation that *all* categories and *all* points of views are contingent on the historical context in which they take place, and that this is absolutely normal, and, consequently, a pre-requisite for historical knowledge. It is still possible to talk about true and false accounts of history, but it is a much more complex matter than with the other types of historical consciousness.

What I perceive to be essential in distinguishing between traditional, exemplary, and critical historical consciousness on the one hand and genetic historical consciousness on the other, is the individual's ability to appreciate the representative aspects of history. A person with the three former types of historical consciousness treats historical accounts as true (or false) propositions about reality, thus conflating historical representations of facts with historical facts. This leaves little room for meta-historical considerations. A person with a genetic historical consciousness, however, could be argued to distinguish between historical representations of facts and historical facts in themselves, enabling a meta-historical approach (Cf. Ankersmit, 2013, pp. 190–191).

By relating this typology to the manifestations of historical consciousness presented above, it can be possible to show how a certain use of history emanates from a certain historical consciousness. It can be argued that an individual that has no understanding of the contextual contingency of history cannot make a genetic use of history. Furthermore, she cannot negotiate or analyse the historical culture or cultures that she is a member of. With a genetic historical consciousness, however, the individual is able to analyse and scrutinise different uses of history from a contextual perspective, and she is thus able to negotiate and analyse the historical cultures she belongs to.

Summary - the Definition of Historical Consciousness

To summarise then, a historical consciousness can be regarded as an understanding of how matters past, present, and future relate to each other. This understanding enables the individual to create a specific kind of meaning in relation to history. Furthermore, there are different epistemic kinds of historical consciousnesses: for example the traditional, exemplary, critical, and genetic, which all relate to what kind of understanding an individual has of history.

A historical consciousness is expressed through narratives, but it should be perceived as an attitude towards these narratives. When an individual makes historical narratives she uses history in different ways. Uses of history can be categorised according to what kind of use they are, and how they are used. How an individual uses history is determined by what kind of historical consciousness she has: a traditional historical consciousness results in a traditional use of history, etc. When individuals use history they uphold a historical culture, but this same

culture also determines how the individual perceives history and uses it. This view of historical consciousness also shows how the concept can be perceived as distinct and different from the concepts of narration, uses of history, and historical culture.

Development

I want to argue that an ability to appreciate the representational aspects of history is what distinguishes between different types of historical consciousnesses, and for this reason it is important to look closer into the development of the epistemic types of historical consciousness. It is also important to remember that it is presently not possible to say anything about how a historical consciousness is developed in an individual: it can only be theoretically specified what it may be and we can describe its manifestations and epistemic qualities. To theorise about how a historical consciousness is developed there is a need for some kind of structure of how historical rationality and its progression works (Cf. Straub, 2006, p. 79). I believe that a fruitful way of approaching how individuals come to acquire the ability to regard history as representation (i.e. a meta-historical approach) is the concept or notion of historical thinking, predominantly developed and applied in research in the UK, USA, and Canada. Before going into the specifics of that, I think it is important to outline how I regard historical cognition.

Historical Cognition

Generally speaking there are two ways of regarding historical cognition in history didactical research: it can either be perceived as an ability to apply genetic-genealogical approaches to history (which is quite common in Sweden), or it can be perceived as an ability to contextualise historical factual knowledge and representations (which is common in the UK, USA, and Canada). I think these two approaches have a lot in common for reasons I will demonstrate below.

To apply genetic and genealogical perspectives on history is to connect the past with the present and the future, i.e. it is an ability to understand history both prospectively and retrospectively (Eliasson, 2009, p. 309). A person who understands history genetically regards historical change and development prospectively, meaning, for instance, that she explains historical change starting at one historical event and stopping at another. To view history genealogically means that one starts with the personal or contemporary point of view and from thence constructs historical accounts. A genealogical understanding of history acknowledges that all historical investigations are contemporary in the sense that the person performing the historical investigation (and the historical culture or cultures she is a member of) affects how she chooses to approach history and how she interprets it (Persson, 2011, pp. 27–30). Applying prospective and retrospective approaches can be regarded as promoting a multi-chronological understanding of history; the individual gains an appreciation of how temporal perspectives influence how we perceive and interpret history (Eliasson, 2009, pp. 317, 325; Persson, 2011, p. 128).

If a genetic-genealogical approach to history enhances a multi-chronological understanding of history, it can also be claimed to increase an individual's ability to contextualise history, since an understanding of the importance of temporal perspectives more or less forces the individual to take the historical context into account. If my perspective on history affects what kinds of questions I pose to history and how I choose to interpret the answers I get, then the perspectives of others also should be taken into account.

Research has shown that individuals read or decode historical texts differently depending on what epistemic beliefs they have about history and historical facts. People with a procedural approach (i.e. a methodological and critical approach) to history and historical facts take the context into account when they study history, whereas people with no procedural training tend to regard history and historical facts as being either true of false (in the positivist notion of the term) and run into trouble as soon as they come across conflicting historical accounts. Having a procedural training in history thus enables the individual to take the point of view of the other, of the historical agent (Kolikant & Pollack, 2009, pp. 673–674; Seixas, 1993, pp. 366–367; Wineburg, 1998, pp. 337–340).

Furthermore, it has been claimed that an ability to contextualise is what will enable individuals to reach a rich and full understanding of history, if an individual is not able to contextualise historical matters, she will judge them according to her own standards, i.e. she will regard history anachronistically (Cf. Wineburg, 2001, pp. 18–24). This view of historical cognition seems to harmonise well with the view of historical consciousness that was presented above: the more advanced a historical consciousness a person has, the greater is her ability to appreciate her own point of view as essential to how she perceives history, and vice versa. Historical thinking is a notion that can afford a theoretical approach to how individuals may gain an appreciation of the importance of context in history.

Historical Thinking

Historical thinking is commonly defined as an ability to understand how historical knowledge has been constructed and to know what that means, and an ability to contextualise historical facts, events, and persons (Lévesque, 2008, p. 27; Seixas & Morton, 2013, p. 2). To obtain a historical thinking an individual has to learn to think like a historian, i.e. to learn to apply theoretical tools to analyse how historical knowledge is constructed (Seixas & Morton, 2013, pp. 2–3). A key element in learning to think like a historian is to acquire the ability to differentiate between and apply 1st and 2nd order concepts in history. 1st order concepts deal with the stuff of history, i.e. 'the French Revolution,' 'Feudalism,' et cetera. 2nd order concepts are more important when developing historical thinking because they deal with how we analyse historical facts (Seixas & Peck, 2004, pp. 115–116). Examples of these are 'historical significance,' 'evidence,' 'cause and consequence,' and 'continuity and change' (Lévesque, 2008, p. 17; Seixas & Morton, 2013, p. 4). By applying these concepts individuals will be able to gain a deeper understanding of what can be called the historical practice: an articulated historical thinking can enable the individual to realise that history is an art of interpretation and representation. What historians (and others) write is contingent on how they interpret and narrate history. It is thus an appreciation that there is always a use of history inherent in historical representations, be they scientific or popular in character. Hence, historical thinking can provide us with the theoretical tools to develop our own use of history and analyse that of others.

It has been argued that the main objective of historical thinking is to enable the individual to make meta-historical analyses of historical narratives (Lee, 2006, pp. 134–135; Shemilt, 2000, pp. 97–98). When an individual has mastered the ability to contextualise history and its accounts, it is claimed that she will possess an ability to scrutinise not only the historical accounts, or representations, as such, but also the person behind them. This will help the individual in making meta-theoretical analyses of how history is created. The Australian historian Robert Parkes has coined the term 'historiographic gaze' to illustrate this ability. He argues that the historiographic gaze extends the 'gaze of the historian to everything, even [herself], revealing the specificity of historical knowledge and practice' (Parkes, 2011, p. 102). Without the historiographic gaze, pieces of historical knowledge take on the appearance

of being objective and factual, when they in fact are a result of a historian's conscious choice and interpretation. Through the historiographic gaze, we get the full picture on how history is created and gain a richer understanding of the contingent character of historical representations (Parkes, 2011, pp. 119–120).

If we return to what was written above about historical consciousness and uses of history, we may have a promising way of theoretically connecting historical consciousness and historical thinking. A historiographic gaze is not only the result of an advanced historical thinking, but also enables the individual to analyse uses of history, both that of herself and others, at quite an advanced level. A person with a historiographic gaze seems to have the meta-historical approach of a genetic historical consciousness: an appreciation of the contextual contingency of history and its representations.

Summary - the Development of Historical Consciousness

Historical thinking is a theory that deals with how progression in historical cognition works: it is argued that the most advanced kind of historical cognition is the one that takes the context of historical representations into account. The term historiographic gaze can be a convenient way of illustrating what an appreciation of the contextual contingency of historical representations can look like, and since it can also be regarded as a meta-historical attitude or stance towards (historical) narratives, it harmonises well with the view of historical consciousness presented here.

Significance

Identity

It has often been claimed that a historical consciousness is relevant to an individual's identity and morality (Cf. Friedrich, 2010, pp. 649–650; Karlsson, 2009, p. 52). I think that an understanding of historical consciousness as an appreciation of the contextual contingency of history could make the concept important to identity construction and morality.

A narrative view of identity suggests that individuals create their identity when they create narratives about themselves and that an individual that has an awareness of this fact has a more profound sense of her identity (Cf. Schechtman, 2007, pp. 93–94). Furthermore, individuals that realise that they are temporally persisting subjects with a past, present, and future, will appreciate that their experiences (or the narrations of their experiences) influence how they perceive themselves in a multi-chronological manner, i.e that a temporal awareness is an important part of an individual's identity construction (Cf. Schechtman, 2007, pp. 143–144). This view of identity construction conforms well with the view of historical consciousness presented in this paper since it may establish a connection between an individual's epistemological stance towards narratives and identity formation: how you perceive the world affects what kind of a person you are. A person that has a traditional historical consciousness and a traditional use of history will most likely regard her image of personal identity as something static, perhaps resulting in a deterministic or alienated view of the self. A genetic historical consciousness, developed through historical thinking, will however more likely regard personal narratives as dynamic and contingent on both spatial and temporal contexts. From this line of reasoning it seems that the nature of a person's historical consciousness could indeed be significant for the kind of identity she develops.

Morality

Closely connected to the view that a historical consciousness affects an individual's identity, is the view that it is essential to her moral character as well (Cf. Rüsen, 2006, p. 67). I want to argue that how we perceive ourselves as individuals also affects how we view morality. What kind of person I regard myself to be determines what I believe to be meaningful in life. To be someone is to define what you are and what you are not, and to know what you like and do not like, and this obviously has moral implications (Cf. Taylor, 1992, pp. 28–29). On a similar note it can be claimed that who we perceive ourselves to be determines how we treat other people: I empathise with those that I can identify myself with and vice versa. Our identities are a source for our moral convictions (Cf. Appiah, 2010, pp. 24–25, 236–237).

Thus what kind of historical consciousness an individual has seems significant. If we adopt the view that our morality is dependent on how we perceive ourselves, and if we empathise morally with those that we identify ourselves with, an ability to appreciate the contextual contingency of narratives is important. With the binary substantive attitude connected to a traditional, exemplary, or critical historical consciousness, the narratives of others can only be accepted or rejected at face value, resulting in an inability to appreciate the importance of context in morality. With a genetic historical consciousness, however, taking the perspective of the other comes naturally. Without this ability we may end up in a static view of identity contingent on our inability to contextualise narratives. Then there would be no way to treat the other in a tolerant and reconciling way (Cf. Zanazanian, 2012, p. 219).

Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to outline a coherent epistemological theory of historical consciousness that incorporates the diverse perspectives that exist in research on the concept and manages to evade some of the criticism that has been raised concerning historical consciousness. As was noted in the introduction, this is a far-reaching aim and for this reason some of the positions outlined here are merely tentative and in want of further argumentation. If one however regards this paper as a first attempt, I hope it may be possible to tolerate these deficiencies.

According to the central thesis of this paper, an ability to contextualise history and historical accounts can make the individual aware that history and the sense we make of it are contextually contingent, something that in turn will allow the individual to make meta-historical analyses and regard history and its accounts as representations of historical facts rather than historical facts in and of themselves. This ability is illustrated by the term historiographic gaze according to which the individual regards all matters as contextually contingent, even the meaning she creates herself, an ability that will allow individuals to make genetic uses of history. These uses could then be regarded as symptoms of a genetic historical consciousness. Furthermore, I argue that this ability is an important aspect of identity construction and morality thus making historical consciousness an important concept concerning these aspects. My hope is that a focus on the epistemological problems of historical consciousness will enable us to theorise what a historical consciousness can be, how it may be manifested and developed, and why it can be regarded to be a significant concept.

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Post-Modernising the Museum: The Ration Shed

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ABSTRACT: The application of postmodern critical theory to the essentially modernist construct of the museum has significantly impacted the role of the contemporary museum within society. This article briefly describes the movement toward a 'new museology' and the subsequent emergence of the 'post-museum'. It then presents a case study of the Ration Shed Museum in the historical precinct of Cherbourg, Queensland, as an example of this new 'post-museum'. Through its application of postmodern critical theory, the Ration Shed Museum has détourned the construct of the modernist museum and applied its cultural logics in order to meet the specific needs of its local community. This museum presents a history previously overlooked by western grand narratives and offers insight into a contemporary local indigenous community on its own terms. It presents a public pedagogy where the agency of both the viewer and the museum itself is embraced, and promotes active engagement – a form of dialogue – between the viewer, the community and the museum's curators.

KEYWORDS: Postmodernism; Modernism; Museums; Indigenous Communities

In this way we will build our story for ourselves, for our children and for the world.

(Ration Shed Museum [RSM], 2013b, "Participate: Hey, is that my Nana?" para. 3)

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Introduction

The institution of the museum has undergone some significant changes over the last twenty-five years. While theorists identify a number of complex reasons behind these changes, one powerful catalyst has been developments in critical postmodern cultural theory. Museum theorists such as Hooper-Greenhill (2000), Macdonald (2008) and Marstine (2008) assert that the application of critical postmodern theory to the museum world has forced museums to theoretically interrogate their roles within today's society – and in some cases reinvent themselves – and has enabled the construct of the museum to remain socially relevant.

This paper draws upon Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's (2000) model of the post-museum in order to explore the Ration Shed Museum, Queensland, as a case study of a small but vibrant contemporary museum. It explores the ways in which the Ration Shed Museum has applied critical postmodern theory in order to create a museum that is reflexive, dialogic, and inextricably intertwined with the community in which it sits. Marstine (2008) describes the post-museum as the "most hopeful" (p. 19) conception of the contemporary museum, and this paper will explore the ways in which the Ration Shed Museum does indeed work toward a positive vision for the future of its community.

Reframing the Museum: New Museology and the Post-Museum

New museology

In the late twentieth century, British museums underwent something of an identity crisis. Theorists from a range of disciplines including sociology, anthropology, history, philosophy and gender studies had begun to critically examine the construct of the museum and question its role in the social constructions of knowledges, histories and identities (Duclos, 1994; Marstine 2008). Postmodern theorists such as Lyotard (1979) questioned the cultural logics that underpinned the modernist museum, including the nature of knowledge construction and the notion of the 'grand narrative' (McRobbie 1994; Readings, 1991). Other postmodern theorists such as Baudrillard (1968, 1984) levelled more direct attacks against the institution of the museum specifically, launching scathing criticisms of both the socio-cultural functions of the museum and of the self-referential 'science' behind ethnography and collecting. In addition to these academic criticisms, Britain's Museums and Galleries Commission (as cited in Vergo, 1989) released a special report in 1988 that painted a very bleak picture for the future of Britain's museums and sparked widespread theoretical debate among museum professionals.

In 1989, the year following the Commission's report, Peter Vergo published *The New Museology* in response to what he perceived to be the museum's "present sorry plight" (Vergo, 1989, p. 3). Vergo (1989) claimed that "unless a radical re-examination of the roles of museums within society … takes place, museums in this country, and possibly everywhere, may find themselves dubbed 'living fossils'" (pp. 3-4). *The New Museology* attempted to address theoretical issues that were "often passed over in silence" (Vergo, 1989, p. 5) in favour of the more procedural discussions taking place in museal discourse at the time. Vergo's (1989) anthology of critically reflexive essays by a range of museal scholars marked a significant shift in the ways that museums viewed their roles in society, and continues to influence museal scholarship and practice today as exemplified by theorists such as Hooper-Greenhill (2000), Marstine (2008) and Macdonald (2008).

Vergo (1989) advocates for the application of critical theory to the museum context in order for museums to remain socially relevant and to fulfil what he regards as their theoretical

and humanistic functions. He draws distinctions between the 'old museology' focus on method and the 'new museology' focus on purpose. Vergo (1989) highlights the political and ideological dimensions of museal practices, and declares that museology is "a matter of concern to almost everybody" (p. 1) because of the role that the museum plays in the social construction of knowledge. New museology proposes a critique of representation that is not simply limited to museum displays, but is expanded to include reflexive critique of knowledge production with specific regard to the essentially modernist construct of the museum and its relationships with its audiences and society. Macdonald (2008) describes this as "a move toward regarding knowledge, and its pursuit, realization, and deployment, as inherently political" (p. 3).

Notions of power, context and subjectivity are paramount in this new museology. New museologists such as Smith (1989) challenge conventional museal practices of decontextualing objects and endowing them with inherent meanings, and call for an understanding of museum objects as contextual and situated. This theoretical approach reflects broader postmodern theories about subjectivity and the constructions of what Hooper-Greenhill (2000) refers to as the "harmonious, unified and complete" (p. 151) narratives of the western modernist museum. Similarly, an understanding of the audience is crucial to the new museology (Reeve & Woollard, 2006). Museal theorists such as Marstine (2008), Macdonald (2008) and Lord (2006) acknowledge the significance of Foucault's work here on knowledge, power and social interaction in understanding the subjectivity and agency of both the audience and of the museum itself.

Debord's (1967/1977) concept of the 'spectacle' has also been influential in the new museology. Some contemporary theorists such as Wallis (1986, as cited in Ames, 1992) argue that contemporary museums utilise mass spectacle to attract audiences in a consumer culture. However, what the new museology aims to deliver is a more humanistic connection in the wake of this spectacle by offering something more than just imagery. Spectacle in the new museology is utilised more as a medium of communication than as an authoritative message in itself as Smith (1989) suggests tended to be the case previously. As Enfield (2000) explains, basic human communication and interaction must be mediated, and the development of a shared cultural logic takes place through this mediation. The spectacle provides this mediation; it delivers a means of 'performing' scientific knowledge and connecting this knowledge with human experience, thereby creating "an interface that connects the life of the non-expert with the life of the expert and clears a way for 'dialogue'" (Watermeyer, 2012, p. 3). It is this act of embracing the spectacle-as-mediation that engages subjectivities and allows the postmodern museum to fulfil its humanistic and educative functions as envisioned by Vergo (1989).

The post-museum

Many contemporary museal theorists are therefore turning to postmodern theory in order to critically analyse the modernist construct of the public museum and move toward an era of the postmodern museum (Marstine, 2008). Museum curators have similarly shifted their agendas toward creating museums that are more sympathetic to their postmodern audiences in order to reinvigorate the museum and ensure its survival in the twenty-first century (Macdonald, 2008; Marstine, 2008).

Museums are currently in the process of evolving far beyond their modernist inceptions. Hooper-Greenhill (2000) proposes that museums are, in fact, evolving into something entirely new: the 'post-museum'. Marstine (2008) describes this post-museum in detail:

> The post-museum clearly articulates its agendas, strategies and decision-making processes and continually re-evaluates them in a way that acknowledges the politics of representation; the work of the museum staff is never naturalized but seen as contributing to these agendas. The post-museum actively seeks to share power with the communities it serves, including source communities. It recognizes that visitors are not passive consumers and gets to know its constituencies. Instead of transmitting knowledge to an essentialized mass audience, the post-museum listens and responds sensitively as it encourages diverse groups to become active participants in museum discourse. Nonetheless, in the post-museum, the curator is not a mere facilitator but takes responsibility for representation as she or he engages in critical inquiry. The post-museum does not shy away from difficult issues but exposes conflict and contradiction. It asserts that the institution must show ambiguity and acknowledge multiple, ever-shifting identities. Most importantly, the post-museum is a site from which to redress social inequalities. (p. 19)

This post-museum is critical, dialogic, contradictory, and acutely aware of both its own subjectivity and that of the audience. It conceptualises meaning-making as an active process rather than as a unidirectional transmission of knowledge. The post-museum holds itself accountable for its contributions to the politics of the everyday. It asks and listens in turn, and invites participation. It celebrates heterogeneity rather than homogeneity. There is an active and forward-looking feel to the post-museum; the museum no longer represents the death of the real (Baudrillard, 1968, 1984) but instead offers visitors and communities a new form of engagement with the real.

There are a number of critiques of Hooper-Greenhill's (2000) model of the post-museum, most of which centre around its practical applicability. Alivizatou (2009) points to several gaps in the model, and suggests that the concept of the post-museum is poorly defined and under-analysed in terms of actual museal practices. Similarly, Keene (2009) argues that the model takes an idealised view of museal activities, and elsewhere suggests that it may be too heavily focussed on programs and events with too little concern for collections (n. d., as cited in Alivizatou, 2009). Theorists such as Ames (1992) are doubtful whether museums may ever really be able to transform institutionalised practices because of operational constraints. Despite these criticisms, however, I would like to propose The Ration Shed Museum as a case study of an effectively functioning post-museum that captures the intent behind Hooper-Greenhill's (2000) model.

Reclaiming the Museum: The Ration Shed

Background and context

The Ration Shed Museum is one example of a flourishing post-museum. This museum is located in the historical precinct at Cherbourg, a small Aboriginal township in Queensland's South Burnett region. Cherbourg was originally settled as a Salvation Army Aboriginal mission known as Barambah in the early 1900s, and was taken over by the Queensland government in 1904 and later renamed Cherbourg (Cherbourg Aboriginal Shire Council [CASC], 2013, "Community history", para. 1; Ration Shed Museum [RSM], 2013a, "About Cherbourg", para. 1). Indigenous Australians were forcibly removed from across Queensland and New South Wales and relocated to Cherbourg under the Aboriginal Protection Act of 1897 (CASC, 2013, "Community history", para. 1). Conditions on the settlement were harsh, and the superintendent maintained strict control over its residents. Meagre quantities of food were administered from a small timber ration shed (RSM, 2013a, "About Cherbourg", para. 3). Today Cherbourg is a thriving indigenous community with a population of approximately 2000, locally governed by the Cherbourg Aboriginal Shire Council (CASC, 2013, "Community history").

The Ration Shed Museum was first conceived in 2004, when Cherbourg sisters Sandra Morgan and Lesley Williams found the old ration shed near the present-day football field and recognised its historical and social significance (RSM, 2013a, "Cherbourg Historical Precinct", para. 1). The old shed was soon shifted to its present site in the heart of the Cherbourg community as a first step toward creating a museum to preserve Cherbourg's history as a colonial Aboriginal settlement.

Physical architecture and layout

Since its inception, the physical architecture of the Ration Shed Museum has expanded to encompass three additional historical buildings and their surrounds: the superintendent's office, boys' dormitory and newly restored old Country Women's Association shed. Collectively, this is now known as the Cherbourg Historical Precinct (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: The Cherbourg Historical Precinct: ration shed, superintendent's office, boys' dormitory and old CWA shed

The layout of the historical precinct is open and informal, and includes a number of areas for social gathering (see Figure 2). There is no clear structural 'flow' imposed on the museum's architecture, and visitors are free to meander in and around the buildings at will, pausing here and there for a rest or a yarn.

Figure 2: The museum and precinct feature a number of places for informal social gathering

Foucault's writings from the early 1970s on episteme have been influential in developing theories about the physical layout of contemporary museums such as the Ration Shed (Marstine, 2008). Giebelhausen (2008), for example, uses the framework of episteme in her exploration of the ways in which the museum establishes physical environments that are conducive to particular epistemologies, and suggests that altering its architecture can alter the very nature of the museum. The physical layout and architecture of the Ration Shed Museum similarly provides a framework for both its epistemology and pedagogy: the atmosphere here is relaxed and conversational, and the visitor is made to feel included within this space.

Classen and Howes (2006, p. 219) describe physical environments like the Cherbourg Historical Precinct as an "alternative to the [modernist] 'museum of sight'" that allows visitors "more possibilities for dynamic interaction with, and a contextual understanding of, the collection, without making a pretense of total sensory immersion". The decision to create this particular historical precinct and museum therefore promotes an active audience engagement without attempting to generate a potentially hyperreal, circus-like immersive experience as feared by Baudrillard (1984).

Purpose and functionality

A clear statement of ideological purpose is a central aspect of the post-museum (Marstine, 2008). The Ration Shed Museum explicitly identifies its political goals and educative agendas, and in so doing acknowledges the subjectivity of the museum's curators and the role that this museum seeks to perform in the social construction of knowledge. The museum articulates its role within the community, and within a broader Australian historical discourse:

> We set out to give our community a strong clear sense of their history, a renewal of pride, to engage and to educate the people of Queensland and Australia about what we lived through and to offer a possible vision of the future (RSM, 2013a, "Information: Help and sponsor", para. 1).

The museum is simultaneously retrospective and forward-looking. It serves to both reflect on Cherbourg's history through the eyes of its peoples and to celebrate contemporary Aboriginal culture and present-day life in the Cherbourg community. This is reflected in curatorial display selections, where artefacts from Cherbourg's colonial past are documented and preserved (see Figure 3) while other exhibits commemorate more recent community events and achievements (see Figure 4).

Figure 3: Colonial artefacts are documented and preserved

Figure 4: More recent community events and achievements are commemorated

The Ration Shed Museum has evolved to meet a range of needs of the Cherbourg community and has become an active participant in everyday community life. This focus on community events and programs is an integral function of the post-museum (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). The site provides spaces that are regularly used for community workshops, performances, celebrations and meetings (see Figure 5). Education programs are an important part of the museum's operations, and cater to both the wider Australian public and the local indigenous community. Visiting school and tour groups can arrange for guided tours and hands-on workshops (RSM, 2013a, "Education: Activities"). The museum works collaboratively with local schools on projects such as the development of curriculum-related learning materials, the publication of books written by and for local indigenous children, and the production of short films and documentaries (Budburra Books, 2012, "About us"; RSM, 2013a, "Education"). The ways in which the Ration Shed participates in the Cherbourg community further highlights the subjective agency of the museum's curators as they intentionally operate the museum in a manner that shares power with the local community (Marstine, 2008).

Figure 5: Spaces are provided for a range of activities

Control over the purpose and functionality of the Ration Shed Museum lies within the Cherbourg community. Sandra Morgan chairs the management committee and the majority of the group's members live within the community (R. Hofmeyr, personal communication, August 21, 2013). The museum does apply for government and other grants to run various projects, but is not funded; the museum generates its finances through activities such as tourism and education (R. Hofmeyr, personal communication, August 21, 2013). Budburra Books, for example, is a small publishing house that operates from the Precinct and produces a range of materials including educational books and short films (Budburra Books, 2012, "About us"; R. Hofmeyr, personal communication, August 21, 2013). The museum's financial autonomy allows it to also maintain autonomy in its management, and therefore also in its purpose. This demonstrates a significant and empowering step for the Cherbourg community because, as Ames (1992) points out, autonomy such as this allows indigenous communities to "[reclaim] their own histories from anthropologists and others so that they may exert more control over how their cultures are presented to themselves and to others" (p. 79). The Cherbourg community represents itself for both itself and others through this museum.

Détourning the modernist museum

What the Ration Shed Museum has achieved is a détournement (Debord, 1967/1977) of the modernist construct of the museum; it appropriates aspects of the form and function of the traditional museum in order to meet the current needs of the local community, while at the same time exposing the ideological foundations of this quintessentially western modernist institution. Duclos (1994) describes this as a paradox inherent to the post-museum, whereby the museum seeks to challenge dominant institutional discourse from within the parameters of that discourse. The result is that the museum itself becomes a self-reflexive artefact (Duclos, 1994).

There are certainly some similarities between the traditional modernist museum and this post-museum. The Ration Shed Museum seeks to construct a narrative, as did the modernist museum. Many display practices reflect those of the modernist museum, including selective use of the ubiquitous glass case (see Figures 3, 4, 10), some labelling conventions (see Figures 6, 7, 15) and even the title of 'museum'. Much of the museum's information is organised chronologically, and a large timeline dominates the ration shed building (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: A timeline is used to chronologically organise images and information

However, the overall intent of the Ration Shed Museum is fundamentally different to that of the western modernist museum. Most notably, the Ration Shed Museum seeks to construct a very different narrative – in fact, something of a counter-narrative – to the grand narratives typical of the western modernist museum. The Ration Shed Museum expresses a history that had been silenced by dominant colonial practices, and enables this history to be told by the very people who were previously objectified. This is certainly not a museum that ignores the plundering, destruction and sheer brutality necessary for cultural domination, and the exhibits allow little denial of the role of the colonial state in the establishment and subsequent living conditions at Cherbourg. By exposing conflict and addressing difficult issues in this way, the Ration Shed Museum performs an important function of the post-museum: that of redressing social injustice (Marstine, 2008).

The Ration Shed Museum's détournement of the western modern museum can also be seen in curatorial choices about both what is displayed and how this is presented. The exhibits often demonstrate a sense of irony as they uncover and challenge the power dynamics of Cherbourg's colonial origins. The former superintendent's office, for example, has been détourned to house displays that testify to an oppressive colonial rule, including archival copies of government Acts and on-site paperwork, and images and products of the settlement's trade houses (see Figure 7). The former superintendent's office – once a symbol of absolute control over the Aboriginal people of Cherbourg – now exposes the day-to-day bureaucracy of colonial oppression and helps to tell the stories of those it once ruled.

Figure 7: The former superintendent's office exposes oppressive colonial rule

Representing a community

It is important to note that the Ration Shed Museum does not actually seek to display artefacts from Cherbourg's colonial history in order to somehow relive past brutalities or prove injustices. For the museum committee, this "is about understanding what happened in the past and understanding how the past has shaped the present" (RSM, 2013a, "About Cherbourg: Cherbourg Today", para. 2). For today's residents of Cherbourg, this museum serves not to simply display the past so much as to seek a deeper collective understanding of the past in order to move forward. This museum is about reclaiming voices and identities (Ames, 1992), and provides a medium through which the Cherbourg community lays claim to both its history and its future.

In conjunction with this understanding of the past, the museum performs an equally important role in representing everyday life in Cherbourg today and aims to present a more positive view of this community (RSM, 2013a, "Information: Help and sponsor", para. 1). It recognises the shifting, complex and ambiguous identities of the Cherbourg community both in the past and the present. The historical timeline in the ration shed, for example, leads the viewer to 'Many Tribes, One Mob', a photographic celebration of the people of Cherbourg today that illustrates the ways in which historical influences have affected social, familial and cultural identities (see Figure 8). Similarly, aspects of both personal and collective identities are symbolically depicted in artworks displayed on museum walls and throughout the physical environs of the precinct (see Figure 9).

Figure 8: *'Many Tribes, One Mob'*

Figure 9: *Contemporary works by local artists depict identities and histories*

In many cases, community members themselves have constructed these contemporary representations. One current art exhibition titled 'Strong Women Shadow Boxes', for example, was created by a number of local women wishing to represent a portrait of the resilience, confidence and hope of the women of Cherbourg (see Figure 10). Practices such as this are notably dialogic, and contribute to the on-going conversation between the museum and its community.

Figure 10: *Strong Women Shadow Boxes art exhibition*

Visitor engagement and positioning

Characteristics of the post-museum have also been expressed through curatorial choices that guide the ways in which visitors engage with the museum and its exhibits. In addition to the physical layout of the historical precinct and museum, the curators have incorporated a range of sensory experiences in order to mediate this engagement.

The modernist public museum has traditionally placed higher value on the more 'noble' sense of sight, presenting displays in glass cabinets and preventing physical contact with exhibits (Classen & Howes, 2006). In contrast to this, the Ration Shed Museum uses senses in addition to sight to actively invite audience participation. As Classen and Howes (2006) explain, this has the effect of decentring the western emphasis on the gaze and moving the audience's engagement beyond passive observation. Visitors to the Ration Shed Museum are positioned as active and situated beings, and the museum invites visitors into museal discourse through sensory interaction. Some displays are made available for visitors to physically touch (see Figure 11), and recorded oral histories are available for listening. Artefacts such as colonial furniture and sculptural artworks are incorporated into the

functionality of the museum and routinely used by visitors (see Figure 12). Even tea and coffee is sometimes 'rationed out' for large groups from the original shed window, promoting a bodily engagement in the process of ration-giving (see Figure 13).

Figure 11: Visitors are invited to handle some displays

Figure 12: Colonial furniture and sculptural artworks are used by visitors

Figure 13: The original ration shed window is sometimes used to 'ration out' refreshments for large groups.

The multi-sensory modes of audience engagement at the Ration Shed Museum give the impression that these displays – and the stories that they tell – are still very much connected to the present. The viewer is positioned within this particular time and place rather than as a tourist of a foreign past, and as such is invited to participate and respond. A display about the work of ethnographer Caroline Tennant-Kelly, for example, includes blackboard areas where modern-day visitors may record responses or additions to the display (see Figure 14). This adds depth and dialogue to otherwise static information, and suggests that this particular ethnographic work is still open for discussion.

Figure 14: Visitors can record responses to some displays

At times the exhibits reveal a wry humour that demonstrates the resilience of the Cherbourg community. Simultaneously, however, these serve to disrupt historical power relationships and to position visitors – particularly non-indigenous visitors – *as* visitors. As a non-indigenous visitor myself, this experience is not always comfortable as my inherited sense of entitlement is gently challenged and I am held accountable for my relationship with this community. This disruption first occurs at the front gate to the precinct, and again as I enter the former superintendent's office (see Figure 17). I must announce myself, and seek permission to engage; upon entering the site, I have become highly aware of my Self. Exhibits that position the viewer in this manner serve to establish boundaries, remind visitors of both their own and the museum's subjectivity, invert the gaze of the Other and further assert the agency of the museum.

The museum as a situated subject

At the same time as it positions its visitors, the museum positions *itself* as a socially and culturally situated subject through the pedagogies it employs when engaging with its viewers. The museum draws upon traditional indigenous methods of sharing knowledge as described by Simpson (2008) in order to represent the Aboriginal community and peoples of Cherbourg. Indigenous epistemes and practices have been utilised in some of the museum's choices of visual representations, integration of oral narrative and personal reflection, and the manner in which some information has been categorised.

Various methods of visual representation are incorporated into formal exhibits, many of which are more popularly associated with expressions of indigenous knowledges than with western museal pedagogies. The museum's deliberate use of these methods implicitly challenges modernist western understandings of the 'official' presentation of information, not

only because conventional museal expressions of knowledge have been decentred but because the boundaries of scientific discourse have been blurred. In the ration shed itself, the first formal exhibit – and a preface to the timeline – is a painted map of Queensland representing the removal of various clan groups to the Cherbourg settlement (see Figure 15). In the former boys' dormitory a ceremonial shield sits alongside western-style plaques in commemoration of former dormitory residents (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Different forms of visual representation are utilised

Most exhibits throughout the museum are conventionally labelled, but oral narrative is also utilised to add a more humanistic insight and depth to the displays. As with many indigenous museums described by Simpson (2008), the physical exhibits at the Ration Shed Museum are simply a starting point, and the yarns with museum staff are considered integral to the museum experience. This quite literally gives the museum a 'voice', an identity, and a means of interacting more intimately with its visitors. The physical exhibits mediate this communication by enabling the development of a shared cultural logic and providing dialogic focal points for conversations between visitors and museum staff (Enfield, 2000; Watermeyer, 2012). Furthermore, the use of oral narrative in this manner challenges modernist museal pedagogies by privileging personal reflection alongside 'facts'. This again embraces the subjectivity and situatedness of the museum, and privileges human experiences, subjective narratives and relationships alongside the conventional western museal presentation of 'scientific' knowledge (Simpson, 2008).

The contents of the museum as a whole are often organised into categories and sequences that highlight relationships and express an indigenous epistemology as described by Simpson (2008). Some displays, for example, are based partly around original clan groups and familial relationships, and colonial photographs often sit alongside contemporary artefacts. Contextually-specific social changes over time are also emphasised through display choices. For example, the main hall of the former boys' dormitory is adorned with artworks by today's children of the community (see Figure 16), serving to remind visitors of the original use of the building while contrasting Cherbourg's problematic past with its hopes for the future.

Figure 16: The former boys' dormitory now displays artworks by children of the community

Use of technology

In recent years, the Ration Shed Museum has utilised technology to expand its administrative, educative, research and archival functions. On an operational level, the construction of the museum's website (rationshed.com.au) allows for more efficient administrative functions such as notification of opening hours, booking arrangements and public donations. On a social level, it opens the door for a more global engagement in indigenous and museal discourse, and the capacity for wider information gathering and dissemination of educative materials. The museum also maintains a Facebook page, enabling visitors and community members to keep in touch with the museum's activities and further strengthening its educative and social agendas.

The museum's research and archival functions are now conducted largely through the operation of the Cherbourg Memory project website (cherbourgmemory.org). This is a separate website operated by the Ration Shed Museum, and utilises technology in order to both represent Cherbourg's history and to gather additional information about the settlement. The Cherbourg Memory describes itself as "a website, an archive, an educational resource, a recording project, a research data-base, a store of the people's stories and an interactive space for comments and engagement" (RSM, 2013b, "Home: Join the memory", para. 2). Community members, their families, fellow indigenous Australians and others associated with Cherbourg's history are encouraged to digitally record their own experiences in this "living archive" (RSM, 2013b, "Home: Join the memory", para. 2). This actively facilitates a proliferation of 'little narratives', and enables a truly participatory construction of history and identity. The archival structure of the website is modelled on the existing timeline in the ration shed, with information arranged in decade blocks that capture a narrative overview of Cherbourg's history. In addition to this, the website presents information in 'themes' that capture important aspects of life in Cherbourg. This digitally highlights the importance of relationships within this community, and again enables viewers to more deeply understand how Cherbourg's history has shaped its present. Computers are set up in the former superintendent's office for public access to the Cherbourg Memory.

Conclusion

Hooper-Greenhill's (2000) model of the post-museum has been regarded by theorists as critical, dialogic and hopeful (Macdonald, 2008; Marstine, 2008) but also criticised as under-analysed (Alivizatou, 2009) and idealised (Keene, 2009). However, the Ration Shed Museum demonstrates that the theoretical intent behind the post-museum may indeed be realised in a small, independent museum that is deeply embedded within its local community.

The Ration Shed Museum clearly demonstrates the critical, reflexive and dialogic nature of the post-museum. It challenges the ideologies and conventions of the modern museum in order to actively partake in an historical discourse on its own terms and set a more positive precedent for the future of this community. Simpson (2008) theorises the "intrinsic conflict [that] exists between traditional Aboriginal methods of controlling and communicating knowledge and the ideology and functions of the western museum" (p. 153). However, the ideologies that underpin the post-museum are fundamentally different to those of the modern public museum, and the strength of the post-museum lies partly in the recognition and exploration of such conflicts and contradictions (Duclos, 1994; Marstine, 2008). Knowledge is understood in the post-museum as constructed and multi-dimensional, and representation as inherently political. The Ration Shed Museum shows us that historical narratives are subjective constructions, and that viewers can – and should – be consciously and deliberately implicated in the crafting of these narratives. It employs its own public pedagogies to negotiate an on-going process of reciprocation between its community and its visitors, and draws upon a shared cultural logic to provide a point of mediation for discursive engagement (Enfield, 2000; Watermeyer, 2012); the emerging result is one of "real cross-cultural exchange" (Marstine, 2008, p. 5).

Perhaps the most inspiring message delivered by the Ration Shed Museum to the broader museal community is that Hooper-Greenhill's (2000) future-oriented vision of the post-museum is indeed possible. The Ration Shed Museum draws upon critical postmodern theory in order to challenge modern western ideals and institutional pedagogies and practices, and to make meaningful connections to its community and its visitors. It affirms the validity of 'little narratives' in the constructions of both histories and futures and invites a dialogue with the Other that was not possible in the traditional museum. There is little argument that the modernist museum is dead, itself finally succumbing to a process of musealisation (Baudrillard, 1984). But in the small country town of Cherbourg, the post-museum is alive and well and ready for a chat.

Figure 17: Notices

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What do you know when you know something about history?

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ABSTRACT: What does it mean to know something about history? If you know "your" history, what is it that you know? For many, it is definitely about being able to provide dates, to state what happened or how people lived in the past; while for others it means being able to conduct genealogical research or being able to navigate in a video game that takes place in an historical environment. In a school context, the issue of knowledge is always central. Pupils and teachers meet in, around and through knowledge, and moreover, knowledge is assessed daily. This article addresses how pupils in the last years of the nine-year period of Swedish compulsory schooling regard knowledge about history. The aim is to investigate how Swedish 15 years old pupils in Grade 9 describe knowledge about history, as well as what type of knowledge about history pupils appear to hold.

KEYWORDS: Historical Knowledge, Secondary Education, Swedish Students

A topical problem

The discussion surrounding knowledge about history seems constant and on-going. It often intensifies with the rewriting of school curricula, such as the recent National Curriculum review in England, or when some journalist or researcher conducts a review of history textbooks. In many countries, discussions have taken place regarding the content and focus of history teaching. During the past decade in Sweden, the topic of knowledge and school quality has chiefly been brought forward by the school and education minister, who has talked about discipline and order in schools and about making knowledge requirements more stringent. The latter view is supported by a number of international studies that show that Swedish pupils have fallen behind regarding knowledge as well as problem solving skills (Martin, Mullis & Foy, 2008; OECD, 2007; OECD 2014). Likewise, analyses by the Swedish National Agency for Education supported the conclusions regarding falling results, the significance of teaching, and the important role of teachers (Skolverket, 2009; Vinterek, 2006; Thullberg, 2010). During 2008-2009, as a step in the work of raising the quality of schools, the government instructed the National Agency for Education to write new curricula for Swedish schools. These took effect during 2011, and for several years to come, will serve as guidance and governing documents for work in Swedish schools. For the subject of history a clear emphasis is placed on four spheres providing pupils with the necessary conditions for: (1) using a historical frame of reference; (2) critically interpreting and evaluating sources; (3) reflecting on how history has been used; and (4) using historical concepts to organize historical knowledge.

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Knowledge and thinking - an outlook to the west and to the east

One notices that there are several similarities when the main ideas in the Swedish curriculum, the four spheres, are placed in an international context, even if the Swedish curriculum is unusual regarding an emphasis on the uses of history. The wide approach to history in the Swedish curriculum corresponds to the English 'National Curriculum' (2007), which underlines that pupils develop their understanding when they ask and answer important questions, evaluate evidence, identify and analyse different interpretations of the past and learn to substantiate any arguments and judgements they make. In several respects, the Finnish national curriculum (2004) is rather similar to the English curriculum, outlining requirements for pupils to learn to obtain and use historical information, use and compare sources, understand that historical information can be interpreted in different ways and be able to assess future alternatives using historical change as an aid. As far as Sweden is concerned, the concept of knowledge in the new curricula is more nuanced than before and requirements are clearly stricter. At the same time, the National Agency for Education has implemented a program with national assesments in order to use the results as a measure of quality. The risk with this is firstly, that all quality aspects of knowledge are not measurable and therefore will not be made visible. Secondly, the view of knowledge can become narrow and only cover isolated and measurable special aspects of knowledge and skills. With that, there is a risk that deeper and more analytical knowledge is overlooked (Ball, 1996; Ball, 2010). The narrowness is also criticized in England, with the argument that the specialization can result in a "pick 'n' mix" history (Chapman, 2011, p. 46).

Internationally, during the last few decades there has been a substantial shift from teaching knowledge to teaching historical thinking, not least in England and in the United States. Historical thinking is also labelled as historical skills or conceptual thinking. To clarify, Veronica Boix-Mansilla (2000) describes historical thinking as a basis for investigating societal and individual experiences over time. Pupils should practice asking questions, formulating working hypotheses and interpreting information (Boix-Mansilla, 2000; Collingwood, 1961).

The development presented above is highly inspired by the works of the two English researchers Peter Lee and Denis Shemilt. They have been important in the development of the Anglo-American tradition of history didactics since the early 1980's when Shemilt presented wide ranging research into adolescent historical thinking (Shemilt, 1980), and during the last decade they have worked together. In their research they have proceeded from thinking of children and adolescents. In 1987 Shemilt (1987) outlined models for progression in adolescents' ideas about causation. By constructing frameworks of knowledge, young pupils get an overview of historical connections. Lee and Shemilt argue for frameworks as scaffolds that can be elaborated and filled with new and more complex content while pupils develop their skills (Lee & Shemilt, 2003; Shemilt, 2009; Howson & Shemilt, 2011). They stress that 'Second Order Concepts' are the tools to construct such a framework. These concepts do not refer to First Order Concepts, straightforward historical terms such as peasants' revolt, nobility or revolution, but rather concepts such as change, comparison, evidence and continuity. During the last decade teachers have applied and developed Second Order Concepts in their practice and theorized the results. For example Rachel Foster and her pupils have analyzed the concepts of *change* and *continuity* in students' thinking. Inspired by Lee (2005) they put focus on change as a process (Foster, 2008).

These concepts imply a different knowledge, namely knowledge in the form of overall perspectives, analysis and comparison. That kind of knowledge is a way for pupils to apply more complex forms of historical accounts – content *and* process – and the current Swedish curriculum is heading in that direction. In this article, intentionally there is no specific

definition of the concept of knowledge. Instead, the point is to analyse how pupils describe, express and define knowledge about history.

State of the Art in Sweden

In a study in a Swedish context, Mikael Berg (2010) has used questionnaires and life stories from upper secondary school teachers in order to categorize their different kinds of subject understanding. Berg found three kinds of subject understanding, even if combinations do occur. The largest group of teachers has an education-oriented subject understanding, in which orientation and knowledge about society's history and culture is essential. A group of teachers almost as large represents a criticism-oriented subject understanding, which involves critically analyzing historical and societal structures and contexts. Methodical competencies and "knowing *how* knowledge" characterize this subject understanding. The third group of teachers is significantly smaller and emphasizes identity creation by making visible both the pupils' own history as well as that of others. These teachers claim to emphasize international and social issues (Berg, 2010). The broad subject understanding that the teachers express in Berg's study is however conspicuously absent when teachers assess knowledge. David Rosenlund (2011) has analysed what kinds of knowledge are demanded and activated in Swedish upper secondary teachers' written exams and their instructions on examination papers. On average, the teachers address only 29 % of the goals that are written in the Swedish subjects' curricula in *Lpf 94*. Since exams usually reflect the focus of the teaching, it is likely that the teaching is also characterized by knowledge acquired by memorizing and frequent epoch terms in a reconstructionistic view of history (Rosenlund, 2011). Regarding historical methods and source criticism, Rosenlund (2011) maintains that only a few of the teachers ask for this kind of knowledge. I can stress that in the new curriculum that aspect of knowledge is obligatory, just as in England. For advancing didactic research it is now essential to study how pupils describe and define knowledge about history.

Material and methods

My aim was to investigate what kind of historical knowledge could be found among Swedish ninth-grade pupils. In an exploratory study the pupils' definitions are focused and therefore I will not come up with an unequivocal definition of the concept of knowledge per se. Instead I use a typology as an analytical framework in which I posit the pupils' statements.

A complex and difficult to survey picture of knowledge emerges from the introductory discussion. In order to be able to handle the analysis of basic and advanced kinds of knowledge in an orderly fashion, I decided to use Bloom´s revised taxonomy. For some teachers and scholars, Bloom´s taxonomy is obsolete and avoided. Nonetheless for my analyses the taxonomy makes it possible to distinguish and characterize concepts of knowledge in a way that is illustrative. In the revised taxonomy from 2001, theories about cognitive development as well as more nuanced perspectives on kinds of knowledge and cognitive skills have been worked into the model (Anderson & Krathwool, 2001). At least for me, the point of a two dimensional model is that it makes apparent the complexity encompassed in the concept of knowledge.

Dimensions of Knowledge	Cognitive Processes					
	Remembering	Understanding	Applying	Analyzing	Evaluating/ Appraising	Creating
Facts						
Concepts						
Procedure						
Metacognitive						

Table 1. Bloom's Revised Taxonomy

The study is based on an analysis of original source material. In order to design a study that addresses how pupils view knowledge about history and how their knowledge of history is expressed, I chose to use questionnaires. The advantage with questionnaires is that the respondents have time to reflect on the questions, to think about their answers and to reconsider them. Another alternative would be to conduct interviews; however, I wanted a somewhat larger set of basic data in the study and using interviews would be limiting in that respect.

During winter 2011, three ninth-grade classes responded to two questionnaires. A total of 63 pupils answered the first questionnaire and 59 pupils answered the second. The study was thus based on 112 questionnaires answered by 63 individuals.[1] The first questionnaire included open questions regarding what the pupils think is interesting in history, what they think is important in history, and what you know if you know something about history. The questions were also open in the sense that they are not associated with any specific material in the teaching of history, which means that the pupils need not be inhibited by the anxiety of giving a wrong answer. Based on how the pupils described and stressed what is important and interesting and what you know when you know something about history, I placed their answers in the typology.

The second questionnaire was quite different. Using the profoundly disturbing events in a passage from the book *Ordinary Men* by Christopher Browning, I sought to establish how pupils react and ask questions to a narrative that provides a clear context and is highly charged. The same text has been used in Rachel Foster´s project (Foster, 2011a) to train students' ability to identify arguments in history books. The power of the story was a way to engage the students. Empathic and moral aspects often stimulate pupils' interest and provide a forceful way to study the past (Ammert, 2013; Foster, 2011b).

In the section cited, the Reserve Police Battalion 101 is to evacuate the Polish village of Józefów and send able-bodied Jews to Lublin. Women, children and people not fit for work are to be taken into the woods and executed by the execution patrols. However the commander, Major Trapp, gives the soldiers the opportunity to avoid participating in the killing. Only a few accept the offer. After the text, I ask questions that address how the pupils interpret the text and what questions they would like to ask of it. The purpose of the questions is in part to see how pupils react to a text with a clear and strongly charged content. What do the pupils emphasize as the primary essence of the text? Is it the fact-oriented segments, is it understanding and explanations, or is it empathy and values?

How do pupils describe knowledge about history?

> You know particular dates or important facts. History is a must. (Pupil II:1:1)

> If you know history, for example I know a little about the former Swedish king, Gustavus Vasa. I remember when we read about him in sixth-grade and I remember a lot, and that means I know history. (Pupil I:1:13)

In the most frequent answers to the question of what you know when you know something about history, the pupils state that history deals with knowing about events, dates, people and facts. Using Anderson and Krathwohl's taxonomy, I classified the quote above under knowledge of facts. The objects of knowledge are therefore the fact-related parts of a larger context. The verb expresses the cognitive process, that is to say what someone does with the knowledge. In the quote above, this means remembering and knowing. I therefore placed these quotes under the heading Remembering, as an example of recognizing and remembering.

Dimensions of Knowledge	Cognitive Processes					
	Remembering	Understanding	Applying	Analyzing	Evaluating/ Appraising	Creating
Facts	32	27			3	
Concepts	1			1		
Procedure						
Metacognitive					1	

Table 2. What do you know when you know something about history? (Number of answers)

Of a total of 65 answers by pupils, 33 are examples of remembering. A majority of the pupils who state that knowing something about history is to remember, emphasize "important people, and dates" (Pupil III:1:10). It is principal figures and crucial events that they emphasize. A smaller group of pupils chose instead to point out that it is knowledge about how people lived that is knowing about history: "You know about how people lived back then" (Pupil II:1:2).

Among the answers that belong to the group for the cognitive process understanding, a number of examples that can be categorized as explaining stand out.

> You know the reasons for why the war broke out, you know about the events, how they happened and their consequences, what happened after the war ended. (Pupil I:1:13. Additional examples can be found in III:1:19 and III:1:22.)

The subgroup *explaining* means that the pupils can explain how the segments in a course of events are related to one another, and that the causes lead to the events just as the events have consequences. There are no examples of contextual causal explanations in the questionnaire answers, since the questions to the pupils are general and do not address specific material. The answers therefore lie on a general and typological level. There are relatively many pupils, 11, who mean that explanations are the same as knowing about history.

Under the heading *explaining*, I also place the answers suggesting seeing and understanding relationships. This means cognitively understanding events in terms of cause and effect. Thus, there is a distinction between understanding relationships and drawing conclusions. Drawing conclusions means that one is able to see patterns or understand a coherent picture from examples (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). Nine pupils emphasize the ability to draw conclusions as being essential to knowing history:

> You can understand people's motives, development and thoughts. How these have developed during the course of history. Compare inventions and events and realize why they were needed or what caused them. Maybe even say what you think is right or wrong in wars and such. (Pupil III:1:16)

The pupil gives a complex description that contains components of interpreting, comparing and evaluating. The crucial formulations are the active verbs "comparing" and "realizing", which together indicate that the pupil draws conclusions using these activities.

> Comparing, analyzing. Not making mistakes and having knowledge you can use in the future. (Pupil I:1:4)

The pupil is certainly concise, but what is meant is more than that. The recitation of the words "comparing" and "analyzing" are not explained or commented on here. However, the fact that the sentence is about not making mistakes and having knowledge one can use in the future is worth attention. The pupil means that history can provide teachings that make it possible to avoid future mistakes. Whether this is actually the case can be debated; however, the reasoning expressed is that one uses what one has learned to draw conclusions. Furthermore, the formulation about readiness for action in the future implies that the pupil means that people, based on drawn conclusions, have the readiness to use knowledge and act on it. Readiness for action indicates that the reasoning is hypothetical and that it is not a question of concrete application, leading to the answer being categorized as drawing conclusions. In this category of answers, we also find those answers that mean that historical knowledge is to know what has happened, so that it does not happen again (Pupil I:1:8; II:1:4; III:1:4).

Another subcategory of *understanding* is *comparing*. The pupils do not give any concrete comparisons, but they answer that knowing history is to be able to compare. Pupil III:1:6 describes it in this manner: "You can talk with people about the past. You can compare the past with the present."

> I think that you can react in different situations. Because if you see that something is about to happen, for example that someone is about to gain power, then you can recognize this from an historical context and see that it isn't going to lead to anything good. You can see that the events don't happen again. (Pupil II:1:4)

The keywords in this quote are that one can recognize and identify something from an earlier situation and that it is not a desirable chain of events. My interpretation is that the pupil's wording, "you can see that" actually means, "you can insure that". In other words, I read this to mean that the pupil thinks that one has the ability to stop what is happening. In this line of reasoning there is an appraising judgement, and thus criteria for discerning which events are seen as good or not so good, respectively. Against the background of the criteria for evaluation, the pupil writes that one can react. Acting means to criticize and observe that something undesirable is about to happen. The quotation is an example of the cognitive process *evaluating*.

Of the answers that clearly differ from the most frequent answers, there are two statements by pupils that touch on a different kind of knowledge (along the Y-axis) than knowledge of facts. One of these covers knowledge of concepts and is stated as follows:

> You can divide events into centuries, for example, according to historians the 20th century began in 1914 and ended in 1990. You also know that causes, events, consequences are the most important things in history." (Pupil I:1:1)

The example demonstrates how 'century' as a structural principle for periodization is used. Knowledge about classification and categories ties together different factual components. In addition, the pupil's answer suggests the ability to reason about the concept of century. A simple mathematical division in even centuries is abandoned for a more thematic or functional division according to events and patterns that unite a period. The pupil briefly mentions the so-called *short 20th century*, from the beginning of World War I to the end of the Cold War. I interpret the reasoning to fall under the cognitive category *analyzing*, to be able to organize chronological parts into a context-bearing whole.

Also in the answer is an example of metacognitive knowledge, which according to Anderson and Krathwohl is the most abstract.

> If you know history, then you decide yourself what you want to know. (Pupil I:1:21)

The quote cannot, with any certainty, be placed under the heading *Strategic knowledge*, which includes knowledge about learning theories or knowledge about ones' own learning. According to Anderson and Krathwohl, strategic knowledge entails mastery of general strategies for learning. Such strategies relate more to pedagogic-psychological aspects than to knowledge within or about a subject. Instead, I define the metacognitive dimension of knowledge as such that the pupil can, on a meta-level, relate to a subject and its content and reflect on it. In Bloom's revised taxonomy, the authors open up for such reasoning when they write that "[m]etacognitive knowledge is unique because the objectives require a different perspective on what constitutes a correct answer." (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001, p 69). Based on that kind of reasoning, pupil I:1:21 demonstrates a metacognitive kind of knowledge. The cognitive process that is associated with the knowledge is evaluative, and more specifically, the process that involves criticizing. With support from criteria, which involves an individual's factual and methodical related knowledge, enables the individual to express opinions on what is worth knowing.

What forms of knowledge do pupils demonstrate?

In order to cover several aspects of what kinds of knowledge pupils demonstrate, the analysis starts from two different sets of questions, which are each presented separately below. The overall picture may indicate which forms of knowledge the pupils' answers are examples of.

The questions of *How do you interpret the text?* and *What does the text say to you?* are asked with the purpose that the answers will reflect the pupils' spontaneous expressions of knowledge about history.

Concerning the question of cognitive processes, emphasis has been moved from *remembering* to *understanding*. Regarding the question about what the text says to the pupils, the answers that specify remembering make up 20 of the 50 answers. One example is:

> It is a retelling of WWII and one person's experiences. It doesn't say much except that many did not want to shoot Jews. (Pupil I:2:2)

In the answer, the pupil expresses some of the basic elements from the text. The pupil does not use his/her own words.

Twenty-nine of the answers are of the explanatory kind, and most common among these are those where the pupils draw conclusions:

> It depicts the psychological difficulties that resulted for those who were forced to execute Jews. (Pupil II:2:9)

The pupil demonstrates some level of certainty about her ability to understand the text. She says nothing about the obvious events, but rather captures one of the underlying threads found in the text. The pupil notes that the German soldiers hesitated in the face of killing and writes that the text depicts their psychological difficulties. These last words express that the soldiers were forced to kill, which however, was not the case in the text.

There are also a number of interpretive answers, meaning that the pupils capture the essence of the text and reformulate it using their own words (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001, p. 70). The citation below exemplifies how the pupil chooses some different wordings, but in general restate the text.

> I understand how the author, the narrator sees this and how he feels about it. The Jews were meaningless to the Germans. The strong Jewish men had to work, while the weak, women, old people and children were shot dead. They exploited the Jewish men and promised them they would live, which in most cases never happened. (Pupil I:2:5)

There are some nuances that indicate that the pupil can translate the message in the text. The sentence "The Jews were meaningless to the Germans" is an example of this.

A summary of the text's most important content where the essential parts of the text are captured is categorized as *summarizing*:

> This text is very moving. That it was like this back then is very scary. The text says a lot. It tells about how it was to be a man in Germany and how one might get such a horrible assignment. How women, children and old people could be shot, just like that. They had done nothing.
>
> The text also tells how frightened they were and that anything could happen without them knowing. But that there were also strong men that did not want to carry out the mission. (Pupil II:2:4)

The line of demarcation is in many cases narrow, and within the category *understanding*, many of the answers fall under more than one subcategory. However, I have allowed each pupil's answer to have one fixed place in the matrix. Pupil III:2:8 however, falls somewhat outside of the frame:

> It shows another side of the second World War. I thought that you were forced to kill, and if you refused, then you were shot. (Pupil II:2:8)

The answer can be interpreted as meaning that the pupil draws a conclusion from the text. On closer examination, I argue that the pupil's answer is actually an example of *distinguishing* parts of a pattern. She observes and explains that it does not seem like everyone was forced to kill or that all soldiers blindly obeyed orders. The pupil analyzes the content of the text and recognizes distinguishing qualities in the story. Consequently, the answer is an example of an analytical cognitive process (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001, p. 80).

The second question that is a basis for the analysis of what kinds of knowledge or forms of knowledge the pupils express is *What questions do you want to ask of the text after you have*

read it? From their answers, I try to understand what the pupils find relevant and interesting, how they read and interpret the text, and thus on which level the knowledge types can be localized. What characterizes this question is that the pupils must be creative and formulate a question themselves. In this manner, they are required to have a good grasp of the content. Twenty pupils have answered the question and of these, 12 express knowledge that is about understanding, and in more detail, *explaining*.

> What did the men who did not step aside think? What happened to the men that did it? (Pupil II:2:1)

The questions cannot be answered with facts directly from the text, but instead lead onward to a cause and consequence relationship. Questions that even more obviously touch on cause and effect can be found with pupils II:2:14: "Why didn't all of them step to the side?" and III:2:15: "Why did this situation occur at all?"

The text touches on profound human values and several of the pupils are shocked and react to the description of how the Jews were to be executed.

> I would want to ask if it felt hard killing small children. (Pupil III:2:13)

The pupil starts from an implicit belief that it is wrong to kill and that it is especially wrong to kill children. When the Nazis' actions are weighed against that attitude, the result is a question about how the soldiers may have felt about the assignment.

> How could people live with themselves afterwards. (Pupil III:2:17)

The pupil asks a question that takes its starting point the same belief as the above, that is to say that human life is inviolable. Of the 20 answers, two express an evaluative and critical cognitive process. There is also one answer that clearly deviates from the others as it touches on the knowledge type *knowledge of procedure*:

> I want to know if all of this is true and how it felt to be so powerless. (Pupil II:2:3)

In the first stage of her wondering, the pupil is open to finding out whether the text is documentary or fictional. This type of knowledge touches not only on the content, but also on its form and a question of whether the content can be verified. In terms of cognitive processes, the question is an example of an evaluative attempt. The pupil adopts a critical attitude towards the text and even if she does not express or apply principles of source criticism, I categorize the question as *evaluative*.

Dimensions of Knowledge	Cognitive Processes					
	Remembering	Understanding	Applying	Analyzing	Evaluating/ Appraising	Creating
Facts	a) 16 b) 5	a) 33 b) 12	b) 1	a) 1	b) 1	
Concepts						
Procedure					b) 1	
Metacognitive						

Table 3. What forms of knowledge do pupils demonstrate? (Number of answers)
a) = How do You interpret the text? (50 answers); b) = What questions would You like to ask of the text? (20 answers)

Conclusions

The empirical results show that the knowledge type that the pupils in Sweden describe deals predominately with knowledge of facts. The idea of a material-centred knowledge of history appears to be deeply rooted, even if differences come to light and the picture becomes more nuanced when cognitive processes are analyzed. When pupils describe and discuss what they think you know when you know something about history, it is primarily (a little more than 50 %) fact-based memorizing knowledge that is the core, which is something earlier studies have also demonstrated. A somewhat smaller percentage of pupils say that explanations and the ability to draw conclusions are most essential when it comes to knowledge about history. Comparisons are also emphasized. A few pupils emphasize ethical and evaluative aspects. In general, the answers correspond and are quite in agreement with the kind of knowledge Swedish upper-secondary school teachers ask of their students in written examinations.

The study's other general question is about what kind of knowledge about history pupils express when they ask questions, and in this way "do history". The cognitive processes of understanding, explaining, drawing conclusions and evaluating dominate (65 %) in this more concrete and material-related context. The answers are displaced towards more advanced cognitive processes. The cognitive processes that pupils express become more complex and abstract when: a) pupils act creatively by asking questions about or directed to the past; or b) when there is clear material around which one can reason. In other words, there is a distinction between pupils talking about history and pupils doing history and the two do not correlate.

The results raise a number of new questions: Are the pupils unaccustomed to talking about knowledge and reflecting on what they can and what they are expected to know? Why do the pupils demonstrate cognitive processes in historical knowledge on a more advanced level in situations with a clear content and when they themselves are active, than when they describe what it means to know something about history? Why do the pupils describe a traditional ideal about encyclopaedic knowledge of facts, which in reality lies on a more basal cognitive level than the kind of knowledge they themselves demonstrate? One possible explanation may be that pupils often strive for quick and simple answers, especially considering the availability of information and facts that today's information and communications technology makes possible.

Does the strong values-charged content of the questions in the second questionnaire mean that the pupils have been reached, stimulated or provoked and because of this, demonstrate more active kinds of knowledge? Here, there is probably another partial explanation. These questions should be put in relation to David Rosenlund's study, which shows that Swedish history teachers usually allow their pupils to face examination assignments that primarily measure a reconstructionist view of the scholastic subject of history. This means that knowledge is seen as fixed and that it can only be perceived in one way, while at the same time, more interpretive assignments are seldom used. My study indicates that the pupils can demonstrate other, and more advanced kinds of knowledge and skills than what they are allowed to show in written examinations given by their teachers.

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Endnotes

[1] Sixty-three pupils have answered the questionnaires. The amount of data is rather small and no certain conclusions can be drawn. Neither can I claim that the data is representative. On the other hand, the study is strongly focused, which means that observations can be made and tendencies can be discerned. The classes come from three schools, one school in a smaller Swedish town (denoted I), one school in a middle-sized Swedish town (denoted II) and one school from a large Swedish city (denoted III). The questionnaires are denoted 1 and 2, respectively, and the pupils are randomly numbered from 1, accordingly, for example, Pupil I:2:14 is the response from the 14th pupil from the small Swedish town school to the second questionnaire.

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History beyond borders: Peace education, history textbook revision, and the internationalization of history teaching in the twentieth century

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ABSTRACT: This article summarizes the findings of the "History beyond borders: The international history textbook revision, 1919-2009" project, which explored the internationalization of history education. The different studies within the project focused on ideas of peace education, relations between different revisioning projects, the interaction between different historical cultures, and the relation between guidelines from international organizations and national curricula and syllabi. The findings indicate that there were pronounced connections between peace associations and history teaching, and that the national perspective was built in to methods of internationalization. The process of implementation was extended throughout the twentieth century. The different arenas, projects and organizations that engaged in the process were also connected in the making of a European educational space which they both influenced, and were influenced by.

KEYWORDS: History Textbooks, Peace Education, Internationalization, History Teaching.

Introduction

It has been stated that history education in general, and history textbooks in particular, showcased extreme nationalism around the world until sometime after World War II, and even as long as until the 1970s. In some sense, history education and history textbooks are still nationalistic today in terms of their framing and narrative. However, very few scholars would say that the nationalistic content of today is the same as it was in the beginning of the twentieth century. The idea of a new kind of history after World War II emanates from the notion that the nationally centered narratives of history education began to be questioned as a result of the war and that nationalistic sentiment started to fade in the 1960s and 1970s (Tingsten, 1969; FitzGerald, 1979; Giordano, 2003). It has also been argued that history education has been debated far longer, and that the national focus in textbook narratives has been – at least to some extent – questioned and debated since the latter part of the nineteenth century (Carlgren, 1928; Andersson, 1979; Moreau, 2003; Macintyre & Clark, 2003). It has also been stated that international collaboration on different levels – both formal and informal – was a key feature in changing education, especially during the interwar period (Kolasa 1962; Iriye, 2002; Fuchs, 2007). However, it could also be claimed that the transnational connections between ideas and practice in changing history education have not been investigated adequately.

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How did this alleged international collaboration on textbooks and curricula influence history teaching during the twentieth century? Which individuals and organizations were involved in the process, and under what ideological principles did they discuss history teaching? These were questions that the international project on educational history and history didactics, "History beyond borders: The international history textbook revision, 1919–2009" – financed by The Swedish research council and Umeå University, and directed by professor Daniel Lindmark – wanted to answer. The project was a major success in uncovering new insights into networks in the history of education and the measures taken in the internationalization of the school subject of history.

The project was carried out in collaboration between the Swedish universities in Umeå and Karlstad and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. Four dissertations in history and history didactics (Nygren, 2011a; Faure, 2013; Elmersjö, 2013a; Nilsson, 2014) and a number of articles in international peer-reviewed journals and yearbooks (for example Elmersjö & Lindmark, 2010; Lindmark, 2010; Holmgren & Lindmark, 2011, Faure, 2011; Nygren, 2011b; 2011c; 2012; Elmersjö, 2013b) were the result of the research conducted for this project between 2008 and 2013. The scientific results covered several fields as the project grew larger over the years.

From the onset, the purpose of the project was to establish new knowledge on the development of history teaching by focusing on the history of textbook revisions in Europe and the connections between different multilateral textbook collaborations. However, the project also turned towards the ideas of "nation" within the peace education discourse in the interwar period, the history of textbook revision and its relation to textbook research, and the intersection of historical cultures within the context of history textbook revision. This article aims to encapsulate the project's contributions to the field of educational history and history didactics.

Previous research on the history of history education in different countries seems to indicate an almost universal development of the teaching of history in the last fifty years. (Asher, 1978; Davies, 2000; Marsden, 2001; Cajani, 2006). The nation, as the main protagonist in the historical narrative, has been undermined from two directions. First, it has become more common to study history below the national level, for example by using social groups as the historical narrative's central characters. Second, transnational entities, such as Europe or even the world on a global scale, have also gained in importance. This is not to say that the history of the nation has been deemed unimportant, only that its importance has been significantly reduced (Soysal & Schissler, 2005).

The negotiation of history in an international context, and to what extent that negotiation has been embraced in a simultaneous context of national negotiation, has not been properly examined. Furthermore, the ethical, ideological, and scientific logic behind such negotiations has not been investigated sufficiently. When the relationship between history textbook revision, national peace education, and the implementation of transnational ideas into history education has been explored, it has often been in the form of accounts by scholars or organizations that themselves were involved in producing history teaching with a certain ideological or ethical framing (Schüddekopf, 1967; Stobart, 1999; Pingel, 1999; 2000; Korostelina & Lässig, 2013). The project "History beyond borders" was developed to contribute to this field by providing outside scrutiny of the relationship between textbook revisions, international organizations, and national history education in the twentieth century.

Ideas of peace education and their relation to history teaching before 1939

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the movement for peace was – in large part – driven by female schoolteachers (Storr, 2010; Goodman, 2012) and they were often opposed by (male) historians and accused of being driven by political (pacifist), not scientific, sentiments (Elmersjö & Lindmark, 2010; Elmersjö, 2013a). World War I served as a catalyst for these debates. In the interwar period historians could no longer avoid taking a stand against the most glorifying and belligerent parts of the national narrative, where their own nation was described as the most prominent of nations and where its historical wars were described as heroic, well-needed, defensive resistance against still present enemies that threaten national sovereignty. Still, the nationalistic sentiment had to be preserved in the intellectual climate of the time and a "patriotic pacifism" was voiced (Cooper, 1991; Siegel, 2004). International organizations had, already before the war, started to investigate how history could be taught in schools in a way that would satisfy the need for national social cohesion without violating the national pride of other nations, but these investigations became more organized and more targeted in the interwar period. In Sweden, the history subject taught in schools was the target of numerous publications by liberal politicians and schoolteachers as early as the 1880s, and this escalated in the wake of the war. The politically and military-centered history was being questioned, and demands for a more culturally oriented history education for children were put forward (Thelin, 1996; Nygren, 2011b; Nilsson, 2014). One of the subprojects of "History beyond borders" specifically examined the ideas of peace education in the interwar period and their relation to the Swedish history subject in schools (Nilsson, 2014).

In 1919 the Peace Association of Swedish Schools (*Svenska skolornas fredsförening*) was formed when an already-established peace organization for female teachers (*Svenska lärarinnornas fredsgrupp*) began to include male members. However, the new association continued to have a predominantly female board and could be described as part of a women's movement for peace, even with male members. The association had a special interest in history education focusing on how the history of wars was presented in schools. In accordance with ideas from the end of the nineteenth century, the belief that history education for young children should focus more on culture and the cultivation of peaceful sentiment was firmly established in the association. They also focused on the concepts of patriotism and chauvinism and promoted a sense of nation that included a "sensible patriotism" without aggrieving other nations. The idea that history teaching had contributed to a view of war as necessary – and even longed-for – was not so much linked to the overall nationalism conveyed in history textbooks. Instead the criticism focused on how the histories of the wars themselves were taught; the criticism especially concentrated on the abstract, mythical, and romantic narratives of war in history textbooks (Nilsson, 2014).

Sweden was to some degree seen as a vanguard for peace education in the early interwar years (Nilsson, 2014). Toward the end of World War I, the public school debate in Sweden had turned in favor of the peace activists and the new curriculum for elementary schools from 1919 included instructions for history education that emphasized ideas from the peace activists' agenda and the need for more cultural history and a focus on the heroes of peace and social justice was acknowledged. As these ideas made their way into the new curriculum they could be used to change the focal point of history education toward modern and contemporary history, focusing on the rise of a peace movement in an international context and on the creation of the League of Nations. The pacifistic sentiment of the history syllabus in the curriculum for elementary schools was admired by peace advocates from other countries, but it was only a guiding principle for Swedish history education and not normative. It also took

until 1935 for similar ideas to make it into the history syllabus for the State Grammar Schools at the upper secondary level (Elmersjö & Lindmark, 2010; Nygren, 2011b; Nilsson, 2014).

The framework of discussions – the hegemonic idea of national cohesion – ultimately did not allow for the abandonment of the nationally centered and romantic history even though the views on the history of war had changed. Calls for peace education were instead accompanied by a strong sense of patriotism. The demand for international understanding was not put up against nationalism, but was a part of a "sensible patriotism". This was evident in both the Swedish curriculum for elementary schools as well as in the demands for reform put forward by the Peace Association of Swedish Schools. It seems the key issue was to unite the peace efforts with the overarching and hegemonic nationalism of society at large, not to replace it. The same goes for the international aspects; they too were supposed to be united with a "sensible patriotism", not replace it (Nilsson, 2014).

Multiple subprojects in the "History beyond borders" project found clear connections between the peace activists' promotion of peace education and the history textbook revisions that started under the auspices of the League of Nations and various international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the interwar period. For example, it was a distinct demand from the Peace Association of Swedish Schools that the history textbooks were to be revised in some way, either by the government agency for schools or by some NGO, but there was little interest in having the mostly female elementary schoolteachers as advisors or revisers on any textbook commissions. The revisions of textbooks in the interwar period – and by associative extension the revisions in the postwar period – were to a great extent influenced and to some degree even forced by the school peace activists, but the revision of history textbooks was conducted by male teachers at higher educational levels and by male scholars in universities (Nilsson, 2014; Elmersjö, 2013a).

Networks of revision

In a wider context, textbook revisions – and especially revisions of history textbooks – can be seen as a form of cultural diplomacy; an institutionalized form of cultural relations (Iriye, 1997; Faure, 2013). Numerous regional, bilateral, and multilateral commissions were set up in Europe after World War II – not only in Western Europe, but from the 1960s onwards also in the socialist countries and as collaborations between Western and Eastern European countries. In one of the subprojects of "History beyond borders", the field of textbook revision – especially in Europe – between 1945 and 1989 was reconstructed by investigating commissions, conferences, and other venues for discussions on textbooks. This endeavor led to the creation of a database that allowed not only the analysis of the distribution of forums for debates on history textbooks in space and time, but also weighting the contribution of different people and institutions involved in textbook revision (Faure, 2013).

Almost immediately after the end of World War II, textbook revisions were set up in contexts seemingly isolated from each other: in the Nordic countries, in occupied Germany, and under the auspices of UNESCO. Within a very short period of time, links were set up between these different initiatives (Luntinen, 1988; Faure, 2011; 2013; Elmersjö, 2013a). In 1950 a UNESCO conference was held in Brussels, and this marked the starting point for even more elaborate cooperation and exchange of ideas between different actors. Utilizing the database developed as part of the "History beyond borders" project, obvious connections could be shown between the European networks of historians, teachers, and authors investigating history textbooks and the revision of history textbooks conducted in the Nordic countries by the Norden Associations, which had already started in the interwar period.

The Norden Associations are NGOs – formed in 1919 – dedicated to facilitating Nordic cooperation through cultural exchange (Andersson, 1991; Janfelt, 2005). When UNESCO and the Council of Europe started to investigate history textbooks in the end of the 1940s, the revision of textbooks in the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) was already established (having started in 1919) and institutionalized with permanent commissions in 1933. This process was under the clear influence of the so-called Casares procedure, proposed by the League of Nations in the 1920s, and was clearly affected by the idea of "sensible patriotism" that was being promoted by peace activists in the interwar period (Stöber, 2013; Elmersjö, 2013a, Nilsson, 2014). The method for textbook revision that the international community embraced in the 1950s can, therefore, be described as a variant of a scheme put together by the League of Nations in the 1920s and that had been further developed by the Norden Associations in the 1930s. Manuscripts and already published textbooks were sent between commissions that acted on the behalf of their respective nations as advocates for the nation's proper treatment in other nations' textbooks. This method had very specific national implications embedded in it, and the national commissions not only held the task of scrutinizing other nations' textbooks but also to defend their own country's textbook narratives (Elmersjö, 2013a). This corresponded very well with the ideas in the peace movement in the interwar period to unite international and national perspectives and promote a "sensible patriotism".

The analysis of the revision projects database suggested a periodization of the networks of textbook revisions in the postwar era (Faure, 2013) with the first period stretching from 1945 to the mid-1960s. This period was characterized as mainly consisting of Western European collaborations on history textbooks with close ties to the United States. The work conducted in this period was described as mainly directed towards post-conflict reconciliation in Europe. The reconciliation process probably benefited from – and also contributed to – Western European integration (Elmersjö, 2011; Faure, 2013). The first phase was also considered to be characterized by a certain amount of cooperation between Western European countries and countries from other parts of the world. A second phase, which began in the second half of the 1960s, was considered to be represented by the shift to two other areas: (1) Joint forums with participation of Eastern and Western European countries in the wake of the thaw after the Cuban missile crisis and (2) the emergence of textbook talks within the Eastern bloc as part of Eastern European integration. Developments that led to a third phase, beginning at the end of the 1970s, were considered to include the deteriorating relationship between East and West as a consequence of the political climate of the time. Western European and transatlantic activities instead started to increase again in this period. Finally, a fourth phase was distinguished during the final years of the Cold War when textbooks talks between Eastern and Western Europe were taken up again as a result of a new thaw in relations (Faure, 2013).

This periodization says little about the different approaches that the revisions took on an ideological level. However, it could be concluded that from 1953 onward UNESCO started to focus attention on eliminating the Eurocentric view of history education. This occurred at the same time that the Council of Europe was trying to strengthen a European identity in history education by focusing *more* on European history and "the European Idea" (Elmersjö, 2011, Nygren 2011a, Faure, 2013). This dissonance in the objectives for textbook revision was seldom evident in the results of discussions where representatives from the Council of Europe and UNESCO met. Instead, the outcomes of different revisions, under the auspices of UNESCO and the Council of Europe, were often very similar. A feasible reason for this is that the actors involved in different revision projects frequently were the same persons (Faure, 2013).

In the end, the networks on history textbook revision seem to have been very much dependent on certain individuals even if the networks existed within a large institutional

framework. Individuals involved were very much part of the same generation, and when this generation retired it sealed the fate of the large-scale transnational textbook revision, at least in the form it had taken under the auspices of the League of Nations during the 1920s, developed further by the Norden Associations in the 1930s, and put to large-scale use by UNESCO and the Council of Europe in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s (Faure, 2013; Elmersjö, 2013a).

Investigations into the networks of history textbook revisions showed that not only can the revisions be understood as a kind of cultural diplomacy, the networks of revision also illuminate how this cultural diplomacy was interconnected through a number of different arenas. Thus it is possible to unveil some of the logic behind transnational cultural exchanges, for example how the national framework influenced the view of both the international arena and other nations in that arena (see also Glover, 2011). In this respect, findings in the investigation of networks within the history textbook revision showed that the experience gained in a relationship between two or more parties could connect to other relations. This *transrelationality*, or transfer of relational experience (Faure, 2013), directs attention to the connections between relations. Transrelationality was constructed by the actors of history textbook revision through the intertwining of different forums and arenas, which consisted of relational arenas such as UNESCO, the Council of Europe, and the Norden Associations. The transrelational space was never institutionalized, and the circulation of ideas and experiences varied greatly over time because it was dependent on what arenas and forums were available and how they were connected to each other at a specific moment in time. However, the transrelational features of revisional connections led to a process of increasing coherence between different kinds of textbook revisions, even in the absence of any institutionalization and even though the ideological motifs were very different between the revisions (Faure, 2013).

The intersection and change of historical cultures

A thorough investigation into the discussions on shared and nationally exclusive history in Scandinavia within the Norden Associations' revision of history textbooks made it possible to explore the challenging research area of intersecting historical cultures. The history of the Scandinavian nations has a lot of intersecting historical subject matter that is important as symbolic foundations for more than one of the national narratives of the region (Sørensen & Stråth, 1997; Björk, 2011). Scholars interested in historical cultures have long made assumptions on how historical cultures change, often with the help of extensive contextualization where different political or societal events have been utilized to explain changes in public and scholarly views on historical events. The notion that upheavals during times of societal crisis have the most impact on reshaping historical culture is a valid point (Rüsen, 2001; Karlsson, 2003), but this notion seems to underestimate the importance of the continuous and slow change of historical cultures. Perhaps this is because this very slow change is, in general, more difficult to perceive.

Because the revision of history textbooks by the Norden Associations was continuous for over 50 years, from the interwar period to the 1970s, it offers a window into how historical cultures influence each other, and under what premises they are debated and changed, at a slow pace over a long period of time and not specifically related to any specific orientational crisis (Elmersjö, 2013a). By studying the discussions, and the textbooks that were discussed, it could be shown that the Norden Associations' history textbook revision had problems in altering the historical narrative in the different countries. This was not always because they had difficulty reaching agreement within the group of scholars revising the textbooks – even though that was often the case – but because there were often not enough advocates for a

different narrative within each of the nations (Elmersjö, 2013a). Both the production and consumption of history textbooks were (and still is) national and – at least to some extent – subject to free-market principles. One could argue that the Norden Associations' textbook revision shows how historical cultures can only change from within and that external pressure has problems of perceived legitimacy. Experiences from recent years with joint textbook projects in East Asia, the Middle East, and the South Caucasus show that this problem is still a major obstacle for revision of history education and in the planning of joint history textbooks (Ahonen, 2012; Korostelina & Lässig, 2013).

The discussions within the "Norden revision" showcased a few clues into the logic that is followed in the negotiation of historical narratives. For instance, after World War II – and especially from the 1950s onward – there was a shift in the participants' ability to acknowledge suffering on the part of other peoples under the rule of their own nation. There was some hesitance regarding remorse and actually recognizing guilt, and an emphasis was placed on historical contextualization that essentially limited liability. In other words, the reasoning fixated on historical exculpation with arguments explaining away perceived oppression by relating it to historical times when that was "just the way things were done". Even so, this seems to be in line with a policy of regret that earlier research has suggested took place in the 1980s and 1990s (Olick, 2007; Barkan, 2009; Ahonen, 2012). It is a seemingly teleological conclusion, but there are some indications pointing in the direction of a "regret-policy-embryo" as early as the 1950s when narratives that had previously articulated pride in domination over other cultural groups were abandoned. However, the abandonment of the narrative was not associated with an apology or the direct admission of guilt.

Epistemological shifts were also evident within the "Norden revision". In the interwar period, there was an overall positivistic view on history that made multi-perspective history problematic. In some cases it was stressed that multiple perspectives on events involving more than one of the nations in Scandinavia should be included in the textbooks, but at the same time the narratives revealed the idea that "other's" perspectives led to wrong conclusions. The lesson given to students – at least in the interwar period – was that others might have reasons to interpret historical situations in other ways, but those ways are nevertheless wrong. The epistemological implications of multiple narratives were not given enough room to lead to the conjecture that there could be different subjective perspectives that was equally "true". The explicit declaration of the wrongfulness of other perspectives was, however, abandoned by revisers in the 1960s (Elmersjö, 2013a). This might be said to showcase ambivalence as to what it actually meant for history education to be multi-perspective, and the idea of what multi-perspective meant apparently changed over time.

There has long been an idea flourishing in history textbook research that history textbooks are lagging in relation to new discoveries in historical research, and that this fact explains the national bias in the 1950s and 1960s (Tingsten, 1969; Asher, 1978; FitzGerald, 1979; Cajani, 2006; Thornton, 2006). This idea might stem from the fact that ideas that are now well established in the scholarly community have a long history. The problem is that these ideas might have been around and debated for decades before becoming firmly established. To say that textbooks do not fit historical research in a given time is to diminish the scholarly debates over historical issues, which sometimes take a very long time. There also seems to be an underestimation of the dissimilarity between historical research on very specific topics and the overview-character of the textbook narrative. Moreover, one could argue that the idea that textbooks are lagging also stems from the assumption that historians are not affected by the political dimension of historical culture but reach historical conclusions based on pure cognitive reasoning. It was evident in the negotiations within the Norden Associations' revision – especially on matters of national bias – that this assumption is false.

The investigation into the discussions on textbooks in the context of the Norden Associations' revision showed that historians actually agreed with much of the national narrative found in the textbooks. The discussions were, in fact, influenced more by cultural politics than they were by scientific scrutiny, source material, historical theories, or methodology. There was no problem for the associations to recruit renowned historians who would support what could be described as a nationally biased history of their respective nations. Needless to say, these historians were conservative and perhaps part of an older generation of historians who were in constant dispute with younger scholars who questioned the national narrative. Nevertheless, these older historians held key positions at the universities in Scandinavia well into the 1960s and were not marginalized in the discussions. The Norden Associations' textbook revision seems to have been an arena for national defense – stemming from the interwar period – against pressure to incorporate a deeper international approach to history. It could be argued that by incorporating some Nordic historical features pressure to extend the narrative to a global perspective was sidestepped. Representatives of the Norden Associations openly expressed concerns that Nordic and even national history was threatened by European and global perspectives in history education (Elmersjö, 2013a).

The internationalization of history teaching

Another question that needed answering in light of the revision projects and the discussions on internationalization of history education was how the guidelines, stemming from the early peace movement and produced by international organizations in the interwar and postwar periods, were met and incorporated into the actual history education in the classrooms of Europe. The internationalization of the history subject during the interwar period intensified after 1945 and its relation to the guidelines discussed and proposed by international organizations, such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe, was studied in a Swedish context in one of the "History beyond borders" subprojects. These studies showed that internationalization of history education was both a top-down enterprise as well as a bottom-up initiative (Nygren, 2011a).

Utilizing Goodlad's (1979) view of curricular realities on different levels, it was shown that guidelines about history teaching, on an ideological level, influenced other curricula levels through transactions and interpretations. However, the guidelines themselves were also influenced from other levels of curricular reality through direct and/or indirect interactions. For example, teachers and students were affected by the different international networks they were a part of and the political climate in which they lived and they were able to influence ideological discussions on curricula. They could also implement international and more global perspectives in the classroom long before these ideas made it into the formal curricula (Nygren, 2011a).

Investigating the actual choices students made when faced with a choice of essay writing as part of the general examination showed that even though teachers were less impressed by the internationalization in the interwar period, the League of Nations' guidelines seem to have coincided with students' own ideas of history and/or influenced students to change their ideas. Furthermore, the choices students made were later used by teachers' associations in order to influence curricular change in an international direction (Nygren, 2011c). It was also shown that history on all curricular levels has tended toward a focus on contemporary times ever since the 1950s (Nygren, 2012). Swedish students' interest in contemporary history has been indicated in earlier research (Långström, 2001; Hansson, 2010), but this has not been linked to the ideological and very conscious strategy of the League of Nations, the Council of Europe and UNESCO. These organizations specific interest in history education have also been studied, but without always taking into account their guidelines' explicit and concrete

consequences for history teaching (Luntinen, 1988; Duedahl, 2011). The international organizations emphasized in their guidelines that history education for a peaceful future should focus not only on cultural diversity but also more on recent historical events. As indicated by their choices in essay writing, students also seemed to have been more aware of contemporary global politics in the 1960s through technological and communicational advances and media reports on the decolonization of the southern hemisphere (Nygren, 2012).

In line with the guidelines put forward by international organizations, local history and cultural diversity received significantly more attention in the wake of World War II. Unlike earlier research, Nygren (2011c) concludes from scrutinizing the students' own work over a period of 70 years that even though students were inclined to elaborate on subjects of war and dictatorship, they showcased a peaceful sentiment in regards to their descriptions of war. An interest in cultural diversity coupled with the aim of exposing colonialism seems to have been a strong sentiment in at least some Swedish students early on, as shown by the students own work and choices in essay writing. However, this interest in cultural diversity decreased among students during the 1990s even though it was reinforced in the curriculum as well as in international guidelines at that very time (Nygren, 2011c).

During the twentieth century, both students and teachers were co-creators of the school subject of history and played a significant role in influencing the Swedish history subject to take an international direction. Their contribution was likely as great as that of international organizations. The course that the subject took was influenced by guidelines from UNESCO and the Council of Europe, changes in educational policy on a national level, strategies for teaching, and by the contemporary events through which the students and teachers lived. This also means that all these factors influenced each other. The scope of history became larger, both in terms of geography and perspectives, during the twentieth century, but it was not only something that affected students and teachers because they in turn effectively affected this development (Nygren, 2011a).

Conclusion

In light of the findings of the "History beyond borders" research project, it is possible to propose a very long process of change in history education in Europe in general, and in Sweden in particular, that started in the last years of the nineteenth century and made its way into the League of Nations' International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. From there the ideas influenced the Nordic history textbook revision in the 1930s, at which time the League of Nations was weakened by the extreme nationalist sentiment that was growing across Europe and the world. However, the international and European community benefited from the Norden Associations' harboring of the ideas of the League of Nations, and these organizational features were "given back" to the international community after World War II. A defense of nationally inclined history education was embedded in these organizational features, but this streamlined explanation hides the fact that the different actors also influenced each other on different levels and that they were in turn influenced by the hegemonic discourse of national interpretations of history.

Because the peace education ideas of the interwar period were influenced by the hegemonic nationalistic sentiment of the time, the national perspective was embedded in all international practices. Subsequently, the international organizations that were established after World War II and sought to revisit history textbook revision and take it further in an international direction were also affected by the highly nationalistic methods for textbook revision available in the 1940s and 1950s. One could argue that the political nationalism in the interwar period survived as a more methodological nationalism – an apolitical and

unexpressed assumption of the nation as the terminal unit of social inquiry. However, because the methodological nationalism is a consequence of hegemonic, political nationalism, it is also – in a sense – political.

The connections between the different organizations trying to influence history education during the twentieth century, and – at least in the postwar era – between these organizations and the actual history teaching and learning taking place in classrooms, has been shown to be very pronounced. However, these connections were not straightforward in the sense that they all pointed in the same direction. On the contrary, the Norden Associations' textbook revision could be considered a countermeasure against too much international influence, and the Council of Europe and UNESCO had conflicting aims when it came to Eurocentric history. However, even if there was no single direction, all of these organizations and individual actors were – perhaps through transrelationality – connected in the making of a European educational space, and they all affected some aspect of the whole, which they were also influenced by. With the methods shared and transferred in this educational space as the benefactor, the national perspective was – as a consequence of nation-building hegemony – perhaps the largest beneficiary because the national narrative persisted first as a single narrative and later as the most forceful part of multi-perspective history education.

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HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
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History education in post-conflict societies

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ABSTRACT: This article studies the reconciliatory potential of history education in post-conflict societies. History education today is understood through post-colonial, multiperspectival studies, which in a post-conflict society contribute to reconciliation by fostering critical thinking, being inclusive in regard to different social groups, and recognising the local, vernacular history culture. The article compares three cases of post-conflict history education, derived from Finland, Bosnia-Herzegovina and South Africa. It concludes by considering the nature of feasible teaching processes and the role of different educational actors.

KEYWORDS: History Education, Post-Conflict Societies, Reconciliation, Multiperspectivity, Finland, Bosnia-Herzegovina, South Africa.

History –History education – Post-conflict history education

By *history* I mean a broad social phenomenon, comprising different representations of the past, produced by scholars, administrators, cultural entrepreneurs and vernacular storytellers. Apart from academic publications, history appears as public memory, including museums, monuments and commemoration rituals, and local social memory. This broad definition of history is supported by post-modernist and post-colonial views of the nature of historical knowledge. Recognising the linguistic turn, Hayden White in 1971 maintained that history consists of literary artefacts, most of which do not obey the positivistic rules of knowledge acquisition. Frank Ankersmit, not going as far as White towards epistemological relativism, differentiated between evidence-based factual statements and epistemologically relative narrative substances. According to Ankersmit (2001), a professional or lay historian, as soon as he or she attributes a meaning to a historical fact, produces a narrative that can be challenged by another historian attributing a different meaning to the fact.

Narratives, because of being loaded with meaning, tend to have a moral dimension. As history deals with human action, the sense of which depends on the actor or actors' intentions, a moral component is naturally involved. Moreover, among the receivers of the narratives, one of the main questions asked concerns the moral responsibility of actors. The moral questions may be the most common motive among ordinary people to be interested in history.

Post-conflict history consists of the contradicting narratives of the conflict held by the different parties. The stories are loaded with morality, and use the moral themes of guilt and victimhood to construct a plot. The makers and the mediators of the stories often resort to internationally travelling arch myths to bolster the moral content. 'Arch myths' are literary tools comparable to White's 'narrative tropes', albeit being more substantive and as such apt to generate compelling 'narrative truths' of the past. George Schöpflin, when analysing the most common myths used as moulds for moral post-conflict narratives, found that many of them were retrieved from the Old Testament, originally mediated by religious texts but

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adopted widely within and even beyond the sphere of influence of Christianity. Within a particular conflict, according to Schöpflin, the mythical moulds tend to be symmetrically utilised by opposite parties. The most common myths of historical moral guilt and justification are the following:

- A God-chosen people. The divine election justifies war and expansion.
- A promised land. The territory belongs to the community due to divine promises.
- God-ordained redemption. After endured suffering, redemption comes either as military victory, liberation or revolution.
- Military valour. Military valour justifies the harsh treatment of the defeated and helps to denounce any compromises.
- Old foe. Enmity has ruled for generations, even for centuries, between two communities.

(Schöpflin 1997, 28–34)

In addition, the stories of atrocities committed by the parties of a conflict are often moulded by myths, many of which originated in the Old Testament. Narrators have borrowed images from the tradition of tormentor and old foe stories. For example, in Finland during the civil war of 1918 the numerous stories of tortured priests were borrowed from the folklore of ancient war-related ordeals, and the imagery could be further traced to the Old Testament (Peltonen, 1996). A more modern myth was constituted by holocaust. The Jewish Holocaust became acknowledged and memorialised in post-1945 Europe, and eventually communities around the world adopted the term when referring to experiences of mass murder, making Holocaust into an arch myth.

The arch myths of promised land, chosen people, military valour, old foe, atrocities and holocaust serve narrators in the accentuation of the moral burden of a conflict. Especially, after the inter-community violence and mutual betrayals of a civil war, people tend to go on fighting a history war.

History education is today a critical craft, at least in western democracies. While history teachers in earlier times were expected to mediate national grand narratives, after the bankruptcy of nationalism in the Second World War the teachers were expected to present the past from a new, critical angle. As source criticism and analytical explanation substituted identity narratives, history lessons of the new kind could be characterised as positivistic (see e.g. Herbst, 1977).

With the coming of post-colonialism after the 1960s, the grand narratives lost the last remains of their credibility (Iggers, 1997). Societies acknowledged their social and cultural diversity. The previously oppressed groups acquired a voice and expected their stories of the past to be recognised in history education. Multiperspectivity became a pedagogical requirement. Textbooks were expected to present a variety of evidence to enable the construction of different histories, and the students were expected to learn to ask of any statement, whether it is a fact or an interpretation (see e.g. Shemilt, 1983).

While multiperspectivity and exercises with contradictory evidence were introduced into history classrooms by British ‘new history’ didactics in the 70s, a more synthetic historical thinking was advocated at the same time by German history didacticians (see e.g Kuhn, 1974). Apart from critical skills, the students were supposed to develop their historical consciousness, that is an understanding of the interdependence of the past and the future and, moreover, a recognition of one’s personal historical agency (for an international discussion on historical consciousness, see Seixas, 2004). This goal brought micro-history, that is studies of

ordinary people and everyday life, into the curriculum. Micro-history would help a student to regard herself or himself as participant in historical change.

Despite the reforms, history lessons are continuously a politically sensitive domain of education. In authoritarian societies history education is submitted to state control, which often implies requests of teaching unifying hegemonic narratives. In Europe, the political potential of history education has been obvious after the break-up of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Rampant nation-building started in the seceded countries. Political leaders have appealed to history educators for support in bolstering group identity. In many post-Soviet or post-Yugoslav countries, history educators today are torn apart by their professional identity as critical historians and, on the other hand, by the wishes of politicians.

Post-conflict history education is today a serious concern to the international community of history educators. After a conflict, history is customarily used by the parties to justify their respective causes and to claim symbolic recognition of their sufferings. History wars are fought in political rhetoric, history culture and in history education. Enemy images tend to dwell in textbooks, and perpetuate the divisions of social memory. History education is therefore a field in need of mental disarmament (Ahonen, 2012).

To materialise the potential of analytical and post-colonial history education in using history for reconciliation, the following practices can be deduced from the nature of history and history education. First, a *de-mythicalisation* of history is required. The critical skills of dealing with evidence and analysing causes and effects enable the deconstruction of myths. For the purpose, a sufficient supply of source material is required in textbooks. In addition, extracts from history books with controversial interpretations of sensitive topics are essential to wean students from the trust to 'one final truth'. Robert Parkes stresses this requirement by including historiography in the essentials of history education. He regards an acquaintance with a variety of historians necessary for an awareness of the multiperspectival nature of historical knowledge (Parkes, 2009, 118–132). Following this approach, a viable way of opening a topic in a history class is for the teacher to suggest: "Historian A says x, while historian B says y. Let us study the foundations of their arguments."

Second, *social inclusiveness* is necessary for history to prompt reconciliation. History is used for building social identity, even if in a post-colonial situation this does not mean sharing one uniform identity. Members of a community may identify with ethnicity, social class, profession and a variety of interest groups. History lessons should provide identity elements for all groups. History lessons are at their best open arenas of dialogue for groups with different experiences and orientations. To be inclusive, history lessons need to incorporate idiosyncratic histories of many groups.

To prompt every student to articulate her or his often silenced past, a practice of deliberation in a classroom is necessary. Deliberation means conversation instead of debate, listening besides talking, and understanding rather than aiming at an agreement of 'truth'. Instead, such an approach aims at recognition of different legitimate points of view.

Connectedness to local history culture is a precondition for sustainable history lessons. Local commemoration rituals, vernacular stories and historical fiction have a strong impact on young minds because of being emotionally appealing. Public history culture needs to be recognised in school, not only to be critically scrutinised, but to have its rhetorical power combined to the rationality of formal education.

A discrepancy between locally mediated stories and school lessons lowers the credibility and sustainability of the latter. History teachers today no longer take their students to war memorials to celebrate a straightforward patriotic cause, but, instead, reflect on the different meanings attributed by people to the memorial. In a heated post-conflict atmosphere, the

emotional momentum of cultural products needs to be followed up by informed judgment in a classroom.

Three different cases of post-conflict history education

I chose my examples of post-conflict history education on pragmatic grounds: as a Finnish history educator I was familiar with the developments after the Finnish civil war of 1918. I acquired an acquaintance with the aftermath of Bosnian war of 1992–1995 in Bosnia-Herzegovina by teaching history in the town of Mostar (2006–2008). With regard to the South African apartheid conflict (1961–1994), I gathered information and developed an insight over years by means of public media and professional contacts, and complemented them by a study tour in 2011.

I will restrict my focus on the first post-conflict generation in each country. As a rule, during the first post-conflict generation a transition from silence and denial to open dialogue takes place. If not, the whole generation is lost to social disharmony. In the case of Finland, my restriction of focus excludes the eventual reconciliation after the Second World War. Bosnia-Herzegovina and South-Africa provide diagonally different patterns of post-conflict educational politics, one serving separatism and the other integration

Acknowledging the risks of comparing historically different societies from one restricted viewpoint, I refer to the fundamental differences in the kind of conflict in the three cases: the Finnish civil war was a class conflict, where proletarian Reds fought bourgeois Whites, while the Bosnian War was an ethnic conflict between Muslims, Croats and Serbs, and the struggle for and against apartheid in South Africa was a racial conflict, the main adversaries being the White Afrikaners, and the Black Xhosas and Zulus. Moreover, the conflicts differed from each other with regard to the degree to which they were in touch with their respective epoch. In the case of Finland, class conflict was in accordance with the prevailing epoch where an ideological confrontation prevailed between communist Russia and the rest of Europe. The Bosnian War was in line with the secession wars of the 1990s caused by the break-ups of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. In contrast to these two cases, the racial oppression in South Africa, lasting up to the 1990s, was an anachronism as the world already had turned post-colonial.

Finland

In Finland, the civil war left the country socially split. The victory by the White army was crushing and was followed by a harsh punishment of the defeated Reds. Red troops were ‘shot on the spot’, executed on the decision of military courts, or imprisoned in lethal concentration camps. The Red victims of terror grossly outnumbered the White victims of Red terror.

The war aims, the kinds of atrocities and the number of the victims, were heavily mythicalised in the representations of the war. The Whites adopted the term ‘freedom war’ to indicate a mission of nation-building. To them, the war prompted by a Red uprising was an incomprehensible betrayal of the young nation-state. The Whites applied the myth of ‘God-chosen people’ to themselves and identified the Reds with ‘the old foe’, the Russians. The Reds interpreted the war as the historically inevitable revolution of the proletariat. The mythically powered memories severely hindered any post-conflict efforts at reconciliation (Ahonen, 2012).

After the three months long war, public memory and school education were dedicated to the legitimisation of the White cause. Public memory was adorned with memorials of the White heroes and books about their military valour and sacrifices. The defeated Reds were

excluded from churchyards and public commemoration rituals. The silenced Red history was left to Red homes and workers' unions to foster. There the memory of 'the revolution' was celebrated in rhetoric, drama and songs (Peltonen, 1996).

In school, the White ethos of righteous nation-building was maintained throughout the first post-conflict generation. In the mother tongue lessons, stories of freedom fighters and other texts with nationally elevating rhetoric constituted the bulk of the learning materials in the1920s and 1930s. History books mediated the grand narrative of the Finnish nation-state from prehistoric times up to the God-promised national independence in 1917. The civil war itself was dealt with in terms of silence. The few sentences dedicated to it in textbooks used the term 'freedom war' and explained the Red uprising as an unforgivable crime and renounced the barbaric atrocities committed by Red guards (Ahonen, 2012). However, on the top level of school administration signs of a will towards social integration appeared. An authoritative school committee in 1933 suggested:

> [the textbooks] should promote a sense of patriotic and social coherence and . . . the will to act *according to one's convistion* [sic] and altruistically work for the best of society." (Oppikoulukomitean mietintö, 1933, p. 11)

The liberal view of a person's right to her or his conviction was expressed by two prominent members of the National Board of Education, Oskari Mantere and Gunnar Sarva, who wanted to prevent the political Right from totally determining the ethos of history textbooks. They succeeded only partially, as the teachers themselves at the time supported unanimously the political Right (Rantala, 1997). In the leading pedagogical journal not a single article focused on the prevailing enmity between the Reds and the Whites. Reconciliation was urged only in abstract terms and for the sake of national unity, through which "we can build a new flourishing Finland from the ashes of the civil war" (Rosenquist, 1931, pp. 129–136).

When history teachers in 1935 convened for their first national conference, the problem of one-sided history lessons was not brought up. Nationalist historiography was a self-evident guideline for history teaching, equal with the teachers' membership of local right-wing Civil Guards.

In the 'White' atmosphere of the society and its schools, the working class children felt themselves as second-class citizens. Their parents were called "rebels" in textbooks, and the victimhood stories they heard in home and workers' union youth clubs had no place in history lessons. They could only express their views of history through the petty classroom mischief of not singing along when the song was 'White' or blotting the pictures of White heroes in their textbooks (Peltonen, 1996).

The textbook authors, mostly young scholars, loyal to the State, perpetuated the grand national narrative. They referred to the civil war as a political confrontation between the defenders of the nation-state and socialists rebels. The most popular textbook was written by two members of the National Board of Education, who, despite adhering to a liberal political party, demonstrated alignment with the policy of silence.

Neither did civil society stage any protests regarding the one-sided history lessons. Civil society was not actively interested in school. The right-wing Civil Guards regarded the school sufficiently loyal to their beliefs and concentrated on extra-curricular youth activities. Teachers had assumed a calling as nation-builders. Neither were the workers' union youth clubs active in denouncing school lessons about 1918. None of the potential actors of reconciliation managed to break the silence or the hegemony of the White story of the past.

The first post-civil-war generation was lost to a history war. It took a whole generation and a change in political atmosphere caused by the Second World War, before the Red narrative of the past became recognised. A reconciliatory agenda was introduced by civil society and reinforced by novelists, playwrights and musicians. Gradually, since the 1960s, schoolbook authors assumed a bi-perspectival approach to the difficult past.

To conclude, an over-all look at the *processes* and *actors* of the post-conflict educational developments reveals a long stagnation in the political ethos of schools. Stagnation prevailed in the absence of any state intervention in history teaching. Teachers aligned with the White public memory and ignored the Red social memory. The State as an actor of possible reconciliation failed.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, none of the parties was the definitive winner of the war of 1992–1995. The peace was imposed on the feuding parties by the international community. The peace settlement, agreed in Dayton, USA, in 1995, was based on an idea of providing Croats, Muslims and Serbs opportunity to have a fair share of political power within the umbrella state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Serb Republic and the ten cantons of the Muslim-Croat Federation were let free to tackle with the spoils of the war by means of ethnically motivated structural adjustments. According to the constitution, the state was multicultural, but in practice the institutions, including the schools, were as the main rule segregated.

Nation-building that had been fostered by war propaganda was continued after the war in the culture and education of history. Arch-myths of God-chosen people and genocidal atrocities were used to legitimate antagonisms. Croats referred to the centuries of defending the church as *antemurale christianitatis,* and Serbs to the medieval legend of the martyr-hero Prince Lazar. The guilt and victimhood histories of the Second World War, which during Yugoslavia had been silenced in the name of the Titoist slogan "brotherhood and unity", were now revived and memorialised. All parties claimed to be victims of genocide and holocaust (Kolstø, 2005).

After the war, History textbooks were dedicated to the building of the three ethnic nations. In the books, Bosnia-Herzegovina hardly appeared as a historical entity. Instead, the books mediated grand national narratives of Croats, Muslims and Serbs, and bolstered respective national identities by referring to the historical guilt of the others (Torsti, 2003; Karge, 2008). The segregated historical narratives with their morally loaded language made a severe obstacle to post-war reconciliation.

Even though the Dayton Agreement did not include any clauses about school education, the international community felt urged to tackle it. The first reconciliatory measure by the Task Force summoned in 1999 by the European Union was to remove the hate language from school textbooks. Success was a precondition for the membership of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Council of Europe. A hasty cosmetic cleansing of offensive expressions took place. However, often just a warning, stamped on a page in a book, was considered sufficient: "The following passage contains material of which the truth has not yet been established: the material is currently being reviewed" (quoted in Torsti, 2003, p. 157).

Several international institutions became involved in the reform of history education: the Council of Europe, the Organisation for security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), UNESCO, the World Bank, the George Soros Fund, the Georg-Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, and EUROCLIO (the European Association of History Educators). To bolster their local credibility, the international actors recruited local administrators, experts and teachers as co-workers (Pingel, 2009).

Since 2002, the OSCE coordinated the educational reform work. Surveys of textbooks and stakeholder attitudes were conducted, and seminars for history teachers and textbook authors organised. The seminars became an invaluable arena for Croat, Serb and Muslim teachers to conduct a dialogue about history education. EUROCLIO, together with local educators, produced teaching material that sought inter-ethnic understanding by focusing on the history of everyday life (*Obični ljudi u neobičnoj Zemlji. Svakodnevni život u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj is SRBiji 1945–1990, 2007*). The purpose was to present Bosnia-Herzegovina as one historical community with a shared ordeal and outlook.

The use of the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a reference point in history teaching proved difficult to local educators. Croats and Serbs leaned on the neighbouring nation-states of Croatia and Serbia in writing history curricula and picking up textbooks. As a result, despite internationally agreed guidelines for textbook writers, only one textbook was promptly written in ethnically neutral terms (Karge, 2008). According to a survey, nearly half of all history teachers regarded an ethnically partial textbook appropriate (Diegoli, 2007).

Thomas Diegoli's research in 2007 into the collective memory in Bosnia-Herzegovina included interviews with teachers from the three ethnic groups. "There is no need to offer multiple perspectives because we are all Croats here", claimed a teacher from a Croat-majority town. Another teacher was sceptical about the prospect of reconciliation: "Some things cannot be reconciled at all" (Diegoli, 2007, pp.102–111). My own experience of teaching history to young adults of mixed ethnicity in 2006–2008 indicates that a commonly sharable story of Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly of the war of 1990s, was a vain dream. An open dialogue between the three ethnic groups proved nevertheless feasible. My students eventually learned to listen to the viewpoints of each other.

The inclusion of the recent war in the syllabi proved to be the ultimate stumbling block of the reform. Memories of the war became more and more mythicalised in the public and collective memory, and teachers regarded a multiperspectival approach to the war inappropriate, and the topic as a whole too controversial to teach. Suggestions of including the war in teaching only arose on rare occasions. "Despite of the existence of three truths, the post-1992 events must not be left untaught," stated the councillor for textbook production in the Federal Ministry of Education in 2007 (*Dnevni Avaz,* March 10, 2007). According to Diegoli's interviews, teachers put their trust in the future emergence of the real "truth" about the war, and in the meantime rather omitted the theme in their teaching (Diegoli, 2007). Even the international actors succumbed to the ethos of the teachers and the big public, and did not directly require the teaching of the war in the textbook guidelines of 2007 (Paragraph 4.15 of the Guidelines, quoted in Karge & Batarilo, 2009, p. 327).

In conclusion, a failure to achieve reconciliation in the history war of Bosnia-Herzegovina has to be admitted. Stakeholders stayed committed to ethnic nation-building projects and embraced the ethnically idiosyncratic narratives of the past. The ethnic segregation of schools hindered dialogue. As a teacher quoted above reckoned, a need of multiperspectivity was not recognised in mono-ethnic schools. In contrary, historical recognition of victimhood was sought as a symbolic reparation for the past suffering. International intervention was necessary to provide arenas for educational dialogue.

South Africa

In South Africa, the transition from apartheid to democratic majority rule in 1994 succeeded without violence. The schools were subsequently integrated without delay. However, the history war was not solvable by vote. The main parties of the racial conflict, the Africans and the Afrikaners, cherished mythically bolstered stories of the victimhood of 'us' and the guilt

of 'them'. The Black historians emphasised the role of the African people as true actors of history, and re-interpreted the history of the African 19th century kings and warriors in terms of pride. Many leaned on international anti-colonial authors, above all Franz Fanon, for the justification of violence as a way of redemption.

The Afrikaners, for their part, cherished the pioneer narrative of 'Boers' as God-chosen people who had cultivated South Africa as their promised land. The 19th century settlers were portrayed as hero-victims who fought the barbaric Blacks. The culmination of the victimhood narrative was 'the Anglo–Boer war' of 1899–1902, where the Boers were the victim of imperialist Britain. Afrikaner nationalists regarded the instalment of apartheid after the election victory of 1948 a God-promised redemption.

After the transition, the leaders of 'The New South Africa' established in 1995 a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), with the task of rewriting the history of South Africa in terms of mutual recognition of guilt and victimhood. The sessions of the commission were open to the public, and both victims and perpetrators were invited to speak up in their own right. The aim was to facilitate social reconstruction.

The TRC pursued 'a history from below', that is, a history of ordinary people. In the public culture of history, the pursuit was reified as community museums, where the inhabitants of Black neighbourhoods memorialised their everyday life and resistance struggle. The community museums functioned as meeting places of local activists, connecting the experience of the past to the work for a better future. History worked in community museums for social emancipation (Coombes, 2003; Ahonen, 2012).

In the first years after 1994, new leaders were sceptical about the necessity of history in school, as history lessons during apartheid had been used to deprive Africans of their historical identity rather than to boost it (Chernis, 1990). New educational administrators wanted, therefore, to substitute history with social sciences in order to approach society through timeless concepts of dispossession, oppression and emancipation. The only historical contents ordained by the curriculum launched in 1995 were slavery and apartheid (Siebörger, 2006).

However, history was defended by historians and history educators, who advocated the necessity of historical consciousness for active citizenship. In 2001, the Secretary of Education Kader Asmal stated: "The effective citizen is someone who knows his or her country's history, arts and literature, and not just mathematics, science and technology" (Asmal & Wilmott, 2001, p. 195)

History as an identity-oriented subject was re-introduced to the curriculum in 2003. Chronological continuity was restored to provide the long story of African ancestry to be identified with. However, neither public history culture nor school textbooks were straightforwardly iconoclastic. By the inclusion of the essentials of the Afrikaner identity narrative, educators materialised the rhetoric of a 'rainbow nation'. The periodisation of history was no longer stipulated as a dichotomy of colonialism and emancipation but organised in a way that gave a place to Afrikaner pioneers and thus recognised the identity needs of the Afrikaners.

The textbooks of the integrated schools were uni-ethnic, printed in English for the African majority and in *Afrikaans* for the Afrikaners. The author teams represented the 'rainbow nation'. According to the Secretary of Education, history education had a reconciliatory potential: "More than any discipline, good history put to good use taught by imaginative teachers can promote reconciliation . . . It has the role of raising the awareness of learners to the issue of their own identity and the way they interact with the multiple identities of South Africans around them" (quoted in van Eeden, 2010, p. 43).

The new democratic culture of history was adopted in schools. Like the local community museums, school classes were expected to work as bases for 'history from below'. Students were encouraged and instructed by textbooks to interview local people and process the memories gathered in the classroom. Surveys of the effect of the use of oral history in the classroom proved that students developed an awareness of being personally part of South African history (Mackey, 2007).

South Africa seemed to achieve what failed in Bosnia-Herzegovina: making history classes dialogical. The achievement depended on two assets: pedagogical tradition and political will. Already during the last decade of apartheid, educators had struggled to reform the obsolete apartheid history lessons. The Black consciousness movement had, since the 70s, urged critical emancipatory history, and liberal White educationists had adopted analytical classroom methods from the British 'new history' project. In 1994, the progressive ideas were already available for the education reform. The reform was facilitated by a unified political will to integrate education and enhance its relevance.

In conclusion, the reform of history education succeeded due to the firm grip of State. However, the reality of the post-conflict society did not enable a full reconciliation over night. In social memory, dark memories were fostered and used to accentuate the prevailing grievances. Therefore, healing dialogue in history classes was invaluable.

Conclusion: The essential processes and actors of reconciliation about history

The Finnish experience of a long history war shows that time, as such, does not reconcile memories. The lapse of one generation does not suffice to level down post-conflict antagonisms. Active reconciliatory politics are necessary to calm a history war. I will conclude by pointing out the most obvious differences in the *processes* and *agency* of post-conflict educational reconciliation in the cases of Finland, Bosnia-Herzegovina and South Africa. Doing that, I acknowledge the epochal change in historiography between the Finnish case and the other two. The requirements of dialogue and multiperspectivity in history were assumed only in the post-ideological and post-colonial era, long after the Finnish civil war In retrospect, the historiographical rules of de-mythicalisation and social inclusiveness were not valid in post-civil-war Finland. Neither was social memory recognised by historians. The Finnish case thus constitutes an argument in support for the historiographical turn in the 70s: for history to be a socially viable craft, the post-colonial, multiperspectival and 'history from below' approach was then long overdue.

Processes

A comparative look at the processes of history education reveal a decisive differences between Finland and Bosnia-Herzegovina on one hand and South Africa on the other hand. The differences concern state intervention, textbook production and teachers' professional action.

In Finland, the leaders of the young nation-state urged an imposition of a uniform national grand narrative on all people. Supported by the White part of the civil society, the State managed to make the White narrative hegemonic both in history culture, textbook production and educational administration. Embryonic germs of a will for reconciliation were repressed by the steep hierarchy and rigid conservatism of the institutions.

Bosnia-Herzegovina after 1995 resembles Finland with regard to the State administration's dedication to nation-building. However, the State was not capable of imposing a unifying history curriculum on all Bosnia-Herzegovinan schools, but, instead, submitted education to

ethnic divisions. Attempts at reconciliation depended on the processes prompted by international intervention. The European Union started the intervention through a textbook revision, removing hate language from the books. The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) eventually took a prominent role in the education reform and, in cooperation with local administrators, set up guidelines for the authoring of curricula and textbooks. However, it proved hard to persuade the authors to use the multicultural Bosnia-Herzegovinan state as a common reference point of history. Most textbooks remained ethnically idiosyncratic. Curriculum reform stumbled on the teaching of the difficult history of the 1990s.

To intensify the effort of making classrooms into hearths of reconciliation, the OSCE organised a series of in-service training seminars for history teachers in different parts of the country. The seminars provided a vital opportunity for Croat, Muslim and Serb teachers to conduct a dialogue about historical divisions.

In South Africa, the State assumed a firm grip on the education system, which, after the transition to majority rule, was effectively integrated. However, writing a national history curriculum proved problematic. The academic community and civil society were, before the transition, already engaged in a determined process of transforming history education into a critical and multiperspectival craft. Nevertheless, in the first post-1994 curriculum, history as a school subject was all but debunked. Apartheid and resistance struggle were expected to be taught as social science invariables, without historical agency and time contingency. Eventually, the history educators managed to convince the politicians of the value of history as an identity resource for the 'rainbow nation', and history was restored as a school subject, now bolstered by the post-colonial approach and 'history from below' elements.

The textbook production accompanied the State project of the 'rainbow nation'. The author teams were multiracial, the contents included the previous blank spots around the decades of apartheid and resistance, and, moreover, textbooks facilitated an interaction between a school and a community by asking students to collect local memories. Even though direct encounters between the Blacks and the Whites were in many communities hindered by socio-economic structural divisions, school history served a dialogue about the past.

Among the processes of using history for post-conflict reconciliation, the acts by the State seem crucial. Even an intensive intervention by the international community is ineffectual, if the State cannot mobilise the domestic forces of reform. A community split by a conflict seems to have required coordinated measures to facilitate dialogue and shared historical consciousness.

Actors

The role of *State* differed between the three cases.

In South Africa, the grip of the State on history culture and education was strongest. In comparison, the Finnish State was stuck on the idea of an ideologically uniform nation-state, embraced by the post-conflict generation, and the Bosnia-Herzegovinan State was too decentralised to handle the multiethnic society with its neo-nationalist divisions. In South Africa, the structures of the State enabled the reconstruction of the society.

New South African leaders had gathered the political will and agenda for a change during the decades of resistance struggle. They were prepared to take drastic measures to transform institutions like the education. The integration of schools and the updating of the history lessons in terms of majority culture were materialised without a delay. A strong intervention by the State secured the tenets of the 'rainbow nation' by educating multicultural popular identity.

In contrast, in Bosnia–Herzegovina the state was crippled by the weaknesses of the Dayton peace settlement. The decentralised structure made the State vulnerable to the ethnic rivalries of Croats, Muslims and Serbs and hindered cultural reform. Cultural reconciliation was left dependent on international actors, who assumed responsibility for disarming history classes in school. The OSCE, the Council of Europe and a number of other international organisations did their best to involve the State administration in the reform efforts, which, however, were hindered by the slack grip of the State on local developments. Even though small steps were taken towards the recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a common historical entity in teaching, a history war was still on when the first post-war generation come of age.

Equally, the role of *history educators* differed between the three cases.

In Finland after 1918, historians mostly worked for the political project of nation-building. In the prevailing ideologically tuned historiography, historians were expected to serve the big public and not deconstruct popular myths. Teachers, according to the evidence from memories and popular literature, joined the hegemonic White nation-building project, and the teacher unions omitted any discussions about the ethos of history education (Rantala, 2003). The socially divisive history lessons were substituted by a socially reconstructive approach only after the nation-building project gave way to a welfare state after the Second World War.

In South Africa after 1994, the activists of the Black history movement within the ANC did not hesitate to share the results of their post-colonial interpretation of the past with the public at large. By the 1980s, Black and White historians had started a dialogue about the past, with a sharp focus on school education. A revision of the curricula and textbooks took place without a delay after the political transition. The leaders of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission explicitly wanted the hearings of the commission sessions to result in a re-writing of South-African history. As oral history, the stories of the witnesses were spread all over the country by television and universally shared as vernacular history. In school, the 'history from below' approach was adopted by incorporating oral history in school work. By collecting local memories, students connected school lessons to local memories.

South African educators constituted a vital agency in making history education into a critical and democratic craft. In the early 1990s liberal educators connected themselves to the Black History movement and started the reform of history education. By the time of the political transition in 1994, the guiding principles were thus already thought out and available for actors.

In *Bosnia-Herzegovina* historians were at the time of the Dayton peace agreement deeply divided about the use of history in public. Progressive historians sought international contacts and willingly took part in the reform initiatives of the international actors, while on the other side, conservative historians were committed to the separate ethnic nation-building projects of Muslims, Croats and Serbs. The task of the progressive historians in materialising the reconciliatory potential of history was difficult as teachers and local people tended to resort to the myths of guilt and victimhood. International interventionists were left as the main agents of reconciliatory reform.

The comparison of the potential actors of reconciliation of the past in Finland, South Africa and Bosnia-Herzegovina indicates the necessity of having a resourceful State. Nevertheless, the role of academia is essential in facilitating deliberative reflection on the nature of historical knowledge and the relationship between history culture and history education. In this article, South Africa provided an example of both the State and academia contributing to post-conflict reconciliation, while Bosnia-Herzegovina seemed to repeat the old Finnish example of letting a whole generation be lost to a history war. As there seems to be no end to inter-community history wars in today's world, further studies into the reconciliatory potential of history education are in demand.

My suggestions for the criteria of historiographically and educationally valid history education, namely de-mythicalisation, social inclusiveness and connectedness to local history culture, deserve to be empirically tested. As historical consciousness is an all-human faculty, a post-conflict generation needs the school as an arena to deal with the burden of the past and connect the achieved understanding to aspirations for the future.

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Inheriting the past: Exploring historical consciousness across generations

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ABSTRACT: Despite significant research into the meaning and operation of historical consciousness, there is still much to be understood about its hereditary function. For example, what does historical inheritance look like? How does it influence our individual and collective historical consciousnesses? And, just as critically, what happens to historical consciousness when history is deliberately withheld, when that inheritance is suspended or severed? As a way into some of these questions about *passing on* the past, this paper draws on a qualitative research project into historical consciousness in Australia to explore how so-called 'ordinary people' see themselves as part of a historical narrative. It reveals that historical inheritance is critical to our historical consciousness, and it notes the profound impact of forgetting on participants, raising important questions about the role of 'silence' and 'absence' in the formation of historical consciousness.

KEYWORDS: Historical Consciousness; Historical Inheritance; Inter-Generational.

Introduction

In recent decades, there has been significant research into history's meaning and place in contemporary society: memory studies reveal the myriad ways we connect with, commemorate and contest the past (Ashton & Keane, 2009; Hamilton, 2008; Spillman, 2003; Wertsch, 2002; Olick, 2003; Samuel, 1994; Lowenthal, 1997; Halbwachs, 1992); historians unpack heated debates over national pasts as they play out in museums, history syllabuses and official remembrance (Berger, 2007; Macintyre & Clark, 2003; Nash, Crabtree & Dunn, 1997; Olick, 2003; Linenthal & Engelhardt 1996); and educationists explore the practice of how we learn history in a disciplinary sense, how we come to 'think historically' (Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000; Wineburg 2001; Sandwell, 2006; Taylor, 2003).

At the same, increasing attention has been given to the *process* of historical connection itself: what does the past mean to us? Why do we constantly draw on history in our present lives? Such questions go to the core of 'historical consciousness', a growing field of research situated at the intersection of those areas—of historical thinking, public history and memory studies—that analyses the presence (and pastness) of the past.

In the words of Jörn Rüsen (2012), a leading theorist of historical consciousness, the term can be best understood as 'historical sense-generation' (pp. 45-47). This *making sense of* the past, he suggests, is 'a mental procedure by which the past is interpreted for the sake of understanding the present and anticipating the future'. Rather than simply defining levels of attainment in historical literacy or understanding, Rüsen (1987) argues that historical consciousness covers 'every form' of thinking about the past, from 'historical studies' to the

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'use and function of history in private and public life' (p. 284). In other words, the questions used to get students thinking about their relationship to the past in class are the same questions we implicitly consider day to day, as the Canadian history educationist Peter Seixas (2006a, p. 15) has considered: How should we judge the actions and values of people in the past? How did things get to be as they are today? And which stories about the past should be told and passed on to the next generation?

Thus historical consciousness includes not only humanity's capacity for critical historicism, but also its interest in the past: it is both learnt (through the disciplinary skills of history) and innate (in that we recollect) (Rüsen, 2005; Ahonen, 2012; Lee, 2002; Megill, 1994). More than simply helping us to understand how we connect to history, historical consciousness reveals history as fundamental to the ways we think about ourselves: turning 'what happened' into history is a unique and ubiquitous human activity.

Central to this process of day-to-day history making are the histories we are bequeathed and leave behind. Despite significant research into the meaning and operation of historical consciousness (eg. Seixas, 2006b; Straub, 2005), there is still much to be understood about its hereditary function. For example, what does historical inheritance look like? How does it influence our individual and collective historical consciousnesses? And, just as critically, what happens to historical consciousness when history is deliberately withheld, when that inheritance is suspended or severed?

Some scholarship does exist on the relationship between historical consciousness and inheritance — most notably, Sam Wineburg et al.'s exploration of intergenerational historical consciousness and school education (Wineburg, Mosborg, Porat, & Duncan, 2007) — yet there is still much to be understood about the ways historical inheritance and occlusion shape both historical engagement *and* what oral historians describe as our 'composure' (the ways we construct narratives of ourselves) (Summerfield, 2004; Abrams, 2014).

As a way into some of these questions about *passing on* the past, this paper draws on a qualitative research project into historical consciousness in Australia. The project uses interviews with one hundred people from five communities around the country to examine: (1) the ways we connect to past, and why; (2) how people engage with public and official accounts of the past, popular histories, community and family histories, as well as contested narratives; and (3)—as this paper explores—how people see themselves in the process of historical inheritance.

Broadly speaking, the research confirms understandings of historical consciousness as a process that is ultimately fluid and shifting constantly during our lives, rather than representing any specific level of attainment. And participants explained how life events such as birth and death were catalysts for historical engagement that marked their own life stories. In particular, my paper uses this qualitative research to explore how so-called 'ordinary people' see themselves as constructed by, and constructing, a historical narrative—and in turn it reveals that historical inheritance is critical to our historical consciousness. The paper also notes the profound impact of forgetting on participants, which raises important questions about the role of 'silence' and 'absence' in the formation of historical consciousness.

The Whose Australia? project

'We all make histories endlessly', the Australian historian Greg Dening once mused. 'It is our human condition to make histories' (Dening, 1996, p. 35). That constant presence of the past as an effect of our humanity also captivated Paul Ricoeur, who wrote about our 'historicity'—the 'fundamental and radical fact that we make history, that we are immersed in history, that we are historical beings' (as cited in Hamilton, 2003, p. 81).

The effects of our historicity have been explored by a number of scholars in recent years, several of whom have noted warily that an increasing popular interest in the past has come at the expense of more critical historical engagement (Tosh, 2008; Lowenthal, 1998; Nora, 1996-98). As John Tosh (2008) has argued, 'We are confronted by the paradox of a society which is immersed in the past yet detached from its history' (pp. 6-7). Thinking '*about* history' and 'thinking *with* history' must not be conflated, he continued. To be sure, that distinction Tosh champions between the popular 'past' and more rigorous 'History' (with a capital H) has been widely noted in memory studies and public history (Jensen, 2009; Hamilton, 2003; Lowenthal 1997).

Others question if such an opposition is the best way to describe the overwhelming presence of the past. In a recent Canadian study involving interviews with nearly three and a half thousand people, researchers cast doubt on whether popular historical interest necessarily came at the expense of critical historical thinking: 'We acknowledge that many Canadians may be alienated from formal history, but we did not begin with this assumption … [and] our respondents, it seems, were as at home with 'history' as they were with 'the past'' (Conrad, Ercikan, Friesen, Létourneau, Mulse, Northrup, & Seixas, 2013, pp. 8-9).

This *Canadian and Their Pasts* project built on two large qualitative studies from the US and Australia, which similarly explored the ways people engaged with history. Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen's (1998) influential American study noted a wealth of 'popular history making' in the United States, in addition to more established academic and official historical productions. Similarly, Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton's (2010) *Australians and the Past* project interviewed hundreds of Australians and noted a widespread contemplation of what they neatly termed 'past-mindedness' (p. 10).

Such research also confirmed ordinary people's distinct lack of engagement with more formal national narratives, which they considered to be much more prescribed and remote. Participants in all three studies often found it difficult to engage directly with the national history they learnt at school, for example, confirming the public anxiety about historical knowledge being in a state of perpetual 'crisis' across all three jurisdictions (Sears & Hyslop-Margison, 2007; Clark, 2003, 2008; Nash et al., 1997; Symcox 2002; Morton, 2000, 2006). Meanwhile, their own stories and experiences generated very strong connections with the past, revealing how the intimate past is the one that matters most: respondents kept objects to pass on to their own children or grandchildren, participated in family reunions, compiled genealogies, visited museums, heritage trails and historical societies; they talked about the past with their friends and families; and they avidly consumed history—in the form of historical fiction, documentaries and popular history books.

The project this paper is based on, titled *Whose Australia? Popular Understandings of the Past*, has been strongly influenced by these large, pioneering studies. Like them, it seeks to shed light on historical consciousness by examining the ways people engage with the past throughout their lives. But it does so by asking participants to reflect on how they locate their own historical sensibilities in the context of wider public and academic debates over the past. And for that reason, the research employs a new method that could best be described as 'oral historiography' to examine popular engagement with Australian history. This approach uses techniques of oral history, focus group work and qualitative analysis to examine how history is understood in the community.[1] Unlike a number of prominent research surveys, the *Whose Australia?* project does not measure levels of factual historical knowledge (Civics Expert Group, 1994; Print 1995; Ministerial Council, 2006). Nor does it focus on Australians' popular history making (such as their interest in genealogies, membership of historical societies, and historical consumption) (Crozier, 1994; Kyle, 1994; Sear, 2013). Instead, this

oral historiography seeks to uncover how people negotiate family and community histories as well as national narratives, and why.

By people, I mean 'ordinary people', Australians from all walks of life: those who may read the newspaper, but equally may not; those interested in history, and those who have been turned off the subject since school; the unemployed, retirees, young people, migrants, Indigenous Australians and small business owners. All are relevant. Their quotidian historical discourses provide the primary source material for this research.

Admittedly, there is nothing 'ordinary' about a researcher inviting themselves into a community group to ask questions about the past. But the voices this project captures are indeed everyday—and they shed considerable light on how people around the country see themselves as historical beings. I use the term 'ordinary' advisedly, however,. For one thing, it is difficult to distinguish such an emblematic word from the public discourse it inhabits. Politicians and public commentators notoriously draw on the imagery of 'ordinary' people for political traction, conjuring and controlling everyday collective images such as 'the mainstream' and 'working families' as a way of enhancing their political legitimacy (Brett, 2005; Phillips & Smith, 2000).

Despite the political valency of 'ordinariness', however, this paper persists with the image of 'ordinary Australians' because that is how many people see and describe themselves (Hirst, 2002). This participative research has been particularly influenced by Judith Brett and Anthony Moran's excellent long-term qualitative study, *Ordinary People's Politics* (2006), which traced the political beliefs and engagement of several Australians over many years. In this sense, the research attempts to produce what historians Jean Burgess, Helen Klaebe and Kelly McWilliam (2010) have called 'participatory public history' (p. 152)—giving voice those 'ordinary' or 'vernacular' historical conversations. The participants in the study are neither professional historians, politicians nor public commentators, but they do have opinions about public contests over Australian history that warrant acknowledgement and examination.

Despite the constant co-option of 'ordinary people' into public discourse, there is still much to be learnt about how they engage with the nation and how they articulate their own historical consciousness in the context of powerful public historical narratives. As the American history educationist, Sam Wineburg (2001), has noted, there have been 'few attempts to track how the processes of historical memory play out in the lives of ordinary people: how it is that the proverbial person-on-the-street embodies (or doesn't) the broad social processes posited by theorists of collective memory' (p. 249). Rüsen himself (2005) is insistent on examining the significance of what he describes as the 'most profane procedures of memory' (p. viii). And the Finnish scholar Sirkka Ahonen (2012) has similarly defined the 'vernacular level of social memory' as a critical element of historical consciousness (p. 13).

In response, this research aims to populate public and political discussions about national history with the voices of ordinary people from around the country. Five communities were chosen to conduct this qualitative study using a purposive sampling method as a way to generate a breadth of socio-economic, cultural and geographic background among participants (Phillips & Smith, 2000, pp. 206-207): Marrickville (a municipality and suburb in inner Sydney), Chatswood (a community in Sydney's affluent north shore), Brimbank (a multicultural and working class community in outer western Melbourne), Rockhampton (a large rural town in Central Queensland), and Derby (a remote town with a large Indigenous population in far North-western Australia). Both individuals and focus groups have been interviewed for the project, and were approached through community organisations such as seniors' centres and sporting clubs, education institutions such as universities and TAFEs, as well as migrant resource centres, youth groups and so on. In total, I have spoken with 100 people individually and in groups in the five communities.[2] Aged from their teens to their

nineties, these diverse participants from very different backgrounds reveal the many complex and varied ways that people connect to the past.

Historical generations

In the *Canadians and Their Pasts* study, researchers found that 75% of respondents had an heirloom they wished to pass on the next generation (Conrad et al., 2013). The American and Australian research it was based on had also found similar evidence of overwhelming desires among participants to inherit and pass on objects from the past (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998; Ashton & Hamilton, 2010). Others have noted the importance of family stories and personal narratives as critical components of our historical legacies (Allen, 1992). Drawing on sociologist Erik Erikson's term of 'generativity', Anna Green (2013) also senses the importance of the passing on family stories not simply to our own historical sensibilities, but to the development and care of the next generation.

But when are these intergenerational historical connections forged? Perversely, perhaps, death is a common *moment* for people to begin asking those historical questions of themselves and their families. Again and again in their interviews for the *Whose Australia?* project, participants regretfully described a sense of sadness in their connections to the past: if only they had brought out the tape recorder earlier; if only they had asked their parents about that family heirloom; if only the story had been written down or told sooner. It was a sad irony, said Richard from Chatswood, that 'you don't want to find this information out until you're older, and it's too bloody late! Gone!'

For Vicki in Marrickville, her father's death had created a constant historical vacuum that she wanted to fill: 'My father died when I was 12, and as you get older, and get married and have your own children, you don't get that dialogue that you do with that part of the family', she said. 'So I suppose that was my first, um, I wanted to know more, I wanted to know more about his side of the family.' Following his father's recent death, Don from Chatswood had compiled his memoirs, which he then circulated around the family. 'I'd never thought of it as history, particularly, when I was younger', he explained. 'Only later. You think of it particularly after your parents have died, I think.'

Indeed, the physical loss of a loved one was often described in the interviews as a profound loss of *memory* and *history*. Wendy, a volunteer English teacher at a migrant resource centre in Chatswood, talked about her mother's death in those terms precisely: 'You know, she had recipes, she had everything. She was like a walking encyclopedia of *our* life and the way *we*, our family, did things. And that was just shut down instantly.' That sense of grasping at a past which had simply *gone* was a common experience for many of those I spoke with.

Others described the feeling as a collective loss among their community more broadly. For a group of Indigenous teachers in Derby, the experience of death as a historical erosion was an issue the community as a whole needed to address: 'When you start losing the old ones, your history disappears', said Janie. And in a place where history and narrative is explicitly custodial, the death of a story keeper (sometimes known as the 'right one' or 'boss' of a story) has profound consequences for the maintenance of language and culture. 'Yep. It's just orally spoken, you know', added Alison, another teacher. 'And these days, the old people are starting to lose their memories and stuff.'

So the scramble to reassemble family stories following loss, as well as the urge to pass on history as our own ends become imminent, are clearly responses to the historical rupturing that comes with death and dying. Jenny, an Indigenous elder from Derby, had not been interested in history when she was young: 'it was just school, education, work, friends—that was it. As I get older now, I'm realising that I have to do all this stuff while I can, you know,

so it can benefit our grandchildren and great-grandchildren in this family.' That motivation to connect to the past was frequently linked with death—sometimes with a healthy dose of self-deprecation: 'As you see that end date, you think, 'Maybe I'd like just something left behind!'' quipped Peter from Chatswood.

Just as the disruption of death drew many closer to their family histories, birth was an equally powerful impetus to look back. And in many of the interviews, it was these life events—the birth of a child, or the death of a parent or grandparent—that sparked a strong historical engagement among respondents. Some, like Kyleen, a university student in Brimbank, wanted to mark the historical moment by taking a lock of hair or casting prints of their newborn. And the proliferation of some industries that exist solely to capture those historical 'moments' confirms the constant urge people have to mark them in their lives (De Groot, 2009). For others like Dany, a member of a Chatswood synagogue, the birth of a child was a catalyst for historical connection itself. Dany hadn't been 'very interested' in family history, but after her daughter's birth she became very connected: 'I suddenly realised that I knew *nothing* about my family … I really, really wanted to find out stuff so that I could tell my kids, and particularly my grandchildren. And I'm really glad I did now, because now I know.'

These 'moments' of historical connection are critical to this paper for the way they point to the hereditary function of historical consciousness. Again and again in their interviews, participants described how they became interested in history during these explicitly intergenerational life events. Events of birth and death were not only life events in people's personal narratives, but became prompts for them to place themselves in a longer, intergenerational historical narrative. Such moments frequently prompted questions for participants about what they wanted to inherit from the past, as well as what they wanted to pass on. In other words, their historical sensibilities were touched explicitly by questions of historical inheritance.

As people get older, moreover, they gain the language to give their narratives more meaning (Bruner, 2005; Polkingorne 2005). And in turn, those narratives become even more critical to their sense of self, which perhaps explains how research subjects increasingly turned to the past as a way of understanding our own narratives during the course of their lives (Wertsch, 2004). Participants essentially saw themselves as characters in a long and complex story. The stories themselves varied greatly, of course, as the precise location and details changed with each interviewee. But the actual *use* of established storylines—noting the struggles and joys of childhood, migration, work and family-life—across the generations was a recurring, if not universal, mode of explaining their histories (see, for example: Allen 1992).

Indeed, many participants described a sort of growing *historical recognition* they experienced as they got older. They developed a historical consciousness that increasingly framed their life experiences in a narrative that was related both to older generations and those coming. 'I think as you get older you maybe appreciate history a lot more', Malcolm from Chatswood commented. 'Yes, you're sort of becoming more a part of it yourself!', agreed Don. 'That's true', added Malcolm. 'You have time to appreciate it too.' For Anita in Chatswood, it was the cultural vacuum of migrating to Australia from the UK that had confirmed her need for history. 'It's becoming more and more important', she acknowledged. 'I think once I got to my early forties then history became important. And when I moved to Australia, yeah, I was forty, forty-one when I got here, and I didn't have any family here. I had two friends—that was it. And I *crave* history.'

Even younger respondents described this process of a developing historical consciousness as they became adults. 'I didn't have a lot of interest, you know. As you're growing up when you're younger, you don't care [about history]', said Manisha in her focus group at a

university in Brimbank. 'But as I've gotten older I think I've taken more of an interest in the culture and history.' Silvie also sensed that that she had 'become quite inquisitive' as she'd grown older. And her classmate Kyleen felt the same: 'it hasn't been till I've gotten older that I've been more interested in it, because when you're children it's like '*whatever'*.

Reading their comments, it is possible to discern 'historical consciousness' as a process by which we connect our own narrative to a larger story and develop that state of 'pastmindedness' articulated by Ashton and Hamilton (2010, p.10). Indeed, narrative psychologists read this *act* of everyday narrative construction an ongoing linguistic and developmental process. Emphasising the 'importance of story-making for human understanding and action', scholars such as Donald Polkinghorne (2005, p.4) explain the significance of storytelling in human life as a predisposition that is confirmed and continuously reinforced by a complex cultural emphasis on narrative in human societies (see also: Bruner 2005; Wertsch, 2005). In other words, we understand ourselves by the stories we tell—hence our enduring affair with history. As we get older, moreover, we gain the language to give our narratives more meaning. And in turn those narratives become even more critical to our sense of self, which might explain why participants described increasingly turning to the past as a way of understanding their own narratives during the course of their lives (Wertsch, 2004).

Passing on the past

Understanding this 'archetypal disposition' of our family storylines reveals the ways we make history day to day—as Jerome Bruner (2005) notes, 'we impose coherence' on the past, we 'make it into history' (p. 37). So this urge to 'make stories' is an innate part of our historical consciousness. And the fact that participants sustain these storylines across generations reveals not only the process of their historical consciousness but its importance in their lives. It is clear from these interviews that the *meaning* respondents gain from inheriting and bequeathing their family histories is a sense of themselves as part of a historical narrative. And the sheer volume of family history guides and narratives (which are often self-published) demonstrates the immense scale of this historical inheritance (Kyle, 1994).

But why? Why the need to 'pass on' the past? In their influential research into the presence of the past in American life, Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen looked at inheritance as a 'quest for immortality'—a desire to be remembered by future generations. In the hundreds of interviews they undertook they noticed a recurring theme, particularly among older participants, who 'burned with the wish to pass on everything' (Rosenzweig & Thelen 1998, p. 80).

This is true, but not quite the whole picture: for this research reveals historical inheritance as a quest for identity and belonging, rather than simply a desire for eternal life. There is strong evidence that participants *want* to inherit things from the past, be they stories, objects, or even values. After all, the act of passing on is also an act of reception: respondents in the *Whose Australia?* project hope to be remembered by creating and maintaining traditions, bestowing objects and ensuring their stories would be heard. Yet that historical legacy also needs to be seen in a generational sense, where those very same participants also want to know *more* about the past. They are hungry for history just as they desire to pass it on to their descendants.

As Neville, from a Men's Shed in Sydney's Chatswood described in relation to his own family:

> Now I'm trying to find things to create the family history. I've got step-children, and I gave my great-grandfather's silver pocket-watch to one of my step-sons when he was married. And now

> I'm passing on the family bible, what I'm calling the family bible, to my son. So I actually think I'm trying to create the family history that hasn't been there before, because things that belonged to my grandfather, whom I was very close to, went to his oldest grandson, which was not me. So his memorabilia I didn't get to keep, so I'm kind of constructing that before I die, so the next generation is the keeper of the keepsakes.

At the Rockhampton Historical Society, Fay had inherited a number of objects from the past that she wanted to pass on when she died:

> Um, Dad's hat, from the '60s, you know, every man wore a—Oh, a countryman—wore a hat to town. You know, you come to town once a week, you wore a hat. So I've kept Dad's hat. My mother's embroidery, my grandmother's embroidery, and my aunt's embroidery. They're just a few, there's lots of others, but just those sorts of things.

Fay's friend Margaret from the History Society had kept the 'doily holder bought at Jenolan Caves on my mother's honeymoon in 1931'. Meanwhile her daughter was 'anxious to keep my grandfather's watch'. Meanwhile, for two Indigenous participants, it was language, culture and place that needed passing on, rather than things: Jenny from Derby, was in the process of organising a 'return to country' to her family's traditional lands. 'I realise now with my grandchildren I've got a lot of work to do with teaching them what I know', said Jenny.

Older Australians aren't the only ones forging connections between generations. Sylvie, a Greek Australian university student from St Albans was collecting Greek recipes from her family: 'I'm basically getting all the recipes from my mum, and what she's gotten from her mum and her mum', she said. 'I'm actually making this now, just from knowledge, and I know my sisters want to do the same thing.' For many participants from migrant backgrounds, that question of cultural inheritance was particularly strong, and a number of them spoke about the need to pass on language and traditions as a way of maintaining their cultural heritage with family back 'home'.

So that question of inheritance is ultimately a dynamic one, reaching across generations in both directions, rather than simply an act of bestowal. 'Inheritance' refers not only to what we pass on, but what we take on from the past, how we see our*selves*. It is as is as complex and conflicted as we are, as Anna Green (2013) has suggested, creating 'a thoughtful dialogue between generations' (p. 397). It is not surprising, then, that we tend to get more interested in the past as we get older and life events—those familiar 'chapters' of birth, death, work and marriage—become part of our own lives.

Histories left behind

Critically, however, that idea of 'inheritance' has its corollary in forgetting (Connerton, 2008). More than mere absent-mindedness, forgetting in this sense is understood as an *act*—the fact that some histories are passed on, while others are deliberately withheld (See, for example: Ricoeur, 2004; Buruma, 1995; Hein, 2000; Healy, 1997; Veracini, 2007; Wolfe, 2005). As the historian and writer Anna Haebich contends (2011) 'Forgetting and ignorance are never benign conditions: they do things' (p. 1035).

In highly repressive societies such as Soviet Russia, for example, the constant editing and erasure of official national histories resulted in people's censorship of their most intimate family memories and cultural identities (Wertsch, 2002; Fitzpatrick, 1999). These personal historical 'purges' or 'memory gaps', as Veronika Duprat-Kushtanina (2013, pp. 227-232) calls them, were a means of surviving the system by distancing oneself from the past. Yet they came at a cost. During her research, Duprat-Kushtanina 'discovered blanks in the history of many families … Some events, people, or even periods have been completely erased from the family stories passed down to them' (p. 226).

Closer to home, the historian Henry Reynolds (1998) wondered why Australians had also been kept from the truth of their nation's Indigenous history. 'Why didn't we know? Why were we never told?' he famously asked. 'How did Australia itself forget the truth about pioneering around the vast frontiers?' Reynolds' intervention marked major shift in Australian history, where that 'great Australian silence' regarding Indigenous history had become indisputably and irrevocably challenged (and where Indigenous memory was finally upheld as more than a mere counter narrative) (Nugent, 2003; Stanner, 1968).

In a number of my interviews, there was also a distinct awareness among participants of history's potential for both continuity and discontinuity through the generations. Dorothy from the Rockhampton CWA described it in those terms precisely: 'Yes. I mean, you go back through it and some people say you've got skeletons in the closet. But that's life!' What's more, for many participants, those ellipses were as influential in shaping their historical consciousness as remembrance itself: their identities and their relationships to the past had actually been *formed* by the experience of silence. As this group of youth workers in Brimbank explained, narrative omissions were key to the way they sketched out and understood their family histories:

> Matthew: Yeah, well towards the end my mum got a bit intrigued, because when my grandma was sick she started saying all this stuff that during World War II we changed our last name and everything, but we don't know anyone in Poland to find that out—because my grandpa was a Russian Jew so he had to change his name because of that, supposedly.
>
> Nastassia: I know it's the same in our family. Like there's little bits and pieces of stories but it's kind of too hard to track it back to what it actually is.

Mostly, the stories respondents described in their interviews had been forgotten for a reason—a sadness, perhaps, or a historical shame. And the idea of *protecting* future generations by withholding the past has been noted in studies of family history, such as Anna Green's UK research in which a number of her participants held back information 'deemed less reputable' from their interviews (Green, 2013, p. 391). The German historian Harald Welzer (2008) related similar scenarios in his work into intergenerational histories in Germany, where information about relatives' roles in WWII was simply omitted or altered in the recollections of family members.

It is not simply perpetrators who need protection from the legacy of the past, however. For Dany, a member of a Chatswood Synagogue in Sydney, being victims of Nazism had kept her parents silent: 'Because of the Holocaust, their response was to just forget about the past and just try and settle in Australia and have a future. And for me, particularly, they wanted me not to suffer the way they suffered. So they protected me by telling me nothing.' Silvie from Brimbank explained how her grandparents had simply left their family heritage and history in Poland, along with their former lives, when they migrated to Australia. 'My parents didn't find out about their heritage so we've lost a lot of information', she said. 'There's a lot about my past that I just won't know, just because culturally it just wasn't discussed around the dinner table about, you know, where they're from and their heritage and so on.

But what is the effect of this silence? A growing body of research has explored the importance of history to our sense of self in relation to historical consciousness, but what about our historical *unconscious*? What is the impact of the histories we *don't* know? For some, like Jarrod in Rockhampton, that historical absence was rationalised as an inevitable and acceptable feature of our technological and ephemeral culture: 'I'm wondering how important history is going to be in the future, in the world we're going into', he wondered. Such comments are critical reminders that for many 'ordinary people', history does not figure a major part of their lives.

Nevertheless, others like Silvie experienced such historical 'occlusion' (to use Wineburg et al.'s 2007, phrase, p.66) as a 'sort of a sense of loss', she explained. An understanding 'that there is a big part of who I am [which is gone], and it's a bit of a loss of identity'. That loss was even more pronounced among certain Indigenous participants, whose families had been victims of government policies of forced child removal throughout the twentieth century in Australia (Attwood 2005; Moses 2001, 2008; Haebich & Kinnane 2013).

These Stolen Generations represented a colossal intergenerational rupturing of not only families, but family *histories and narratives*, which some participants explored in their interviews. Tali, an Indigenous woman from Marrickville, unwittingly evoking Duprat-Kushtanina's Soviet research, talked about a 'gap' in the way her extended family understood themselves because of the stolen generations:

> family history is your cultural history, so it's that gap that was created when they were taken away from their mothers into the hostels in Alice Springs, and how they have to go back and see if they can connect the two pieces together, and they say that it was really difficult. So their search for being Aboriginal, and defining themselves as Aboriginal within their family history, was sort of disconnected.

For Janie, an Indigenous student teacher in Derby, the stolen generations had the effect of removing her history…. 'It's very hard to find out information,' she said, 'because nothing is kept on Aboriginal children, or Aboriginal people. So if you've got a grandparent who was stolen or taken away, it's very hard to find all the connections. And all you get are little bits and pieces from the departments, and stuff that's kept at Battye library' (the State Library of Western Australia). The experience of the stolen generations had created distinct disconnections from the past, where whole family stories and important kinship information had simply been lost. Furthermore, compounding the physical removal of Indigenous children, the historical records were located in Perth, almost two and a half thousand kilometres away.

Again, it is the voices of participants themselves that reveal important insights into the dimensions of historical consciousness. Today, the history of the Stolen Generations is far from silent—thanks in large part to the testimony of Indigenous people, as well as the work of researchers, community workers, teachers, and advocates (for example: Haebich, 2000; Manne, 2001; Read, 1999; Commonwealth of Australia, 1997).[3] Yet the 'memory gap' that lingers on is much harder to define—and it is clear from these interviews that the effect of historical 'forgetting' figures powerfully in individuals' historical consciousness.

Conclusion

There has been increasing research into the role of historical consciousness in the development of individual and collective identities, such that the term itself has become critical to the way we understand the role of history in public and private life around the world (eg. Rüsen 2012). Till now, however, the function of inheritance has not been widely considered. This study critically expands our understandings of historical consciousness by: (1) exploring the act of passing on the past as an ongoing and multivalent process (of bestowal and reception); and (2) proposing historical 'unconsciousness' as vital to the ways we conceptualise historical engagement.

As this paper has explored, the stories we are bequeathed and leave behind are critical to our historical sensibility. Participants frequently explained their historical engagement as a desire to understand themselves as part of a multigenerational narrative, and many also spoke about the stories and objects they had inherited and wanted to pass on in turn. Moreover, as this research reveals, forgetting is an equally powerful agent in the process of historical

consciousness, and those 'memory gaps' noted by participants are critical reminders of history's capacity to define our sense of self. Indeed, it is in those silences that further research may be able to contemplate the dimensions of our historical consciousness with greater complexity.

Endnotes

1 I have found reference to 'oral historiography' only once in any widely cited work – by David Henige, in his survey of the varied practices of oral history: David Henige Oral Historiography, London: Longman 1982.

2 At their request, the names of some participants have been changed.

3 And the generosity of a number of Indigenous participants taking part in this project is no exception.

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HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
A journal of historical consciousness, historical cultures, and history education

Towards bad history? A call for the use of counterfactual historical reasoning in history education

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ABSTRACT: In this article we argue for the use of Counterfactual Historical Reasoning (CHR) in history education. Within the discipline of History the use of CHR as a reasoning and research strategy is very controversial. However, different studies show the potential of CHR for achieving the important students' competencies of historical and creative thinking. We show this potential using a CHR assignment that teacher students from the University of Groningen developed for secondary school students in their last year of pre-university education. We conclude that CHR could be used in history education to uncover and undermine assumptions, expand imagination, argue and reason from a historical context, ask historical questions and analyse sources in a very effective way.

KEYWORDS: History Education; Counterfactual Reasoning; History Didactics; What If History; Historical Reasoning.

Two roads diverged in a wood, and I,
I took the one less traveled by, and that has made all the difference.
[Robert Frost]

We face choices every day, such as which route to take. Often, the choice seems obvious. Other times, we have to take a leap of faith without knowing where we will land. Although in hindsight the options seem to have been limited to just one, upon closer inspection that number is revealed to be much higher. Each time, the following question arises: to what extent can we truly know the consequences of our choices? Should we have taken a different route after all? Would our future have been completely different if we had?

For historians, it is unnatural to see the present as anything other than the only possible outcome of historical events. However, that does not mean that those historical events were the only ones possible and that therefore our present is the most logical result of the choices made in the past. Historians can only partially reconstruct the road that was travelled, due to a lack of clues. Often, the image they invoke is no more than a construction. If it is not necessarily the most logical result of a chain of events, then what would the present look like if that chain of events had happened differently? And if our view of the past is mainly based on human reconstruction that masks the holes in our knowledge about that past, what does that say about that view and how should we proceed?

Does considering questions such as these enrich the level of students' historical thinking and reasoning - the core of modern history teaching? We, as teacher and history teacher

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trainer, feel that *counterfactual historical reasoning* (CHR) can not only contribute to the advancement of students' historical reasoning, but also stimulate students' creative and critical thinking process. Moreover, we think that it will make students aware of the dangers of determinism and judgements based on hindsight that are implicit in so many analyses concerning past events. In our opinion, it will also offer a greater insight into important aspects of historical reasoning and thinking, such as continuity and change, historical context and significance. Finally, we see the use of CHR as a good reason to make students think concretely about the role of historians as it concerns representations and explanation of the past as well as their research methods.

In this article, we want to argue for the use of CHR as a learning strategy in history classes in order to advance students' critical thinking and historical reasoning. In order to this, we would like to describe what we consider CHR to be. Next, we will talk about the relationship between CHR, historical reasoning and thinking. Finally, the practical applications of CHR in history classes will be discussed in an assignment designed by history students from the teacher education programme at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands, and we will draw conclusions regarding the use of CHR as a learning strategy in history education.

Counterfactual historical reasoning: a conceptualisation

In the literature, CHR has many names. The most common are *what if history*, *alternative history* and *virtual history* (e.g., Bunzl, 2004; Collins, 2007; Ferguson, 1997; Gini-Newman, 2003, 2004; Lebow, 2007; Tetlock, Lebow & Parker, 2006). We prefer the term *CHR*, because it emphasises that it is a way of reasoning that can be utilised as a cognitive class activity. CHR concerns itself with asking the *what if questions* about history, such as: would the Holocaust have taken place if Hitler had been killed in 1938? Or: Would the Cold War conflict in Asia have become the Vietnam War if John F. Kennedy had not been assassinated in 1963? In doing this, we examine the past on the basis of events that did not take place, or that would have had a different outcome occurred than the ones that did (Bunzl, 2004).

CHR is employed often in different environments, such as business, defence or politics (e.g., MacKay, 2007; Mintzberg, Alhstrand & Lampel, 1998; Neustadt & May, 1986; Van der Heijden, 1996). The creation of scenarios helps to develop strategies and inform decisions. For instance, the Western governments' unanimous and transparent policy concerning Stalin after 1945 was in part based on the assumption that if the Western leaders had acted more sternly again Hitler in the thirties, his need for expansion might have been contained. Nevertheless, this manner of reasoning is often seen as a mortal sin within the scientific historical community. Historians should base themselves on factual source material and not on assumptions, possible historical events or their own imagination (e.g., Carr, 1990; Croce, 1966; Thompson, 1978). Opponents of CHR find it amusing, but not fitting with historical research due to its speculative nature.

However, not all historians are so opposed to working with counterfactuals. In the twentieth century, several prominent historians certainly saw it as more than just a nice game that fuelled the imagination. For instance, in 1931, J.C. Squire published the popular collection of essays *If it had happened otherwise*. This collection contained essay with titles such as: *If Booth Had Missed Lincoln*, *If the Moors in Spain Had Won* and *If Lee Had Not Won the Battle of Gettysburg*. The final essay was written by Winston Churchill and several well-known historians such as Herbert Fischer, Hillaire Belloc, George Macaulay Trevelyan and Hendrik Willen van Loon contributed to the collection. It was Fogel (1964) who attracted attention to CHR as a research strategy. In his book *Railroads and American Economic*

Growth: Essays in Econometric History, he tried to argue what the American economy might have looked like without railways.

In the 1990s there was a revival of CHR. Hawthorne (1991) published *Plausible Worlds: Possibility and Understanding in History and the Social Sciences*. Based on this, Ferguson (1997) published a collection of essays called *Virtual History: Alternative and Counterfactuals,* for which he himself wrote an exhaustive introduction, in which he describes possible theoretical applications of CHR. He attempted to emphasise the unforeseen in history, and criticised deterministic theories such as Marxism. Cowley (1991) published a collection of essays in which several prominent historians examine historical events with the aid of CHR. Apparently, all these historians realised that CHR could most certainly make a useful contribution to examining the past. However, can CHR be of use in history education?

Stimulating historical thinking and reasoning trough CHR

The Creative and Critical Thinking Project by The Five Colleges of Ohio (2006) posits that critical and creative thinking consists of, among other things:

> The faculty or action of producing ideas, especially mental images of what is not present or had not been experienced; the ability to consider alternative points of views; ways of life; and beliefs both across time and across social and physical space. Imagination is also the ability to pose counterfactuals (what ifs), to suppose, and to reason through the implications of such alternative scenarios. (p. 1)

Historical thinking and reasoning is a manner in which this critical and creative thinking about the past manifests itself. Not just in the field of science, but also in primary and secondary education (e.g., National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Where the focus used to be on learning historical facts by heart, nowadays it is demanded from students to also use this knowledge to think and reason (e.g., Lévesque, 2008; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). In many scientific studies, ways to measure and stimulate the level of historical thinking and reasoning in students are being researched. In the Netherlands, the following framework (see Figure 1) is the starting point for the formation of theories concerning historical thinking and reasoning (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008).

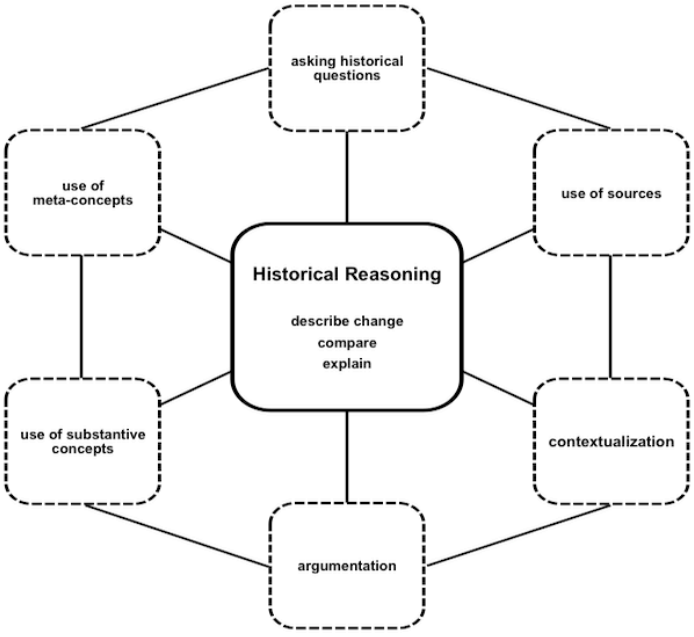

Fig 1. Historical Reasoning Framework
Based on the work of Van Drie & Van Boxtel (2008, p. 90).

In their mutual dependence, the competences identified in Figure 1 form the core of domain A of the final examination programme of Dutch history education. This domain describes what students should be able to do at the end of their time in school. Domains B, C and D are concerned with what students are supposed to know (historical content knowledge). It should also enable the students to think about history on a meta-level, for instance about the question how our image of the past comes to be. In reality, however, we have noticed that many students and teachers struggle with this tremendously. This is because for many students, history merely consists of a more or less logical chain of events that could not have happened differently. We call this concept *creeping determinism* (Hawkins & Hastie, 1990; MacKay & McKiernan, 2004). This concept can lead to misconceptions, such as depicting people in the past as "dumb" or "not knowing any better". These thoughts get in the way of historical explanations of events (Lee & Ashby, 2001).

Working with CHR can make students aware of the fact that historical events are the result of choices made by people, and that these choices could have been made differently and have different outcomes. It can also make them aware that the past as it appears to us is in fact no more than a historian's construction. The resulting picture, after all, is based on the scarce remaining clues. Interpreting these clues is difficult and time-consuming. As Sladék (2007) notes:

> This continuous process of verification, completion, but even expunging of specific historical facts and rewriting of historical narratives evidences the fact that the historical world presented is *incomplete* and *full of gaps* – just like fiction. (p. 1)

In this sense, historians wrestle with the same problem as someone who reasons on the basis of historical counterfactuals. As a result of the lack of data, both create a narrative of a possible past. In both cases, this possible world must be physically plausible (Sladék, 2007). However, this is also where the differences begin; in historical thinking and reasoning, what is lacking in knowledge is of an epistemological nature. We do not know all the events and facts from the past, nor will we ever be able to.

In CHR, these omissions are also ontological in nature. Events that occur in the created, counterfactual world do not actually exist and never have (Doležel, 1998). Another difference is the historical narrative, that, to a lesser or greater extent, is deterministic in nature. After all, the knowledge gained in hindsight was used to reason towards the present moment. That moment somehow forms the framework through which historians view and examine the past. In CHR, that aspect hardly plays a role, if at all. In CHR, historians have to put themselves in the position of the contemporary for whom all options of the future are still wide open: "for whom the selection was not closed by the actualization of one of them" (Doležel, 1998, 2004). Rather, historians take on the role of futurologist in the past: they consider the future's possibilities and on the basis of this sketch an alternative path that the past never took. In doing this, they must always avail themselves of the actual elements of historical thinking and reasoning, such as *historical significance*, *continuity and change*, *cause and effect*, *historical contextualisation* and *the ethical dimension* that all play a large part in the ability to think and reason in a historical context (Huijgen et al., 2014; Levesque, 2008; Seixas & Morton, 2013).

Historical significance is concerned with the question when events, developments, or (actions by) people become historically relevant. For CHR, the most important criterion is that an event can only be called significant when it is of great consequence for a great number of people and/or when these consequences are in effect for a longer period of time. Detecting these radical events takes analytical reasoning skills. After all, it usually concerns a sequence of events, the last of which corrodes societal order in such a way that "a chain of occurrences" is set in motion that "transforms" "durably . . . previous structures and practices" (Sewell,

1996, p. 834) Within the framework of CHR, this moment is a suitable point of divergence, i.e. the moment where the past takes an alternative path.

There is a direct correlation between this moment and the meta-concepts of *cause and effect* and *continuity and change*. Because CHR assumes a physically possible world, being able to reason from such concepts as original setting and historical context is of great importance in working with historical counterfactuals. In addition, CHR can also shape other important elements of historical thinking and reasoning that are asked of history students, such as thinking about history and the moral goals of the field, creating an oral or written alternative historical narrative and comparing, evaluating and analysing different narratives. With the aid of these elements, teachers are able to develop tasks that challenge students to show their high-level thinking capacities in the field of historical reasoning and thinking.

The role of CHR in teacher education

Roberts (2011) described how CHR can be introduced in history classes. His interesting seven-step approach, however, takes up quite a lot of the available lessons: 13 till 18. In 2014, we formulated an assignment for the history students of the University of Groningen's teacher training academy to make them work with CHR over the course of a few lessons with the goal of advancing their historical thinking and reasoning. After an introduction to the phenomenon of CHR and its relation to historical thinking and reasoning, the students had to design a CHR assignment for students in their last year of pre-university education. It had to consist of the following stages.

1. Choose and describe an historical narrative.
2. In this historical narrative, pinpoint three points of divergence and pick one as a starting point for an alternative historical scenario. Motivate this choice with historical and plausible arguments.
3. From the chosen point of divergence, work out the alternative scenario until you can argue for a historically sound and plausible narrative. In order to do this, you must first come up with an "umbrella" question: a question that frames the alternative scenario and foresees a possible end point.
4. Finish the task by formulating assignments that appeal to students' capabilities in historical thinking and reasoning in which they have to compare the two narratives.

This assignment led to many great examples, one of which we would like to highlight here. The historical narrative chosen was the fall of the Berlin wall. The students opted for three possible points of divergence: August 1989, the month during which the border between Austria and Hungary was opened. This moment can be seen as the beginning of the end of the tensions between East and West during the Cold War. The second possible point of divergence was November 9th, 1989, at exactly 6:57 PM: at this moment a press conference was taking place in Berlin, concerning the relaxation of the rules of crossing the border from East to West Berlin that included the potentially purposeful slip of the tongue by Schabowski - spokesperson for the East German government - that the border would be opened straight away. The third possible point of divergence chosen was the same evening but slightly later, namely exactly 11:52 PM. At this exact moment Harald Jäger, commander of the border crossing at the Bornholmderstrasse, watched a large crowd of people from East Berlin approach and said: "Screw this. I am opening the border. The citizens of the DDR are free."

The students developed the latter scenario into an alternative narrative consisting of the following stages. Border guard Jäger gives the order to fire into the crowd, resulting in many casualties. The West is shocked and, represented by Bush, decide to repeal any and all

agreements reached with the Soviets concerning the disarmament. The Cold War reaches a new, icy stage. Gorbachev is deposed. Vladimir Kryuchkov, head of the KGB, replaces him and rules the Soviet empire with a firm hand. "Almost thirty years after the Cuban missile crisis, the Cold War has reached an absolute low point for the second time."

This example illustrates the importance of choosing well-thought-out points of divergence. These points must be concrete moments in history, historical compactions of the past, and where possible distilled down to the smallest possible relevant chronological unit: the minute. This way, students can experience that the historical chain of events is not necessarily dependent upon the strict historical law of cause and effect, but often the result of coincidences that are unintentional and in hindsight less logical than historical research or schoolbook methods make them seem. Interpreting the past - the core of historical reasoning - is dependent on many a happy or unhappy, occasionally unexpected, coincidence.

In order to stimulate the high school students' historical thinking and reasoning, the students devised several more assignments to go with the scenarios. The students had to compare both narratives and recognise the similarities and differences. Another assignment was to detect a new point of divergence in the alternative scenario and use it as a jumping off point for an alternative narrative in which the Cold War would end within the foreseeable future. In our assignment, both narratives were written by history teachers in training who thought up assignments to go with them for the students. It is of course possible to have the students themselves choose and argue the point of divergence and pick one to describe an alternative past chain of events. However, that would take great knowledge of the subject at hand.

Conclusion

Many teachers that we spoke to do not spend a lot of time on philosophical historical debate. Nevertheless, this could help students to see the possibilities and limitations of history as a school subject. Wherein lies the power and use of studying history? What is the role of historians? An exchange of views about questions such as these, spurred on by an assignment on CHR, can not only contribute to the students' insight into historical processes, historical representation and awareness, but also their motivation.

In our eyes, CHR is highly suitable to stimulating students' critical and creative thinking, as well as their historical thinking and reasoning. They can uncover and undermine assumptions, expand their imagination, argue and reason from a historical context, ask historical questions and analyse sources. In other words: the use of the concept of an alternative historical world enables students to a high level of historical thinking and reasoning. For this, the task developed by the students of the teacher education programme at the University of Groningen offers many starting points, especially when the high school students need to develop their own alternative scenario. Because then, they have to appeal to their creativity without turning the narrative into fiction and without violating the historical method that underlies historical thinking and reasoning. If they then also evaluate the role of historians in the representation of the past, we believe that this is one of the highest levels students in history education can reach.

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HISTORICAL ENCOUNTERS
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Towards a multilateral analysis of 'knowing Asia': a policy trajectory approach

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Dissertation Abstract

Various economic, political, social and cultural shifts have led to increasing interest in Australia and other Western countries in 'Asia'.[1] Consequently, more educators are required to 'know Asia'. In Australia, this engagement is conceptualised as 'Asia literacy' and led by the Asian Education Foundation (AEF). However, it is argued that there is an absence of 'Asia literacy' in both schools and tertiary education and lagging momentum in taking it up.

This thesis examines the epistemological and ontological assumptions in 'Asia literacy' policy and in the enactment of the policy in one high school in Queensland, Australia. It explores 'Asia literacy' policy in Australia, focusing on the heteroglossic discursive constructions of 'Asia', 'knowing Asia' and the imperatives to 'know Asia' and their transformations across different sites. This thesis contends that these transformations have a capacity to open up conceptual and political spaces to react back on global understandings that inform the broad political agenda of 'Asia literacy' and reconceptualise the significance of a trajectory of understanding policy.

The analysis of 'Asia literacy' is informed by a number of theoretical elements. It draws on the policy process in terms of Ball's (1993) trajectory theory, and the constitution of the objects of policy using Bacchi's (2009) 'what's the problem' approach. It theorises the discourses of epistemological and ontological assumptions about 'Asia' and 'knowing Asia' at each point of the trajectory using Bacchi's (2009) approach, Bhabha's (1995) notion of mimicry, Sen's (1997) view of capabilities and Bakhtin's (1981) concept of heteroglossia as a basis for unpacking the heteroglossic character of the discourse. It also uses Said's (1993, 2003) notion of Orientalism, Bhabha's (1995) conceptualisation of hybridity and Ashcroft's (2001) reading of reconceptualisation to frame critical postcolonial perspectives and Nakata's (2012; Nakata, Nakata, Keech, & Bolt, 2012) appeal for convergence and Chen's (2010) call for critical syncretism to extend these perspectives. Therefore, the reconceptualisation of the discourse of 'Asia literacy' has drawn on work of all of the above.

The thesis reflects the research strategy of investigating the three phases of the trajectory of this policy in sequence, and publication at each point in this process as a form of intervention back into the ongoing academic discourse around continuing policy development. Furthermore, reconceptualisation (Ashcroft, 2001; Parkes, 2007, 2012) is used as a generative lens to reflect on the whole and deduce significance of the whole over and beyond the significance of the parts. Key findings that emerged in this investigation are:

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- Competing constructs of 'Asia' in and between policy text and policy actors that create an ontological dilemma between constructs of 'Asia' as unitary and knowable, and as complex and diverse, and between economic and cultural imperatives;
- Tensions for teachers as their epistemological assumptions about 'knowing Asia' create conflict between 'what to know' and 'how to know it'; and
- The agency of school actors, including school leaders and teachers, in transforming, not just implementing policy.

The thesis thus contends principally that to 'know Asia' requires a disruption of the discourse of 'Asia' as a unitary construct with questions of what constitutes 'Asia', and how exploring these questions opens up space for schools to engage with 'Asia literacy'. It proposes a re-vision of 'Asia literacy' as 'knowing Asia'; the process of 'knowing' opens up space to seek and traverse multiple directions, and identify guides in varied authors and voices. In 'knowing' too, this re-vision does not locate a fixed beginning to 'know' or an end-point that is 'known'. It does not attempt to explain 'Asia literacy' policy, but instead explores policy as social phenomena using a case study approach to investigate localised complexity in conjunction with a broader critical analysis of relevant policy and curriculum documents. Findings of this exploration are cross-examined through a dialogic reconsideration across and between all contexts of the policy trajectory to offer an alternative conceptualisation of knowing Asia.

This study does two things: firstly it illuminates the human capital paradigm for 'knowing Asia' evident across the globe (Pang, 2005; Singh, 1996b). While undoubtedly part of a larger response to global economic shifts, this paradigm positions the 'Asia literacy' project in policy as a "neo-colonial project which aspires to understand the object of Australia's economic desires" (Singh, 1995b, p. 9). Secondly, it uses a theoretical framework to explore epistemologies that both adhere to and challenge this paradigm. The study therefore contributes to the field of intercultural education through theorising a reconceptualisation of epistemologies to engage with 'knowing Asia'. The call for navigation and dialogue further accentuates "the 'inter'" in intercultural education as not only "a place of encounter but of negotiation and discussion" (Fiedler, 2007, p. 55).

Given the renewed impetus for Australia to engage with 'Asia' in the 'Asian century', and the responsibility given to education to support this engagement, a study of this nature is a significant contribution. Before issues such as resourcing are taken up for current and future manifestations of 'Asia literacy', such as the cross-curriculum priority 'Asia and Australia's engagement with Asia' in the emerging Australian Curriculum, teachers' theoretical work in engaging with 'knowing Asia' requires specific attention to develop their capacity for cultural reflection. This points to the importance of critical reflection on cultural mapping as part of teacher identity formation and requires the crucial step of engaging teachers in this essential conceptual work.

[1] Editor's Note: Since the 1990s studies of 'Asia' have waxed and waned as a priority in Australian History curricula.

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