

Uses of History in History Education

Robert Thorp



Umeå University & Dalarna University, 2016



Umeå Studies in History and Education 13
ISBN: 978-91-7601-512-4
Cover: Ralf Fredriksson and Liselott Söder
Electronic version available at <http://umu.diva-portal.org/>
Printed by: Print & media, Umeå universitet
Umeå 2016

For Engla and Ingrid

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Appendices	iv
Introduction	1
Previous Research	5
Historical Media: History Textbooks and Popular History Magazines	5
History Teachers and History Teaching	9
Theoretical Framework	13
Ontological and Epistemological Assumptions	13
<i>Representation</i>	13
<i>Interpretation</i>	14
<i>Truth and Knowledge</i>	15
<i>Experience and Cognition</i>	17
History Didactical Assumptions	18
<i>History Didactics</i>	18
<i>Memory and Remembering</i>	19
<i>The Present Perspective on History</i>	20
<i>Historical Narratives</i>	21
<i>Historical Knowledge and Understanding</i>	22
<i>Historical Culture</i>	23
<i>Uses of History</i>	25
<i>Historical Consciousness</i>	27
Summary	30
Methodology	31
Research Design and Material	31
A Deductive Approach	31
Data Collection	33
<i>History Textbooks and Popular History Magazines</i>	33
<i>History Teachers</i>	35
Application of Theoretical Framework and Coding of Empirical Data	38
Ethical Considerations	40
Results	42
Brief Summary of the Articles Included	42
<i>Historical Consciousness and Historical Media: A History Didactical Approach to Educational Media</i>	42
<i>Popular History Magazines and History Education</i>	43
<i>Representation and Interpretation: Textbooks, Teachers, and Historical Culture</i>	44
<i>Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History: Aspects of Two History Teachers' Relations to History and Historical Media</i>	45

A History Didactical Framework	46
<i>Specifying Historical Consciousness</i>	46
<i>The Relation between Historical Consciousness and Uses of History</i>	50
<i>The Relation between Uses of History and Historical Culture</i>	53
<i>Historical Consciousness, Uses of History and Historical Culture</i>	54
Historical Culture in Historical Media	55
Historical Culture and History Teachers	57
Summary	61
Discussion	62
Implications of the Theoretical Approach Taken	62
An Argument for Historical Narrative Competency	64
Understanding History as a Critical Study of the Past	65
Methodological Implications	68
Further Research	70
Conclusion	72
Kort sammanfattning på svenska	74
Inledning	74
Resultat	76
Diskussion	79
Avslutande kommentarer	80
References	81

Abstract

This compilation thesis contains an introductory chapter and four original articles. The studies comprising this thesis all concern aspects of how historical culture is constituted in historical media and history teachers' narratives and teaching. It is argued that the teaching of history is a complex matter due to an internal tension resulting from the fact that history is both a product and a process at the same time. While historical facts, and knowledge thereof, are an important aspect of history, history is also a product of careful interpretation and reconstruction. This study analyses and discusses how history is constituted in history textbooks and popular history magazines, i.e. two common historical media, and in teachers' narratives and teaching of history.

The study finds that the historical media studied generally tend to present history as void of perspective, interpretation and representation, suggesting this to be the culturally warranted form of historical exposition. Moreover, the teachers studied also tend to approach history as if it were not contingent on interpretation and reconstruction. These results indicate that the history disseminated in historical media and history classrooms presents history in a factual way and disregards the procedural aspects of history.

Applying the history didactical concepts of historical consciousness, historical culture and uses of history, this thesis argues that an essential aspect of historical understanding is an appreciation of the contextual contingency that characterises history. All history is conceived within a particular context that is pertinent to why and how a certain version of history is constructed. Furthermore, all history is also received within a particular context by people with particular preconceptions of history that are contextually contingent, in the sense that they are situated in a certain historical culture. Readers of historical media are members of societies and are thus affected by how history is perceived and discussed in these contexts. This thesis argues that an awareness of these aspects of history is an important factor for furthering a complex understanding of history that encompasses the tension highlighted above.

Acknowledgements

Looking back at the last four and a half years brings back many good memories to life. I have had many rewarding experiences, met with many impressive colleagues and made good friends. Below I will try to highlight some of them.

I had the privilege of spending the first two and a half years as a member of the *Historical Media: Post Graduate School in History Education* at Umeå and Dalarna universities. Myself and fourteen other history teachers had the opportunity to meet, study and discuss matters relating to history didactics and I learnt so much from all of them. Thank you Maria, Lena, Lina, Peter, Carl, Cecilia, Ulrika, Åsa, José, Karin, Annie, Aleksandra, Catharina and Andreas: you were the best research school one could ever wish to be a part of. A very warm thank you to Daniel Lindmark, Monika Vinterek, Björn Norlin, Carina Rönnqvist, Anna Larsson and Henrik Åström Elmersjö for arranging such an inspiring, challenging and rewarding research school and for making our way through it such a good time.

During the last three years I have also had the opportunity to participate in the research project *Teaching the Cold War: Memory Practices in the Classroom* directed by Barbara Christophe at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. I will always look back at my visits to the institute in Braunschweig with very fond memories and I would like to thank Barbara Christophe, Katharina Baier, Kathrin Zehr, Nora Zimmermann, Eva Fischer, Peter Gautschi, Markus Furrer, Nadine Ritzer, Daniel Lindmark, Henrik Åström Elmersjö and Monika Vinterek for making the research project such a rewarding and positive experience. I also would like to thank Lucas Garske for interesting discussions and good laughs.

For ten wonderful weeks I was invited to the University of Newcastle in New South Wales, Australia by Robert Parkes and the HERMES research group to participate in a research project and work on this thesis. I would like to express a warm 'thank you' to Robert, Heather Sharp and Debra Donnelly for interesting discussions and good times, and I especially want to thank Robert Parkes and Debra Donnelly for going out of their way in making me and my family's visit such a pleasant one. Debra's swimming pool will always be the place where Ingrid learnt to swim.

Being a PhD-student can make you feel lonely at times, but I have had the privilege of being in the company of other inspiring, knowledgeable and supportive doctoral students in history didactics: Anders Persson, Maria Deldén, Lars Andersson Hult and Synne Myrebøe. Thank you for all the interesting discussions, good times and friendship.

I also want to thank the teachers that agreed to participate in this study and share their scarce time with me. Without your help I would never have been able to write this thesis and I am forever grateful for this. I also want to thank Arja Virta, Erik Sjöberg and Anna Larsson for valuable comments and discussions on earlier drafts of this text. Thomas Nygren always gave me great support and good advice. Kristina Schön helped me with translations from German. Ralf Fredriksson and Liselott Söder helped me with the layout and cover to this book. I am very grateful for this help.

Lastly I would like to thank my supervisors Monika Vinterek, Henrik Åström Elmersjö and Roger Melin without whose help I would never have been able to finish this project. I especially want to thank Monika for having such patience, wisdom and trust in me. Without your confidence in and appreciation of my work I would not have gotten very far at all.

Uppsala, July 2016

Robert Thorp

Appendices

- Article I: Thorp, R., “Historical Consciousness and Historical Media: A History Didactical Approach to Educational Media,” in *Education Inquiry*, vol. 5, no. 4 (December 2014), 497-516.
- Article II: Thorp, R., “Popular History Magazines and History Education,” in *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education*, vol. 2, no. 1 (December 2015), 102-112.
- Article III: Thorp, R., “Representation and Interpretation: Textbooks, Teachers, and Historical Culture,” in *IARTEM e-Journal*, vol. 7, no. 2 (September 2015), 73-99.
- Article IV: Thorp, R., “Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History: Aspects of Two History Teachers’ Relations to History and Historical Media,” manuscript currently under review in *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* (August 2016).

Introduction

It has been claimed that history is a fundamental aspect of how we perceive ourselves and the world around us.¹ The historical dimension helps us to navigate in life and is an integral part of our identity constitution.² As such, it could be argued that history is something larger than what is produced in academic institutions across the world or that is being disseminated in history textbooks or in history classrooms.³ It could further be argued that there are cultural aspects related to history as well, and that we partake in a number of historical cultures⁴ in our everyday and professional lives. These historical cultures affect what we perceive to be historically relevant and meaningful, and at the same time we affect and influence these historical cultures through our relations to, and dissemination of, history.⁵ With this view, our relations to history take on the character of contingency: who we are, where we are situated and when we live become crucial aspects of how we perceive and approach history. This also has repercussions for history education.

According to what has sometimes been termed the 'practical' or 'cultural turn' in research, all meaning that can be derived from various media is contingent on how it is interpreted and negotiated by people⁶ and this overarching perspective has inspired the hermeneutic approach taken in this thesis. If we focus on history and history education, this means that how we approach, interpret and teach history is contingent on our preconceptions and uses of it. From this perspective, studies of how historical media are perceived or interpreted need to pay close attention to the contexts in which these historical media are conceived and interpreted.⁷ This research project

¹ See Klas-Göran Karlsson, 'Historia, historiedidaktik och historiekultur - teori och perspektiv', in *Historien är närvarande: Historiedidaktik som teori och tillämpning*, ed. Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2014), 13–89; Paul Boghos Zanazanian, *Historical Consciousness and the Construction of Inter-Group Relations: The Case of Francophone and Anglophone History School Teachers in Quebec* (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2009), 23–24.

² Jörn Rüsen, 'Historical Consciousness: Narrative, Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development', in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 67.

³ Bernard Eric Jensen, 'Historiemedvetande - begreppsanalys, samhällsteori, didaktik', in *Historiedidaktik*, ed. Christer Karlegård and Klas-Göran Karlsson (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997), 49–81.

⁴ The notion 'historical culture' is understood in this context as a notion that deals with what relationships individuals, groups, or societies may have to history that may be studied through various artefacts, such as historical media.

⁵ See Henrik Åström Elmersjö, 'Historical Culture and Peace Education: Some Issues for History Teaching as a Means of Conflict Resolution', in *Contesting and Constructing International Perspectives on Global Education*, ed. Ruth Reynolds et al. (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2015), 161–62.

⁶ See David G. Stern, 'The Practical Turn', in *The Blackwell Guide to the Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, ed. Stephen P. Turner and Paul A. Roth (Padstow: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003), 185, 192–200.

⁷ See Robert J. Parkes, *Interrupting History: Rethinking History Curriculum after 'The End of History'*, *Counterpoints: Studies in the Postmodern Theory of Education*, Volume 404 (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2011), 5; K. H. Sievers, 'Toward a Direct Realist Account of Observation', *Science & Education* 8, no. 4 (1 July 1999): 387–93.

aligns with this theoretical position, and it aims to analyse and discuss how historical culture is constituted in historical media and in history teachers' narratives and implemented teaching. This research uses the central history didactical concepts of historical consciousness, uses of history and historical culture to enable comprehensive analyses of how historical media present history. Furthermore, analyses are carried out of how teachers narrate their interpretations of a textbook account relating the outbreak of the Cold War, their personal experiences of the same historical event, and how they teach it to their pupils. These history didactical concepts are, as has been pointed out in research, vague and difficult to apply, and their inter-relations are in need of further theoretical specification.⁸ Consequently, one ambition of this research has been to specify, operationalise and apply these concepts in analysis to enable studies of how history is represented, approached and perceived, both regarding personal and public aspects that are pertinent concerning history didactics in particular, and history in general. For these reasons, effort has been made to specifying and operationalising these concepts to enable a study of how historical culture is constituted in historical media and history teachers' narratives and teaching.

History teachers could be regarded as having multiple and, perhaps, conflicting, roles to play. On the one hand they are individuals with their own personal experiences and views of history. On the other, they are professionals that are expected to teach what could be regarded as 'the official history' as portrayed in history curricula and historical media,⁹ i.e. they may have to navigate between different historical cultures and both public and personal aspects of these historical cultures.¹⁰ Furthermore, history education has gone through rather fundamental changes during the last 50 years. It has gone from being aimed at disseminating a mono-perspectival national narrative to being a subject aimed at developing a complex historical understand-

⁸ See Erik Axelsson, 'Historia i bruk och medvetande: En kritisk diskussion av två historiografiska begrepp', in *En helt annan historia: Tolv historiografiska uppsatser*, ed. Samuel Edquist et al., vol. s. 11-26, *Opuscula Historica Upsalensia* 31 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2004); Karl-Ernst Jeismann, 'Geschichtsbewußtsein - Theorie', in *Handbuch Der Geschichtsdidaktik*, ed. Klaus Bergmann et al., 5th ed. (Hannover: Kallmeyer'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1997), 42; Klas-Göran Karlsson, 'Historical Consciousness – The Fundament of Historical Thinking and History Teaching', in *The Processes of History Teaching: An International Symposium Held at Malmö University, Sweden, March 5th-7th 2009*, ed. Per Eliasson, Carina Rönnqvist and Kenneth Nordgren, *Studier i de samhällsvetenskapliga ämnenas didaktik* 15 (Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2011), 34-41; Kenneth Nordgren, *Vems är historien?: Historia som medvetande, kultur och handling i det mångkulturella Sverige*, *Doktorsavhandlingar inom den nationella forskarskolan i pedagogiskt arbete, 1653-6894*; 3 (Umeå: Fakultetsnämnden för lärarutbildning, Umeå universitet, 2006), 15.

⁹ See Bjorn G. J. Wansink et al., 'Epistemological Tensions in Prospective Dutch History Teachers' Beliefs about the Objectives of Secondary Education', *The Journal of Social Studies Research*, n.d., accessed 14 April 2016.

¹⁰ See K. G. Hammarlund, 'Historia som ämnesdisciplin och vardagsliv – ämnesdidaktiska utmaningar i ett flerkulturellt samhälle', *Norddidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2015:3 (2015): 5-6.

ing and an international multi-perspectival approach to history.¹¹ Research has noted, however, that a traditional approach to history education characterised by a focus on a national or Eurocentric perspective and content knowledge is still practiced despite these curricular changes, indicating what may be called a historical cultural lag.¹² On a more general level, this raises the question of what history is taught and should be taught in schools and what the characteristics of the subject are perceived to be. The results presented here will be used to further a discussion about these aspects of history education.

By designing four independent case studies, different kinds of empirical data were collected that allowed for further enhancement and fine tuning of the theoretical and methodological approaches taken. In the first case study I analysed an extract from a history textbook relating Swedish post World War II history; in the second case study I analysed popular history magazines' portrayals of the outbreak of World War I; in the third case study I analysed how lower secondary school history teachers analysed a quotation from a history textbook detailing the emergence of the Cold War conflict; and in the fourth case study I interviewed lower secondary school history teachers about their experiences of growing up during the Cold War, and observed these teachers when teaching the same unit in class. Thus, through analyses of historical media (i.e. history textbooks and popular history magazines), teacher interviews and classroom observations, a variety of different data was collected in order to analyse how teachers relate to different aspects of historical culture as professionals, i.e. how they use history in history education. The research questions I posed were:

1. How is history represented in contemporary history textbooks and popular history magazines in terms of content and uses of history?
2. How do history teachers relate to history concerning history textbooks, personal experiences of history and the teaching of history, in terms of content and uses of history?
3. What aspects of historical culture are constituted in historical media and history teachers' narratives and teaching?

¹¹ Sirikka Ahonen, 'History Education in Post-Conflict Societies', *Historical Encounters* 1, no. 1 (30 June 2014): 76; Maria Johansson, *Historieundervisning och interkulturell kompetens* (Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2012), 9–10; Andreas Körber, 'Translation and Its Discontents II: A German Perspective', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 4 (3 July 2016): 441; Thomas Nygren, *History in the Service of Mankind: International Guidelines and History Education in Upper Secondary Schools in Sweden, 1927–2002*, Umeå Studies in History and Education 5 (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2011).

¹² Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Routledge, 2004), 249–51; Vanja Lozic, *I historiekansons skugga: Historieämne och identifikationsformering i 2000-talets mångkulturella samhälle* (Malmö: Lärarutbildningen, Malmö högskola, 2010), 217–19; Jukka Rantala, 'How Finnish Adolescents Understand History: Disciplinary Thinking in History and Its Assessment Among 16-Year-Old Finns', *Education Sciences* 2, no. 4 (31 October 2012): 193–207.

4. How can a theoretical framework comprising historical consciousness, uses of history and historical culture be applied to study the content of historical media and the reception thereof?

Thus, a broad approach to history education and historical media has been taken. History textbooks and popular history magazines have been analysed according to the content and narratological qualities they have, and this analysis has been extended to include how they are received by history teachers and then implemented in a teaching situation. The first, second and third articles¹³ relate to the first research question since they all focus on representations of history in history textbooks and popular history magazines from the aspect of historical culture. The third and fourth¹⁴ articles relate to the second research question since they analyse and discuss aspects of how history teachers relate to history. The results from all four articles are then used to answer the third question. Finally it should be pointed out that throughout all four articles, the theoretical framework comprising historical consciousness, uses of history and historical cultures, was developed and specified. As such, one result of the combined articles is a theoretical development of these history didactical concepts that corresponds to the fourth research question. This development will be presented in the section related to the results of the present study.

This introductory chapter is divided into six sections. The first, and present, section presents the aim and research questions of the study. The second section places the study in a broader context of contemporary history didactical research. The third section, 'Theoretical framework,' presents the theoretical assumptions that underlie the study. The fourth section, 'Methodology,' discusses issues related to the research design and methodology of both the whole study and the individual articles that it is comprised of. The fifth section, 'Results,' presents the general results of the study. Finally, the sixth section, 'Discussion,' presents a discussion of the results and methodological approach taken. This is followed by a brief conclusion and a brief summary in Swedish.

¹³ Robert Thorp, 'Historical Consciousness and Historical Media - A History Didactical Approach to Educational Media', *Education Inquiry* 5, no. 4 (8 December 2014): 497–516; Robert Thorp, 'Popular History Magazines and History Education', *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education* 2, no. 1 (December 2015): 102–12; Robert Thorp, 'Representation and Interpretation: Textbooks, Teachers, and Historical Culture', *IARTEM E-Journal* 7, no. 2 (September 2015): 73–99.

¹⁴ Robert Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History: Aspects of Two History Teachers' Relations to History and Historical Media' (submitted article manuscript, 2016).

Previous Research

This section presents previous history didactical research that is relevant to the present study in terms of how historical media (i.e. history textbooks and popular history magazines) constitute and portray aspects of historical culture and how history teachers relate to historical media and history. The first sub-section presents research on history textbooks and popular history magazines (since this is the focus of this study) and the second sub-section presents research focused on history teachers. Since this study takes place in and relates to a Swedish context both regarding historical media and history education, I have chosen to focus primarily on Swedish research within these fields and supplement this research with relevant international research.

Historical Media: History Textbooks and Popular History Magazines

A large number of recent studies have analysed historical media from the perspectives of production, content and reception. These studies have analysed historical educational media such as textbooks, popular and documentary films, primary sources and popular history magazines from a number of perspectives. More specifically, and in relation to this particular study, a number of studies have focused on history textbooks and popular history magazines, and these are the ones I will address below.

While textbook research has generally been a discipline inclined towards analyses of content (and this appears to be the most dominant trend in contemporary research on history textbooks),¹⁵ some research has also looked at the use and reception of textbooks in educational practice. Studies of the content of history textbooks have analysed that content to identify the characteristics that certain textbook narratives have generally¹⁶ and on a number

¹⁵ See Simone Lässig, 'Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 14–15.

¹⁶ See Samira Alayan and Naseema Al-Khalidi, 'Gender and Agency in History, Civics, and National Education Textbooks of Jordan and Palestine', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 78–96; Mireille Estivalèzes, 'Teaching about Islam in the History Curriculum and in Textbooks in France', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 1 (30 April 2011): 45–60; Shreya Ghosh, 'Identity, Politics, and Nation-Building in History Textbooks in Bangladesh', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6, no. 2 (1 September 2014): 25–41; Eleftherios Klerides, 'Imagining the Textbook: Textbooks as Discourse and Genre', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 31–54; Arie Kizel, 'The Presentation of Germany in Israeli History Textbooks between 1948 and 2014', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 7, no. 1 (1 March 2015): 94–115; Jörg Lehmann, 'Civilization versus Barbarism: The Franco-Prussian War in French History Textbooks, 1875–1895', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 7, no. 1 (1 March 2015): 51–65; Willeke Los, 'Remembering or Forgetting? Accounts of the Recent Revolutionary Past in Dutch History Textbooks for Primary Education in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 4, no. 1 (5 June 2012): 26–39; Ina Markova, 'Balancing Victimhood and Complicity in Austrian History Textbooks: Visual and Verbal Strategies of Representing the Past in Post-Waldheim Austria', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 2 (15 November 2011): 58–73; Deepa Nair, 'Contending "Historical" Identities in India', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 145–64; Ryôta Nishino, 'Narrative Strate-

of issues (e.g. minority groups,¹⁷ relations to a larger historical culture¹⁸ and specific historical topics or events¹⁹), as well as the propensities in textbook narratives that develop certain features in their readers.²⁰ Research has also noted that history textbooks tend to reflect political and social trends in the societies for which they were intended, both concerning what motives publishers and authors may have had regarding choice of content and exposition, and what is considered to be historically relevant and meaningful.²¹ In this sense, history textbooks may be argued to reflect the dominant historical culture in the societies to which they correspond since they present a version

gies Regarding Japanese Ethnic Origins and Cultural Identities in Japanese Middle-School History Textbooks', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 97–112; Gabriel Pirický, 'The Ottoman Age in Southern Central Europe as Represented in Secondary School History Textbooks in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 108–29; Seth B. Scott, 'The Perpetuation of War in U. S. History Textbooks', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 59–70.

¹⁷ See Keith Crawford, 'Constructing Aboriginal Australians, 1930–1960 Projecting False Memories', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 90–107; Stuart J. Foster, 'The Struggle for American Identity: Treatment of Ethnic Groups in United States History Textbooks', *History of Education* 28, no. 3 (1 September 1999): 251–78; Anne Gaul, 'Where Are the Minorities? The Elusiveness of Multiculturalism and Positive Recognition in Sri Lankan History Textbooks', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6, no. 2 (1 September 2014): 87–105; Nordgren, *Vems är historien?*

¹⁸ See Lena Almqvist Nielsen, *Förhistorien som kulturellt minne: Historiekulturell förändring i svenska läroböcker 1903-2010*, Licentiatavhandlingar från forskarskolan historiska medier 10 (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2014); Shinichi Arai, 'History Textbooks in Twentieth Century Japan: A Chronological Overview', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 2 (30 October 2010): 113–21; Catherine Broom, 'Change and Continuity in British Columbian Perspectives as Illustrated in Social Studies Textbooks from 1885 to 2006', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 2 (15 November 2011): 42–57; Foster, 'The Struggle for American Identity'; Nair, 'Contending "Historical" Identities in India'; Marcus Otto, 'The Challenge of Decolonization School History Textbooks as Media and Objects of the Postcolonial Politics of Memory in France since the 1960s', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 14–32.

¹⁹ See Luigi Cajani, 'The Image of Italian Colonialism in Italian History Textbooks for Secondary Schools', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 72–89; Stuart Foster and Adrian Burgess, 'Problematic Portrayals and Contentious Content: Representations of the Holocaust in English History Textbooks', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 2 (1 September 2013): 20–38; Janne Holmén, *Den politiska läroboken: Bilden av USA och Sovjetunionen i norska, svenska och finländska läroböcker under kalla kriget*, Studia Historica Upsaliensia, 0081-6531; 221 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2006); Kizel, 'The Presentation of Germany in Israeli History Textbooks between 1948 and 2014'; Jason Nicholls, 'The Portrayal of the Atomic Bombing of Nagasaki in US and English School History Textbooks', *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 25, no. 1/2 (2003): 63–84; Anders Persson, 'Mormor, önskade tyskar och en hänsynslös dansk: Några reflektioner om identifikation och mening, efter en kritisk läsning av en nyttigven lärobok i historia för den svenska grundskolans mellanår', in *Kulturell reproduktion i skola och nation: En vänbok till Lars Pettersson*, ed. Urban Claesson and Dick Åhman (Hedemora: Gidlunds, 2016), 251–68; Heather Sharp, 'Representing Australia's Involvement in the First World War: Discrepancies between Public Discourses and School History Textbooks from 1916 to 1936', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6, no. 1 (1 March 2014): 1–23.

²⁰ See Niklas Ammert, *Det osamtidaigas samtidighet: Historiemedvetande i svenska historieläroböcker under hundra år* (Uppsala: Sisyfos, 2008); Niklas Ammert, 'To Bridge Time: Historical Consciousness in Swedish History Textbooks', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 17–30; Halvdan Eikeland, *Et laereverks bidrag til historiebevissthet og narrativ kompetanse. Analyse og praktisk bruk av historiedelen av Aschehougs laereverk i samfunnstag for ungdomstrinnet: 'Innblikk'* (Tönsberg: Høgskolen i Vestfold, 2002); Nordgren, *Vems är historien?*

²¹ See Ingmarie Danielsson Malmros, *Det var en gång ett land... Berättelser om svenskhet i historieläroböcker och elevers föreställningsvärldar* (Höör: Agering, 2012), 261–64; Foster, 'The Struggle for American Identity', 275–77; Holmén, *Den politiska läroboken*, 314ff.

of the past that often takes political and social considerations of history into account.²² Recent studies of Swedish history textbooks have highlighted this tendency. Ingmarie Danielsson Malmros studied how Swedish history textbooks narrated a Swedish national identity. She found that changes in textbook narratives seemed to coincide with social and political changes in Swedish society.²³ Janne Holmén examined how Swedish textbooks presented the USA and the USSR in the period between the 1930's and the early 21st century. Holmén found that the images presented of these countries corresponded with political relations between Sweden and these countries. Of particular relevance here are Holmén's results that show a tendency in Swedish textbooks to increase their criticism of the USSR since its collapse in 1991.²⁴ Holmén finds that Swedish history textbooks published between 1990 and 2004 generally had nothing positive to say about the Soviet system, which in turn could be regarded as corresponding to a similar trend in contemporary Sweden.²⁵

However, it has been noted that history textbook research not only needs to pay attention to content, but also to context both regarding the production and consumption of these books, since textbooks are intended to be used in a particular context.²⁶ In this regard, some studies have looked at the question of reception: how do readers' preconceptions affect how they read and interpret a narrative,²⁷ and other studies have analysed how textbooks are used and perceived by teachers and/or pupils.²⁸ Israeli researcher Dan Porat's study of how Israeli adolescents interpreted a textbook narrative has been an inspiration to the approach taken in this study. Porat's results show that

²² See Thomas Bender, 'Can National History Be De-Provincialized? U. S. History Textbook Controversies in the 1940s and 1990s', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 33–35; Harry Haue, 'Transformation of History Textbooks from National Monument to Global Agent', *Norddidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2013:1 (2013): 80–89; Henrik Åström Elmersjö, *Norden, nationen och historien: Perspektiv på föreningarna Nordens historieläroboksrevision 1919-1972* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2013), 148–51; Arja Virta, 'Finska kriget 1808-1809 i svenska och finska gymnasieböcker i historie', *Norddidactica - Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2012:1 (2012): 55–60.

²³ Danielsson Malmros, *Det var en gång ett land*, 279.

²⁴ Holmén, *Den politiska läroboken*, 324–25.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 282.

²⁶ See Carsten Heinze, 'Historical Textbook Research: Textbooks in the Context of the "Grammar of Schooling"', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 2 (30 October 2010): 122–31.

²⁷ See Neveen Eid, 'The Inner Conflict: How Palestinian Students in Israel React to the Dual Narrative Approach Concerning the Events of 1948', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 55–77; Dan A. Porat, 'It's Not Written Here, but This Is What Happened: Students' Cultural Comprehension of Textbook Narratives on the Israeli-Arab Conflict', *American Educational Research Journal* 41, no. 4 (1 December 2004): 963–96.

²⁸ E.g. Danielsson Malmros, *Det var en gång ett land*; Annie Olsson, *Läroboken i historieundervisningen: En fallstudie med fokus på elever, lärare och läroboksförfattare*, Licentiatavhandlingar från forskarskolan historiska medier 7 (Umeå universitet, 2014); Amina Triki-Yamani, Marie McAndrew and Sahar El Shourbagi, 'Perceptions du traitement de l'islam et du monde musulman dans les manuels d'histoire par des enseignants du secondaire au Québec', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 1 (30 April 2011): 97–117.

textbook narratives are subordinate to the ‘cultural views’ of the adolescents that took part in his study. They interpreted the textbook quotation according to what their preconceptions on the historical event in question were.²⁹ Porat found that the cultural environment of his respondents played a crucial role in how they interpreted and remembered a textbook narrative.³⁰ These results suggest that studies of how textbook accounts are interpreted and used may complement analyses of the content of textbooks, and the present study should be seen as an attempt at analysing textbooks from the perspective of reception and use, and what influence these may have on how they are interpreted by active history teachers.

To summarise briefly, the research studied finds that textbooks generally seem to manifest one certain version and perspective of history and that textbook narratives are closed and one-dimensional, meaning that the narratives present a mono-perspectival rendering of history.³¹ This is regarded as problematic since only one perspective of the past is made manifest and is reinforced through the textbook narratives.

Research on popular history magazines from the perspective of history didactics is not as wide and diverse as the research on textbooks, but shows some similarities. This research also has a focus on content³² and it generally discusses deficits in the content of popular history magazines: it is too nationalistic, mono-perspectivistic, commercial or masculine in focus. However, there are some signs in research that indicate that history teachers may use popular history magazines as a source of inspiration and learning.³³

²⁹ Porat, ‘It’s Not Written Here, but This Is What Happened’, 978.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 991–92.

³¹ See Eikeland, *Et laereverks bidrag til historiebevisthet og narrativ kompetanse*, 158; Foster and Burgess, ‘Problematic Portrayals and Contentious Content’; Gaul, ‘Where Are the Minorities?’; Ghosh, ‘Identity, Politics, and Nation-Building in History Textbooks in Bangladesh’; Nishino, ‘Narrative Strategies Regarding Japanese Ethnic Origins and Cultural Identities in Japanese Middle-School History Textbooks’; Scott, ‘The Perpetuation of War in U. S. History Textbooks’.

³² E.g. Bodil Axelsson, ‘History in Popular Magazines: Negotiating Masculinities, the Low of the Popular and the High of History’, *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, no. 4 (2012): 275–95; Katja Gorbahn, ‘Perpetrators, Victims, Heroes - the Second World War and National Socialism in Danish History Magazines’, in *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 319–34; Susanne Popp, ‘Popular History Magazines between Transmission of Knowledge and Entertainment - Some Theoretical Remarks’, in *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 42–69; Marianne Sjöland, *Historia i magasin: En studie av tidskriften Populär Historias historieskrivning och av kommersiellt historiebruk* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011); Marianne Sjöland, ‘The Use of History in Popular History Magazines. A Theoretical Approach’, in *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 223–37; Monika Vinterek, ‘The Use of Powerful Men, Naked Women and War to Sell. Popular History Magazines in Sweden’, in *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 295–318.

³³ Terry Haydn, ‘Using Popular History Magazines in History Teaching: A Case Study’, in *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, ed. Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015), 354–70.

This research project seeks to position itself in between these positions. The content of history textbooks and popular history magazines is studied as artefacts of a certain historical culture (in the sense that it describes, includes and excludes), and the reception of the content is studied in the context of how it is perceived by history teachers. Thus history textbooks and popular history magazines are studied from the perspective of practical use, both regarding their content and what it portrays, and also how that content is and may be perceived and interpreted by history teachers. Following this logic and inspired by research highlighting interpretive aspects of textbook studies,³⁴ the analyses carried out here rest on the assumption that individuals' preconceptions and cognitive stance towards history affect how they interpret and understand narratives. In that sense, the content of the textbook and popular history magazine narratives can be regarded as subordinated to how individuals interpret their content. Furthermore, these narratives are always situated in a context, and this context also affects how its readers interpret and understand them. This is a perspective that I have striven to include in my analyses of the studied history textbooks and popular history magazines.

History Teachers and History Teaching

The research on history teachers that I have deemed particularly relevant in the context of this study is research that has studied teachers as practitioners in history education and what history teachers think of history as a subject. Research focused on history teachers as practitioners has employed a variety of interviews and classroom observations. Its results aimed to describe and understand a certain teaching practice³⁵ and how to deal with a certain topic or issue in history education,³⁶ as well as describe and define what could be

³⁴ See Ivar Bråten et al., 'The Role of Epistemic Beliefs in the Comprehension of Multiple Expository Texts: Toward an Integrated Model', *Educational Psychologist* 46, no. 1 (January 2011): 48–70; Porat, 'It's Not Written Here, but This Is What Happened'.

³⁵ See Martin Estenberg, *'Ett snäpp högre': En studie av historielärares hanterande av tankeredskap* (Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2016); Jessica Jarhall, *En komplex historia: Lärares omformning, undervisningsmönster och strategier i historieundervisning på högstadiet* (Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2012); David Hicks, 'Continuity and Constraint: Case Studies of Becoming a Teacher of History in England and the United States', *International Journal of Social Education* 20, no. 1 (2005): 18–40; Anna-Lena Lilliestam, *Aktör och struktur i historieundervisning: Om utveckling av elevers historiska resonering* (Göteborg: Acta universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2013); Hans Olofsson, *Fatta historia: En explorativ fallstudie om historieundervisning och historiebruk i en högstadieklass* (Karlstad: Fakulteten för samhälls- och livsvetenskaper, Historia, Karlstads universitet, 2011); Joakim Wendell, *Förklaringar är ju allt på nåt sätt: En undersökning av hur fem lärare använder historiska förklaringar i undervisningen* (Karlstad: Fakulteten för humaniora och samhällsvetenskap, Historia, Karlstads universitet, 2014).

³⁶ Bo Persson, *Mörkrets hjärta i klassrummet: Historieundervisning och elevers uppfattningar om förintelsen* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011); Ylva Wibaeus, *Att undervisa om det ofattbara: en ämnesdidaktisk studie om kunskapsområdet förintelsen i skolans historieundervisning* (Stockholm: Pedagogiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet, 2010).

perceived as a best practice when teaching history.³⁷ This research has also studied how history teachers perceive their subject and history education from the perspective of the curricular demands history teachers have to deal with in their teaching³⁸ or how history teachers or prospective history teachers perceive their subject.³⁹ Concerning teaching practices, findings have shown that there seems to be a low correspondence between history teachers' formal training in history and their teaching practices.⁴⁰ On the contrary it has been claimed that history teachers' ability to adapt their teaching strategies to their pupils and school as an institution seems more important than profound theoretical knowledge of history. English-American researcher David Hicks argues that the history teacher students he studied should be ready to renegotiate their views of what history is and why it should be taught, in order to avoid disappointment and frustration over pupils' lack of interest in and knowledge of history.⁴¹ While history curricula in large parts of the Western world (including Sweden) portray history teaching as related to furthering disciplinary critical skills,⁴² a number of studies have shown that history teachers and history teacher students still perceive history teaching in a content-related way and that disciplinary aspects of the subject play a subordinate role.⁴³

³⁷ E.g. Ahonen, 'History Education in Post-Conflict Societies'; Lilliestam, *Aktör och struktur i historieundervisning*; Persson, *Mörkrets hjärta i klassrummet*.

³⁸ See Mikael Berg, *Historielärares ämnesförståelse: Centrala begrepp i historielärares förståelse av skolämnet historia*, Studier i de samhällsvetenskapliga ämnenas didaktik 22 (Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2014); Ismail Hakki Demircioglu, 'Using Controversial Issues In History Lessons: Views Of Turkish History Teachers', *Kastamonu Eğitim Dergisi* 24, no. 1 (January 2016): 147–62; Lozic, *I historiekansons skugga*; Thomas Nygren, 'Erfarna lärares historiedidaktiska insikter och undervisningsstrategier', 2009.

³⁹ See Bruce VanSledright and Kimberly Reddy, 'Changing Epistemic Beliefs? An Exploratory Study of Cognition among Prospective History Teacher', *Tempo E Argumento* 6, no. 11 (27 May 2014): 28–68; Wansink et al., 'Epistemological Tensions in Prospective Dutch History Teachers' Beliefs about the Objectives of Secondary Education'; Paul Zanazanian and Sabrina Moisan, 'Harmonizing Two of History Teaching's Main Social Functions: Franco-Québécois History Teachers and Their Predispositions to Catering to Narrative Diversity', *Education Sciences* 2, no. 4 (10 December 2012): 255–75.

⁴⁰ Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*, 251–52; Johan Hansson, *Historieintresse och historieundervisning: Elevers och lärares uppfattning om historieämnet* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2010), 149–50.

⁴¹ Hicks, 'Continuity and Constraint'.

⁴² Ahonen, 'History Education in Post-Conflict Societies', 76.

⁴³ See Orhan Akinoglu, 'Functions of History Education: History Teacher Trainees' Perspective', *Education* 129, no. 3 (Spring 2009): 464–65; Berg, *Historielärares ämnesförståelse*, 186–87; Hansson, *Historieintresse och historieundervisning*, 73–74; Richard Harris and Katharine Burn, 'English History Teachers' Views on What Substantive Content Young People Should Be Taught', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 4 (3 July 2016): 537–38; Jarhall, *En komplex historia*, 170–71; Anna-Lena Lilliestam, 'Nyblivna lärarstudenters syn på historia och historieundervisning', *Norddidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2015:4 (2015): 42; Lozic, *I historiekansons skugga*, 217–19; David Ludvigsson, 'Lärarstudenters relation till historieämnet', *Norddidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 1 (2011): 48; Nygren, 'Erfarna lärares historiedidaktiska insikter och undervisningsstrategier', 81; Rantala, 'How Finnish Adolescents Understand History'; Damira Umetbaeva, 'Paradoxes of Hegemonic Discourse in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan: History Textbooks' and History Teachers' Attitudes toward the Soviet Past', *Central Asian Affairs* 2, no. 3 (29 May 2015): 300–301.

Regarding how current research presents history teachers' perception of history as a subject, there are a number of interesting results. One is that teachers' conceptions of history may not be congruent with that of their pupils, and this is something history teachers have to be aware of since it affects how their pupils will perceive the subjects taught and their learning. This renders history education a rather complex enterprise since it forces teachers to take many different perspectives into account.⁴⁴ Canadian researcher Paul Zanazanian studied how French-speaking history teachers in Québec narrated the history of Québec and what role the English-speaking minority of the province played in it.⁴⁵ Thus, his research was oriented towards how history teachers understand or regard history as a subject, and what role their personal views of it played. He found that the teachers he studied displayed a tension between how they talked about the history of their own ethnic group and the more disciplinary aspects of history stressed in the history curricula of Québec. The teachers expressed concerns that the heritage of the French-Canadian population was neglected in the history curricula. According to Zanazanian this causes a tension since these teachers display an unwillingness to negotiate their own historical perspective, something he argues that a procedural approach to history requires.⁴⁶ Similar tensions have been noted in other research on teachers as well.⁴⁷

Vincent Boutonnet, another Canadian researcher, studied the historical media history teachers in the Québec province of Canada use to teach historical thinking skills and how they view these media. Boutonnet found that the teachers perceive textbooks to play a central role in how they teach and plan history, and that they use the textbooks as reference sources when teaching.⁴⁸ He further found that the teachers in his study tend not to use historical media critically when teaching, but rather tend to use these narratives as a way of confirming the historical narrative presented in class by the teacher.⁴⁹ In the teaching observed, Boutonnet found that the teachers relied on historical media in a similar manner. Textbooks and other media were studied as sources of information and were only critically scrutinised on rare

⁴⁴ See Hansson, *Historieintresse och historieundervisning*, 126; Lilliestam, *Aktör och struktur i historieundervisning*, 210–12; Olofsson, *Fatta historia*, 215.

⁴⁵ Paul Zanazanian, 'Historical Consciousness and the Structuring of Group Boundaries: A Look at Two Francophone School History Teachers Regarding Quebec's Anglophone Minority', *Curriculum Inquiry* 42, no. 2 (1 March 2012): 222.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 234–35.

⁴⁷ Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas, 'Fearful Symmetry: Palestinian and Jewish Teachers Confront Contested Narratives in Integrated Bilingual Education', *Teaching and Teacher Education* 26, no. 3 (April 2010): 507–15; Umetbaeva, 'Paradoxes of Hegemonic Discourse in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan'.

⁴⁸ Vincent Boutonnet, *Les ressources didactiques: Typologie d'usages en lien avec la méthode historique et l'intervention éducative d'enseignants d'histoire au secondaire* (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2013), 155–57.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 166.

occasions.⁵⁰ Interestingly, this relates to what is perceived to be the dominant historical culture in Québec regarding history teaching. According to Boutonnet, in the public debate about history in schools in Québec, there is a strong voice that is critical towards a history education oriented towards skills, and instead favours teaching focused on a certain historical content.⁵¹ Thus, Zanazanian's and Boutonnet's results show that a broader societal historical culture may impact how history teachers perceive and approach history and how they teach it in school. Together with the perspective of how teachers need to negotiate their teaching objectives with the conceptions of history of their pupils, this research highlights the complex and contextually contingent character of history education that stresses teachers' conceptions of history and history education as central to how they view history and implement it in a teaching situation.

The present research project uses an approach similar to the ones described, but I have explicitly tried to relate history teaching to the broader notion of historical culture. I have analysed how lower secondary school history teachers' uses of history are constituted when they interpret a textbook quotation relating the outbreak of the Cold War, talk of their personal experience of growing up during the Cold War, and teach it to their pupils. With this analysis, I have tried to study how teachers relate to history in contexts that are relevant to history education both concerning the history they choose to disseminate and also how they choose to disseminate this history.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 178–79.

⁵¹ Ibid., 174–75.

Theoretical Framework

Ontological and Epistemological Assumptions

The ontological approach in this study applies as a basic assumption that anything we can know of the world has to be communicated through language, i.e. the world can only be known through our conceptualisation and communication of it.⁵² In empirical research this means that the distinction between ontology and epistemology collapses since what we are engaging with is not the world as such, but rather our conceptions of the world. Thus, the purely ontological question of what the world is can be argued to be of less importance than the purely epistemological question of what can we know the world to be and how can we assert that knowledge. Indeed, as has been argued by Karl Popper and others, truth and the world in itself is a rather uninteresting matter in scientific research (the world is what it is, so to speak). The crucial question is how, in scientific research, we can come to approximate the world in our representations of it.⁵³ In other words, what I perceive distinguishes science from other knowledge practices is that it engages with methodological inquiry in a scientific context. It is not our postulations about matters in the world that are central *per se*, but rather how we went about reaching these postulations, and this directs us towards epistemological problems rather than ontological ones.

For these reasons, what will be outlined below does not relate to the world as such in the strictly ontological sense, but to our perception, interpretation, knowledge and communication of it. The emphasis in the presentation below is placed on representational and interpretational aspects of how we come to know the world. This section has been divided into two sub-sections. ‘Representation’ tries to specify the basic theoretical assumptions about the world, and our experiences and knowledge thereof, which underlie the present study. Secondly, the sub-section called ‘Interpretation’ seeks to clarify how I consider that we may come to know something of the world.

Representation

Following the approach outlined, questions of what the world is should be understood as related to questions of our representations of what the world is in the context of this study. British philosopher Michael Dummett has stated that “what we cannot think we cannot think, and what we cannot think we cannot say”⁵⁴ meaning that our representations of the world are contingent on our perceptions of it. This could also be interpreted as saying

⁵² See Michael Dummett, *Thought and Reality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 2–3, 14.

⁵³ Karl R. Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*, 3. ed., (rev.). (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1989), 222–26.

⁵⁴ Dummett, *Thought and Reality*, 24.

that our perceptions of the world are contingent on our preconceptions of it: to make sense of something (which could be argued to be a basic requirement for making intelligible representations of that something) it has to fit our basic views of what the world is and how it functions.

Thus, what we have at the most basic level are various phenomena that appear to us, and that we experience. These phenomena are then represented by us through our use of language, both when making sense of something to ourselves and to others. From an ontological perspective this means that our experiences of the world and representations of it are always mediated through language, and thus contingent on our use of language. This does not mean that knowledge of the world becomes impossible, but rather that this is the only means by which we can access the world and talk about it.

Interpretation

If we proceed along this line of reasoning, interpretation could be argued to become a fundamental practice when doing science: we experience phenomena, we represent them, we interpret their meaning, and then we represent that meaning to ourselves and to others.⁵⁵ Since our experiences and representations of the world have been argued to be contingent on our preconceptions of the world, a scientific interpretive practice has to deal with these contingencies by making them explicit and engaging with their relevance for how we represent and know the world. Thus, a hermeneutic practice becomes essential for gaining access to and knowledge of the world. German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer stated that the aim of hermeneutics is to clarify the wonder of understanding not as a secretive communication, but as a co-operation in mutual meaning-making between individuals. Interpretation should seek to acknowledge and engage with the influence of the contemporary world and prejudices of the interpreting subject in order to gain validity.⁵⁶ This could be understood as arguing for the importance of the *practice of interpretation*, rather than the interpretation itself. When doing science we endeavour to make our theoretical and methodological approaches (i.e. our interpretative practices) seem valid and relevant.⁵⁷ It matters little how original or thought-provoking our interpretations are if they do not rest on a solid transparent methodological foundation.

From this viewpoint, knowledge and understanding become holistic endeavours: we need to take the full context of what we study and how we study it into account. Furthermore, it is in the hermeneutic and dialectical

⁵⁵ It should be noted that I view representation as both a conscious and unconscious activity (we have to represent things in order to experience them), whereas interpretation is regarded as an active process in which we engage with our and others' representations.

⁵⁶ Hans-Georg Gadamer, 'Om förståelsens cirkel', in *Filosofiska strömningar efter 1950*, ed. Konrad Marc-Wogau, *Filosofin genom tiderna* 5 (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers bokförlag, 1981), 327–28.

⁵⁷ See Tyson Retz, 'A Moderate Hermeneutical Approach to Empathy in History Education', *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 47, no. 3 (23 February 2015): 218–20.

engagement with what we study that we can reach a scientifically valid interpretation, not by applying a certain methodology or theory in analysis. This means that we need to argue the relevance and soundness of the theoretical and methodological approaches we use when doing science.⁵⁸ Ideally, we should strive towards a kind of hermeneutical openness using the dialectic method in text analysis.⁵⁹ Gadamer claimed that when we interpret we project our preconceptions and understanding onto what we are interpreting. This means that the interpreter should always try to make their presumptions or prejudices explicit when studying texts, and then strive to engage with these presumptions in order to take the full context of the text into account.⁶⁰ An interpreter that does not engage in this kind of dialectic method runs the risk of letting their arbitrary prejudices affect the meaning, knowledge and understanding that is derived from a certain account.⁶¹ Hence, the context in which knowledge is derived becomes an important aspect of scientific research since all postulations of the world are contextually contingent. This line of argumentation also has repercussions for how we approach and understand the notions of truth and knowledge.

Truth and Knowledge

If one holds context to be an important aspect in how we come to know the world, any epistemological theory of truth and knowledge has to take this into account. Such a view is afforded by the theoretical position called epistemological contextualism. According to this position the truth-value of all postulations is contingent on the context in which they are derived or stated, i.e. in normal conversation we have certain standards for what qualifies as a true statement and in science we apply other more strict standards as to what counts as a true statement.⁶² As an example, in most Swedish history textbooks you will find a statement saying something to the effect of “Gustav Vasa was the king of Sweden between 1523 and 1560” and most people in Sweden would hold that statement to be true. If the same statement would, however, be said at a seminar on early Modern Swedish history it could be considered to be problematic. For instance, Sweden as we know it today did not exist in 1523. Sweden was in a royal union with Denmark at the time and legally the Danish king was still the head of state in Sweden for some years

⁵⁸ See Dagfinn Føllesdal, Lars Wallöe and Jon Elster, *Argumentasjonsteori, språk og vitenskapsfilosofi*, 5th ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1992), 97–100; Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd ed. (New York: Continuum, 2006), 271.

⁵⁹ Per-Johan Ödman, *Tolkning, förståelse, vetande: Hermeneutik i teori och praktik* (Stockholm: Norstedts akademiska förlag, 2007), 25–30.

⁶⁰ Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 266–67.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 269.

⁶² See Michael Blome-Tillmann, *Knowledge and Presuppositions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 11; Alexander Dinges, ‘Epistemic Contextualism Can Be Stated Properly’, *Synthese* 191, no. 15 (29 April 2014): 3541–56.

after 1523. What this example shows is that one statement can be considered as true in one context and not in another. What happens is not that the statement changes, but rather the contexts in which it is made. Differing standards result in different ways of interpreting the *meaning* of the statement and, thus, its truth-value.⁶³ This means that we need to pay close attention to context and use when analysing meaning and truth in empirical sources, such as historical narratives in textbooks, popular history magazines and narratives elicited from interviews. It is within the context of the practices that these accounts acquire meaning. Furthermore, as a researcher it is important to acknowledge and engage with how you approach a study and strive to make your theoretical and methodological assumptions explicit since they will be relevant to how your research can be understood and assessed.

This line of reasoning points towards a position resembling what can be called inter-subjective verifiability or criticisability; a position arguing that scientific knowledge should be able to be criticised and reproduced by others.⁶⁴ From this viewpoint, due to contextual constraints within the research community, researchers need to explain how they went about getting the knowledge they possess, i.e. to explain the theoretical assumptions and/or methodologies they have used in order to render their research inter-subjectively acceptable. If a researcher fails to do this we are likely to disregard the results of his or her research no matter what they are. In order to enhance inter-subjective verifiability or criticisability it is important to strive for clarity in the theoretical approach and concepts we use and the results we get from using this approach. If we use concepts that are not specified in detail in our research (or elsewhere) it may be difficult to assess what we mean by what we say, and the results of our studies (i.e. our knowledge) cannot be assessed.⁶⁵ In this sense there is a social aspect to knowledge and its production: what is knowledge is determined by the context in which it is perceived or conceived, and what is acceptable knowledge production (or science) is also contextually contingent. This does not mean that anything goes, but rather that we have to pay close attention to the context in which pieces of knowledge were created to determine the value of them, since that is where these pieces of knowledge acquire meaning and truth-value, according to the view presented here.⁶⁶

⁶³ See Lars Bergström, 'Relativism', *Filosofisk tidskrift*, no. 1 (1998): 16–37.

⁶⁴ See Björn Badersten, *Normativ metod: Att studera det önskvärda* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2006), 74–79; Lars Bergström, *Objektivitet: En undersökning av Innebörden, möjligheten och önskvärdheten av objektivitet i samhällsvetenskapen*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Thales, 1987), 60–65.

⁶⁵ See Sven Ove Hansson, *Verktygslära för filosofer* (Stockholm: Thales, 2010), 124–25.

⁶⁶ See Sievers, 'Toward a Direct Realist Account of Observation'.

Experience and Cognition

If we regard context and contingency as key to understanding and knowledge, then how we can understand how humans experience and come to know the world becomes crucial. In the following sub-section I aim to specify how I understand the basic notions of consciousness, narrative and narration to be related to this in the context of this study.

Fundamentally, consciousness plays a crucial role in how human beings experience the world: some kind of awareness seems to be a pre-requisite for us to experience matters. Nonetheless, consciousness is primarily of interest as a function in an individual presently, i.e. consciousness should not be reduced to mere sensory loci or parts of the brain. Through our consciousness we become aware of phenomena, and consequently, the sensory loci or the phenomena that appear in our consciousnesses are subordinate to this function of our consciousness, and without this function there would be nothing of which to speak, there would be no experiences.⁶⁷ Consciousness should thus primarily be understood as a function and not a physiological or mental entity. However, according to the view presented here, in order for us to experience something we need to be able to conceptualise it, and this is done when we apply linguistic notions and concepts and narrate what we perceive.

There are many propositions for how the notion *narrative* should be understood: it could be understood as any kind of utterance without any specific order,⁶⁸ as requiring emplotment (as opposed to chronicles, annals and stories)⁶⁹ and as containing normative elements,⁷⁰ to name a few. In the present study I am mostly interested in narratives from a communicative perspective. When we try to make sense of our experiences to ourselves, and when we try to disseminate these same experiences to other people, we do that by narrating them or putting them into the narrative form. This does not mean that I claim that narratives constitute reality, but rather that they constitute our perception of reality; human reality is essentially a linguistic reality.⁷¹ Hence, my focus is on the function of narratives, rather than their linguistic properties. Thus, in order to cover as many means of dissemination as possible, I use the notion of narrative in a very broad or loose sense: it can take any form and its forms can vary indefinitely. The key aspect here is that narration should be perceived as the foundation of how we can intelligibly

⁶⁷ Ran Lahav, 'What Neuropsychology Tells Us About Consciousness', *Philosophy of Science* 60, no. 1 (1993): 79.

⁶⁸ E.g. Marya Schechtman, *The Constitution of Selves* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2007), 95–99.

⁶⁹ E.g. Barbara Czarniawska, *Narratives in Social Science Research*, 1 edition (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2004), 17–24.

⁷⁰ E.g. Charlotte Linde, *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 84–85.

⁷¹ Ödman, *Tolkning, Förståelse, Vetande*, 47.

experience and understand the world, i.e. it is central to human epistemology.⁷²

It is also important to underline that emplotment or normative evaluation in narratives can occur at different levels since speech units or text units that do not have emplotment at what may be called a ‘micro-level’ (e.g. on the surface of the text), can be emplotted at a more abstract level or ‘macro-level’ (e.g. regarding the context of the text). We can, for instance, ascribe narratives emplotment or normative qualities at a macro-level, in order to render them meaningful. Another important aspect of narratives is that they can be ascribed different qualities depending on the context in which they are analysed. Additionally, a narrative that seems to have no emplotment in one context could be regarded as having that in another. Thus, qualities we ascribe to narratives are contextually contingent. This contextual contingency is another reason why I have chosen to approach the notion of narrative in a broad or loose sense. Furthermore, the notion of narrative could be argued to play a significant role in history: in order for history to be disseminated, it has to be put into narrative form. This may not necessarily mean that all history should be perceived as narrative and plot-driven as has been implied by some⁷³, but rather that history has to be narrated in order to be communicated.⁷⁴

History Didactical Assumptions

History Didactics

The preceding section argued that history has to be put into narrative form in order for it to be disseminated. Furthermore, and taking the lead of Gadamer, whenever we interpret or represent anything we project our preconceptions and prior understanding onto that something that we are trying to make sense of. This line of reasoning stresses what has been called the importance of the genealogical perspective in history: whenever we approach history we do so from our contemporary point of view.⁷⁵ Accordingly, all historical sources, pieces of information or accounts have to be experienced and interpreted in order to make sense. This act of experience and interpretation always takes place within an individual that has a certain understanding of themselves and the world, irrespective of whether they are an academic historian or a casual student of history. This is also the perspective that

⁷² See Robert Thorp, *Historical Consciousness, Historical Media, and History Education*, Licentiate Theses from the Historical Media Postgraduate School 5 (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2014), 10–11.

⁷³ E.g. Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (JHU Press, 2009).

⁷⁴ See David Carr, *Time, Narrative, and History*, Northwestern University Studies in Phenomenology & Existential Philosophy, 0550-0060 (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1986), 25–29.

⁷⁵ Klas-Göran Karlsson, *Europeiska möten med historien. Historiekulturella perspektiv på andra världskriget, förintelsen och den kommunistiska terrorn.*, 1st ed. (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2010), 27–30.

makes history didactics a crucial aspect of all production and dissemination of history. Generally, history didactics could be defined as pertaining to what history we convey, why we convey it and how we convey it within a certain context.⁷⁶ The history didactical perspective does not focus on history primarily, but rather on how history is portrayed, interpreted and used in contemporary society, i.e. what can be called the cultural or sociological aspects of history.⁷⁷ This means that all encounters with history take place in a specific context and this context is essential for how we choose to approach history. For these reasons how we approach and use history becomes essential in history didactics and it also becomes the point of departure for all research that is history didactical in character.⁷⁸

Memory and Remembering

If our preconceptions and prior understanding play an important role in how we choose to approach history, memory could be argued to be a central notion in this.⁷⁹ The view of memory and remembering applied here regards memory not as a passive entity that merely registers what individuals experience, but rather as something active that is constructed by individuals according to the conceptions they have of the world through the act of remembering.⁸⁰ American researcher James E. Young has claimed that “memory is never seamless, but always a montage of collected fragments, recomposed by each person and generation”⁸¹ and with an approach akin to this, memory indeed becomes a practice that is enacted by individuals over and over again. Consequently, it is dependent on the memory constitution or pattern of the experiencing individual: memories are constituted and constructed by the act of remembering. Furthermore, human beings are social beings and our memories are affected by the social environment we grow up in, meaning that we never construct memories in isolation but always within social contexts.⁸²

Thus, memory and remembering can be understood as complex notions. Further, as has been noted in research, individuals are often subjected to and proprietors of many different memories and acts of remembrance since

⁷⁶ See Jeismann, ‘Geschichtsbewußtsein - Theorie’, 42.

⁷⁷ Nordgren, *Vems är historien?*, 14.

⁷⁸ Per Eliasson et al., ‘Inledning’, in *Historia på väg mot framtiden: Historiedidaktiska perspektiv på skola och samhälle*, ed. Per Eliasson et al. (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2010), 9–10.

⁷⁹ See Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire’, *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24. Although I am sceptical of Nora’s distinction between ‘direct traditional memory’ and ‘indirect modern memory,’ I am sympathetic to his general discussion on the relationship between memory and history.

⁸⁰ See Schechtman, *The Constitution of Selves*, 124–25.

⁸¹ James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 198.

⁸² See Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 37–40; Mihai Stelian Rusu, ‘History and Collective Memory: The Succeeding Incarnations of an Evolving Relationship’, *Philobiblon* XVIII, no. 2 (2013): 261.

memories are created by individuals, but at the same time these memories are socially, culturally and linguistically contingent, and therefore affected by the context in which they are conceived and disseminated.⁸³ They are always located within a historical culture.

Generally, memory is perceived to be something rather distinct from history: where memory is claimed to be fragmentary, subjective, arbitrary and unreliable, history is characterised by a critical methodological inquiry.⁸⁴ From a history didactical perspective, however, it could be argued that it is difficult to separate memory from history analytically since we always approach history with preconceptions of what it is, i.e. we have memories that affect our perceptions of things. Indeed, these memories can be revised, changed or deleted through a serious study of history, but we nevertheless carry them with us.⁸⁵ This is because we are born into historical cultures – ways of making sense of the past that are culturally embedded in our social environments both implicitly and explicitly.

The Present Perspective on History

French philosopher Roland Barthes once likened the role of historians to that of organisers: instead of merely collecting and compiling historical facts, they purposefully organise them to establish meaning and sense.⁸⁶ Thus, historians are regarded not as passive collectors of historical facts, but rather as active participants in the creation of history. When historians write history they do so with a purpose and they do so within a community of research that affects what is perceived to be legitimate historical inquiries and methods of inquiry.⁸⁷ Furthermore, historians are human beings with passions, interests, memories and preconceptions, and these could be argued to play a central role in the kind of research they choose to engage in. Instead of taking this as an argument as to why historical research should be labelled relativist or subjectivist (and therefore scientifically unappealing), this should be understood as quite the opposite. It is through acknowledging and making explicit the subjective, interpretational and representational practices that go into doing historical research, that historical accounts acquire truth-value.⁸⁸ It is when we are able to assess historical research according to theoretical,

⁸³ See Gregor Feindt et al., 'Entangled Memory: Toward a Third Wave in Memory Studies', *History and Theory* 53, no. 1 (1 February 2014): 31–35.

⁸⁴ See Stéphane Lévesque, *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the Twenty-First Century* (Toronto: Buffalo, 2008), 7–9.

⁸⁵ See Rusu, 'History and Collective Memory: The Succeeding Incarnations of an Evolving Relationship', 262–64.

⁸⁶ Roland Barthes, 'The Discourse of History', in *The Postmodern History Reader*, ed. Keith Jenkins (New York: Routledge, 2001), 121.

⁸⁷ See Avner Segall, 'Critical History: Implications for History/Social Studies Education', *Theory & Research in Social Education* 27, no. 3 (1 June 1999): 364.

⁸⁸ See Robert J. Parkes, 'No Outside History: Reconsidering Postmodernism', *Agora (Sungraphô)* 49, no. 3 (2014): 8.

methodological and (if you like) logical standards that we are able to conclude anything about the quality of the historical research we are presented with.⁸⁹ This is also what I believe distinguishes history from memory.

While both memory and history can be said to be contextually contingent according to this logic, we normally have differing criteria for what holds to be valid and true in terms of memories and historical narratives. For a historical narrative to be accepted as true in the historical research community, a basic requirement is that it is guided by a methodological inquiry that is transparent, relevant and logical. Hence it is through its reliance on critical methodological inquiry that history gains its scientific value.⁹⁰ This is also what makes the history didactical perspective crucial when it comes to history and historical research since history didactics stress the cultural and contextual aspects of history. According to history didactics, all history is conceived for a purpose and how we understand history is contingent on who we are and what preconceptions we have of history.⁹¹ In this sense it could be argued that all historical inquiries make use of history for various purposes.

Furthermore, if we apply a hermeneutic approach to history, history must include an assessment of the uses inherent in history, or the representational practices that go into disseminating something historical. Otherwise we run the risk of making arbitrary representations of history that would not meet the basic criteria for historical research stipulated here. Once again, this does not imply that historical knowledge becomes impossible, but rather that historical knowledge requires being specific about context, both that of the historical agent or source, and that of the person doing the interpretation.⁹²

Historical Narratives

If everything we experience has to be put into narrative form, then this also has to apply to history. There are many suggestions for how we should approach historical narratives,⁹³ but the one applied here was developed by German theorist of history Jörn Rüsen. According to Rüsen there are four different types of historical narratives: (i) the *traditional* narrative seeks to uphold tradition and argue continuity or status-quo, (ii) the *exemplary* narrative strives to derive rules of conduct from history in order to guide present action, (iii) the *critical* narrative is used to criticise historical or contemporary phenomena or show alternative ways of acting, and (iv) the *genetic* narrative attempts to show how continuity and change is what characterises

⁸⁹ See Anders Berge, *Att begripa det förflutna: Förklaring, klassificering, kolligation inom historievetenskapen* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1995), 9–12.

⁹⁰ See Rolf Torstendahl, *Introduktion till historieforskningen: Historia som vetenskap*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1971), 56.

⁹¹ See Parkes, *Interrupting History*, 119–20.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 6–15.

⁹³ See Eileen H. Tamura, 'Narrative History and Theory', *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (May 2011): 151–52.

history.⁹⁴ Although these four kinds of narratives always intermingle and co-exist they depend on different ways of understanding and approaching history, according to Rüsen. The traditional and exemplary narratives regard history as static: the historical narrative is used to keep things the way they are, or to show why they should stay the way they are. From an epistemic perspective, this could be argued to indicate a view of history that is non-disciplinary and non-contingent. If the historical narrative is used to uphold tradition or argue normative values, it is regarded as something that is static and given, i.e. not a result of interpretation and representation. A critical narrative is different in the sense that it does not try to uphold something but disrupt it. However, cognitively it could be argued to be similar to the previous historical narratives since the historical narrative is used as a kind of conversation stopper: ‘You are wrong because this historical example shows that something contrary to your beliefs is actually the case.’ Once again, the historical example is treated as something impervious to change and interpretation. The genetic narrative could, however, be perceived to be cognitively different from the others and here the historical example is used not as a conversation stopper, but rather as a conversation opener. History is treated as contingent on interpretation and representation, i.e. it is contextually contingent. Hence, the historical narrative is perceived as dynamic and open to change depending on perspectives applied and questions asked to it. Historical facts, events and categories are not given as final, but rather depend on who you are, what you consider to be historically significant and what questions you ask.⁹⁵ How you view historical knowledge is pertinent to how you perceive and approach history.

Historical Knowledge and Understanding

If we proceed with a Gadamerian perspective of sense-making, we come to a particular notion of how historical knowledge and understanding are made possible. The key aspect here is the extent to which the individual engages with the historicity, not only of the historical accounts they are confronted with, but also of their own preconceptions and prejudices.⁹⁶ According to this view, understanding and knowledge is always formed in the relationship between past and present horizons, and it is through an awareness and acknowledgement of the interplay and relationship between these two horizons that historical knowledge is obtained. Accordingly, it is essential that we understand how important the historical agent’s temporal and spatial context was for their understanding of the world, and how important our own temporal and spatial context is for our approach to and understanding of

⁹⁴ Jörn Rüsen, ‘Tradition: A Principle of Historical Sense-Generation and Its Logic and Effect in Historical Culture’, *History and Theory* 51, no. 4 (2012): 52.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 52–55.

⁹⁶ See Retz, ‘A Moderate Hermeneutical Approach to Empathy in History Education’, 224.

history, i.e. that history is characterised by both genetic *and* genealogical perspectives and thus always contemporary and contextually contingent.⁹⁷

According to this view, the level of contextualisation that an individual can apply to history is pertinent to their epistemic attitudes towards knowledge, i.e. their attitudes to the character and nature of historical accounts. In other words, the level of contextualisation is relevant to their historical understanding. Individuals that display no awareness of the representational practices of history have no means of treating contradictory accounts of history other than rejecting them or accepting them, since they lack a method for analysing historical narratives from the historically relevant perspectives.⁹⁸ With an understanding of the contextually contingent character of history, a *historiographic gaze*, to borrow Australian historian Robert Parkes' term, that engages with the contingency and historicity of all perspectives (including your own one),⁹⁹ it becomes possible for an individual to assess and analyse different accounts of history in a complex manner, and we also have a method for ascertaining the value of the historical piece of information at hand. Few historians would use sources that have no provenance regarding their origin, i.e. knowledge about the context of the source, and few historians would accept historical narratives that do not comply with the theoretical and methodological requirements that the discipline enforces.¹⁰⁰ As soon as we apply historical methodology to claims of historical knowledge that do not incorporate a contextual analysis, they become examples of mythology or fantasy rather than knowledge.¹⁰¹ This stresses the need for an awareness of the *cultural* aspects of historical research and history, i.e. that all history is culturally contingent – it belongs to a historical culture.

Historical Culture

Historical culture is a concept that deals with the relationship to history that individuals, groups of people, institutions and societies may have. It deals with how history is disseminated and how knowledge, attitudes and values

⁹⁷ See Per Eliasson, 'Kan ett historiemedvetande fördjupas?', in *Historien är nu: En introduktion till historiedidaktiken*, ed. Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2009), 317, 325; Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 18–24.

⁹⁸ See VanSledright and Reddy, 'Changing Epistemic Beliefs?', 32–36.

⁹⁹ See Parkes, *Interrupting History*, 120.

¹⁰⁰ Cecilia Axelsson, 'Att hantera källor - på gymnasienivå.', in *Kritiska perspektiv på historiedidaktiken*, ed. David Ludvigsson, Aktuellt om historia, 2013:2 (Eksjö: Historielärarnas förening, 2013), 72; Bråten et al., 'The Role of Epistemic Beliefs in the Comprehension of Multiple Expository Texts', 54–55; Peter Lee and Rosalynn Ashby, 'Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7–14', in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 204–12.

¹⁰¹ See Knut Kjeldstadli, *Det förflutna är inte vad det en gång var* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1998), 44–55; Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory* 8, no. 1 (1 January 1969): 6–7.

about history provide individuals with meaning.¹⁰² Hence it is a concept that can be applied at both a general, or collective, level and a less general individual level. It is within a historical culture that individuals' encounters with history occur and where the conditions for these encounters are established.¹⁰³ In this sense, a historical culture can be argued to affect the relations individuals, groups of people and institutions have to history firstly, since it is already present when a certain individual enters a social environment and secondly, since most history, per definition, cannot be experienced first hand by individuals, it is rather experienced through historical accounts that are disseminated in speech, writing or through customs and cultural habits. Thus it could be argued that individuals never encounter history nakedly but always through a cultural or social environment. We are affected by what families, friends, schools, the media and governments (et cetera) say about history.¹⁰⁴ A historical culture can, in this way, be perceived as a genre¹⁰⁵ or coherence system that renders certain things historically significant and meaningful and others meaningless and irrelevant.¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, it is important to stress that historical culture is rarely, if ever, monolithic. Although certain perceptions of history may be dominant in a given social environment, there can be varying, sometimes opposing, historical cultures in a society. This can be due to social, economic, professional, political, ethnical, religious or other reasons. Therefore, historical cultures are dynamic and can change over time; they can be seen as both structure and process at the same time.¹⁰⁷

Moreover, we are not determined by the historical culture that surrounds us: through our relationship to history we can change a historical culture. We can choose to assert a certain historical culture, or we can choose to criticise it. Why we do so depends on how we regard history substantively and epistemically. This means that we may have an opposing view of what history contains and what should count as historically significant (this is what I mean with substantively). Alternatively, we could have an epistemic view of historical narratives as contextually contingent and for this reason be more cautious in asserting a certain historical culture as the only legitimate or possible one (this is what I mean with epistemically).¹⁰⁸ From this viewpoint, there is a kind of doubleness regarding historical culture in the sense that it

¹⁰² See Erik Sjöberg, *Battlefields of Memory: The Macedonian Conflict and Greek Historical Culture*, Umeå Studies in History and Education 6 (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2011), 8.

¹⁰³ See Karlsson, *Europeiska möten med historien*, 76.

¹⁰⁴ See Jukka Rantala, 'Children as Consumers of Historical Culture in Finland', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 43, no. 4 (August 2011): 494–95.

¹⁰⁵ See Charles L. Briggs and Richard Bauman, 'Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power', *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1992): 143.

¹⁰⁶ See Peter Aronsson, *Historiebruk: Att använda det förflutna* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2004), 86–87.

¹⁰⁷ See Sjöberg, *Battlefields of Memory: The Macedonian Conflict and Greek Historical Culture*, 9–10.

¹⁰⁸ See Riisen, 'Tradition', 57–58.

enables us an access to history (and thus limits what we can experience, think, or know about it) while we can also uphold and change historical culture through how we interact with it, through how we make use of history.

Uses of History

History can be used in different ways in different societies at different times and we manifest our historical consciousnesses and historical cultures through our uses of history.¹⁰⁹ The notion of uses of history is generally defined as a use where conceptions of the past that emanate from a historical culture in different ways are used to create meaning, orientate in the present and influence the future.¹¹⁰ Given the theoretical approach taken here, I have chosen to specify this use as narrative enactments of the past. Thus uses of history can be defined as narrative enactments of the past that are applied to create meaning, orientate in the present and influence the future.

In 1874 German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche published a text in which he criticised what he perceived to be the contemporary obsession with history. He saw a danger in the heavy reliance on history and argued that we need a mixture of both past and present, memory and oblivion. According to Nietzsche there was a great risk in studying history for the sake of history: if we do so we might lose ourselves in the historical maze, and, more importantly, history will become meaningless to us. It will just become an exercise in facts and figures that has no practical use in everyday life. What Nietzsche proposed instead was that history needs to have a practical use (a use of history) in order to be meaningful to us.¹¹¹ Nietzsche discerned three ways of using history, all of them with benefits and drawbacks. The *monumental* use of history is positive because it will remind us of past heroes and great deeds and can thus be a good guidance for us in life. On the other hand, he argued, history never repeats itself and if we rely too heavily on the monumental use of history we will fail to realise that history, society and people change.¹¹² The *antiquarian* use of history is valuable since it helps us keep traditions alive, but it can also make us overly nostalgic, backward and appreciative of past times.¹¹³ The *critical* use of history is useful since everything in history needs to be assessed, according to Nietzsche, but a single-handedly critical orientation can be adverse since people adhering to it could fail to realise that we are all part of a tradition we cannot dissociate ourselves from, no matter how

¹⁰⁹ See Karlsson, 'Historia, historiedidaktik och historiekultur - teori och perspektiv', 72.

¹¹⁰ See Per Eliasson et al., "Det är smart att använda historia i nya händelser..." Historiebruk i skola och samhälle', in *Historiedidaktik i Norden 9*, ed. Per Eliasson et al. (Malmö; Halmstad: Malmö högskola; Högskolan i Halmstad, 2012), 262.

¹¹¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Om historiens nytta och skada: En otidsenlig betraktelse* (Stockholm: Rabén Prisma, 1998), 38–39.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 42–50.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 51–56.

painful or unfashionable it may be. We always need to relate to it.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, historical research is not the place to look for answers since it cannot show why history matters to us or should matter to us; that can only be answered by what practical use history has in our contemporary lives.¹¹⁵

In a Swedish context the concept of uses of history has become central during the last couple of decades, both in history didactical research and in Swedish history curricula. Swedish historian Klas-Göran Karlsson was the first to introduce the concept in research in Sweden. When studying how history was used in Russia after the collapse of communism, he found that history indeed played an integral part not only regarding how people came to understand their society, but also themselves and people around them. This is because history plays a crucial role in our lives.¹¹⁶ Through using history people seek to orientate themselves in the world and create meaning in both their personal lives and the world around them. Klas-Göran Karlsson has attempted to typify different kinds of uses of history that we employ when we approach the past. All these uses of history stem from a certain need or interest among individuals or institutions to make sense of the past or present and influence the future. Put another way, whenever we feel a certain need or interest we use history to satisfy that need or interest – history is used with a certain goal or agenda in mind. According to the latest version of Karlsson's typology, history can be used to satisfy needs in the following ways:

- Scientifically – to obtain and construct new knowledge through an analytical and methodological approach;
- Politico-pedagogically – to illustrate, make public, and create debate;
- Morally – to rediscover and show historical wrong-doings and shortcomings;
- Ideologically – to justify and/or argue something, to make sense of the past;
- Existentially – to remember, create meaning in life, and build identities;
- A non-use – to cover up, conceal, or try to make some historical events, persons or periods fall into public neglect.¹¹⁷

Similar to Nietzsche, one aim of Karlsson's typology is to show that history can be used for a number of reasons and that the scientific use of history

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 57–59.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 92–98.

¹¹⁶ Klas-Göran Karlsson, *Historia som vapen: Historiebruk och Sovjetunionens upplösning 1985-1995* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1999), 50–53.

¹¹⁷ Karlsson, 'Historia, Historiedidaktik och historiekultur - teori och perspektiv', 73–78.

(that is supposedly regarded as the only legitimate one by the historical research community¹¹⁸) is merely one of many. In that sense one could say that Karlsson's typology tries to argue a broader conception of what are legitimate uses of history: history is used by many kinds of agents and for many kinds of reasons, and history is always used to satisfy a need or interest, both among individuals and institutions. Thus, Karlsson's typology shows that people (and institutions) may use history for a number of reasons, that these uses relate to how we perceive history at a rather fundamental level, and that these uses stem from a personal need to find direction or meaning using the historical example. I have chosen to call the perspective that Nietzsche and Karlsson apply on uses of history a teleological one since it seeks to illustrate the needs to which a certain use of history corresponds.

To analyse cognitive or epistemic aspects of how individuals use history, I have chosen to apply Jörn Rüsen's typology of historical narratives as presented above. The idea here is that when individuals use history to satisfy certain needs (i.e. when they use history teleologically) they can do so in different ways depending on how they perceive history. A narrative that uses history *traditionally* (i.e. a constructivist narrative that presents history in a factual way) could be regarded as indicative of a view of history as something unaffected by the context in which it was conceived or received. A narrative that uses history *critically* (i.e. a narrative that seeks to question or criticise) could be regarded as an indication of a view of history that acknowledges history as contextually contingent, but excludes the subjective position from this analysis. Finally, a narrative that uses history *genetically* (i.e. a narrative that engages with the dynamic and contingent character of history) can be seen as an indication of a view of history that incorporates both the historiographic gaze and the personal subjective position in the analyses of the contextual contingency of history. I have chosen to call these uses of history narratological since they illustrate the narratological properties that uses of history may have. Taken together, these two dimensions of uses of history may be applied to analyse why we use history the way we do, and also how we do it, and thus they can be used to shed light on how our manifestations of history relate to how we perceive it. A concept that deals explicitly with the more intricate and complex question of how we perceive history is historical consciousness.

Historical Consciousness

In a sense, an individual's use of history can be regarded as an indicator of their historical consciousness since it stems from how individuals perceive

¹¹⁸ Klas-Göran Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', in *Historien är nu: En introduktion till historiedidaktiken*, ed. Ulf Zander and Klas-Göran Karlsson (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2009), 58.

and understand history.¹¹⁹ Hans-Georg Gadamer has claimed that historical consciousness is the epistemological condition of modern man and that it is one of the most important developments in the last 500 years. In Gadamer's view, historical consciousness is the awareness that everything around us is historical and relative to this fact, this historicity.¹²⁰ When we appreciate the historicity of everything around us and of all of our views, i.e. that everything is contingent on historical factors (even history itself), we come to understand that we must engage critically with everything we experience, perceive and believe. Hence, our interpretations of the world around us and of history are contextually contingent, as are the various categories we use to discern matters about the world and history. The historical consciousness of modern humanity enables us to critically assess and interpret the world around us, and it becomes the only way we can reach knowledge, according to Gadamer.¹²¹ Thus, historical consciousness can be understood as a hermeneutically inspired concept that deals with the totality of history and historical understanding since it takes a meta-perspective on history and individuals' conceptions of history. The emergence of this modern historical consciousness is argued to date back to the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and was the result of a new method of reading the classical histories of Ancient Greece.¹²² Instead of doing only textual analyses of the classical texts, French Enlightenment philosopher Bodin argued that it was equally important to take into account the historical context in which the texts were conceived.¹²³

Historical consciousness became a key concept in history didactics in West Germany in the 1960's in the debate about whether positivist knowledge of history is possible. Left-wing oriented West German philosophers, historians and sociologists criticised the dominant positivist historical tradition.¹²⁴ According to this group, history should be taught and used emancipatorically in society. Through studies of the historical realities that lie behind the structures in society, individuals would realise the historicity and contextual contingencies of the traditions and structures that permeate society, and thus be able to break free from the limitations placed on them by society.¹²⁵ The concept was then introduced to Sweden from West Germany

¹¹⁹ See Jensen, 'Historiemedvetande - begreppsanalys, samhällsteori, didaktik', 44–46.

¹²⁰ Hans-Georg Gadamer, 'The Problem of Historical Consciousness', ed. Erick Raphael Jimenez et al., *Graduate Faculty Philosophy Journal* 5, no. 1 (1975): 8.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 47–48.

¹²² John Lukacs, *Historical Consciousness: The Remembered Past* (Transaction Publishers, 1985), 10–16; Yves Charles Zarka, 'The Construction of Historical Consciousness', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 12, no. 3 (2004): 416.

¹²³ Zarka, 'The Construction of Historical Consciousness', 416.

¹²⁴ Georg G. Iggers, *New Directions in European Historiography* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan U.P., 1984), 116–18.

¹²⁵ See Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet*, 41; Klas-Göran Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktiken och historievettenskapen - ett spänningsfyllt förhållande', in *Historiedidaktik*, ed. Christer Karlegård and Klas-Göran Karlsson (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997), 24–25.

via Denmark in the early 1980's. The understanding of the concept in Sweden is highly influenced by the German view of historical consciousness as an individual concept that deals with how human beings perceive themselves, the world around them and the history therein.¹²⁶ Since the mid 1990's historical consciousness has become one of the most central notions in Swedish history didactics and history education.¹²⁷

German historian Karl-Ernst Jeismann is generally perceived to have been the first person to offer a definition of historical consciousness.¹²⁸ According to Jeismann a historical consciousness should be understood as the ever-present awareness that all human beings and all forms of social integration they have created exist in time, meaning that they have a history and a future and are dynamic.¹²⁹ I interpret this definition of the concept to rest heavily on Hans-Georg Gadamer's view of historical consciousness as an awareness of the historicity (understood as *being in time*) and contextual contingency of human reality. Jeismann also specifies the constituents of a historical consciousness. His view is that besides historical facts, a historical consciousness should also incorporate the connection between the interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future.¹³⁰ In my view, this also resembles Gadamer's view of the hermeneutical circle. We interpret the past in order to understand the present and guide future action. According to Jeismann a historical consciousness is manifested in representations and conceptions of the world (since they are all an effect of the historicity specified in the definition). Finally, Jeismann then applies a historical consciousness to an understanding of how contextual contingency affects our representations of history and how this is perceived to safeguard a kind of common ground for rationality.¹³¹ Thus, historical consciousness is defined as an awareness of historicity that is constituted by interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future. A historical consciousness is manifested in human representations and conceptions, and results in an understanding or appreciation of how contextual contingency is the nature of *all* human representations and conceptions and thus safeguards common human rationality.

¹²⁶ Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', 27–34.

¹²⁷ See Bengt Schüllerqvist, *Svensk historiedidaktisk forskning*, Vetenskapsrådets rapportserie, 1651-7350; 2005:9 (Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet, 2005), 136–40.

¹²⁸ See Halvdan Eikeland, 'Begrepet Historiebevisthet, historiedidaktisk forskning og dannelse av historiebevisthet', in *Historiedidaktik i Norden 6: Historiemedvetandet - teori og praksis*, ed. Sirkka Ahonen et al. (København: Institut for historie og samfundsfag, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, 1997), 77–79; Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', 25.

¹²⁹ Karl-Ernst Jeismann, 'Geschichtsbewußtsein', in *Handbuch Der Geschichtsdidaktik*, ed. Klaus Bergmann et al., 1st ed. (Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1979), 42.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

Summary

This section has sought to specify the theoretical assumptions that underlie the studies in this thesis. Hermeneutics is used as the over-arching theoretical perspective, arguing that perception, interpretation and representation are crucial both in scientific research, generally, and in history, particularly. Arguing that contextual contingency is what characterises interpretation and representation in history, the history didactical concepts of historical culture, uses of history and historical consciousness are then introduced as the theoretical tools that have been applied to specify research problems, design the research project and analyse the empirical data that has been collected. Since the notions of historical culture and historical consciousness are abstract in character, the notion and concept of uses of history has become the central one in the empirical part of this study.

The theoretical position outlined here stresses the relevance of context in how we come to understand the world, ourselves and history. The importance of an awareness of, and engagement with, how our preconceptions affect how we come to understand and derive meaning of the world is specified by the hermeneutic position taken here. This awareness is held to be centrally important as related to history. It is argued that a key characteristic of history is that it consists of interpretive reconstructions of the past. This means that historians need to engage with both the context of the historical source at hand, and also the context of their own research and meaning-making. Thus, history is contextually contingent and dynamic. The history didactical concepts of historical culture, historical consciousness and uses of history, are then introduced and applied as notions we may use to understand and analyse how history is disseminated and understood both on an individual and a societal level.

Methodology

This section specifies the research methods applied in this research project and relates them to the project's aim and research questions. The section begins by outlining the chosen research design for the project. This is followed by a presentation of the theoretical approach taken, the data collection procedure and the coding of the empirical data. The final sub-section presents ethical considerations.

Research Design and Material

To enable a broad and comprehensive study of how historical culture is both constituted in historical media and history teachers' narratives and implemented teaching, a variation of approaches has been applied. One goal was to define, specify and operationalise a history didactic theoretical framework that would enable analyses of how historical culture is constituted by both historical media and history teachers. Another goal was to uncover aspects of how history is portrayed in historical media from the perspective of historical culture. A further goal was to understand how history teachers interpreted, narrated and disseminated history as agents of and within historical cultures. In order to study both historical culture in an educational context and how teachers related to this, I chose to focus on a historical era that the teachers interviewed would have some kind of experience of, to unveil the complexities of personal experiences and how these may relate to how teachers narrate and teach history. One such era is the Cold War era of 1945-1989. I have interpreted the Cold War loosely as all events that took place during these years. So, for something to be classified as belonging to the Cold War era it does not have to relate to the struggle between the USSR and the USA specifically, but can also relate to both international and domestic history as well as social and political history. The teachers included in this study were born no later than 1970 and were all trained and experienced lower secondary school history teachers. To study how historical culture is constituted in historical media, I chose to include accounts of history from history textbooks and popular history magazines, two historical media that are particularly relevant in an educational context.¹³²

A Deductive Approach

The analytical theoretical approach applied can be most accurately labelled as deductive since I have used a specific theoretical perspective to derive assumptions and hypotheses, and to generate theories that I have used to

¹³² Concerning popular history magazines from a history didactical perspective, see Popp, 'Popular History Magazines between Transmission of Knowledge and Entertainment - Some Theoretical Remarks', 42.

choose, analyse and categorise the empirical data in this study.¹³³ Furthermore, the theories developed have been modified throughout the articles and adapted according to both the aims and research questions of the individual studies, and also according to the empirical data at hand.¹³⁴ Hence, the theoretical approaches in the four articles included here differ although they share the same basic theoretical assumptions. More specific descriptions of how I have coded the empirical material using this framework can be found in the individual articles included in this thesis.

Historical culture and perceptions thereof is the main focus of this study, and, as has been described above, the notion of historical culture should be perceived as dealing with the relations to history that may exist in a certain society or environment.¹³⁵ Accordingly, historical culture should be understood as a collective notion that offers the individual a variety of approaches to history. This thesis is particularly interested in two aspects of historical culture: how is historical culture constituted in history textbooks and popular history magazines, and how do teachers relate to history as portrayed in history textbooks and narrated by themselves? However, since historical culture (as with any notion of culture) is an abstract notion, there is a need to specify how it can be studied empirically, and why that is perceived to be the case. To do that, the concepts applied here are uses of history and historical consciousness. This requires an argument for, and explanation of, the relation between these three concepts. The most fundamental assumption concerning the relationship between the concepts is that a historical culture should be perceived as a kind of discourse on history that precedes individuals in any social environment. This historical culture discourse is seen as a pre-requisite for us to even approach history since without it there would be no history to speak of or to experience. Furthermore, it specifies what is meaningful in history and what is to be perceived as good history, and vice versa. In my understanding, an important aspect of historical culture is that it is man-made and thus contingent; without upholders and supporters a historical culture will disappear. According to the theoretical model presented here, we enact and constitute a historical culture through our uses of history. Whenever we engage with history we activate certain parts of a historical culture, or in other words we engage with a certain historical discourse and through this engagement we represent (or re-represent) and reify this particular discourse on history.

Thus, uses of history are manifested in accounts or representations of history (e.g. texts, films, presentations, et cetera). However, it is important

¹³³ See Earl Babbie, *The Basics of Social Research* (Cengage Learning, 2010), 52.

¹³⁴ See Roel Snieder and Ken Lerner, *The Art of Being a Scientist: A Guide for Graduate Students and Their Mentors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 16.

¹³⁵ See Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', 34.

for the argument of this thesis to analyse *how* history teachers approach history and historical culture, i.e. we need to specify how a certain use of history relates to a certain cognitive disposition or perceived need or interest within an individual. These matters are discussed further in the section below presenting the results.

Data Collection

History Textbooks and Popular History Magazines

To be able to analyse historical media from the perspective of historical culture, various approaches were used. The term *historical media* can be argued to be a rather elastic one and include practically any media that disseminates a historical content.¹³⁶ For this reason, I chose to limit the study to include history textbooks and popular history magazines since I wanted to have a sample of historical media that was used in an educational context and that was produced both specifically for that context (i.e. history textbooks) and for a wider audience (i.e. popular history magazines). The assumption here was that a combination of these two historical media could be used to form a view of how history is presented both in school and in society, meaning that it could display aspects of historical culture both in a specifically educational context and also in society at large. Thus, these media were studied for the same purpose, even though they were intended for different audiences.

Although the historical media studied deal with different historical events (the textbooks have been studied from the perspective of the outbreak of the Cold War and the popular history magazines deal with why the First World War broke out), they deal with similar aspects of historical events. Both portray representations of the reasons underlying the eruption of military conflicts. However, one important difference between the history textbooks and popular history magazines is that they have differing origins. All the history textbooks studied were Swedish (and can thus be presumed to be related to the same national historical cultures), and the popular history magazines were from five different European countries (i.e. Poland, the UK, Germany, Spain and Sweden¹³⁷). Thus, these magazines cannot be used to shed light on a specifically Swedish historical culture. Instead they served the purpose of specifying and applying a framework of uses of history that was highly relevant to the other studies included in this thesis. Furthermore, the results from the study stress the importance of a critical awareness of the narratological and historiographical properties of historical narratives in an educa-

¹³⁶ See Thorp, *Historical Consciousness, Historical Media, and History Education*, 13.

¹³⁷ These articles were chosen through the international research project EHISTO directed by Professor Susanne Popp, see <http://www.european-crossroads.de/> for further information on the project and access to educational material (including the articles included here).

tional context, thus aligning with the other studies included in this thesis. The second article included here presents the results from this study.¹³⁸

To find relevant textbooks for the studies I consulted the Swedish library database (libris.kb.se) and searched for 'history textbook' (in Swedish 'lärobok historia'). This search returned over 1 000 results, and in order to find matches relevant to this study, I included textbooks that were published after 1999 that were specifically intended to be used for history teaching at Swedish lower secondary schools (i.e. ages 13-15). This was to enable a broad study of contemporary lower secondary school history textbooks used in Swedish history education. This left me with 13 textbooks. These were:

- *Historieboken*¹³⁹
- *SO Direkt Historia Ämnesboken*¹⁴⁰
- *Historia kompakt*¹⁴¹
- *Historien pågår*¹⁴²
- *Historia: liv i förändring*¹⁴³
- *Levande historia*¹⁴⁴
- *Historia 3*¹⁴⁵
- *Historia: För grundskolans senare del*¹⁴⁶
- *Impuls historia 1-3*¹⁴⁷
- *Historia 9*¹⁴⁸
- *Prio Historia 9*¹⁴⁹
- *Historia utkik*¹⁵⁰

The sections of these textbooks that covered the historical development from the end of World War 2 in 1945 until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, were studied extensively both in terms of narrative content and use of images. This meant that sections on social aspects as well as foreign and domestic policies and developments that took place between 1945 and 1989 were in-

¹³⁸ Thorp, 'Popular History Magazines and History Education'.

¹³⁹ Bengt Almgren, *Historieboken: En lärobok för grundskolans senare del*, SO Direkt, 99-2308463-9 (Stockholm: Bonnier utbildning, 1999).

¹⁴⁰ Bengt Almgren et al., *SO Direkt Historia ämnesboken* (Stockholm: Sanoma Utbildning, 1999).

¹⁴¹ Hans Almgren, Stefan Wikén and Birgitta Almgren, *Historia kompakt*, 2nd ed. (Malmö: Gleerups, 1999).

¹⁴² Marika Hedin and Robert Sandberg, *Historien pågår* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1999).

¹⁴³ Karin Sjöbeck and Birgitta Melén, *Historia: Liv i förändring, del B* (Malmö: Interskol, 2002).

¹⁴⁴ Lars Hildingson and Kaj Hildingson, *Levande historia: Elevbok*, 1st ed., SOL 3000 (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2003).

¹⁴⁵ Bengt Almgren, *Historia. 3*, SO Direkt, 99-2308463-9 (Stockholm: Bonnier utbildning, 2005).

¹⁴⁶ Göran Körner and Lars Lagheim, *Historia: För grundskolans senare del. Grundbok*, Puls (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2002).

¹⁴⁷ Göran Körner and Lars Lagheim, *Impuls Historia 1-3* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2009).

¹⁴⁸ Mattias Tordai, *Historia 9*, 3rd ed., SOS-Serien (Stockholm: Liber, 2012).

¹⁴⁹ Bengt Almgren et al., *Prio Historia 9* (Stockholm: Sanoma Utbildning, 2013), 9.

¹⁵⁰ Erik Nilsson, Hans Olofsson and Rolf Uppström, *Historia 7-9, Utkik* (Malmö: Gleerups, 2013).

cluded in the study. The section of the development of Sweden after 1945 in one of the textbooks¹⁵¹ was used for the study presented in the first article of this thesis.¹⁵² All of the textbooks except one¹⁵³ were used for the study presented in the third article of this thesis.¹⁵⁴

History Teachers

In order to analyse how teachers relate to historical culture, historical media and history, I chose to contact teachers that had experience of teaching the Cold War in Swedish lower secondary school that were born no later than 1970. This was to make sure that they would have reached late adolescence or adulthood by 1989 and hence have had a possibility to form their own memories and experiences of the period until 1989. I considered that ten teachers would be an appropriate number of teachers since that would allow me to interview them at greater length. It would also provide a large enough sample to presumably display some characteristics regarding how Swedish lower secondary school teachers approach historical media portraying certain aspects of the Cold War, as well as their experiences of the Cold War era. To find relevant teachers to include in the study, I began by contacting head teachers at schools in the central regions of Sweden. I presented the research project briefly to the head teachers and enquired whether there were teachers at their schools that fit the criteria for inclusion and that might be interested in participating in my study. I also asked permission from the head teachers to contact these teachers. When such permission had been granted in writing, I contacted the teachers and explained how I had acquired their contact details and the aims of my research project. Once I had received written consent to participate in the study from ten teachers, I ceased contacting further head teachers and schools. Of the teachers that agreed to participate, there were an equal number of male and female teachers. Three of the teachers were born in the 1950's, six were born in the 1960's, and one was born in 1970. Nine of the teachers worked in small to medium-sized Swedish towns and one teacher worked in a large Swedish city. The teachers came from varied social backgrounds, but most of the teachers, six of them, came from what could be called working class backgrounds. The majority of the teachers had worked in other professions and had studied to become teachers after the age of 30. Only one of the teachers interviewed had solely worked as a teacher for their entire professional career.

All teachers were interviewed about their interpretations of quotations relating to the Cold War. The quotations were ambivalent in character, i.e. the

¹⁵¹ Körner and Lagheim, *Historia*, 340–50.

¹⁵² Thorp, 'Historical Consciousness and Historical Media'.

¹⁵³ This textbook was not included for this study since it contained the exact same narrative of the Cold War period as in a textbook written by the same authors that was published at a later date (*Impuls Historia 1-3*).

¹⁵⁴ Thorp, 'Representation and Interpretation'.

meanings of the quotations were hard to determine and they could be read in a number of ways. During the interviews the teachers were shown four quotations that had been selected from German, Swedish and Swiss history textbooks that dealt with different aspects of the Cold War. The teachers were asked to read the quotations and then answer a number of questions that related to how they interpreted the meaning of the quotation, how it related to a public historical culture, and what their personal opinion of the quoted text was. All interviews were conducted at the teachers' respective schools at a time and place of their own choosing. All the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed shortly afterwards. The assumption behind using the ambivalent quotation interview was that the teachers would have to make their implicit assumptions of the Cold War explicit in order to render the quotations meaningful and to deal with the ambivalences in them. The quotations would render longer answers from the teachers in which they would have to engage with the quotations to make sense of them. Furthermore, it was assumed that information could be gathered on how teachers engaged with textbook narratives from a cognitive perspective.

Nine of the teachers also participated in an autobiographical interview in which they were asked to relate their experiences of growing up during the Cold War era and how that may have influenced them as history teachers. The cue they were given was 'Tell me about your life from as far back as you can remember and how it has shaped you as a history teacher.' These interviews lasted between 60 to 90 minutes and, like the ambivalent quotation interviews, the interviews were conducted at the teachers' respective schools at a time and place of the teachers' choosing. These interviews were also audio-recorded and transcribed shortly afterwards. The assumption here was that the teachers' narratives of growing up during the Cold War era, and how that has affected them as history teachers, would shed light on how they perceived the Swedish educational historical culture concerning the Cold War and enable analyses of how they related to the Cold War at a more personal level. Since I did not want my data to be limited only to how teachers *talk* about their interpretations of narratives and experiences of the Cold War period, I chose to observe two of the participating teachers when they *taught* the Cold War unit in class. This enabled comparisons between how the teachers talked about the Cold War during interviews with me, and how they carried out their teaching. The teachers who agreed to be observed during the teaching of the Cold War were also interviewed a third time. This interview took place after the classroom observations and here I asked the teachers how they had experienced the teaching unit on the Cold War, what they had thought of when planning and preparing the teaching unit, and why they thought pupils should study the Cold War. These interviews were also conducted at the teachers' schools and they were also audio-recorded and transcribed.

For the first of the two articles focusing on teachers,¹⁵⁵ I used one of the quotations from the ambivalence interviews. The reason I chose this particular quotation was that it rendered long answers from all participating teachers and it dealt with a topic that is central in the narratives of the Cold War in the lower secondary school textbooks studied: the emergence of the Cold War conflict. This would make comparisons between the teachers' answers and the narratives in the textbooks easier. I chose to apply a methodology inspired by one previously applied by American researcher Sam Wineburg.¹⁵⁶ I asked the teachers to tell me what they were thinking as they read the quotation. My objective was to gain knowledge of how teachers situated in a dominant public historical culture (as portrayed in history textbooks) relate to aspects of that same historical culture. Therefore I deliberately presented them a narrative that contrasted with what is usually narrated in contemporary Swedish lower secondary school textbooks since it did not make a clear stand regarding who was to blame for the Cold War.

For the second of the studies concerning history teachers included in this thesis,¹⁵⁷ I used the autobiographical interviews of two teachers. These teachers were also observed during teaching and they were interviewed after the teaching unit. When analysing the teachers' autobiographical interviews, I chose to only include the sections of the interviews that specifically dealt with the Cold War, i.e. I omitted sections that dealt with general accounts of childhood experiences, schooling, popular culture, et cetera. This study was meant to complement the previous one in the sense that it did not only include the interviews with the teachers about how they interpreted textbook narratives, but instead tried to gain knowledge about the context in which educational and historical media is used. It aimed to find out how the teachers' narrated personal experiences of the Cold War related to the textbook narratives of the Cold War, and how the teachers enacted these narratives in teaching. Thus, this study was intended to provide a broad perspective on how the history teachers interpreted a textbook narrative.

Taken together this methodological approach enabled studies of how history is portrayed and historical culture constituted both regarding history textbooks and popular history magazines. Furthermore, through the interviews and classroom observations, a practice-oriented approach was enabled that allowed analyses of how historical media are interpreted and applied in an educational context.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Sam Wineburg, 'Reading Abraham Lincoln: An Expert/expert Study in the Interpretation of Historical Texts', *Cognitive Science* 22, no. 3 (July 1998): 319–46.

¹⁵⁷ Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History'.

Application of Theoretical Framework and Coding of Empirical Data

A crucial aspect of empirical research is to specify how the theoretical tools of a study have been applied to analyse various phenomena. Since the studies included here apply the same theoretical framework and tools to different data, it is also important to specify how the theoretical framework has been adapted to appropriate the differing characteristics of these data. Furthermore, it is also important to specify what I have discerned to be instances of the theoretical categories I have applied in the empirical data, i.e. what characteristics of the empirical data constitute a certain theoretical category, and why do I hold that to be the case? Another issue that I encountered in my research was the need to modify or adapt the theoretical tools I had chosen to apply. A keen observer will notice that while the theoretical approach of all the studies included in this thesis is the same, I have modified the theoretical tools between the different studies. This means that the theoretical tools that I applied in the first article included here are not identical to the ones applied in the fourth article. This can be explained by differing perspectives between these studies, and also by the fact that I felt a need to modify and improve the theoretical approach of the earlier studies. While this could be argued to be a weakness of a study, I would instead argue that it shows that I have striven to critically engage with the chosen theoretical approach in order to make it more coherent, fitting and versatile.

The main theoretical tool that I have applied throughout the studies in this thesis is the concept of uses of history. As written above, I have chosen to apply two dimensions of the concept in order to capture both psychological and cognitive aspects of individuals' uses of history. In the first study included here I named these dimensions the *what* and *how* dimensions of uses of history. The idea was that Karlsson's typology of uses of history would correspond to what kind of use of history people make, and that Rösen's typology would correspond to how they apply that use. Later on I chose to change the names of these dimensions to *teleological* uses of history (corresponding to Karlsson's typology) and *narratological* uses of history (corresponding to Rösen's typology). The reason for this change was that the 'what' denomination was misleading since both dimensions answer to the question of *what* the use of history is, only from different perspectives. I found that the new names to the dimensions corresponded better to the basic characteristics of the two typologies.

Another matter that had to be addressed related to what the objects of study in the four studies were. In the first study I analysed textbook narratives, in the second study I analysed narratives in popular history magazines, in the third study I analysed textbook narratives and teachers' interpretations of a textbook quotation. Lastly, in the fourth study I analysed teachers' accounts of their experiences of growing up during the Cold War, their ob-

served teaching, and their accounts of how they experienced the teaching units on the Cold War, what they had considered when planning the unit, and why they thought the Cold War should be taught. On an analytical level, these different kinds of data are all narratives: the textbooks and popular history magazines present various narratives on history, the teachers' interpretations of textbook quotations also take on the form of narrative, and the same goes for the other teacher interviews and classroom observations (what I analysed there were the accounts the teachers and historical media presented to the pupils). Thus, the concept of uses of history was applied to various narratives.

As I discuss in greater detail below, there are problems in applying Karlsson's typology of uses of history to narratives since it relates to the psychological traits of the author of these uses and these are not to be found on the level of the narrative. Rather, they have to be analysed implicitly in narratives, which made the analyses according to this typology analytically challenging when analysing narratives that did not refer back directly to the author. In other words, when a textbook or a teacher relates to a historical event or chain of events that reside 'outside' of them, it is hard to tell what psychological needs or interests have caused this use. In this case, the typology should be applied with caution and rather be used as a kind of device to show possible ways of making implicit sense of what has been narrated explicitly. However, in the fourth study included here, the teachers were asked to narrate how they thought history had affected them in their role as teacher and what they had taken into consideration when planning a teaching unit. Here the teleological uses of history were easier to analyse since the teachers made direct and explicit references to how certain historical events had affected them and why they had chosen to present the history of the Cold War the way they did. In this context, the teleological use of history corresponded explicitly to a professed aim or purpose with the historical example, and this facilitated the analyses.

The narratological uses of history were easier to analyse since they relate to the narratological properties the narratives had: how was the historical example treated and what awareness of the contextual contingencies of history did it display? For these reasons, it is only what the narratives explicitly express regarding these properties that are analysed. One aspect of the narratological uses of history that proved to be analytically difficult was to separate the traditional from the exemplary uses of history. In my view both these uses present history as something that is void of perspective and contextual contingency. The historical narrative is presented as if it were transparent,¹⁵⁸ i.e. representations of historical facts are presented as if they were

¹⁵⁸ See Frank Ankersmit, 'Representation as a Cognitive Instrument', *History & Theory* 52, no. 2 (May 2013): 173–75.

historical facts, irrespective of whether we have narratives that strive to uphold tradition or argue an example using history. In other words, even if the narratives have different agendas, they constitute cognitively similar ways to approach history, and were therefore analytically difficult to tell apart. For this reason I chose to modify Rösen's typology and delete the exemplary type in the third and fourth articles included here.

It should also be noted that Jörn Rösen's typology of four categories of historical consciousness that was used in the first article included here, was abandoned since these categories were difficult to discern empirically. For this reason I adopted an approach to historical consciousness that distinguishes between a non-reflexive one, i.e. a historical consciousness that does not display awareness of how multi-chronological aspects influence historical narratives, and a reflexive one that displays such awareness.

Ethical Considerations

All teachers were informed of the aims and purposes of the study, that they could retract their participation at any time without giving any specific reason, and that the material would only be used for scientific purposes, and all gave their written consent to participate.¹⁵⁹ I strove to accommodate the teachers' requests regarding when and where they were interviewed, since it was their participation and willingness to devote time that made this research project possible. The teachers were interviewed at their workplaces and I specifically stated that I was interviewing them in their capacities as history teachers, thus trying to encourage more professional responses from them. I informed the teachers that some questions could be of a personal nature and that they should only answer the questions they felt comfortable answering. I also advised them to only share memories and personal opinions that they wanted to share, and that they should not feel obliged to provide me with what they felt would be good or interesting data. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. All of the teachers have been anonymised for the studies included in this thesis and they have been given fictive names. When analysing the data collected from the teachers, I strove to interpret and represent the teachers' accounts and replies in as accurate a manner as possible. I have also striven to present a picture of the teachers that was as representative of them as possible taking all aspects of the collected material into consideration.

Since the value of qualitative research to a certain extent depends on the credibility of the interpretations and representations offered and the methodological soundness of the research design, I have striven to quote the empirical data used as much as possible in order to validate the interpretations I have made and the conclusions I have drawn. I have also made an effort to

¹⁵⁹ See Vetenskapsrådet, *God forskningssed* (Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet, 2011).

present the quoted data (e.g. the history textbooks, popular history magazines, and interviews with history teachers) in as representative a manner as possible. Furthermore, I have given a lot of space and time to describing the methodological approaches and procedures I used when working with the collected data in order to allow others to assess whether the conclusions I have drawn or the assessments I have made are scientifically sound.

Results

The results of the studies are presented below. The presentation is divided into four sections. The first section briefly summarises the most important results from the individual articles included in this thesis. The second section presents how the theoretical framework has been developed. The third section presents the aspects of historical culture that are constituted in the historical media studied. Finally, the fourth section presents how history teachers use history and relate to historical culture when interpreting historical media and carrying out history teaching. Hence, an effort has been made to present the results of the individual articles in aggregation rather than one by one in order to stress how these studies should be regarded as coherent and inter-related.

Brief Summary of the Articles Included

Historical Consciousness and Historical Media: A History Didactical Approach to Educational Media

This article is the first in which a methodology based on the notions of historical consciousness, uses of history and historical culture, according to the present view of the concepts, is applied. Its primary aim is to propose a framework of historical consciousness and to discuss the parts that could be pertinent for analysing historical media in terms of their ability to express and develop a historical consciousness.¹⁶⁰ The article analyses a section of a Swedish lower secondary history textbook portraying Swedish post World War II history, and applies certain aspects of the framework. It argues that it is important to include the uses and contexts in analyses of historical media according to the developed framework since a historical consciousness does not reside in textbooks or other historical media, but rather in the minds of authors and users of historical media. What we find in historical media are various uses of history (i.e. narrative enactments of history) that have been created by someone and that are interpreted by someone else.¹⁶¹

The analysis finds that the textbook section studied presents a narrative in which the traditional narratological use of history is the most dominant one, resulting in the tentative conclusion that the historical consciousness manifested by the textbook narrative is a traditional or exemplary one. History is presented as if it were void of perspective and interpretation, and we are offered a narrative that presents a factual reconstruction of the past. The narrative also seems to conform to what is perceived to be the dominant narrative mode in Swedish textbooks, suggesting a manifestation of a dominant

¹⁶⁰ Thorp, 'Historical Consciousness and Historical Media', 497.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 502–3.

historical culture concerning how history is narrated in history textbooks.¹⁶² Following these results it is argued that looking at how historical media are used is key in order to analyse their propensities for developing certain skills in their users. Furthermore, how we perceive history could be argued to be important as well since an awareness of narratological aspects of textbook narratives could facilitate critical analyses of history.¹⁶³

Popular History Magazines and History Education

This article analyses how five articles from popular history magazines from five European countries portrayed the outbreak of the First World War in terms of the content they chose to include and the uses of history that were constituted by the articles. Even though all five articles were published in popular history magazines, they were all authored by professional historians.¹⁶⁴ The study finds that the articles use different approaches for explaining why the war broke out. We are offered causal explanations focusing on the assassinations of the Austro-Hungarian Arch Duke and his wife, the motives and mind sets of the most dominating politicians in Europe, popular support for the war, structural reasons emanating popular nationalism and mere chance.¹⁶⁵

Regarding uses of history, the articles are less diverse. The politico-pedagogical teleological use of history is the dominant one in the articles studied since they all focus on disseminating what is presented as the real reason why the First World War erupted. Closely connected to this is an ideological use of history that tries to convince the presumptive readers that this version of history is the most plausible one.¹⁶⁶ Narratologically the articles also present rather similar versions of history: narratives that use history traditionally are the most common ones. History is presented in a passive voice and we are presented with narratives that are devoid of the interpretational and reconstructional practices that characterise history. One article was coded as using history genetically since it argued the contextual contingency of what is perceived to be historically meaningful when history is reconstructed and interpreted.¹⁶⁷ These results are used to argue that popular history magazines may be a welcome complement in history teaching since they can be used to discuss and analyse the importance of perspective in history, thus offering an opportunity to further a more disciplinary historical understanding.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 510–11.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 512–13.

¹⁶⁴ Thorp, 'Popular History Magazines and History Education', 105–6.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 106–7.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 107–8.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 108–9.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 109–10.

Representation and Interpretation: Textbooks, Teachers, and Historical Culture

This article presents a study of how contemporary Swedish lower secondary school textbooks present the emergence of the Cold War and how ten active lower secondary school history teachers interpreted a quotation that was ambiguous in relation to the general narrative in the studied Swedish textbooks. Thus it analyses both the content of history textbooks and how active history teachers interpret an account from a history textbook.¹⁶⁹

The study finds that the narratives presented in the textbooks studied are quite similar to each other both regarding the content they present and the uses of history they constitute. Regarding content, the majority of the textbook narratives have a marked Western bias since the Western perspective is normalised and in no need of justification. The USSR is to blame for the conflict and it is through their actions that the Cold War conflict escalates. The most prominent teleological uses of history are politico-pedagogical since the narratives set out to teach us about what happened when the Cold War emerged. The narratological uses of history are traditional and we are presented with narratives that are factual and devoid of perspective. Two textbooks were coded as using history critically since they had sections presenting both the Soviet and US perspective on the escalation of the crisis. The narratives in these textbooks used the passive voice and applied a narratology that told history ‘as it happened.’¹⁷⁰ Using these examples it is argued that there seems to be a dominant historical culture in a Swedish educational context regarding how the Cold War emerged.

The teachers interviewed were presented with a narrative that could be regarded as ambivalent regarding which side was to blame for the emergence of the Cold War conflict. Despite this, the majority of the teachers interpreted the quotation as taking a Western stand. Still, the teachers generally acknowledged that textbook narratives are representations of history and contingent on perspective, but few teachers extended this to include how their own views affect their interpretations, suggesting an intermediary appreciation of the contextual contingency of historical narratives.¹⁷¹ These results suggest that the teachers were affected by the historical cultural context they were situated in when they interpreted the narrative (since they interpreted the quotation as taking a pro-Western stand). The results also suggest the relevance of a reflexive historical consciousness that acknowledges the importance of an awareness of the contextual contingency that characterises history.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Thorp, ‘Representation and Interpretation’, 80–84.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 84–89.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 89–93.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 93–94.

Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History: Aspects of Two History Teachers' Relations to History and Historical Media

The fourth and final article presents a study of how two active Swedish lower secondary school teachers relate to and make sense of history through their own experiences and historical media. Using a combination of interviews and classroom observations, I strove to gain knowledge about the teaching of history by analysing the teachers' narratives of their personal experiences of the Cold War period of 1945-1989, as well as classroom observations of the teachers in practice when teaching the Cold War.¹⁷³

The study finds that the personal experiences of the Cold War narrated by the teachers show great similarities to how the Cold War is narrated in Swedish educational media and history curricula. This suggests a reliance on what could be termed to be the dominant historical culture in Swedish education regarding the Cold War. The teachers neither engaged critically with their own positionality as interpreters and disseminators of history, nor with how the Cold War was presented in the historical media used in teaching.¹⁷⁴ The teachers made existential and politico-pedagogical teleological uses of history when talking during their interviews. It was evident that the Cold War had affected their views on life and the world, and they believed it was important to teach since it enabled their pupils to get a better understanding of the world today. Narratologically, the traditional use of history was the most prominent both during interviews and teaching. One of the teachers discussed how her upbringing may have caused difficulties in appreciating and understanding Soviet society, and this answer suggests a genetical use of history. When teaching, both teachers used history traditionally, however.¹⁷⁵

These results are then used to discuss the importance of an awareness of the contextual contingency of historical representations and interpretations to develop and further critical competencies in history education, both among teachers and pupils. Given the dominance of a certain narrative about the Cold War, both in historical media and in teachers' narratives about their experiences of growing up during the era, an awareness of how this may affect how we approach the topic seems important in history teaching. The teaching observed did not engage critically with how the Cold War is framed in Swedish historical culture (as expressed in history textbooks, educational media and history curricula). I therefore argue the importance of a focus on historical consciousness in relation to history teaching to enable teachers to use history genetically and stress historicity as an important characteristic of history. Without an expressed awareness of the contextual contingencies that characterise not only historical representations but also our interpretation

¹⁷³ Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History', 1-3.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 8-12.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

and dissemination of them, one certain narrative of the past is reinforced and made dominant through history education.¹⁷⁶

A History Didactical Framework

As was argued in the beginning of this introductory chapter, the history didactical theoretical concepts of uses of history, historical culture and historical consciousness are in need of further theoretical inquiry in order to be applied in empirical studies. Since this research project aimed at analysing how historical media and history teachers constitute and relate to historical culture, it was essential to develop, specify, operationalise and apply a theoretical framework based on these concepts in order for the research project to succeed. The main results of this endeavour are presented below.

Specifying Historical Consciousness

In the theoretical section, I defined historical consciousness as an awareness of historicity that can be applied to understand how history is characterised by contextual contingency. This view of the concept differs from the one generally stipulated in Swedish and international research on historical consciousness. Instead, historical consciousness is usually defined as the relation between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future.¹⁷⁷ This definition is often ascribed German historian Karl-Ernst Jeismann.¹⁷⁸ If we look at how Jeismann defines the concept we do, however, find that:

By historical consciousness we mean the permanent presence of the awareness that mankind and all social institutions and forms of co-existence created by us exist in time, i.e. they have an origin and a future and represent nothing unchangeably or unconditionally (Schieder, 1974, p. 78f). Besides the mere knowledge of or interest in history, a historical consciousness also incorporates the relationship between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future. Since history cannot be perceived as an image of past realities, but can only be made aware through selection and interpretive reconstruction, historical consciousness is the awareness that the past is present in representations and conceptions. "History is the reconstruction, by and for the living, of dead people's lives. Thus history is

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 14–16.

¹⁷⁷ See Sirkka Ahonen, 'Historical Consciousness: A Viable Paradigm for History Education?', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 37, no. 6 (2005): 699.

¹⁷⁸ See Ammert, *Det osamtidas samtidighet*, 56; Jensen, 'Historiemedvetande - begreppsanalys, samhällsteori, didaktik', 53; Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', 48.

born through the contemporary interest that thinking, suffering and acting people have for exploring the past” (Aron, 1961, p. 17).¹⁷⁹

I interpret this to mean that Jeismann views an awareness of historicity as the definition of historical consciousness. This awareness is constituted by knowledge of and interest in the past, and the relationship between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspectives on the future. This awareness is then manifested in how the past is present in reconstructions and conceptions. Jeismann further writes that:

[t]hrough methodological reflection, [a historical enlightenment] [...] will lead the bearer of historical consciousness to an awareness of the conditions under which he himself formulates his image of history and to an understanding of why there are different contents and forms of historical consciousness that refer to the ‘same’ past [...]. This is the requirement for the enablement of a discussion of different historical and political interpretations and that [the proponents of these] shall be able to criticise and accept each other.¹⁸⁰

I read this as relating to how a historical consciousness can be applied to human cognition. Through methodological reflection we will gain an understanding of how all history is contingent on interpretation and representation. Since this is something that characterises all history, this is also something which the proponents of differing interpretations and representations of the past can agree upon. Thus, a historical consciousness can be applied as a basis for a common rationality: we can agree that we disagree and we can inquire into why that happens to be the case. This can also be argued to be the reason why a historical consciousness is an important concept in history education and elsewhere. The awareness that characterises a historical consciousness is manifested in how the past is present in representations and conceptions, and is applied to enable us with an understanding of how all history is contingent on context.

However, in some Swedish research on historical consciousness, emphasis has been placed on what Jeismann argues to be the constituents of a historical consciousness, rather than an awareness of historicity. This has led to a focus on historical consciousness as similar to interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future, and thus equated the concept to these constituents, something Jeismann holds to be problematic.¹⁸¹ This approach to the concept has led to analyses of historical

¹⁷⁹ Jeismann, ‘Geschichtsbewußtsein’, 42. My translation.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 44. My translation.

¹⁸¹ Jeismann, ‘Geschichtsbewußtsein - Theorie’, 43.

consciousness searching for whether respondents or historical accounts incorporate past, present and future considerations in their narratives.¹⁸² However, it is hard to see how this multi-chronological incorporation¹⁸³ relates to an understanding of historicity and contextual contingency regarding representations and conceptions, as outlined by Jeismann (and Gadamer). Instead I think we should move towards the *understanding* that multi-chronological incorporation can develop in individuals, and this understanding could be perceived as the awareness that Jeismann's definition stipulates.¹⁸⁴ Hence, the idea is that considerations of past, present and future perspectives enable the individual to understand how all representations and conceptions are characterised by contextual contingency since they are situated within certain contexts and thus contingent on these. This view of the concept of historical consciousness avoids conflating it with interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and anticipation of the future and aligns with Jeismann's view of the concept and the outlined theoretical approach.

Generally, historical consciousness is regarded as being manifested in historical narratives and uses of history, and Jörn Rüsen has advocated that a historical consciousness is a narrative competency that individuals have.¹⁸⁵ As I have argued above, narratives that deal with history constitute uses of history. Following this logic, one can say that a historical consciousness is manifested in narratives that deal with history. But what kind of narrative competency could that be, and how can we specify a connection between a use of history and a historical consciousness? To answer these questions I think we need to return to how Jeismann claims a historical consciousness is manifested. He argues that a historical consciousness is how the past is present in representations and conceptions. I interpret this to mean that history comes alive (or is kept alive) in our contemporary representations and conceptions. This should not be taken literally or out of context, however, because then we might end up with a view that claims that a historical consciousness equals representations and conceptions, which is not a plausible way of approaching the concept, for obvious reasons. We should instead reiterate the definition offered by Jeismann to make better sense of this: he

¹⁸² See Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet*; Arndt Clavier, 'Mänsklighetens största problem genom alla tider': *En receptionsstudie av elevers miljöberättelser och historiska meningsskapande 1969* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011); Nanny Hartsmar, *Historiemedvetande: Elevers tidsförståelse i en skolkontext*, *Studia Psychologica et Paedagogica*. Series Altera, 0346-5926; 155 (Malmö: Institutionen för pedagogik, Lärarhögsk., 2001); Mary Ingemansson, 'Det kunde lika gärna ha hänt idag': *Maj Bylocks Drakskeppstrilogi och historiemedvetande hos barn i mellanåldrarna* (Göteborg: Makadam förlag, 2010).

¹⁸³ See Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet*, 49, 55–56.

¹⁸⁴ Robert Thorp, 'Towards an Epistemological Theory of Historical Consciousness', *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education* 1, no. 1 (30 June 2014): 20–31.

¹⁸⁵ Rüsen, 'Historical Consciousness: Narrative, Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development', 69.

claims that historical consciousness is not representations and conceptions, but rather the ever present awareness that all human beings and all forms of social integration they have created exist in time. I take this to mean that a historical consciousness is an awareness of historical and contextual contingency that is manifested in representations and conceptions. Consequently, a historical consciousness is manifested in how that awareness is displayed in representations and conceptions.

From this perspective, the narrative competency Rösen mentions could be understood as the competency to display this contextual contingency in narratives, or to analyse narratives according to their contextual contingency. Regarding uses of history, we can say that they are manifestations of historical consciousness in how history and the historical example are used to argue or display this contingency. This is also where I think there is a connection to how Jeismann applies historical consciousness since he relates historical consciousness to a common understanding or rationality. If we have an awareness of how contextual contingency characterises our representations and conceptions, we may have a way to define basic human rationality. We are all caught in webs of contextual contingencies and this is something we all have in common, and it could thus be perceived as a prerequisite for a common understanding or rationality.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, these webs of contingencies could be understood as the pre-existing understandings and conceptualisations of history that characterise any context, which relates to the notion of historical culture previously described. Thus, all historical cultures are contingent, and this basic contingency is a characteristic that all historical cultures have in common. This should be the starting point for all rational historical inquiries.

Rationality is something all human beings possess and the same thing has been claimed about historical consciousness.¹⁸⁷ Like rationality, a historical consciousness is something we can have to varying degrees. Jörn Rösen has specified what distinguishes between different types of historical consciousnesses.¹⁸⁸ On the level of how it relates to the awareness of contextual contingency specified above, the range is as follows: a low awareness and non-reflexivity concerning how we interpret the status of historical narratives (the traditional and exemplary types of historical consciousness) that is manifested by not analysing historical narratives according to their contextual characteristics; an intermediary awareness (the critical type of historical consciousness) that attributes contextual contingency to opposing narratives but not to the preferred one, and; a fully-fledged awareness of how contextu-

¹⁸⁶ See Bergström, 'Relativism', 12–14.

¹⁸⁷ For one example, see Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', 48.

¹⁸⁸ Rösen, 'Historical Consciousness: Narrative, Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development', 72.

al contingency characterises all representations and conceptions of history that enables a reflexive interpretation of historical narratives, i.e. an engagement with how both the historical and the contemporary context affects our interpretation of history. It should, however, be noted that the definition outlined here specifically relates to the awareness of contextual contingency that characterises Rösen's most developed kind of historical consciousness. This could mean that Jeismann's and Rösen's views of historical consciousness are not compatible. I think this incompatibility, if there is one, could be overcome if we regard the present definition as a kind of ideal type of what a historical consciousness can be (as we would with the notion of rationality), but that individuals can have this awareness to varying degrees, as is specified by Rösen. This means that the definition stipulated here could be seen as a theoretical ideal, and categories of particular instances of this ideal have been described by Rösen's typology.

The Relation between Historical Consciousness and Uses of History

A key issue for the current research approach is to theoretically specify the connection between historical consciousness and uses of history. If one is to assert that a historical consciousness is manifested through uses of history, and that a use of history is to be perceived as an indicator of an individual's historical consciousness, outlining a theoretical connection between the two concepts is essential. In my view, historical consciousness is a concept that deals with cognitive aspects of how we perceive the world and history. The key issue, according to the view presented here, is that a historical consciousness enables us to approach history from a meta-historical perspective engaging with the contextual contingencies of historical facts, categories and accounts. Since all history is man-made, historical consciousness enables us to engage with the representational aspects of history from a cognitive perspective: in a world full of historical contingencies, how do we engage in an interpretive practice that will allow us to reach truth in history? In this sense a historical consciousness should be seen as a kind of epistemic disposition or attitude in individuals towards history, and not related to the *content* of an individual's conceptions of history, e.g. historical facts, categories or colligatory concepts.

If we return to Klas-Göran Karlsson's typology presented above, there are a couple of issues that have to be addressed regarding this typology. The first issue is to show that uses of history can be regarded to be manifestations of a historical consciousness. Karlsson's typology specifies various content-related aspects of individuals' uses of history (they are moral, ideological, et cetera), but it does not allow us to say anything about the epistemic dispositions of its propagator. If one wants to assert that an individual's use of history is contingent on their historical consciousness, it seems that the con-

cepts should have some theoretical aspects in common. Hence it could be argued that there is no theoretical way of asserting that a historical consciousness is manifested through a use of history using Karlsson's typology of uses of history. The concepts do not seem to deal with the same things.

The other problem that I encountered with Karlsson's typology was related to what its object of study is. Karlsson claims that his typology specifies the needs and interests people have when using history, i.e. it attempts to analyse psychological aspects of how people use history. To analyse uses of history we do, however, analyse various types of historical narratives (e.g. history textbooks, popular history magazines, historical films or people's accounts of historical matters). This means that the uses of history in Karlsson's typology do not appear at a text level, but rather at the level of its author or recipient. To exemplify this, we can analyse the following textbook quotation:

Especially the Soviet Union had suffered enormously during the war and wanted more war reparations than the other countries allowed. They [the Western countries], on the other hand did not want to strip Germany of its resources out of fear of starvation and social unrest. Thus, the atmosphere was tense between East and West. It worsened when the communists seized power in Czechoslovakia in 1948, with support from the Soviet Union. This meant that the Soviet Union controlled all of Eastern Europe up to the dividing line that came to be called the *Iron Curtain*.¹⁸⁹

Since we do not have any direct contact with the authors of the quotation, we would have to try to analyse what need or interest the narrative corresponds to. Simply put, since this is a history textbook narrative, we could argue that it is a politico-pedagogical use of history we are presented with: its purpose is to teach us something about history. If we take a closer look at the narrative, however, we can discern other uses of history as well. We learn that the atmosphere between the East and West was tense since the USSR wanted more war reparations from Germany than was considered wise by the West, and that this worsened when they seized power in Czechoslovakia. This could be argued to be a moral use of history since it displays a historical wrongdoing. The USSR forced the Cold War because of their actions in Germany and Czechoslovakia. You could also argue that this is an ideological use of history since it seeks to argue why the USSR was responsible for the escalation of the conflict between the East and West after the 2nd World War. It could also be an existential use of history because it may well create a certain kind of meaning in life for people. And, since the quotation does not mention any actions committed by the Western powers during the escalation of the crisis, it could be argued to be a non-use of history because it conceals pertinent

¹⁸⁹ Almgren et al., *PRIO Historia* 9, 63. Translation from Swedish to English by the present author.

events regarding the outbreak of the Cold War. Furthermore, this might also be said to be a scientific use of history (albeit maybe not a particularly good one) since it could be a way of obtaining and constructing new knowledge about the outbreak of the Cold War. Hence it could be argued that the above quotation employs all of the typified uses of history at the same time. This raises the question of whether the typology can indeed help us analyse what uses of history we encounter in historical narratives since what we are supposed to analyse goes beyond what is explicitly stated in the narrative and the categories seem problematically overlapping.

One could, however, argue that the typology is not only determined by the sender of the narrative, but also the receiver, and perhaps the whole chain of communication that goes on in a particular historical culture.¹⁹⁰ We need to analyse how the historical narrative is perceived by individuals and what role it plays within a particular environment. Nonetheless, it is hard to see why this would alleviate this problem since we would still have to read between the lines in order to make sense of the elicited narratives, and depending on the questions asked and the perspective applied you will get different answers, as I have tried to illustrate above.

I adopted two strategies to address these issues. To theoretically specify the connection between historical consciousness and uses of history, I sought a typology that differentiates between different epistemic dispositions in historical narratives. One such typology is Jörn Rüsen's typology of historical narratives. In my view, Rüsen's typology tells us something about how people use historical narratives to show the epistemic status of history. A narrative that enforces a status quo in history uses history traditionally, et cetera. What we get here is a typology of uses of history that theoretically corresponds with historical consciousness as an epistemic disposition in an individual. The concepts deal with the same kind of phenomenon; uses of history at a concrete level in a historical narrative, and historical consciousness at an abstract level in an individual's consciousness.

To avoid the problems related to what the object of study of Karlsson's typology is, it could be applied as a way of theoretically discerning different points of orientation in various historical narratives: a narrative can contain many different layers of meaning (as shown above). Thus, this typology could be useful as a kind of heuristic device when analysing uses of history in historical narratives. Further, the typology could be used as a kind of analytical inspiration when approaching historical narratives to unveil the complexities of historical production and dissemination among individuals and within a historical culture. What we get then are not definite answers concerning what uses of history we may encounter in historical narratives, but rather analyses of uses of history that are contingent on matters regarding the con-

¹⁹⁰ See Nordgren, *Vems är historien?*, 43–44.

text of the author, reader and history didactical researcher. And, as I have shown in the fourth study included here, the typology can be applied to individual's narratives about themselves and how they argue that history has played a role in their personal lives or professional career.¹⁹¹ This is because when an individual does that, they provide us with the motives of their use of history; they use history to explain a certain character trait or to develop certain competencies in their pupils, et cetera.

Additionally, these two typologies can be used together to further analyses of uses of history in terms of what these uses are (according to Karlsson's typology) and how these uses are made (according to Rösen's typology). I regard these typologies as relating to two dimensions of uses of history. Since Karlsson's typology relates to the needs or interests that may lie behind a certain use of history, I have chosen to call it a *teleological* use of history: history is used to satisfy a certain need or interest, and in this sense it strives for a certain goal. Rösen's typology, on the other hand, relates to the historiographical or narratological properties of a historical narrative, and consequently I chose to call it a *narratological* use of history. Used in combination, these two typologies can be applied to discern a number of different approaches to history: a moral use of history that is narrated traditionally is something very different from a moral use of history that is narrated genetically, for instance.

The Relation between Uses of History and Historical Culture

Using the approach specified above, we can also analyse how uses of history relate to historical culture. Through analysing the narratological properties of uses of history, we can discern different ways of treating the historical narrative. A narrative that uses history traditionally displays a view of history as something static and impervious to change. From such a viewpoint, it could be argued, the cultural aspects of history (i.e. how history and our approaches to it is culturally and contextually contingent) are not taken into consideration rendering analyses of these aspects difficult, if not impossible. On the other hand, a narrative that uses history genetically would engage with the cultural aspects of history acknowledging the contextual contingency and positionality of all historical narratives, even one's own.¹⁹² Here it's possible to carry out more complex analyses of the cultural aspects of history. This approach also connects historical consciousness to historical culture and stresses the importance of individuals' epistemic attitudes towards history along the line of the reasoning outlined above. The application of this theoretical approach on the conceptions of history in historical media and history teachers' narratives is original and, as the articles included show, a

¹⁹¹ Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History', 12.

¹⁹² Thorp, 'Representation and Interpretation', 78–80.

valuable way to analyse empirical data from the perspective of historical consciousness, historical culture and uses of history.

Historical Consciousness, Uses of History and Historical Culture

Applying the concepts of uses of history, historical culture and historical consciousness in research has been criticised in terms of how these notions and concepts relate to each other.¹⁹³ I perceive this to be particularly pertinent regarding how the more concrete concept of uses of history relates to the more abstract concepts of historical culture and historical consciousness. To avoid these problems, I did two things. Firstly, I tried to specify what areas the notions correspond to. Secondly, I developed and modified existing theories of uses of history and historical consciousness in order to render them theoretically interconnected and compatible. Regarding what the notions correspond to, I found it particularly important to specify the differences between historical culture and historical consciousness. Historical consciousness is a notion that has often been criticised for being too vague or imprecise to guide research.¹⁹⁴ One difficulty with the concept is how to delineate its scope. Is it an individual notion or can collectives also¹⁹⁵ have historical consciousnesses? In my understanding, a historical consciousness should only refer to individuals since it is individuals that possess consciousness. It is certainly the case that collective notions exist that affect how we perceive history and ourselves, but I think this is better captured by the notion of historical culture since culture is generally perceived to be a collective entity.¹⁹⁶ From this perspective, historical consciousness and historical culture have a dynamic relationship to each other. While a historical culture precedes any individual, individuals can negotiate and change historical cultures through their perceptions and communication of history, i.e. through their historical consciousness and uses of history. Uses of history, in turn, would be narrative enactments of history contingent both on historical consciousness, since it relates to how individuals perceive history, as well as historical culture, because a use always occurs in a context. Thus, historical consciousness would refer to an individual's perceptions and understanding of history, historical culture would refer to collective notions of history, and uses of history would refer to narrative enactments of history.

¹⁹³ See Axelsson, 'Historia i bruk och medvetande', 23–24.

¹⁹⁴ See Catherine Duquette, *Le rapport entre la pensée historique et la conscience historique. Elaboration d'un modèle d'interprétation lors de l'apprentissage de l'histoire chez les élèves de cinquième secondaire des écoles francophone du Québec* (Québec: Université de Laval, 2011), 259; Nordgren, *Vems är historien?*, 15; Robert Thorp, 'The Concept of Historical Consciousness in Swedish History Didactical Research', in *Cultural and Religious Diversity and Its Implications for History Education*, ed. Joanna Wojdon, Yearbook of the International Society for History Didactics 34 (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2013), 207–24.

¹⁹⁵ See Peter Seixas, 'Collective Memory, History Education, and Historical Consciousness', *Historically Speaking* 7, no. 2 (2005): 17–19.

¹⁹⁶ See Jesse Prinz, 'Culture and Cognitive Science', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 5.

Another important issue was to specify how a historical consciousness relates to a use of history. Theoretically, this relation was established through the notion of narrative: uses of history are manifested in narratives about history and historical consciousness is an awareness of the contextual contingency of history made explicit in these same narratives. Hence, through Jörn Rüsen's typology of historical narratives, we can theoretically and analytically connect the concepts of uses of history and historical consciousness.

Historical Culture in Historical Media

Regarding the content of the historical media studied, the studies focusing on textbooks show that they tend to present a rather homogenous view of history. Even though there are some variations regarding the origins of the conflict, the narratives relating the outbreak of the Cold War all focus on the Cold War as a conflict between a communist Soviet Union and a democratic West, primarily represented by the USA. This suggests that there is a consensus among Swedish textbook authors on how this historical chain of events should be understood.¹⁹⁷ As the fourth article shows, this view also seems to be shared by Swedish history curricula for lower secondary schools.¹⁹⁸ The limited, international study of popular history magazines presented in the second article, does paint a more diverse picture in terms of the content of the articles, i.e. the outbreak of the First World War. Each popular historical article studied presents a different perspective on the origins of the conflict and presents valid arguments as to why this is a relevant portrayal.¹⁹⁹ However, they are more similar to each other, and the studied history textbooks, regarding the uses of history they constitute.

Although, all analyses of textbooks and popular history magazines discuss uses of history according to their teleological dimensions, these are of subordinate importance due to the reasons indicated above. The analyses of the narratological dimension of uses of history in the historical media studied yielded some interesting results in terms of how historical media constitute and relate to historical culture. All the history textbooks studied present history as something void of perspective and representation. This is also the case when alternative narratives are presented. Narratives are presented in a passive voice and they use history traditionally.²⁰⁰ The popular history magazines studied are more varied in this regard. Although the majority of the magazines narrated history traditionally, there was also one example that used history genetically and discussed the contingencies of history and how

¹⁹⁷ Thorp, 'Representation and Interpretation', 88–89.

¹⁹⁸ Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History', 8.

¹⁹⁹ Thorp, 'Popular History Magazines and History Education', 106–7.

²⁰⁰ Thorp, 'Historical Consciousness and Historical Media', 511; Thorp, 'Representation and Interpretation', 88.

it is represented.²⁰¹ From these results it could be argued that the dominant way of presenting history in the studied media is as a passive narrative that disseminates history in a factual way. History in textbooks and popular history magazines is about painting a picture of the past, not about conveying representational and interpretational aspects of history and historical accounts. From an educational perspective this is interesting and, perhaps, somewhat problematic. If one is supposed to develop critical competencies in pupils through the study of history (as is the case in Sweden and abroad²⁰²), narratives in textbooks and popular history magazines could be challenging since they present history as something devoid of interpretation and representation. This does not necessarily mean that these texts cannot develop these competencies, but the culturally dominant way of presenting history in these media does not invite such a perspective on history in and of themselves.

Related to historical culture, this is highly interesting. It could be argued that narratives that use history traditionally do not invite discussions of the contingencies of historical representations, and could thus enforce one particular historical perspective as the only legitimate one. All the textbooks studied do exactly this: history is presented in a factual manner in a passive voice and readers are not invited to reflect on the representational or interpretational aspects of history. While popular history magazines are not primarily intended for educational purposes, it could be argued that they could be well suited for use in history education to further discussions pertinent to an understanding of historical culture aspects of history.²⁰³ While the narratives studied in the popular history magazines also present narratives that are traditional, the sender and author of the narrative is more conspicuous than in history textbooks. This could be used to further discussions on contextual contingencies in historical representations and, thus, an awareness of what roles these play in history.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, all the studies emphasise the use of historical media when looking at how its content is interpreted. A

²⁰¹ Thorp, 'Popular History Magazines and History Education', 108–9.

²⁰² See Christine Counsell, 'Disciplinary Knowledge for All, the Secondary History Curriculum and History Teachers' Achievement', *Curriculum Journal* 22, no. 2 (2011): 201–25; Demircioglu, 'Using Controversial Issues In History Lessons: Views Of Turkish History Teachers'; Per Eliasson, 'Historieämnet i de nya läroplanerna', in *Historien är närvarande: Historiedidaktik som teori och tillämpning*, ed. Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2014), 249–71; Susanne Grindel, 'The End of Empire Colonial Heritage and the Politics of Memory in Britain', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 33–49; Andreas Körber, 'Historical Consciousness, Historical Competencies – and beyond? Some Conceptual Development within German History Didactics', 2015; Jocelyn Létourneau, 'Transmettre la culture comme mémoire et identité: au cœur du débat sur l'éducation historique des jeunes québécois', *Revue française de pédagogie. Recherches en éducation*, no. 165 (1 October 2008): 43–54; Jukka Rantala and Marko van den Berg, 'Finnish High School Students' and University Students' Ability to Handle Multiple Source Documents in History', *Historical Encounters* 2, no. 1 (24 November 2015): 70–88; VanSledright and Reddy, 'Changing Epistemic Beliefs?'

²⁰³ Thorp, 'Popular History Magazines and History Education', 109–10.

²⁰⁴ See Boutonnet, *Les ressources didactiques*, 46.

narrative that presents a mono-perspectival traditional rendering of history can be used for a number of purposes, one of them being to further an understanding of the importance of contextual awareness.²⁰⁵ This stresses the importance of how history teachers interpret, appropriate and approach history in the context of history education.

Historical Culture and History Teachers

The studies presented in the articles included show a rather complex picture of how history teachers relate to historical media and historical culture. While the textbooks studied give a dominant view regarding the outbreak of the Cold War blaming the Soviet Union for its emergence, the teachers interviewed hesitated to blame solely the Soviets, arguing that the USA also played a crucial role in the escalation of the conflict. This means that they expressed a view that opposes what could be argued to be the common sense assumption in Swedish textbooks regarding the Cold War. However, when the same teachers were asked to interpret a textbook quotation outlining the outbreak of the Cold War that is ambivalent regarding whether the USSR or the USA are to blame for the escalation of the conflict, most teachers read this quotation as blaming the USSR. This could indicate a tension between how teachers personally evaluate the USSR's role in the Cold War and how they interpret a quotation that could be interpreted as blaming either side in the conflict. It could seem more plausible that the teachers would interpret the quotation as laying blame on both sides since it presents a view of the event that correlates to the one they expressed. One interpretation of this could be that it shows how teachers' preconceptions of what a typical Cold War textbook narrative should look like affects how they interpret the quotation since the consensus on the USSR's role in the escalation of the Cold War conflict is so strong in the textbooks studied.

It could, however, also be interpreted as being a result of the teachers responding differently due to the two different tasks they were given: first they were asked to interpret a textbook quotation, and then they were asked about their personal opinion of the event by a researcher from an academic institution interested in them as professionals. This could have made the teachers cautious about coming across as too certain or opinionated. There are also political dimensions related to the question, which could have increased the teachers' unwillingness to take a definite stand on the question of blame. This interpretation is made more plausible by the teaching observed and life story interviews held with two of the teachers. The two teachers observed both perceived that the general Swedish opinion about the escalation

²⁰⁵ Thorp, 'Historical Consciousness and Historical Media', 512–13; Thorp, 'Popular History Magazines and History Education', 110; Thorp, 'Representation and Interpretation', 94; Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History', 14–16.

of the conflict blamed the USSR, while their personal opinion was that the blame was shared between the USA and USSR.²⁰⁶ However, in the teaching observed, both teachers taught the conflict as caused by the USSR's and Stalin's policies after the end of World War II. Both teachers also relied heavily on historical media during their teaching, and the narratives they presented in class conformed to that presented in the studied history textbooks.²⁰⁷ This could mean that the teachers in fact were teaching the narrative of the historical media and not necessarily the narrative that they found most compelling on a personal level. However, the key issue here is that the teachers chose to teach the narrative they did, not whether it was the narrative they felt most closely related to.

Additionally, these two teachers also gave life story interviews and these interviews further strengthened the conclusion that the teachers' narratives conformed to the narratives found in contemporary Swedish lower secondary school textbooks. The Cold War and the teachers' experiences of it were talked about in terms of a conflict between a communist East (primarily represented by the USSR) and a democratic West. The teachers' narratives of their experiences also focused on memories of being frightened of the East and the USSR.²⁰⁸ One could argue that the overall picture of how teachers frame the Cold War conflict is as one that resembles the dominant narrative in Swedish textbooks, which posits the USSR and the Eastern bloc as responsible for the Cold War, i.e. the teachers shared the common sense assumption about the Cold War that was dominant in the historical media they used when teaching and in Swedish lower secondary school curricula.²⁰⁹ Thus, it could be argued that the teachers express a view similar to that of the history textbooks and curricula.

The teleological uses of history constituted by the teachers are predominantly ideological in character when they are asked to interpret the textbook quotation, although there should be some caveats raised here due to the implicit nature of teleological uses of history.²¹⁰ This supports the assumption that the political or ideological dimensions of the Cold War made the teachers cautious in expressing their opinions about it. The two teachers that were interviewed about their experiences of growing up during the Cold War period also made moral and existential uses of history since their narratives centred around the oppression suffered by people in the Eastern bloc and how growing up during the Cold War had come to shape their personalities. The politico-pedagogical use was also frequent during the teaching observed and

²⁰⁶ Thorp, 'Representation and Interpretation', 92–93.

²⁰⁷ Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History', 13–14.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 8–9.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 13–14.

²¹⁰ Thorp, 'Representation and Interpretation', 91.

post-teaching interviews: the Cold War should be studied because it will help pupils understand the contemporary global situation better and the history of the Cold War is taught as something the pupils should appropriate uncritically.²¹¹

Teachers' narratological uses differ individually and also between the assignments the teachers are given. When all the ten teachers included in the study were asked to interpret a textbook quotation, the majority of them used history critically since they engaged critically with the narrative presented and tried to impose alternative and contradicting narratives to destabilise it. Only one teacher used history traditionally and three teachers were coded as using history genetically since they engaged in discussions of how their own preconceptions of history may have affected how they interpreted the narrative.²¹² It should, however, be noted that a critical use of history is quite similar to a traditional one cognitively: instead of accepting the narrative at hand, another 'better' narrative is introduced instead, and this new narrative is treated cognitively in the same way as a traditional narrative would be.²¹³ The key aspect here is whether all narratives and all interpretations (including one's own) are treated in the same way, which would indicate a genetic use of history.

The two teachers that were observed teaching and gave life story interviews were both coded as using history genetically when interpreting the textbook quotation, but a more complex picture emerged when these teachers were asked to talk about their experiences and when they taught the Cold War. One of the teachers continued to discuss how her own experiences of the Cold War may have affected how she understands and teaches the event, while the other teacher instead discussed how his experiences are an asset when teaching since he can use them and his personal knowledge in class.²¹⁴ He did not, however, discuss how these experiences might affect his teaching. I interpret this as a more traditional use of history since his personal narrative is not engaged with regarding aspects of interpretation and representation. When teaching, both of the teachers used history traditionally and the narrative presented during class only focused on disseminating one particular narrative of the Cold War, which is supported by various historical media.²¹⁵ This tendency is similar to the one Vincent Boutonnet noted in Québec, which he explains by the teachers' tendency to use historical media as references rather than as means for critical assessment or source analysis.²¹⁶ This is corroborated by the teaching observed in this study.

²¹¹ Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History', 10.

²¹² Thorp, 'Representation and Interpretation', 91–92.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 77–78.

²¹⁴ Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History', 10.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

²¹⁶ Boutonnet, *Les ressources didactiques*, 155–57.

This indicates that different contexts seem to generate different uses of history. When interpreting textbook quotations the teachers use history ideologically and critically. When talking of their own experiences of the Cold War they use history existentially, morally, traditionally and genetically. Finally, when teaching the Cold War they use history politico-pedagogically and traditionally. Furthermore, individual teachers make different uses of history depending on the context they are in. This is perhaps not surprising, since one could argue that the tasks they were asked to perform prompt a certain approach. Interpreting a textbook quotation invites teachers to be critical, talking of ones own personal experiences makes one focus on personal, existential aspects of history, and teaching could call for a dissemination of history directed at developing pupils' knowledge of a certain historical event. While this may certainly be the case, I think it is important to stress the narratological uses of history constituted by the teachers: while the two teachers used history genetically when interpreting a textbook narrative, these aspects of history were absent when the same teachers met their pupils in the classroom. From a historical culture perspective this is highly interesting since it seems to suggest that the context affects how the teachers approach and present history cognitively.

If we accept the notion that history and narratives thereof are contextually contingent due to interpretational and representational aspects of history (i.e. we cannot 'do' history without interpreting sources and representing our sources in narrative form and we always do this in a certain context), it could be argued that an awareness of these aspects is central to developing a historical understanding. The results of the articles included here stress this from two perspectives. Firstly, analysis of the historical media seems to suggest that they tend to use history traditionally since narratives are presented as being void of interpretation and reconstruction, which is further enforced by the use of the passive voice. Hence, it could be argued that historical media inspire a certain approach to history and make one particular rendering of the past the dominant one. In order to counter this and to stress how history is characterised by contingency, users of these historical media would need an awareness of these aspects of history. In a sense it could be argued that historical media should be regarded as artefacts of a particular historical culture, and as such they make one particular version of the past manifest and, as we have seen concerning the Cold War, dominant. In other words, an awareness of historical culture aspects of historical narratives (both personal ones and those found in historical media) seems important. This leads us to the second perspective: what awareness do users of historical media express concerning the historical culture of the event narrated? As we have seen, the teachers studied displayed such awareness to varying degrees. Perhaps most importantly, from a history didactical perspective, is how the teachers position themselves in relation to historical narratives both personally and in a

teaching situation. The results presented here suggest that this cultural perspective on history is given a subordinate importance since the main attention is devoted to making sense of the past and communicating this to pupils.

Summary

Focusing on uses of history, and introducing the narratological dimension to the study of this notion, enables a theoretically viable way of analysing how historical narratives relate to cognitive aspects of how individuals approach historical narratives and historical culture. The analyses of how lower secondary school history textbooks and popular history magazines present history shows that while different historical media can portray different substantive approaches to history, it seems as if using history traditionally is the culturally warranted approach. Narratives are presented so as to make them come across as historical facts instead of representations of historical facts, which is exacerbated by the use of the passive voice. The analyses of how teachers interpret, appropriate and disseminate historical narratives show the complexities of these matters. When they are asked to interpret a textbook quotation, a critical narratological use of history is dominant. However, when teachers are asked to relate their personal experiences of growing up during the Cold War and when teaching the Cold War in class, a traditional narratological use of history seems to be most dominant. The results presented here indicate that a traditional or critical narratological use of history is the most prominent one both in the historical media analysed and in the teacher interviews and teaching observed. These results suggest that the most common mode of disseminating history narratologically is as a narrative that is not characterised by contextual contingencies, but rather as one disseminating a factual narrative of history. Thus, the results presented here tend to support the conclusion that historical culture aspects of history and the teaching thereof are neither stressed by the historical media analysed nor by the participating teachers. Hence, a certain perspective of the past is made manifest and is reinforced by the teachers in this study.

Discussion

This section discusses the results of the study and the methodological approach taken. Regarding the results of the study, I address three implications in particular. The first of these relates to the theoretical approach taken. In some, perhaps crucial, ways the present approach differs from that generally taken concerning the concepts of historical consciousness, historical culture and uses of history. Secondly, the results point towards the importance of a historical narrative competency both regarding how historical narratives are presented in educational media, and also regarding how historical narratives are implemented in a teaching situation. The third implication relates to aspects of the subject of history. It could be argued that the view presented here would stress the importance of history education as a means of developing a critical narrative competency rather than appropriating knowledge of past events.

These discussions will be followed by a section focusing on methodological aspects regarding how the research design chosen relates to the aim of the study, how the theoretical approach taken has affected the approach taken in research, and, finally, aspects of validity and relevance concerning the results presented.

Implications of the Theoretical Approach Taken

Regarding the theoretical approach taken, it is primarily how the concepts of historical consciousness and uses of history are defined and specified that differs from the approach typically taken in research using the same concepts.²¹⁷ Generally, historical consciousness is defined as interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and anticipation of the future that is manifested in historical narratives. Furthermore, a historical consciousness is perceived to be pertinent to matters relating to identity,²¹⁸ understanding,²¹⁹ morality²²⁰ and a critical awareness.²²¹ While these aspects of historical consciousness are relevant, it is not evident how a historical conscious-

²¹⁷ See Ahonen, 'Historical Consciousness'; Jakob Dahlbacka, *Framåt med stöd av det förflutna: Religiöst historiebbruk hos Anders Svedberg*, Studies in Religion and Memory 1 (Åbo: Åbo akademi, 2015), 21–28; Thorp, 'The Concept of Historical Consciousness in Swedish History Didactical Research'.

²¹⁸ See Nordgren, *Vems är historien?*, 36; Karlsson, 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys', 52.

²¹⁹ See Aronsson, *Historiebbruk*, 67; Hartsmar, *Historiemedvetande*, 79.

²²⁰ See Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet*, 65–66; Jan Löfström, 'Finländska gymnasieelevers reflektioner över historiska gottgörelser - Vilka implikationer ger det för historieundervisningen i Finland?', *Norddidactica - Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2 (2011): 64–88; Wibaeus, *Att undervisa om det ofattbara*, 61.

²²¹ See Igor Potapenko, *Historiemedvetande och identitet: Om historiens närvaro i några estniska ungdomars liv* (Stockholm: Institutionen för didaktik och pedagogiskt arbete, Stockholms universitet, 2010), 36.

ness relates to its narrative manifestation and applications.²²² Furthermore, it is not evident why the past should only be interpreted, the present understood and the future anticipated. It could, for instance, be argued that you would need to interpret and understand the past, present and future in order to make sense of it.

To avoid this definitional issue with the concept of historical consciousness, I have proposed a shift from the multi-chronological relations stipulated in the commonly used definition, towards an *understanding* of these relations.²²³ This shift would move the focus from analysing these relations to analysing the understanding these relations may create in an individual. The assumption was that an individual that applies past, present and future perspectives on history would make a different sense of the past. Ideally it would create an understanding of how context affects how we approach the past: people in the past acted within a context, as we do today and will continue to do in the future. This could mean that this context is central to how we understand not only the past but also the questions we ask and what we find meaningful to investigate and write about. We would acquire a *historiographic gaze*²²⁴ and appreciate the contextual contingency of history, that history is an art of interpretation and representation. An understanding can, however, be many things and to further specify what this understanding could be, I chose to focus on a definition stipulated by Karl-Ernst Jeismann. According to my understanding of this definition, historical consciousness is the *awareness* that everything around us exists in time and therefore is dynamic. This is something different from interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and anticipation of the future, but it is not completely removed from these multi-chronological aspects. When we apply these temporal aspects on the study of the past, we can ideally reach an awareness of how contextual contingency characterises history. Thus, my proposal would argue for a focus on the effects or consequences that the application of multi-chronological perspectives could have on an individual's understanding of history. While this understanding of historical consciousness is different to the one typically stipulated, I argue that it is highly compatible with the common view of the concept, and moves us a step further when analysing how historical consciousness affects our approach to history. The definition stipulated here also conforms well to the hermeneutic tradition that the concept is embedded in, since it is a concept that directs us towards an understanding that engages dialectically with contexts, both those of the text and those of the interpreter of the text.

²²² See Axelsson, 'Historia i bruk och medvetande'; Robert Thorp, 'Vad är ett historiemedvetande egentligen och varför är det viktigt?', in *Kritiska perspektiv på historiedidaktiken*, ed. David Ludvigsson, *Aktuellt om historia*, 2013:2 (Eksjö: Historielärarnas förening, 2013), 97–119.

²²³ Thorp, 'Towards an Epistemological Theory of Historical Consciousness'.

²²⁴ See Parkes, *Interrupting History*, 119–20.

While the definition presented here allows us to move towards a cognitive disposition as awareness in individuals, we still do not have a way of theoretically connecting it to its narrative manifestations. Indeed, an individual that possesses a historical consciousness could create narratives that indicate awareness of how context affects historical representation, but how can we theoretically ascertain that what we meet in a narrative is an indicator of a historical consciousness? To solve this issue, I analysed the concept of uses of history, since this is generally perceived to be the practical enactment of a historical consciousness. As I have shown above, it was not evident how a use of history could correlate with a historical consciousness since they seemed to deal with two separate things that did not seem to relate to each other. A use of history is an indication of a certain interest or need in an individual, while a historical consciousness is an awareness of contextual contingency in historical representations. For this reason I added another dimension to how uses of history can be analysed: the narratological dimension. Borrowing and adopting Jörn Rüsen's categories of historical narratives, I applied this to analysing how historical narratives can be analysed according to their narratological properties. This step allowed a possible way of theoretically showing how a certain use of history could correlate to the cognitive disposition of individuals. From this perspective, the level of contextualisation an individual makes when using history indicates whether they have a historical consciousness that takes context into account. Thus, a historical consciousness manifests itself in a certain type of narrative competency in individuals, both when creating narratives and when interpreting them. The approach taken here would then imply that a narrative competency that takes context into consideration is important.²²⁵

An Argument for Historical Narrative Competency

The results presented in this thesis emphasise the importance of how teachers regard and approach historical narratives. If history is to be understood as a practice contingent on matters of interpretation and representation, it could be argued that an awareness of these aspects and how they affect an individual's meaning-making in history is important. This is of particular importance with narratives that use history traditionally in the sense that they present narratives of a factual character. Furthermore, the majority of the history teachers included in this study did not discuss how their own preconceptions and attitudes towards the Cold War may have affected how they interpreted texts and talked about the subject and taught it to students. For these reasons I would propose that the results presented here, although limited in character, be used as an argument for the importance of a histori-

²²⁵ See also Körber, 'Historical Consciousness, Historical Competencies – and beyond? Some Conceptual Development within German History Didactics'.

cal narrative competency that engages with the contextual contingencies of history among history teachers and students of history.

Narrative competency has been understood as awareness of emplotment,²²⁶ discursive techniques,²²⁷ or as the ability of making sense of the past in order to guide present day life,²²⁸ among other things. With the view presented here, a historical narrative competency relates to how individuals perceive historical accounts as representations contingent on context and perspective. Additionally, this narrative competency can be analysed according to the status an individual ascribes historical information, categories or concepts in historical narratives. Are they static and given once and for all, or are they contingent on context and thus dynamic? Furthermore, this narrative competency would direct attention to interpretive practices of history: how does my present perspective affect how I approach, interpret, appropriate and represent the past?

From this perspective, a historical narrative competency would engage with historical meaning-making in a broad sense, and engage with historical culture aspects of how we approach history and what is perceived to be historically meaningful and relevant. This in turn would apply a critical approach to history not only at a content level but also regarding how history is interpreted and represented by various actors and in historical media. In an educational context, this argues for a view of the school subject of history as a critical study of the past.

Understanding History as a Critical Study of the Past

The results above may be used to show that teachers approach history differently depending on which context they are in. When they were asked to interpret a textbook quotation, all teachers but one took a critical stance and discussed how the quotation displayed a certain perspective of the past and that it was problematic for this reason. The two teachers that gave autobiographical interviews were less critical than when interpreting the textbook quotation, and even less critical when teaching the subject to their pupils. This can be explained by how varying contexts may prompt different kinds of approaches. When the teachers were asked to engage with the quotation, they were more or less asked to approach the account critically. When talking of their own experiences of growing up during the Cold War, the teachers were asked to perform a completely different task: to make sense of their

²²⁶ Stefan Lundström and Christina Olin-Scheller, 'Narrativ kompetens. En förutsättning i multimodala textuniversum?', *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap* 40, no. 3 (2010).

²²⁷ Kenneth J. Gergen, 'Narrative, Moral Identity, and Historical Consciousness: A Social Constructionist Account', in *Narration, Identity and Historical Consciousness*, ed. Jürgen Straub (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 99–119.

²²⁸ Riesen, 'Historical Consciousness: Narrative, Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development', 69.

lived experiences. In order to do that, the teachers had to activate their pre-conceptions of their childhood and teenage memories along with what they perceived to be a meaningful view of the Cold War. In that sense it could be argued that they were much more closely related to the historical culture regarding the Cold War since this was a prerequisite for their narratives. The teachers interviewed also applied a narrative template, consistently framing the Cold War as a struggle between a democratic West and communist East when talking of their upbringing. This narrative template conforms well to the one in the lower secondary school history textbooks studied, suggesting a strong historical culture regarding the Cold War in Swedish lower secondary school history education.

This could be interpreted as showing that the teachers do not view their own position in history as something that needs to be critically engaged with, although one of the interviewed teachers admitted that it may be difficult to narrate the history of the Soviet Union impartially due to her personal opinions and upbringing. Some researchers have coined this tendency as a kind of epistemic switching: individuals apply different kinds of epistemologies in different kinds of situations.²²⁹ The results presented here reinforce such a view, but strive to emphasise the role of the differing contexts rather than the epistemic beliefs of the teachers. In other words, the teachers have the same epistemic beliefs when they interpret and narrate but the contexts prompt them to activate different approaches to history and make different uses of history.

This trend is also apparent in the teaching observed. Here, the teachers refrained from discussing the importance of perspective, interpretation and reconstruction in history (although such opportunities arose in the teaching observed), and instead presented the pupils with narratives of the Cold War that conformed to what could be found in the historical media used. This may be explained by the complexity of the classroom situation. What is taught in the classroom is not only affected by the teachers' preconception of history but also by that of their pupils.²³⁰ Furthermore it has been shown that teachers tend to rely on the narratives of historical media to a fairly high degree when planning and implementing their teaching. The teaching observed in this study, although very limited, seems to confirm these findings.²³¹ Taken together this means that teaching history in class should be regarded as a highly complex enterprise. Teachers are affected not only by their own preconceptions regarding the subject and topic they are teaching, but also by the historical media they use and the pupils they meet in the

²²⁹ See Eli Gottlieb and Sam Wineburg, 'Between Veritas and Communitas: Epistemic Switching in the Reading of Academic and Sacred History', *Journal of the Learning Sciences* 21, no. 1 (2012): 84–129.

²³⁰ See Jarhall, *En komplex historia*, 172; Lilliestam, *Aktör och struktur i historieundervisning*, 210–12; Olofsson, *Fatta historia*, 211–12.

²³¹ Boutonnet, *Les ressources didactiques*, 178–79.

classroom. This is a highly demanding task that challenges how teachers view history cognitively.²³² It could be argued that an ability to engage with history as a contextually contingent reconstruction could help teachers resist the ‘factual pull’ of history and teach it as a critical study of the past.

In my view, these results stress the subject of history as a critical study of the past, which differs from the subject presented in the historical media studied and history teaching observed. On a more general level, this raises the question of what history should be taught in schools. Some researchers have stressed the importance of pupils’ ability to relate to the history taught in school²³³ and this could be interpreted as a call for history education that stresses personal aspects of history instead of cognitive dimensions of the subject perhaps more associated with history as an academic discipline. One of the respondents in this study also viewed his personal experiences as an asset when teaching since he could draw on these experiences to make pupils more interested in the subject.²³⁴

While the results presented here are compatible with such an approach to history education, they do, however, show one of the risks of a history education that takes the already familiar as a starting point and seeks to reinforce it. The line of argumentation followed here shows that an awareness of the cultural aspects of history (as indicated by a genetic use of history) seems important if we want to avoid teaching history in a way that reinforces one particular version of the past. In a sense the study of history is the study of alternative perceived realities and alternative perspectives on these realities, due to the contextual contingency that characterises history and historical representations. History education that does not engage with these aspects risks promoting historical and cultural entrenchment.²³⁵ It has also been argued that to teach history uncritically is tantamount to presenting pupils and students with a misguided view of history, since critical inquiry is a prerequisite for historical knowledge. Without an understanding of this, pupils and students of history will not be able to gain historical knowledge.²³⁶ This is also where the challenge for history educators lies: how do we communicate history as *both* a product and a process at the same? It is my hope that an approach to history education emanating from an understanding of how history both *enables us* and *is enabled by us* may be a fruitful way of approaching this crucial challenge.

²³² See VanSledright and Reddy, ‘Changing Epistemic Beliefs?’, 62–63.

²³³ See Eliasson, ‘Kan ett historiemedvetande fördjupas?’, 322–23; Jensen, ‘Historiemedvetande - begreppsanalys, samhällsteori, didaktik’; Potapenko, *Historiemedvetande och identitet*, 137; Wibaeus, *Att undervisa om det ofattbara*, 53.

²³⁴ Thorp, ‘Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History’, 10.

²³⁵ See Segall, ‘Critical History’, 367–68.

²³⁶ See Stuart J. Foster and Charles S. Padgett, ‘Authentic Historical Inquiry in the Social Studies Classroom’, *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas* 72, no. 6 (1 July 1999): 357–63.

Indeed, as has been stressed above, the one thing we can agree on in history is that we are different and that we have good reasons for being different. This should not be interpreted as an argument that anything goes in history, but rather that we should pay close attention to the origins of historical narratives and how they constitute history and our perception thereof. In a sense there is no history but in the present, and how we approach and understand that history is pertinent to how we come to understand the past, ourselves and others.

Methodological Implications

Finally, there are some methodological implications with the present approach that I think are important to address in greater detail. The first of these implications relates to the professed aim of this thesis. How can I claim to be studying how historical culture is constituted by historical media? Historical culture is a complex notion and it could be assumed that a multiplicity of historical cultures exists in any given society or social environment. However, with the view presented in this thesis, a historical culture needs to be constituted in order to exist. Such constitution takes place in many different contexts and media, and two of these media are history textbooks and popular history magazines. What makes these kinds of media particularly suitable for a study of how historical culture is constituted is that these media are explicitly produced for larger audiences and do, for this reason, have to take a general public historical culture into consideration. In order to appeal to consumers and teachers,²³⁷ they have to be a desirable product and please the palate of as many as possible. To make a popular history magazine or history textbook a desirable product on the market, it has to include what is perceived as relevant historical information and it has to present that information in a way that makes sense and is easy to understand. Hence, in an educational context, popular history magazines and history textbooks can be assumed to make good sources for studying the version of history that is perceived as relevant by a larger audience and how that history is presented in order to make sense. Although the sample studied is quite small, it is still a relevant one. Furthermore the methods have been applied in a transparent and rigid manner and can thus be transferred to studies of other, similar, media.

The same kind of reasoning can be applied to the analyses of how history teachers relate to historical media and historical culture. While the sample is a small one suggesting that the results presented here could be exceptional, the aim was to analyse how teachers relate to historical media and culture.

²³⁷ In Sweden there is no official control of history textbooks. They are produced by private publishing houses and bought by schools and teachers. This means that the textbooks have to compete on a market in order to entice buyers (i.e. history teachers).

This has been done by applying a theoretical framework in analyses of teachers' interviews. Hence it is through analysing these relations in the data collected that we are able to conclude anything about the relations between teachers and historical media. In qualitative research the matter then primarily becomes a theoretical and methodological one instead of relating to the quantity of the empirical data that has been collected. The question is rather whether the theoretical and methodological approach taken here can be transferred to other studies of a similar nature, not whether I have successfully described how all history teachers relate to historical media and historical culture. The theory developed to study how teachers (and individuals) may relate cognitively to historical culture, is original since it has introduced a narratological dimension of uses of history. Furthermore, this narratological dimension is also theoretically connected to the concept of historical consciousness and can thus be used to analyse how individuals approach history and relate to historical culture in a cognitive manner. A central concept here is uses of history since it enables us to empirically access the abstract concepts of historical culture and historical consciousness.

Another methodological implication relates to the theoretical approach chosen: why is a history didactical approach the best one to study the aspects I have set out to study? Choosing a theoretical perspective is always crucial to a study since it determines what methodological perspective you apply, what questions you ask, and how you answer them. As a basic theoretical assumption I applied a hermeneutic approach that argues that how we perceive and approach phenomena affects how we create meaning from them and represent them. As I have shown, a history didactical theoretical approach aligns well with such a theoretical perspective since history is always approached in a social and individual context and that context is a crucial aspect of how we perceive and make sense of it. Furthermore, history didactics is an established field of research and the history didactical concepts applied here have been applied in other studies of similar character. For these reasons, this study is contextually relevant since it relates to an established field of research and tries to build new knowledge and new perspectives both on how to approach and apply theoretical notions within this field, and also to further the vast and valuable research that already exists in this field of research.

A final methodological implication that I would like to address is how the approach chosen has affected my results. For instance how did the choice of popular history magazines and history textbooks affect the results I received concerning historical culture, and how did my interviews and classroom observations affect how the teachers talked of and taught history? The considerations I made when choosing to study popular history magazines and history textbooks have been described above. Regarding the teachers, it is always difficult to know in what way my presence affected the results. The

teachers knew why I contacted them and they may have tried to adjust their interview replies and classroom interaction with pupils to better fit what they thought would be more appropriate from the perspective of history didactics. While it is always difficult to assess these issues, I found no reason to assume that the teachers were fabricating answers when I interviewed them, or that they were in any way pretending when they were teaching their pupils. The bottom line, I think, is whether they created coherent and plausible narratives about their interpretations of textbook narratives, experiences of growing up during the Cold War, or accounts of the Cold War in class. In a sense it matters little whether the narratives the teachers gave me were absolutely true. The key aspect is rather my approach to eliciting these narratives and analysing them. This is where the truth and knowledge of the research presented here lies. The same kind of argument can also be used to argue the validity, representativity and relevance of the research presented here: the theoretical perspective chosen and the methodology applied in qualitative research determine whether that research should be perceived to match these criteria. In the methodological section I strove to make my theoretical perspective and methodology as relevant, transparent and logical as possible.

Further Research

The main results from the articles included in this thesis point to how a history didactical framework can be applied to analyse and discuss history and history education from a historical culture perspective. While the results are compelling, the empirical data could be regarded as limited, particularly concerning the variety of possible perspectives of research throughout the approach taken here. The results suggest a strong influence from a Swedish public historical culture concerning the Cold War. However, broader studies incorporating the perspectives of history pupils, history students, historians (popular and academic alike), publishers of historical media and public historical discourse could further the analyses provided here, and perhaps paint a more complex picture of how history is approached both in an educational and societal context.

The approach taken here describes the properties and characteristics of various historical narratives presented by history textbooks, popular history magazines and history teachers. From the perspective of history education, it would also be interesting to study what makes individuals develop an understanding of history that approaches it as dynamic and contingent on factors relating to interpretation and representation. Research has suggested what makes individuals develop these abilities, in terms of what a developed understanding of history could look like,²³⁸ how pupils may construct narra-

²³⁸ See Gottlieb and Wineburg, 'Between Veritas and Communitas'; Peter Lee, 'Understanding History', in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 129–64;

tives that take the contextual contingencies of history into account and what properties these narratives have,²³⁹ and how these aspects can be incorporated on the level of history curricula.²⁴⁰ However, a combination of these approaches focusing on how individuals may develop the interpretational and historiographical abilities highlighted in this thesis could result in new knowledge and perspectives relevant both in history education and society at large.

Lévesque, *Thinking Historically*; Jukka Rantala, 'Assessing Historical Empathy through Simulation - How Do Finnish Teacher Students Achieve Contextual Historical Empathy?', *Nordidactica - Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 1 (2011): 58–76.

²³⁹ See Lars Andersson Hult, *Att finna meningen i ett historieprov: En studie om mer eller mindre utvecklat historiemedvetande* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2012); Fredrik Alvé, *Historiemedvetande på prov: En analys av elevers svar på uppgifter som prövar strävansmålen i kursplanen för historia* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011); Frances Blow, 'How Pupils' Conception of the Relationship between the Past and Present Impact on the Ways They Make Sense of the History Taught', in *The Processes of History Teaching: An International Symposium Held at Malmö University, Sweden, March 5th-7th 2009*, ed. Per Eliasson, Carina Rönnqvist and Kenneth Nordgren, *Studier i de samhällsvetenskapliga ämnenas didaktik* 15 (Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2011), 106–31; Eliasson, 'Kan ett historiemedvetande fördjupas?'

²⁴⁰ See Robert J. Parkes, 'Teaching History as Historiography: Engaging Narrative Diversity in the Curriculum', *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 8, no. 2 (2009): 118–32.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to analyse and discuss how historical culture is constituted in historical media and history teachers' narratives and teaching. An underlying assumption with this approach was that history teachers would have to perform various roles due to the fact that they have personal recollections and experiences of history at the same time as they perform the official role of teaching history to pupils. This in turn pointed towards the relevance of historical culture aspects of history education both from the perspective of the educational media employed in teaching and how teachers relate to these.

The research presented showed how the historical media studied (i.e. history textbooks and popular history magazines) show great similarities in terms of how history is used narratologically. The dominating use was one that presents historical narrative as something devoid of interpretational and representational practices since history is presented as something factual and certain. Furthermore, the studies of Swedish lower secondary school history textbooks showed that these textbooks display a dominant way of narrating the outbreak of the Cold War, one that posited the USSR as the instigator and blamed 'Other' of this conflict. From a historical cultural perspective this shows two things about the studied historical media: (i) history is generally presented as if it were not the result of interpretation and representation but rather factual in kind, and (ii) Swedish lower secondary school history textbooks manifest one particular narrative and perspective regarding a historical chain of events related to the Cold War. These two findings indicate the importance of an awareness of users of these historical media that history is characterised by a critical engagement with contextual contingencies in narratives and interpretations thereof, in order to counter this dominant narratological use of history.

Furthermore, the studies found that the history teachers interviewed and observed encountered difficulties in engaging with the complexities of historical narratives and their own relations to them. When asked to interpret a textbook quotation relating the outbreak of the Cold War, the majority of the teachers engaged critically with the historical account but not with their own preconceptions of the Cold War. When two teachers were asked to relate their own experiences of growing up during the Cold War era, and when they were observed teaching the Cold War in class, the same teachers that had both displayed narratological uses of history through their engagement with historical cultural aspects of history when interpreting the textbook quotation, chose not to engage with these aspects in class or when they were asked to relate their own experiences of growing up during the Cold War era. Particularly when teaching the Cold War, these teachers narrated the Cold War

as a conflict between a communist, oppressive and dysfunctional East and a democratic free West. This narrative conforms to a very high degree with the narrative of the Cold War in the textbooks studied. Thus, it could be argued that there seems to be a strong consensus in a Swedish history educational context on how the Cold War should be framed. These results are then used to argue the importance of a critical historical narrative competency that engages with historical culture aspects in order to enable analyses of contextual contingencies in history and avoid a reification of one particular historical perspective. This is claimed to be particularly important when there seems to be strong consensus regarding how these historical events should be narrated, as with the emergence of the Cold War conflict.

The results presented here, although empirically limited, point towards pertinent aspects of the production and dissemination of history both in an educational and societal context. History is always used in various contexts for various reasons, and an ability to engage with these uses of history could be argued to be indispensable in contemporary society. All historical narratives are contingent on the historical cultural context of its authors, as is the historical consciousness of its users. Hence, these results stress the importance of a history didactical perspective on the production, appropriation and communication of history in history classrooms and in society. Analysing and discussing uses of history in history education is a highly valuable way of investigating enactments of historical culture in an explicitly educational, but implicitly societal, context.

Kort sammanfattning på svenska

Inledning

Det har hävdats att historia är grundläggande för människors uppfattning av sig själva och sin omgivning. Den historiska dimensionen hjälper oss att orientera i tillvaron och kan sägas vara en integrerad del av våra identiteter. På så sätt kan man påstå att historia är något större än vad som produceras vid akademiska lärosäten eller förmedlas i läroböcker i historia och i historieklassrum. Det kan vidare framhållas att det finns kulturella aspekter på historia och att vi dagligen deltar i och förmedlar ett antal historiekulturer. Dessa historiekulturer påverkar vad vi uppfattar som historiskt meningsfullt och relevant och på samma gång påverkar vi dessa historiekulturer genom våra relationer till och vår förmedling av historia. Dessutom kan det hävdas att våra relationer till historia är beroende av en mängd faktorer såsom till exempel vilka vi är, var vi befinner oss och vid vilken tidpunkt i historien vi lever. Detta innebär en dubbelhet med avseende på hur vi uppfattar och närmar oss historia eftersom våra uppfattningar och förkunskaper påverkar hur vi upplever och förstår historien, något som även har konsekvenser för hur man kan komma att se på historieundervisning.

Enligt vad som inom forskningen kallas den *praktiska* eller *kulturella vändningen* är all mening som kan erhållas från olika medier beroende av hur de tolkas och används av människor. Detta övergripande teoretiska perspektiv har tillsammans med en hermeneutisk utgångspunkt utgjort den teoretiska grunden i föreliggande avhandling. Om man utgår från historia och historieundervisning betyder detta att hur vi närmar oss, tolkar och undervisar om historia är beroende av vilka förutfattade meningar vi har om densamma. Detta får till följd att studier av hur historiska medier uppfattas och tolkas bör lägga stor vikt vid det sammanhang inom vilket historiska medier skapas och tolkas.

Mitt forskningsprojekt tar denna teoretiska position som utgångspunkt och syftar till att analysera och diskutera hur historiekultur konstitueras i historiska medier och i historielärares narrativ och undervisning. Genom ett användande av de historiedidaktiska begreppen historiemedvetande, historiebruk och historiekultur analyseras hur historiska medier presenterar historia samt hur historielärare tolkar ett läroboksavsnitt som behandlar kalla krigets utbrott, berättar om sina personliga erfarenheter av samma historiska händelseförlopp och hur de undervisar om det i klassrummet. Dessa historiedidaktiska begrepp är, vilket har påpekats i forskningen, vaga och svåra att tillämpa i studier och deras innebördes relationer i behov av ytterligare teoretiska klarlägganden. Av dessa anledningar har en ambition varit att precisera, operationalisera och tillämpa dessa begrepp i analyser för att möjliggöra studier av hur historia presenteras och uppfattas både vad

gäller individuella och samhälleliga aspekter vilka är relevanta utifrån såväl ett historiedidaktiskt perspektiv som ett allmänt historiskt sådant. Genom ett teoretiskt arbete inriktat på att precisera och tillämpa begreppen har studier av hur historiekultur konstitueras i historiska medier och historielärares berättelser och undervisning möjliggjorts. De forskningsfrågor som ställts är:

1. Hur presenteras historia i samtida läroböcker och populärhistoriska tidskrifter med avseende på innehåll och det historiebruk som kommer till uttryck där?
2. Hur förhåller sig lärare i historia till ämnet vad gäller läroböcker, egna erfarenheter av historia och undervisning med avseende på innehåll och historiebruk?
3. Vilka historiekulturella aspekter konstitueras i de studerade historiska medierna och i historielärarnas narrativ och undervisning?
4. Hur kan ett teoretiskt ramverk bestående av historiemedvetande, historiebruk och historiekultur tillämpas för att studera innehållet i historiska medier och tillägandet av detta?

För att möjliggöra en bred och heltäckande studie av hur historiekultur konstitueras i historiska medier och i historielärares berättelser och undervisning, har en variation av undersökningsmetoder använts. Först definierades, preciserades och operationaliserades ett historiedidaktiskt teoretiskt ramverk genom en systematisk begreppsanalys för att möjliggöra analyser av hur historiekultur konstitueras i historiska medier av historielärare. Genom analyser av innehållet i läroböcker i historia och populärhistoriska tidskrifter undersöktes därefter hur historia gestaltas med avseende på innehåll och historiebruk. Till sist genomfördes även intervjuer och klassrumsobservationer med historielärare med avsikt att undersöka hur historielärare upplevde, tolkade och undervisade historia. För att kunna studera historiekulturella aspekter i en undervisningskontext samt hur historielärare förhöll sig till denna, valde jag att fokusera på en historisk period som de deltagande lärarna skulle ha personliga erfarenheter av för att om möjligt kunna analysera dessa erfarenheter i relation till deras historieundervisning. Jag bedömde att en passande undersökningsperiod utifrån dessa kriterier var kalla krigsperioden 1945-1989. Lärarna som deltog i studien var födda mellan 1955 och 1970 och de var alla behöriga och erfarna högstadielärare i historia.

Den teoretiska utgångspunkt som använts i studien understryker vikten av sammanhangets eller kontextens betydelse för hur vi förstår världen, oss själva och historia. Betydelsen av medvetenhet om hur vår förförståelse påverkar hur vi förstår och skapar mening i världen preciseras av den hermeneutiska utgångspunkt som använts. Denna medvetenhet kan sägas vara av särskild betydelse beträffande historia eftersom ett grundantagande som tillämpas här gör gällande att historieämnet kännetecknas av tolkade rekon-

struktioner av det förflutna. Historiker måste således ta i beaktande såväl den historiska källans sammanhang som deras egna sammanhang och meningsskapande. På så sätt kommer historia att kännetecknas av ett kontextberoende som gör ämnet dynamiskt och öppet för nya tolkningar. De historiedidaktiska begreppen historiekultur, historiemedvetande och historiebruk presenteras och tillämpas som verktyg vi kan använda för att förstå och analysera hur historia kommuniceras och förstås på både en individuell och en samhällelig nivå.

Resultat

En kritik som framförts inom den historiedidaktiska forskningen mot studier utgående från de historiedidaktiska begreppen historiemedvetande, historiebruk och historiekultur har gjort gällande att det finns otydligheter kring hur dessa begrepp ska förstås och hur de relaterar till varandra. För att söka en lösning på de problem som uppmärksammats i forskningen har jag försökt precisera vilka områden de olika begreppen hänvisar till och utveckla och precisera redan tillgängliga teorier kring begreppen och modifiera redan förekommande tolkningar av begreppen historiebruk och historiemedvetande för att få dem att tydligt relatera till varandra och göra dem teoretiskt kompatibla.

Med avseende på vad begreppen hänvisar till fann jag det särskilt viktigt att precisera skillnaderna mellan begreppen historiemedvetande och historiekultur. Vad gäller historiemedvetande föreslog jag att ett historiemedvetande endast ska förstås som ett begrepp som rör individer och deras historieförståelse. Jag definierade historiemedvetande såsom en medvetenhet om historicitet, det vill säga att all historia är beroende av de kontexter inom vilka denna skapas och tolkas. Jag definierade historiekultur som ett begrepp som rör kollektiva förhållningssätt till historia. Enligt detta synsätt står historiemedvetande och historiekultur i ett dynamiskt förhållande till varandra. Medan en historiekultur föregår varje individ, kan individer förändra historiekulturen genom sin förståelse och förmedling av historia, det vill säga genom sina historiemedvetanden och sina historiebruk.

Jag definierade historiebruk som narrativa manifestationer av historia som är beroende av upphovsmannens historiemedvetande eftersom det relaterar till hur individer uppfattar historia och historiekulturer då ett historiebruk alltid sker i ett sammanhang. På så sätt förstås ett historiemedvetande som rörande individers historieuppfattning, historiekultur som rörande kollektiva uppfattningar om historia och historiebruk som narrativa manifestationer av historia. Ytterligare en viktig aspekt var att precisera hur ett historiemedvetande förhåller sig till ett historiebruk. Teoretiskt gjordes detta genom att fokusera på narrativ. Historiebruk manifesteras i narrativ som behandlar historia och historiemedvetande förstås som en medvetenhet om ämnets kontextberoende som görs konkret och explicit i dessa narrativ. Ge-

nom Jörn Rüsens typologi av historiska narrativ söktes en teoretisk koppling mellan historiebruk och historiemedvetande.

Enligt vad jag valt att kalla den narratologiska dimensionen av historiebruk kan man således analysera hur individer kognitivt förhåller sig till historia. Ett traditionellt narratologiskt historiebruk presenterar historieämnet som skilt från aspekter rörande tolkning och rekonstruktion vilket får det att framstå som oföränderligt. Detta visar i sin tur på en historieförståelse som inte tar historieämnets kontextberoende i beaktande. Ett kritiskt narratologiskt historiebruk presenterar historia som beroende av kontext på så sätt att berättelser sägs ha ett ursprung. Men detta bruk tar inte det egna meningsskapandet i beaktande och kan på så sätt ses som ett uttryck för en historieförståelse som liknar den föregående med skillnaden att olika historiska berättelser kan ställas mot varandra i ett kritiskt historiebruk. Ett genetiskt historiebruk konstitueras av historiska narrativ som ger uttryck för historieämnets kontextberoende karaktär både med avseende på den historiska såväl som den samtida kontexten. Detta visar på en historieförståelse som överensstämmer med den medvetenhet om historicitet och kontextberoende som stipulerades som en definition av historiemedvetande. Genom att undersöka de narratologiska aspekterna av historiebruk kan man även analysera hur utvecklats individens historiemedvetande är.

Analyserna visade hur de undersökta historiska medierna (det vill säga läroböckerna i historia och de populärhistoriska tidskrifterna) uppvisar stora likheter vad gäller det narratologiska historiebruket. Det dominerande bruket presenterar historia som icke beroende av tolkning och rekonstruktion, det vill säga som något faktiskt och oföränderligt. Dessutom visade undersökningarna av svenska läroböcker i historia att dessa uttrycker ett dominerande sätt att berätta om kalla krigets utbrott. Enligt denna berättelse framställs Sovjetunionen som ensamt skyldigt för konflikten. Ur ett historiekulturellt perspektiv kan man hävda att detta tyder på två saker. För det första presenteras historia generellt som om den inte vore beroende av tolkning och rekonstruktion. För det andra att de undersökta svenska läroböckerna i historia anlägger ett specifikt perspektiv på det förflutna och att en särskild berättelse om de händelser som ledde fram till kalla krigets utbrott manifesteras. Resultaten framhåller vikten av att det hos användarna av dessa historiska medier finns en medvetenhet om det kontextberoende som både präglar historiska berättelser och hur vi närmar oss dessa berättelser.

Dessutom visar undersökningarna av de intervjuade och observerade historielärarna att de hade svårigheter med att se och att förhålla sig till komplexiteten i historiska berättelser och hur de förhåller sig till dessa. När de ombads tolka ett lärobokscitat som beskrev kalla krigets utbrott, kritiserade lärarna med lätthet citatet med avseende på dess perspektivberoende men de inkluderade inte sitt eget perspektiv och sin egen förförståelse i denna analys. Två av dessa lärare ombads sedan berätta om sina egna erfa-

renheter av att växa upp under kalla kriget och de observerades även när de undervisade om ämnet i klassrummet. Vid de efterföljande intervjuerna och i den observerade undervisningen valde däremot dessa lärare, vilka tidigare gett uttryck för ett genetiskt narratologiskt historiebruk genom att diskutera historiekulturella aspekter av historia och deras tolkning av densamma, att inte göra detta när de pratade om sina egna erfarenheter av kalla kriget och när de undervisade om ämnet. Kalla kriget presenterades som en konflikt mellan ett kommunistiskt, förtryckande och dysfunktionellt öst och ett demokratiskt och fritt väst, framför allt i den observerade undervisningen. Detta skulle kunna indikera att det finns en konsensus i svensk historieundervisning om hur kalla kriget bör presenteras. Utifrån dessa resultat hävdar jag sedan vikten av en kritisk narrativ kompetens angående historia som tar i beaktande historiekulturella aspekter för att möjliggöra analyser av historieämnets kontextberoende för att undvika att genom historieundervisning manifesteras en enda berättelse om och ett enda perspektiv på det förflutna. Särskilt viktigt kan detta anses vara när framställningen av historiska händelser tar samma form och endast framställer ett perspektiv, som när det gäller kalla kriget i ett svenskt sammanhang.

Genom att fokusera historiebruk i analysen och genom att införa en narratologisk dimension av begreppet, har jag skapat ett teoretiskt gångbart sätt att analysera hur historiska narrativ relaterar till hur individer förhåller sig kognitivt till historia och historiekulturen. Genom studier av hur läroböcker i historia för grundskolans högstadium och hur populärhistoriska tidskrifter presenterar historia framgår att medan historiska medier kan presentera olika typer av historiskt innehåll så använder de sig ändå i regel av ett traditionellt narratologiskt historiebruk vilket på så sätt kan hävdas vara det historiekulturellt mest framträdande sättet att presentera historia på. De historiska narrativen presenteras som om de vore historiska fakta snarare än som representationer av historiska fakta. Detta förstärks av användandet av en passiv berättarröst som kan sägas vara regel i de medier som undersökts.

Analys av hur historielärarna tolkar, tillägnar sig och förmedlar historiska narrativer visar på hur komplexa dessa processer kan vara. När lärarna ombeds tolka ett lärobokscitat gör de i regel kritiska narratologiska historiebruk, men när de ombeds berätta om sina egna erfarenheter av att växa upp under kalla krigsperioden och när de undervisar om kalla kriget, tenderar ett traditionellt narratologiskt historiebruk vara det dominerande. Av den anledningen kan resultaten tolkas som att ett traditionellt eller kritiskt narratologiskt historiebruk är det mest framträdande i de analyserade historiska medierna, i lärarintervjuerna och i den observerade undervisningen. Utifrån en narratologisk analys visar dessa resultat att det vanligaste sättet att förmedla historia är i form av ett narrativ som inte karakteriseras av kontextberoende utan snarare som ett sätt att förmedla en faktabaserad berättelse om det förflutna. På så sätt stödjer resultaten som presenteras här slutsatsen att

historiekulturella aspekter av historieämnet och historieundervisningen inte uppmärksammas varken av de undersökta historiska medierna eller av de medverkande lärarna. Av denna anledning blir en särskild berättelse om det förflutna manifesterad och förstärkt av lärarna i studien.

Diskussion

Resultaten som presenterats i den här avhandlingen accentuerar vikten av hur historielärare uppfattar och närmar sig historiska narrativ. Om historia ska förstås som beroende av tolkning av rekonstruktion kan det hävdas att en medvetenhet om dessa aspekter och om hur de påverkar en individs meningsskapande gällande historia är relevant. Detta kan sägas vara av särskild betydelse när man möts av historiska narrativ som brukar historia på ett traditionellt narratologiskt sätt. Vidare diskuterade majoriteten av lärarna i studien inte hur deras egen förförståelse och attityd mot kalla kriget kan ha påverkat hur de tolkade texter, pratade om ämnet eller undervisade om det för eleverna. Därför menar jag att resultaten som presenterats här, även om de är empiriskt begränsade, kan användas som ett argument för vikten av en historisk narrativ kompetens som tar historieämnets kontextberoende i beaktande.

Undersökningens resultat understryker betydelsen av historieämnet som en kritisk studie av det förflutna som skiljer sig markant från det ämne som framträder i de studerade historiska medierna och i den observerade undervisningen. På ett mer allmänt plan reses här frågan om vilket slags historieämne vi bör ha i skolan. Forskare har hävdat vikten av att eleverna kan relatera till historia på ett personligt plan och detta kan tolkas som en uppmaning till en historieundervisning som utgår från personliga anknytning till historieämnet istället för de kognitiva eller intellektuella förmågor som kanske mer förknippas med historieämnet som en akademisk disciplin. Mina resultat är förvisso förenliga med ett sådant synsätt på historieundervisning men de tydliggör även riskerna med en historieundervisning som tar det redan bekanta och kända som utgångspunkt. Den argumentationslinje som valts här pekar på att en medvetenhet om historieämnets kulturella aspekter (som indikeras av ett genetiskt historiebruk) verkar viktig om vi vill undvika en historieundervisning som manifesterar och förstärker ett särskilt perspektiv på det förflutna.

En historieundervisning som inte tar historiens kontextberoende i beaktande kan komma att främja historisk och kulturell intolerans. Det har även hävdats att en okritisk historieundervisning är att likställa med att presentera en felaktig bild av historieämnet för eleverna eftersom kritiskt ifrågasättande kan förstås som en förutsättning för att vi överhuvudtaget ska nå historisk kunskap. Det är också här som jag anser att den största utmaningen för historielärare finns: hur förmedlar vi en förståelse av historia både som en produkt och en process? Ett fruktbart sätt att närma sig denna utmaning

anser jag vara en uppfattning om historieundervisning som utgår från insikten om att historia både möjliggör meningsskapande för oss och samtidigt är möjliggjord av vårt meningsskapande.

Avslutande kommentarer

Syftet med föreliggande avhandling har varit att analysera och diskutera hur historiekultur konstitueras i historielärares narrativ och undervisning samt i historiska medier. Ett grundläggande antagande har varit att historielärare kan ha både personliga och mer yrkesorienterade uppfattningar om historia och att dessa påverkar varandra. Detta pekar i sin tur mot relevansen av att anlägga historiekulturella perspektiv på historieundervisning både vad gäller historiska medier och hur historielärare relaterar till dessa. De fyra artiklar som inkluderats i avhandlingen har redovisat undersökningar av sådana aspekter.

Resultaten som presenterats visar, även om de är empiriskt begränsade, på relevanta frågor angående produktionen och förmedlingen av historia i ett undervisnings- och samhällssammanhang. Historia brukas ständigt av olika skäl och på olika sätt i olika sammanhang och en förmåga att ta detta i beaktande kan sägas vara omistlig i dagens samhälle. Alla historiska berättelser liksom deras brukares historiemedvetanden är beroende av upphovsmännens historiekulturella kontexter. Avhandlingens resultat har visat på vikten av ett historiedidaktiskt perspektiv på produktionen och förmedlingen av historia såväl i historieklassrum som i samhället i övrigt.

References

- Ahonen, Sirkka. 'Historical Consciousness: A Viable Paradigm for History Education?' *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 37, no. 6 (2005): 697–707.
- Ahonen, Sirkka. 'History Education in Post-Conflict Societies'. *Historical Encounters* 1, no. 1 (30 June 2014): 75–87.
- Akinoglu, Orhan. 'Functions of History Education: History Teacher Trainees' Perspective'. *Education* 129, no. 3 (Spring 2009): 459–66.
- Alayan, Samira, and Naseema Al-Khalidi. 'Gender and Agency in History, Civics, and National Education Textbooks of Jordan and Palestine'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 78–96.
- Almgren, Bengt. *Historia*. 3. SO Direkt, 99-2308463-9. Stockholm: Bonnier utbildning, 2005.
- Almgren, Bengt. *Historieboken: En lärobok för grundskolans senare del*. SO Direkt, 99-2308463-9. Stockholm: Bonnier utbildning, 1999.
- Almgren, Bengt, David Isaksson, Berndt Tallerud and Hans Thorbjörnsson. *PRIO Historia* 9. Stockholm: Sanoma Utbildning, 2013.
- Almgren, Bengt, Berndt Tallerud, Hans Thorbjörnsson and Hans Tillman. *SO Direkt Historia ämnesboken*. Stockholm: Sanoma Utbildning, 1999.
- Almgren, Hans, Stefan Wikén, and Birgitta Almgren. *Historia Kompakt*. 2nd ed. Malmö: Gleerups, 1999.
- Almqvist Nielsen, Lena. *Förhistorien som kulturellt minne: Historiekulturell förändring i svenska läroböcker 1903-2010*. Licentiatavhandlingar från forskarskolan historiska medier 10. Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2014.
- Alvén, Fredrik. *Historiemedvetande på prov: En analys av elevers svar på uppgifter som prövar strävansmålen i kursplanen för historia*. Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011.
- Ammert, Niklas. *Det samtidas samtidighet: Historiemedvetande i svenska historieläroböcker under hundra år*. Uppsala: Sisyfos, 2008.
- Ammert, Niklas. 'To Bridge Time: Historical Consciousness in Swedish History Textbooks'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 17–30.
- Andersson Hult, Lars. *Att finna meningen i ett historieprov: En studie om mer eller mindre utvecklat historiemedvetande*. Lund: Lunds universitet, 2012.
- Ankersmit, Frank. 'Representation as a Cognitive Instrument'. *History & Theory* 52, no. 2 (May 2013): 171–93.
- Arai, Shinichi. 'History Textbooks in Twentieth Century Japan: A Chronological Overview'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 2 (30 October 2010): 113–21.
- Aronsson, Peter. *Historiebruk: Att använda det förflutna*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2004.
- Axelsson, Bodil. 'History in Popular Magazines: Negotiating Masculinities, the Low of the Popular and the High of History'. *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, no. 4 (2012): 275–95.

- Axelsson, Cecilia. 'Att hantera källor - på gymnasienivå.' In *Kritiska perspektiv på historiedidaktiken*, edited by David Ludvigsson, 71–95. Aktuellt Om Historia, 2013:2. Eksjö: Historielärarnas förening, 2013.
- Axelsson, Erik. 'Historia i bruk och medvetande: En kritisk diskussion av två historiografiska begrepp'. In *En helt annan historia: Tolv historiografiska uppsatser*, edited by Samuel Edquist, Jörgen Gustafson, Stefan Johansson and Åsa Linderborg, Vol. s. 11-26. Opuscula Historica Upsalensia 31. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2004.
- Babbie, Earl. *The Basics of Social Research*. Cengage Learning, 2010.
- Badersten, Björn. *Normativ metod: Att studera det önskvärda*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2006.
- Barthes, Roland. 'The Discourse of History'. In *The Postmodern History Reader*, edited by Keith Jenkins, 120–23. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Barton, Keith C., and Linda S. Levstik. *Teaching History for the Common Good*. Routledge, 2004.
- Bekerman, Zvi, and Michalinos Zembylas. 'Fearful Symmetry: Palestinian and Jewish Teachers Confront Contested Narratives in Integrated Bilingual Education'. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 26, no. 3 (April 2010): 507–15.
- Bender, Thomas. 'Can National History Be De-Provincialized? U. S. History Textbook Controversies in the 1940s and 1990s'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 25–38.
- Berg, Mikael. *Historielärares ämnesförståelse: Centrala begrepp i historielärares förståelse av skolämnet historia*. Studier i de samhällsvetenskapliga ämnenas didaktik 22. Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2014.
- Berge, Anders. *Att begripa det förflutna: Förklaring, klassificering, kolligation inom historievetenskapen*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1995.
- Bergström, Lars. *Objektivitet: En undersökning av innebörden, möjligheten och önskvärdheten av objektivitet i samhällsvetenskapen*. 2nd ed. Stockholm: Thales, 1987.
- Bergström, Lars. 'Relativism'. *Filosofisk tidskrift*, no. 1 (1998): 16–37.
- Blome-Tillmann, Michael. *Knowledge and Presuppositions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Blow, Frances. 'How Pupils' Conception of the Relationship between the Past and Present Impact on the Ways They Make Sense of the History Taught'. In *The Processes of History Teaching: An International Symposium Held at Malmö University, Sweden, March 5th-7th 2009*, edited by Per Eliasson, Carina Rönnqvist and Kenneth Nordgren, 106–31. Studier i de samhällsvetenskapliga ämnenas didaktik 15. Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2011.
- Boutonnet, Vincent. *Les ressources didactiques: Typologie d'usages en lien avec la méthode historique et l'intervention éducative d'enseignants d'histoire au secondaire*. Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2013.
- Bråten, Ivar, M. Anne Britt, Helge I. Strømsø and Jean-Francois Rouet. 'The Role of Epistemic Beliefs in the Comprehension of Multiple Expository

- Texts: Toward an Integrated Model'. *Educational Psychologist* 46, no. 1 (January 2011): 48–70.
- Briggs, Charles L., and Richard Bauman. 'Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power'. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1992): 131–72.
- Broom, Catherine. 'Change and Continuity in British Columbian Perspectives as Illustrated in Social Studies Textbooks from 1885 to 2006'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 2 (15 November 2011): 42–57.
- Cajani, Luigi. 'The Image of Italian Colonialism in Italian History Textbooks for Secondary Schools'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 72–89.
- Carr, David. *Time, Narrative, and History*. Northwestern University Studies in Phenomenology & Existential Philosophy, 0550-0060. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1986.
- Clavier, Arndt. *Mänsklig hetens största problem genom alla tider': En receptionsstudie av elevers miljöberättelser och historiska meningsskapande 1969*. Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011.
- Counsell, Christine. 'Disciplinary Knowledge for All, the Secondary History Curriculum and History Teachers' Achievement'. *Curriculum Journal* 22, no. 2 (2011): 201–25.
- Crawford, Keith. 'Constructing Aboriginal Australians, 1930–1960 Projecting False Memories'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 90–107.
- Czarniawska, Barbara. *Narratives in Social Science Research*. 1 edition. SAGE Publications Ltd, 2004.
- Dahlbacka, Jakob. *Framåt med stöd av det förflutna: Religiöst historiebruk hos Anders Svedberg*. Studies on Religion and Memory 1. Åbo: Åbo akademi, 2015.
- Danielsson Malmros, Ingmarie. *Det var en gång ett land... Berättelser om svenskhet i historieläroböcker och elevers föreställningsvärldar*. Höör: Agering, 2012.
- Demircioglu, Ismail Hakki. 'Using Controversial Issues In History Lessons: Views Of Turkish History Teachers'. *Kastamonu Egitim Dergisi* 24, no. 1 (January 2016): 147–62.
- Dinges, Alexander. 'Epistemic Contextualism Can Be Stated Properly'. *Synthese* 191, no. 15 (29 April 2014): 3541–56.
- Dummett, Michael. *Thought and Reality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Duquette, Catherine. *Le rapport entre la pensée historique et la conscience historique. Elaboration d'une modèle d'interprétation lors de l'apprentissage de l'histoire chez les élèves de cinquième secondaire des écoles francophone du Québec*. Québec: Université de Laval, 2011.
- Eid, Neveen. 'The Inner Conflict: How Palestinian Students in Israel React to the Dual Narrative Approach Concerning the Events of 1948'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 55–77.

- Eikeland, Halvdan. 'Begrepet historiebevissthet, historiedidaktisk forskning og dannelse av historiebevissthet'. In *Historiedidaktik i Norden 6: Historiemedvetandet - teori og praksis*, edited by Sirkka Ahonen, Pauli Arola, Christer Karlegård, Anette Kohlert, Svein Lorentzen and Vagn Oluf Nielsen, 77–102. København: Institut for historie og samfundsfag, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, 1997.
- Eikeland, Halvdan. *Et laereverks bidrag til historiebevissthet og narrativ kompetanse. Analyse og praktisk bruk av historiedelen av Aschehougs laereverk i samfunnsstog for ungdomstrinnet: 'Innblikk'*. Tönsberg: Högskolen i Vestfold, 2002.
- Eliasson, Per. 'Historieämnet i de nya läroplanerna'. In *Historien är närvarande: Historiedidaktik som teori och tillämpning*, edited by Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander, 249–71. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2014.
- Eliasson, Per. 'Kan ett historiemedvetande fördjupas?' In *Historien är nu: En introduktion till historiedidaktiken*, edited by Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander, 309–26. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2009.
- Eliasson, Per, Fredrik Alvé, David Rosenlund, Joel Rudnert and Ulf Zander. "Det är smart att använda historia i nya händelser..." Historiebruk i skola och samhälle'. In *Historiedidaktik i Norden 9*, edited by Per Eliasson, KG Hammarlund, Erik Lund and Carsten Tage Nielsen, 257–78. Malmö; Halmstad: Malmö högskola; Högskolan i Halmstad, 2012.
- Eliasson, Per, Klas-Göran Karlsson, Henrik Rosengren and Charlotte Tornbjør. 'Inledning'. In *Historia på väg mot framtiden: Historiedidaktiska perspektiv på skola och samhälle*, edited by Per Eliasson, Klas-Göran Karlsson, Henrik Rosengren and Charlotte Tornbjør, 7–11. Lund: Lunds universitet, 2010.
- Estenberg, Martin. *Ett snäpp högre: En studie av historielärares hantande av tankeredskap*. Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2016.
- Estivalèzes, Mireille. 'Teaching about Islam in the History Curriculum and in Textbooks in France'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 1 (30 April 2011): 45–60.
- Feindt, Gregor, Félix Krawatzek, Daniela Mehler, Friedemann Pestel and Rieke Trimçev. 'Entangled Memory: Toward a Third Wave in Memory Studies'. *History and Theory* 53, no. 1 (1 February 2014): 24–44.
- Föllesdal, Dagfinn, Lars Wallöe and Jon Elster. *Argumentasjonsteori, språk og vitenskapsfilosofi*. 5th ed. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1992.
- Foster, Stuart, and Adrian Burgess. 'Problematic Portrayals and Contentious Content: Representations of the Holocaust in English History Textbooks'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 2 (1 September 2013): 20–38.
- Foster, Stuart J. 'The Struggle for American Identity: Treatment of Ethnic Groups in United States History Textbooks'. *History of Education* 28, no. 3 (1 September 1999): 251–78.
- Foster, Stuart J., and Charles S. Padgett. 'Authentic Historical Inquiry in the Social Studies Classroom'. *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas* 72, no. 6 (1 July 1999): 357–63.

- Gadamer, Hans-Georg. 'Om förståelsens cirkel'. In *Filosofiska strömningar efter 1950*, edited by Konrad Marc-Wogau, 326–34. Filosofin genom tiderna 5. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers bokförlag, 1981.
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg. 'The Problem of Historical Consciousness'. Edited by Erick Raphael Jimenez, Matthew Lampert, Christopher Roberts and Rocío Zambrana. *Graduate Faculty Philosophy Journal* 5, no. 1 (1975): 8–52.
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg. *Truth and Method*. 2nd ed. New York: Continuum, 2006.
- Gaul, Anne. 'Where Are the Minorities? The Elusiveness of Multiculturalism and Positive Recognition in Sri Lankan History Textbooks'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6, no. 2 (1 September 2014): 87–105.
- Gergen, Kenneth J. 'Narrative, Moral Identity, and Historical Consciousness: A Social Constructionist Account'. In *Narration, Identity and Historical Consciousness*, edited by Jürgen Straub, 99–119. New York: Berghahn Books, 2006.
- Ghosh, Shreya. 'Identity, Politics, and Nation-Building in History Textbooks in Bangladesh'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6, no. 2 (1 September 2014): 25–41.
- Gorbahn, Katja. 'Perpetrators, Victims, Heroes - the Second World War and National Socialism in Danish History Magazines'. In *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, edited by Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed., 319–34. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015.
- Gottlieb, Eli, and Sam Wineburg. 'Between Veritas and Communitas: Epistemic Switching in the Reading of Academic and Sacred History'. *Journal of the Learning Sciences* 21, no. 1 (2012): 84–129.
- Grindel, Susanne. 'The End of Empire Colonial Heritage and the Politics of Memory in Britain'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 33–49.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Hammarlund, K. G. 'Historia som ämnesdisciplin och vardagsliv – ämnesdidaktiska utmaningar i ett flerkulturellt samhälle'. *Nordidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2015:3 (2015): 1–18.
- Hansson, Johan. *Historieintresse och historieundervisning: Elevers och lärares uppfattning om historieämnet*. Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2010.
- Hansson, Sven Ove. *Verkttygslära för filosofer*. Stockholm: Thales, 2010.
- Harris, Richard, and Katharine Burn. 'English History Teachers' Views on What Substantive Content Young People Should Be Taught'. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 4 (3 July 2016): 518–46.
- Hartsmar, Nanny. *Historiemedvetande: Elevers tidsförståelse i en skolkontext*. *Studia Psychologica et Paedagogica*. Series Altera, 0346-5926; 155. Malmö: Institutionen för pedagogik, Lärarhögsk., 2001.

- Haue, Harry. 'Transformation of History Textbooks from National Monument to Global Agent'. *Nordidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2013:1 (2013): 80–89.
- Haydn, Terry. 'Using Popular History Magazines in History Teaching: A Case Study'. In *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, edited by Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed., 354–70. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015.
- Hedin, Marika, and Robert Sandberg. *Historien pågår*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1999.
- Heinze, Carsten. 'Historical Textbook Research: Textbooks in the Context of the "Grammar of Schooling"'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 2 (30 October 2010): 122–31.
- Hicks, David. 'Continuity and Constraint: Case Studies of Becoming a Teacher of History in England and the United States'. *International Journal of Social Education* 20, no. 1 (2005): 18–40.
- Hildingson, Lars, and Kaj Hildingson. *Levande historia: Elevbok*. 1st ed. SOL 3000. Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2003.
- Holmén, Janne. *Den politiska läroboken: Bilden av USA och Sovjetunionen i norska, svenska och finländska läroböcker under kalla kriget*. Studia Historica Upsaliensia, 0081-6531; 221. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2006.
- Iggers, Georg G. *New Directions in European Historiography*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan U.P., 1984.
- Ingemansson, Mary. *'Det kunde lika gärna ha hänt idag': Maj Bylocks Drakskeppstrilogi och historiemedvetande hos barn i mellanåldrarna*. Göteborg: Makadam förlag, 2010.
- Jarhall, Jessica. *En komplex historia: Lärares omformning, undervisningsmönster och strategier i historieundervisning på högstadiet*. Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2012.
- Jeismann, Karl-Ernst. 'Geschichtsbewußtsein'. In *Handbuch Der Geschichtsdidaktik*, edited by Klaus Bergmann, Annette Kuhn, Jörn Rüsen and Gerhard Schneider, 1st ed., 42–45. Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1979.
- Jeismann, Karl-Ernst. 'Geschichtsbewußtsein - Theorie'. In *Handbuch Der Geschichtsdidaktik*, edited by Klaus Bergmann, Klaus Fröhlich, Annette Kuhn, Jörn Rüsen and Gerhard Schneider, 5th ed., 42–44. Hannover: Kallmeyer'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1997.
- Jensen, Bernard Eric. 'Historiemedvetande - begreppsanalys, samhällsteori, didaktik'. In *Historiedidaktik*, edited by Christer Karlegård and Klas-Göran Karlsson, 49–81. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997.
- Johansson, Maria. *Historieundervisning och interkulturell kompetens*. Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2012.
- Karlsson, Klas-Göran. *Europeiska möten med historien. Historiekulturella perspektiv på andra världskriget, förintelsen och den kommunistiska terrorn*. 1st ed. Stockholm: Atlantis, 2010.

- Karlsson, Klas-Göran. 'Historia, historiedidaktik och historiekultur - teori och perspektiv'. In *Historien är närvarande: Historiedidaktik som teori och tillämpning*, edited by Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander, 13–89. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2014.
- Karlsson, Klas-Göran. *Historia som vapen: Historiebruk och Sovjetunionens upplösning 1985-1995*. Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1999.
- Karlsson, Klas-Göran. 'Historical Consciousness – The Fundament of Historical Thinking and History Teaching'. In *The Processes of History Teaching: An International Symposium Held at Malmö University, Sweden, March 5th-7th 2009*, edited by Per Eliasson, Carina Rönnqvist and Kenneth Nordgren, 34–41. Studier i de samhällsvetenskapliga ämnenas didaktik 15. Karlstad: Karlstads universitet, 2011.
- Karlsson, Klas-Göran. 'Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys'. In *Historien är nu: En introduktion till historiedidaktiken*, edited by Ulf Zander and Klas-Göran Karlsson, 25–70. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2009.
- Karlsson, Klas-Göran. 'Historiedidaktiken och historievetenskapen - ett spänningsfyllt förhållande'. In *Historiedidaktik*, edited by Christer Karlegård and Klas-Göran Karlsson, 17–48. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997.
- Kizel, Arie. 'The Presentation of Germany in Israeli History Textbooks between 1948 and 2014'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 7, no. 1 (1 March 2015): 94–115.
- Kjeldstadli, Knut. *Det förflutna är inte vad det en gång var*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1998.
- Klerides, Eleftherios. 'Imagining the Textbook: Textbooks as Discourse and Genre'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 31–54.
- Körber, Andreas. 'Historical Consciousness, Historical Competencies – and beyond? Some Conceptual Development within German History Didactics', 2015.
- Körber, Andreas. 'Translation and Its Discontents II: A German Perspective', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 4 (3 July 2016): 440–456.
- Körner, Göran, and Lars Lagheim. *Historia: För grundskolans senare del. Grundbok*. Puls. Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2002.
- Körner, Göran, and Lars Lagheim. *Impuls Historia 1-3*. Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2009.
- Lahav, Ran. 'What Neuropsychology Tells Us About Consciousness'. *Philosophy of Science* 60, no. 1 (1993): 67–85.
- Lässig, Simone. 'Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 1–20.
- Lee, Peter. 'Understanding History'. In *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, edited by Peter Seixas, 129–64. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Lee, Peter, and Rosalynn Ashby. 'Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7-14'. In *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, edited by Peter N. Stearns,

- Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg, 199–222. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
- Lehmann, Jörg. ‘Civilization versus Barbarism: The Franco-Prussian War in French History Textbooks, 1875–1895’. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 7, no. 1 (1 March 2015): 51–65.
- Létourneau, Jocelyn. ‘Transmettre la culture comme mémoire et identité: au cœur du débat sur l’éducation historique des jeunes québécois’. *Revue française de pédagogie. Recherches en éducation*, no. 165 (1 October 2008): 43–54.
- Lévesque, Stéphane. *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the Twenty-First Century*. Toronto: Buffalo, 2008.
- Lilliestam, Anna-Lena. *Aktör och struktur i historieundervisning: Om utveckling av elevers historiska resonerande*. Göteborg: Acta universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2013.
- Lilliestam, Anna-Lena. ‘Nyblivna lärarstudenters syn på historia och historieundervisning’. *Nordidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2015:4 (2015): 21–47.
- Linde, Charlotte. *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence*. Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Löfström, Jan. ‘Finländska gymnasieelevers reflektioner över historiska gottgörelser - Vilka implikationer ger det för historieundervisningen i Finland?’ *Nordidactica - Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2 (2011): 64–88.
- Los, Willeke. ‘Remembering or Forgetting? Accounts of the Recent Revolutionary Past in Dutch History Textbooks for Primary Education in the Early Nineteenth Century’. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 4, no. 1 (5 June 2012): 26–39.
- Lozic, Vanja. *I historiekanons skugga: Historieämne och identifikationsformering i 2000-talets mångkulturella samhälle*. Malmö: Lärarutbildningen, Malmö högskola, 2010.
- Ludvigsson, David. ‘Lärarstudenters relation till historieämnet’. *Nordidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 1 (2011): 40–57.
- Lukacs, John. *Historical Consciousness: The Remembered Past*. Transaction Publishers, 1985.
- Lundström, Stefan, and Christina Olin-Scheller. ‘Narrativ kompetens. En förutsättning i multimodala textuniversum?’ *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap* 40, no. 3 (2010).
- Markova, Ina. ‘Balancing Victimhood and Complicity in Austrian History Textbooks: Visual and Verbal Strategies of Representing the Past in Post-Waldheim Austria’. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 2 (15 November 2011): 58–73.
- Nair, Deepa. ‘Contending “Historical” Identities in India’. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 145–64.

- Nicholls, Jason. 'The Portrayal of the Atomic Bombing of Nagasaki in US and English School History Textbooks'. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 25, no. 1/2 (2003): 63–84.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Om historiens nytta och skada: En otidsenlig betraktelse*. Stockholm: Rabén Prisma, 1998.
- Nilsson, Erik, Hans Olofsson and Rolf Uppström. *Historia 7-9*. Utkik. Malmö: Gleerups, 2013.
- Nishino, Ryôta. 'Narrative Strategies Regarding Japanese Ethnic Origins and Cultural Identities in Japanese Middle-School History Textbooks'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (30 May 2010): 97–112.
- Nora, Pierre. 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire'. *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24.
- Nordgren, Kenneth. *Vems är historien?: Historia som medvetande, kultur och handling i det mångkulturella Sverige*. Doktorsavhandlingar inom den nationella forskarskolan i pedagogiskt arbete, 1653-6894; 3. Umeå: Fakultetsnämnden för lärarutbildning, Umeå universitet, 2006.
- Nygren, Thomas. 'Erfarna lärares historiedidaktiska insikter och undervisningsstrategier', 2009.
- Nygren, Thomas. *History in the Service of Mankind: International Guidelines and History Education in Upper Secondary Schools in Sweden, 1927–2002*. Umeå Studies in History and Education 5. Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2011.
- Olofsson, Hans. *Fatta historia: En explorativ fallstudie om historieundervisning och historiebruk i en högstadielklass*. Karlstad: Fakulteten för samhälls- och livsvetenskaper, Historia, Karlstads universitet, 2011.
- Olsson, Annie. *Läroboken i historieundervisningen: En fallstudie med fokus på elever, lärare och läroboksförfattare*. Licentiatavhandlingar från forskarskolan historiska medier 7. Umeå universitet, 2014.
- Otto, Marcus. 'The Challenge of Decolonization School History Textbooks as Media and Objects of the Postcolonial Politics of Memory in France since the 1960s'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 14–32.
- Parkes, Robert J. *Interrupting History: Rethinking History Curriculum after 'The End of History'*. Counterpoints: Studies in the Postmodern Theory of Education., Volume 404. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2011.
- Parkes, Robert J. 'No Outside History: Reconsidering Postmodernism'. *Agora (Sungraphô)* 49, no. 3 (2014): 4–10.
- Parkes, Robert J. 'Teaching History as Historiography: Engaging Narrative Diversity in the Curriculum'. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 8, no. 2 (2009): 118–32.
- Persson, Anders. 'Mormor, önskad tyskar och en hänsynslös dansk: Några reflektioner om identifikation och mening, efter en kritisk läsning av en nyutgiven lärobok i historia för den svenska grundskolans mellanår'. In *Kulturell reproduktion i skola och nation: En vänbok till Lars Petterson*,

- edited by Urban Claesson and Dick Åhman, 251–68. Hedemora: Gidlunds, 2016.
- Persson, Bo. *Mörkrets hjärta i klassrummet: Historieundervisning och elevers uppfattningar om förintelsen*. Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011.
- Pirický, Gabriel. 'The Ottoman Age in Southern Central Europe as Represented in Secondary School History Textbooks in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 108–29.
- Popp, Susanne. 'Popular History Magazines between Transmission of Knowledge and Entertainment - Some Theoretical Remarks'. In *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, edited by Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed., 42–69. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015.
- Popper, Karl R. *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*. 3. ed., (Rev.). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1989.
- Porat, Dan A. 'It's Not Written Here, but This Is What Happened: Students' Cultural Comprehension of Textbook Narratives on the Israeli-Arab Conflict'. *American Educational Research Journal* 41, no. 4 (1 December 2004): 963–96.
- Potapenko, Igor. *Historiemedvetande och identitet: Om historiens närvaro i några estniska ungdomars liv*. Stockholm: Institutionen för didaktik och pedagogiskt arbete, Stockholms universitet, 2010.
- Prinz, Jesse. 'Culture and Cognitive Science'. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Rantala, Jukka. 'Assessing Historical Empathy through Simulation - How Do Finnish Teacher Students Achieve Contextual Historical Empathy?' *Nor-didactica - Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 1 (2011): 58–76.
- Rantala, Jukka. 'Children as Consumers of Historical Culture in Finland'. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 43, no. 4 (August 2011): 493–506. doi:10.1080/00220272.2011.584563.
- Rantala, Jukka. 'How Finnish Adolescents Understand History: Disciplinary Thinking in History and Its Assessment Among 16-Year-Old Finns'. *Education Sciences* 2, no. 4 (31 October 2012): 193–207.
- Rantala, Jukka, and Marko van den Berg. 'Finnish High School Students' and University Students' Ability to Handle Multiple Source Documents in History'. *Historical Encounters* 2, no. 1 (24 November 2015): 70–88.
- Retz, Tyson. 'A Moderate Hermeneutical Approach to Empathy in History Education'. *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 47, no. 3 (23 February 2015): 214–26.
- Rüsen, Jörn. 'Historical Consciousness: Narrative, Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development'. In *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, edited by Peter Seixas, 63–85. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.

- Rüsen, Jörn. 'Tradition: A Principle of Historical Sense-Generation and Its Logic and Effect in Historical Culture'. *History and Theory* 51, no. 4 (2012): 45–59.
- Rusu, Mihai Stelian. 'History and Collective Memory: The Succeeding Incarnations of an Evolving Relationship'. *Philobiblon* XVIII, no. 2 (2013): 260–82.
- Schechtman, Marya. *The Constitution of Selves*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Schüllerqvist, Bengt. *Svensk historiedidaktisk forskning*. Vetenskapsrådets rapportserie, 1651-7350; 2005:9. Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet, 2005.
- Scott, Seth B. 'The Perpetuation of War in U. S. History Textbooks'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 59–70.
- Segall, Avner. 'Critical History: Implications for History/Social Studies Education'. *Theory & Research in Social Education* 27, no. 3 (1 June 1999): 358–74.
- Seixas, Peter. 'Collective Memory, History Education, and Historical Consciousness'. *Historically Speaking* 7, no. 2 (2005): 17–19.
- Sharp, Heather. 'Representing Australia's Involvement in the First World War: Discrepancies between Public Discourses and School History Textbooks from 1916 to 1936'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6, no. 1 (1 March 2014): 1–23.
- Sievers, K. H. 'Toward a Direct Realist Account of Observation'. *Science & Education* 8, no. 4 (1 July 1999): 387–93.
- Sjöbeck, Karin, and Birgitta Melén. *Historia: Liv i förändring, del B*. Malmö: Interskol, 2002.
- Sjöberg, Erik. *Battlefields of Memory: The Macedonian Conflict and Greek Historical Culture*. Umeå Studies in History and Education 6. Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2011.
- Sjöland, Marianne. *Historia i magasin: En studie av tidskriften Populär Historias historieskrivning och av kommersiellt historiebruk*. Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011.
- Sjöland, Marianne. 'The Use of History in Popular History Magazines. A Theoretical Approach'. In *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, edited by Susanne Popp, Jutta Schumann, and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed., 223–37. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015.
- Skinner, Quentin. 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas'. *History and Theory* 8, no. 1 (1 January 1969): 3–53.
- Snieder, Roel, and Ken Lerner. *The Art of Being a Scientist: A Guide for Graduate Students and Their Mentors*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Stern, David G. 'The Practical Turn'. In *The Blackwell Guide to the Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, edited by Stephen P. Turner and Paul A. Roth, 185–206. Padstow: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003.

- Tamura, Eileen H. 'Narrative History and Theory'. *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (May 2011): 150–57.
- Thorp, Robert. 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History: Aspects of Two History Teachers' Relations to History and Historical Media'. Submitted article manuscript, 2016.
- Thorp, Robert. 'Historical Consciousness and Historical Media - A History Didactical Approach to Educational Media'. *Education Inquiry* 5, no. 4 (8 December 2014): 497–516.
- Thorp, Robert. *Historical Consciousness, Historical Media, and History Education*. Licentiate Theses from the Historical Media Postgraduate School 5. Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2014.
- Thorp, Robert. 'Popular History Magazines and History Education'. *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education* 2, no. 1 (December 2015): 102–12.
- Thorp, Robert. 'Representation and Interpretation: Textbooks, Teachers, and Historical Culture'. *IARTEM E-Journal* 7, no. 2 (September 2015): 73–99.
- Thorp, Robert. 'The Concept of Historical Consciousness in Swedish History Didactical Research'. In *Cultural and Religious Diversity and Its Implications for History Education*, edited by Joanna Wojdon, 207–24. Yearbook of the International Society for History Didactics 34. Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2013.
- Thorp, Robert. 'Towards an Epistemological Theory of Historical Consciousness'. *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education* 1, no. 1 (30 June 2014): 20–31.
- Thorp, Robert. 'Vad är ett historiemedvetande egentligen och varför är det viktigt?' In *Kritiska perspektiv på historiedidaktiken*, edited by David Ludvigsson, 97–119. Aktuellt om historia, 2013:2. Eksjö: Historielärarnas förening, 2013.
- Tordai, Mattias. *Historia* 9, 3rd ed. SOS-Serien. Stockholm: Liber, 2012.
- Torstendahl, Rolf. *Introduktion till historieforskningen: Historia som vetenskap*. 2nd ed. Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1971.
- Triki-Yamani, Amina, Marie McAndrew and Sahar El Shourbagi. 'Perceptions du traitement de l'islam et du monde musulman dans les manuels d'histoire par des enseignants du secondaire au Québec'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 3, no. 1 (30 April 2011): 97–117.
- Umetbaeva, Damira. 'Paradoxes of Hegemonic Discourse in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan: History Textbooks' and History Teachers' Attitudes toward the Soviet Past'. *Central Asian Affairs* 2, no. 3 (29 May 2015): 287–306.
- VanSledright, Bruce, and Kimberly Reddy. 'Changing Epistemic Beliefs? An Exploratory Study of Cognition among Prospective History Teacher'. *Tempo E Argumento* 6, no. 11 (27 May 2014): 28–68.
- Vetenskapsrådet. *God forskningssed*. Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet, 2011.
- Vinterek, Monika. 'The Use of Powerful Men, Naked Women and War to Sell. Popular History Magazines in Sweden'. In *Commercialised History: Popular History Magazines in Europe*, edited by Susanne Popp, Jutta

- Schumann, and Miriam Hannig, 1st ed., 295–318. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015.
- Virta, Arja. 'Finska kriget 1808-1809 i svenska och finska gymnasieböcker i historie'. *Nordidactica - Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 2012:1 (2012): 54–79.
- Wansink, Bjorn G. J., Sanne F. Akkerman, Jan D. Vermunt, Jacques P. P. Haenen and Theo Wubbels. 'Epistemological Tensions in Prospective Dutch History Teachers' Beliefs about the Objectives of Secondary Education'. *The Journal of Social Studies Research*, n.d. Accessed 14 April 2016.
- Wendell, Joakim. *Förklaringar är ju allt på nåt sätt: En undersökning av hur fem lärare använder historiska förklaringar i undervisningen*. Karlstad: Fakulteten för humaniora och samhällsvetenskap, Historia, Karlstads universitet, 2014.
- White, Hayden. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. JHU Press, 2009.
- Wibaeus, Ylva. *Att undervisa om det ofattbara: En ämnesdidaktisk studie om kunskapsområdet förintelsen i skolans historieundervisning*. Stockholm: Pedagogiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet, 2010.
- Wineburg, Sam. *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.
- Wineburg, Sam. 'Reading Abraham Lincoln: An Expert/expert Study in the Interpretation of Historical Texts'. *Cognitive Science* 22, no. 3 (July 1998): 319–46.
- Young, James E. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Zanazanian, Paul. 'Historical Consciousness and the Structuring of Group Boundaries: A Look at Two Francophone School History Teachers Regarding Quebec's Anglophone Minority'. *Curriculum Inquiry* 42, no. 2 (1 March 2012): 215–39.
- Zanazanian, Paul Boghos. *Historical Consciousness and the Construction of Inter-Group Relations: The Case of Francophone and Anglophone History School Teachers in Quebec*. Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2009.
- Zanazanian, Paul, and Sabrina Moisan. 'Harmonizing Two of History Teaching's Main Social Functions: Franco-Québécois History Teachers and Their Predispositions to Catering to Narrative Diversity'. *Education Sciences* 2, no. 4 (10 December 2012): 255–75.
- Zarka, Yves Charles. 'The Construction of Historical Consciousness'. *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 12, no. 3 (2004): 413–28.
- Åström Elmersjö, Henrik. 'Historical Culture and Peace Education: Some Issues for History Teaching as a Means of Conflict Resolution'. In *Contesting and Constructing International Perspectives on Global Education*, edited by Ruth Reynolds, Deborah Bradbery, Joanna Brown, Kay Carroll, Debra Donnelly, Kate Ferguson-Patrick and Suzanne Macqueen, 161–72. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2015.

- Åström Elmersjö, Henrik. *Norden, nationen och historien: Perspektiv på föreningarna Nordens historieläroboksrevision 1919-1972*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2013.
- Ödman, Per-Johan. *Tolkning, förståelse, vetande: Hermeneutik i teori och praktik*. Stockholm: Norstedts akademiska förlag, 2007.