Between fact and interpretation.

Teachers' beliefs and practices in interpretational history teaching

Bjorn Gert Jan Wansink

Between fact and interpretation

Teachers' beliefs and practices in interpretational history teaching

Tussen feit en interpretatie

Opvattingen en praktijken van docenten over een interpretatieve benadering van geschiedenis in het onderwijs

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Utrecht op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof. dr. G.J. van der Zwaan, ingevolge het besluit van het college voor promoties in het openbaar te verdedigen op

vrijdag 15 september 2017 om 10.30 uur

door

Bjorn Gert Jan Wansink

geboren op 1 februari 1977 te Werkendam

Promotoren: Prof. dr. T. Wubbels

Prof. dr. E. Jonker

Prof. dr. S.F. Akkerman

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 5 Where does teaching multiperspectivity in history education begin and end? A temporal analysis

Chapter 6 Conclusion and discussion

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In the last two decades, Dutch history teachers have witnessed a curriculum renewal for upper secondary education towards more emphasis on interpretational history teaching. This teaching approach means that, rather than teaching history as a factual and undisputable narrative, teachers come to address multiple coexisting narratives, as well as disciplinary criteria by means of which the coexisting narratives can be evaluated and compared (Seixas & Morton, 2013; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2011; Wineburg, 2001).

The idea that students should learn that history involves interpretation has been introduced in the educational curricula of several Western countries, including the US, Canada, the UK, Australia and Germany (Erdmann & Hassberg, 2011). From a political point of view proponents of an interpretational approach to history teaching have pointed out that those who can think in a sophisticated way about the past are also expected to be better equipped for participation in a pluralistic, democratic society, as they understand why multiple accounts or perspectives of the same event can coexist. Presumably, these persons can be more empathetic towards other cultures (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Stradling, 2003).

However, the research available on investigating history teachers' practices has shown that many teachers struggle with interpretational history teaching and often present historical knowledge without any epistemological reflection (Barton & Levstik, 2003; James, 2012; Martell, 2013). In this thesis we want to explore student and experienced teachers' epistemological objectives and practices of history education, what facilitates and constrains them in interpretational history teaching and what teachers' practices look like when focusing on multiperspectivity.

Ways of viewing historical knowledge

The debate about how historical knowledge can be perceived epistemologically, can be visualised as a continuum ranging from those who see it

1

as absolute, in the sense that history can be 'truthful', to those who consider it as relative, meaning that historical knowledge is always constructed and relative to the person constructing it (Southgate, 1996). For those who agree that historical knowledge can be truthful, history can be condensed to 'historical facts'. Historical knowledge seen from this traditional, historicist and source-driven perspective needs to be discovered and can be displayed in a single objective and authoritative narrative, representing the past 'as it was'. For history education this translates, for example, into a teacher telling one account of the past without the need for explicit reflection on the epistemological status of this knowledge. During the 20th century there was an overall tendency in the theory of history to undermine the idea that it is possible to discover one objective historical truth; this is advocated by various historical scholars who point out that historical knowledge is always subjective and socially constructed (Ankersmit, 2001; Evans, 1997; Jenkins, 2003; Tucker, 2004; White, 1987). Nowadays most researchers in history education combine the idea that historical knowledge is inter-subjective with disciplinary criteria for evaluating the acceptability of a particular interpretation or construction of the past (Barton, 2004; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2011; Wineburg, 2001). Historical knowledge seen from this inter-subjective point of view should not be represented as factual or as fictional, but should rather be presented as an open narrative based upon (historical) evidence that can be questioned using rationality and disciplinary criteria. For history education this translates, for example, into a teacher addressing multiperspectivity with explicit reflection on the epistemological status of the knowledge. In what follows we will point out that the two views on historical knowledge presented as 'factual' and as 'interpretive' can coexist in history education.

Competing objectives of history education

History education can serve different social, cultural and political aims and is as such a battlefield of ongoing culture wars (Davies, 2011; Wils & Verschaffel, 2013). Several scholars have assumed, implicitly or explicitly, that competing objectives do coexist in history education (Barton & Levstik, 2008; Carretero, 2011;

Carretero & Bermudez, 2012; Cuban, 2002; Dorsman, Ribbens, & Jonker, 2000; Peck & Seixas, 2008). For example, Zanazanian and Moisan (2012) state that history teachers have to harmonise two main objectives of history education, namely transmitting a framework for creating a national identity and developing autonomous critical thinking skills. Combining these objectives can cause tensions. The objective of justifying the nation state's existence is strongly associated with a narrative representing the past as *factual* (Barton & McCully, 2005; Carretero, 2011; Klein, 2010; VanSledright, 2008). The aim of critical thinking is associated with the idea that historical knowledge should be represented as principally *interpretive*, in the sense that it needs to be scrutinised because multiple interpretations of the past are possible (Bergman, 2010; Stradling, 2003; Wineburg, 2001). We will now describe how in the Dutch curriculum these tensions between conflicting objectives come to the fore. In doing so, we will also sketch the context in which the student teachers and experienced teachers who were studied in this thesis function.

The Dutch history curriculum

As in several other Western countries until the 1950s, students in the Netherlands were primarily taught history with the purpose of justifying the nation state by creating a 'national spirit' (Wilschut, 2009). After the disaster of the Second World War, this patriotic aim of history education was criticised and deemed no longer desirable. Moreover, internationally, scholars started to associate historical narratives used to achieve nationalism with 'naïve epistemologies' representing the past as teleological and factual (Heuss, 1959; Lowenthal, 2015; Plumb, 1970; Stradling, 2003). Accordingly, more emphasis has been given to teaching practices characterising history as an academic discipline, including its epistemological problems, which was later named 'historical thinking or reasoning' (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; Wineburg, 2001).

However, at the beginning of the 1990s, Dutch politicians started rethinking the moral and ideological dimensions of education, assuming that citizens were threatened in their national identities because of, amongst other

factors, globalisation, individualism and non-Western immigrants, leading to a revival of neo-nationalist history to enhance collective identity (Grever, 2007). In the Netherlands, this development resulted in the introduction of the semi-official Dutch historical canon in 2006. The advocates and compilers of this canon wanted to lay a general and broadly accepted foundation of factual knowledge under the whole history curriculum in primary and secondary education. Most professional historians reacted critically to the introduction of the canon (Grever, Jonker, Ribbens, & Stuurman, 2006). For example, Jonker (2006) observed that the canon, somewhat paradoxically in view of its closed character and national identity function, was presented as open and flexible. But epistemologically, the representation of historical knowledge in the Dutch canon corresponds more with a factual understanding of historical knowledge.

The controversies surrounding the Dutch canon fell amid a period in which the curriculum for upper secondary education was already under discussion and renewal. A government initiated committee led by history professor Piet de Rooy (2001) was asked to design a new curriculum; as a result, they introduced a chronological framework of 'orientation knowledge' comprising ten clear-cut 'eras' with associative names and 49 distinctive 'characteristic features'. This framework of orientation knowledge was designed with the purpose of providing a cognitive tool that can help pupils contextualise historical phenomena and to stimulate historical thinking (Wilschut, 2009). The implementation of the history curriculum was and still is fiercely discussed in the Netherlands. One of the results of the discussion was that in 2012 a second committee complemented the curriculum with four diachronic 'historical contexts', such as *Germany 1871–1945,* historical themes that cover more eras. A radical change from the second committee was the addition of historical facts and prescribed historical narratives, which is in contradiction with the idea of orientation knowledge as proposed by the committee de Rooy.

In addition to the changes to the historical content, the historical skills described in the curriculum were also revisited. As a result more emphasis has been placed on the interpretative character of historical knowledge (Board of

Examinations, 2013). This means that currently, Dutch teachers are expected to take an interpretational history-teaching approach, in which multiple coexisting perspectives on the past are addressed.

Given the developments in Dutch history education, it seems that teachers in the Netherlands are confronted with an underlying epistemological tension that is built into the prescribed history curriculum; this curriculum is ambiguous in that students have to learn pre-described historical narratives corresponding more with a *factual* representation of historical knowledge (i.e. historical contexts, semi-official Dutch canon) on the one hand. On the other hand, students have to come to the realisation that these narratives are subjective interpretations. It is the teachers that have to make decisions about how to combine both conflicting representations of historical knowledge in their lessons. In the Netherlands the curriculum provides little guidance for teachers about what topics should be used for teaching about interpretation or how to operationalise the notion of multiperspectivity. This means that teachers have a major responsibility as epistemic authorities, being the gatekeepers that, consciously or not, come to decide upon the epistemological representation of historical knowledge in their lessons (Bar-Tal, Raviv, Biran, & Sela, 2003; Thornton, 1991).

Teaching interpretational history

Interpretational history teaching is not an easy task, as students hold partly tacit assumptions about history based on everyday experiences and being taught from an early age to focus on the reproduction of events and historical details (VanSledright, 2002). Wineburg (2001) states that learning to understand that historical knowledge is constructed can even be considered an 'unnatural act' as students do not automatically take a critical and reflexive position towards the past.

Previous research in history education shows that history teachers find it difficult to teach interpretational history (Barton & Levstik, 2003; James, 2012; Martell, 2013). However, we lack empirical research about the reasons why teachers struggle with interpretational history teaching. In this thesis we investigate what facilitates and constrains student history teachers and experienced history

teachers in interpretational history teaching. In the first part of the thesis we will focus on student teachers who have been educated as academic historians and have to become history teachers. We know little about whether academic student history teachers will start with interpretational history teaching (Virta, 2002). We expect different factors such as teachers' beliefs about the objectives of history education, teachers' expertise and the working and learning environment to influence how student teachers' practices of interpretational history teaching develop.

In the second part of this thesis we will focus on experienced teachers. We expect experienced teachers to be facilitated or constrained in interpretational history teaching by the same and additional factors as student history teachers. In the last part of this thesis we will focus on experienced teachers' actual practices in the classroom. To our knowledge, there are no existing studies observing history teachers while teaching history from multiple perspectives. With multiperspectivity being so prominent in the history curricula and advocated in interpretational history-teaching approaches, it is important to know how it is operationalised in actual teaching practices (Stradling, 2003).

Overview of the chapters

C**hapter 2** explores student history teachers' beliefs about the objectives of history education. A distinction between two epistemological positions on historical knowledge representation (factual and interpretive) is used as a framework for categorizing the different discerned objectives. In doing so, we investigate whether teachers strive for interpretational history teaching. In addition, we gain knowledge about whether student teachers combine objectives of history education that could cause an epistemological tension in how history knowledge is to be presented. Data were gathered by means of a newly developed questionnaire to investigate teachers' beliefs about the objectives of history education.

C**hapter 3** aims to understand how student teachers develop in terms of representing history epistemologically. The findings of this study provide insight into how student teachers balance the two epistemological representations (factual and interpretive) in their perceived practices. We investigate whether factors such as

teachers' expertise or the working and learning environment constrain or facilitate teaching interpretational history. Data were gathered by means of semi-structured interviews, in which we used a storyline instrument (Orland, 2000).

Chapter 4 studies experienced teachers' perceptions of the applicability of historical topics for interpretational history teaching and the criteria teachers use to evaluate this applicability. Until now research on interpretational history teaching mainly assumes that interpretational history teaching is independent of the historical topic being taught. The findings of this study provide insight into whether experienced teachers perceive interpretational history teaching as topic-dependent. Data were gathered by means of semi-structured interviews during which teachers were asked to cite historical topics, to rank the topics in order of applicability and to elaborate on how the topics were ranked.

Chapter 5 reports on a study that investigated the ways experienced teachers addressed multiperspectivity in deliberately designed lessons, and their underlying considerations for or against addressing subjects' perspectives. This study starts with the operationalisation of multiperspectivity in history education by proposing a theoretical model of multiperspectivity and its educational functions. Subsequently, this model is used to explore what functions of multiperspectivity teachers address in the observed lessons. Finally, we aim to explain patterns in teaching multiperspectivity by analysing what considerations teachers have for introducing specific historical actors' perspectives in their lessons and for disregarding others. Data were gathered by means of lesson observations and semi-structured interviews. Focusing on what teachers actually do and with what considerations, allowed us to show what functions of multiperspectivity teachers address in their lessons and their underlying reasoning.

Chapter 6 encompasses the conclusions of the individual studies and overarching conclusions. Practical recommendations and suggestions for further research are presented.

Table 1. overview of the studies

	Research questions:	*Participants:*	*Method:*
Chapter 2	Which combinations of objectives of history education, and in doing so, epistemological representations of history knowledge, do academic student history teachers attach to history education at the very start of their university-based teacher-education programme?	The entire 2012 cohort of student history teachers, spread across six different universities in the Netherlands, was approached: 59% of the participants ($N = 48$) fully completed the questionnaire	A questionnaire (including open questions and behavioral tasks)
Chapter 3	To what extent do student history teachers report a difference between their classroom practices and their professional preference with regard to teaching factual and interpretational history? What factors constrain or stimulate teachers throughout the year in teaching factual and interpretational history?	Thirteen teachers, amongst the 48 student teachers from chapter 2, who initially supported the proposition that history is interpretational and considered this a relevant insight for history education	Semi-structured interviews in which we used a storyline method
Chapter 4	How applicable are various historical topics for interpretational history teaching according to expert history teachers?	Fifteen teachers selected by the following procedure. History teacher educators from five university-based teacher-education	Semi-structured interviews in which we used a card-ranking method

	What criteria do expert history teachers use to evaluate the applicability of historical topics for interpretational history teaching?	institutes were asked to propose experienced teachers who were perceived as experts in interpretational history teaching. Twenty-five teachers were nominated and approached	
Chapter 5	What temporal layers and sequences between subject perspectives do history teachers address in deliberately designed lessons from a multiperspectivity approach across three different topics?

What considerations for or against introducing specific subject perspectives do expert history teachers have? | Five teachers, amongst the 15 student teachers from chapter 4, who favoured teaching history from multiple perspectives and taught three topics (e.g. the Dutch Revolt, slavery and the Holocaust) in upper secondary education classes during the school year 2015–2016 | Lesson observations and semi-structured interviews |

1

Epistemological position of the author

       The author adopts a pragmatic epistemological position 'between fact and interpretation'. Reality is never directly to be known, as reality is mediated through selective observation and language (Putnam, 1981; Lorenz, 1994). Consequently, a subjects' sense making of reality is always framed within a specific culturally embedded frame of description. Researchers are accountable for their produced knowledge, therefore it is essential that researchers demonstrate virtues of interpretation when constructing scientific knowledge. It is important to accept a scientific cultural norm guiding perceptions and evaluations of the acceptability of a particular interpretation or construction (Evans, 1997; Tucker, 2004).

CHAPTER 2

Epistemological tensions in prospective history teachers' beliefs about the objectives of secondary education[1,2]

2

Abstract

In recent decades we witnessed ongoing debates about the objectives of history education, with different underlying epistemological perspectives. This qualitative study explored prospective history teachers' beliefs about these objectives of history education. Prospective history teachers of six universities starting a teacher educational program were invited to answer an open-ended questionnaire about history education. Six objectives were found: (1) memorising; (2) critical/explanatory; (3) constructivist; (4) perspective-taking; (5) moral; and (6) collective-identity objectives. Almost all prospective teachers mentioned several of these objectives. A distinction between two epistemological perspectives on historical knowledge representation, (factual or interpretive), was used as a framework for categorising the different objectives. More than half of the respondents mentioned objectives of history education that represent history as factual and objectives that represent history as interpretive. We propose that in actual practice most history teachers are combining epistemologically opposing objectives for pedagogical, political and religious motives.

Introduction

History education often serves social, cultural and political aims, as history curricula tend to prescribe what pupils should "remember" of their communal, mostly national past as the defining experiences that shape our present (Thelen, 1989). Therefore the aim of history education has been intensely debated in society as well as in the scholarly literature (Clark, 2009; Davies, 2011; Elgström & Hellstenius, 2011; Lévesque, 2005; Osborne, 2003; Symcox & Wilschut, 2009). Several authors have described a tension between the ambitions and goals of academic historians, educational scholars and politicians leading to so called "history wars" (VanSledright, 2008; Wils & Verschaffel, 2012). Politicians may want to use history education to turn pupils into democratically responsible and/or patriotic citizens, whereas educational scholars and historians might stress the importance of a critical understanding of history. Politicians who want to use history education specific for nation building can be criticized when presenting one single nation building narrative. Such a one-sided approach would be at odds with the assumption that in history there are always multiple narratives possible, and that minorities easily can be excluded from such a single national building narrative (e.g. Barton & Levstik, 2004). What is important about the distinction between one and multiple narratives is that from an epistemological perspective, both points of view represent historical knowledge in fundamentally different ways. It is striking that history teachers, have, to date, not been involved that much in the debate on different epistemological stances, although they can be considered central actors in realising history education, as teachers provide pupils access to specific educational experiences through their daily choices of content, methods and epistemological representations (Thornton, 1991; Van Boxtel & Grever, 2011).

This study aims to explore which objectives Dutch prospective history teachers attribute to history education, and to consider how these objectives relate to the epistemological debate about the nature of historical knowledge. To frame our study, we start with discussing various epistemological perspectives on historical knowledge and as we will elaborate, we end up by distinguishing factual from interpretive history education. Subsequently, we describe how specific objectives of

history education may influence the way historical knowledge is perceived and presented. We will point out that currently in the Netherlands both epistemologically opposing representations of historical knowledge coexist in one national curriculum. In addition, we will discuss the (implicit) relation between prospective history teachers' epistemological beliefs and their beliefs regarding the objectives of history education.

Two presentations of the past: factual and interpretive

The traditional picture of what history refers to is quite simple, history is the study of the past and results ideally in the representation of the past 'as it was'(Southgate, 1996). In accordance with philosophical debates about truth, this traditional perspective postulates historical knowledge as independent of the observer; such history has been traditionally validated by finding knowledge through source-mining (Southgate, 1996). In this way, historians could ascertain the "facts" and in doing so, report the "truth." This empiricist view of history is ascribed to the venerate Greeks of Antiquity and exists subcutaneously until today (Breisach, 1993). Seen from this perspective, historical knowledge can be presented as one authoritative single narrative. In the present study we refer to this representation of historical knowledge as "factual," as historical knowledge is assumed to mirror objective facts.

The idea that it is possible to discover and describe a unitary historical truth has been undermined by various scholars. For example Kosso (2009) summarizes two important difficulties concerning "truth" in history: first, the object of study has gone and is empirically unobservable and, therefore historians do not study the past but the remaining historical traces. This distance between the historian and the past leaves a gap between our interpretation and the object we are trying to understand. Historical knowledge is therefore always constructed and subjective because it depends on individual perceptions at different times and places (Newall, 2009). As Croce (1941) stated, *"the practical requirements which underlie every historical judgment give to all history the character of contemporary history"* (p. 91). The second problem that Kosso (2009) refers to is that historians are

studying people, who are wilful, idiosyncratic, not of our own time, often not of our own culture, which makes them difficult to understand from our present perspective. Nowadays, most scholars in history education agree that subjectivity may be unavoidable since we can only describe the past in our terms, and in ways that make sense to us (e.g. Barton & Levstik, 2004; Segall, 1999; VanSledright, 2010; Wineburg, 2001). In its most outspoken form, historians associated with postmodernism such as Ankersmit (2001), White (1987) and Jenkins (2003), were critiqued for radicalizing this insight by stressing that it is very difficult or even impossible to differentiate between the epistemological qualities of historical interpretations. Such radicalization can lead to the problem of epistemological relativism (Carr, 1986; Levisohn, 2010). Several historians have looked for alternative theories of truth by pointing out that there may be a cultural norm guiding perceptions and evaluations of the acceptability of a particular interpretation or construction of the past (Evans, 1997; Iggers, 1997; Tucker, 2004). Historical knowledge seen from this inter-subjective perspective should not be represented as "factual" or as "fiction" but rather, should be presented as an open narrative based upon (historical) evidence that can be questioned and should be reflected upon. In the present study we refer to this historical knowledge representation as "interpretive" because historical narratives can always be doubted and questioned. In what follows we will point out that the two views on historical knowledge presented as "factual" and as "interpretive" can coexist in history education.

Competing objectives of history education

Several scholars have assumed, implicitly or explicitly, competing objectives of history education (Barton & Levstik, 2008a; Cuban, 2002; Peck & Seixas, 2008; Wineburg, 2001). Two orientations towards history education, emotional heritage and critical academic history, have become a frequently described dichotomy (Carretero, 2011; Lowenthal, 1985, 1998; Seixas, 2000; Tosh, 2006; VanSledright, 2010). In this research we will use the research of Carretero (2011) as a starting point. He has redefined these two broad competing and

2

coexisting objectives of school history, as "romantic" and "enlightened" objectives. Romantic objectives are related to the construction of the nation state in the nineteenth century and the rise of growing nationalism. Historical knowledge is used to construct and maintain a common identity and to provide examples of civic virtue and loyalty (Carretero & Bermudez, 2012; Nussbaum & Cohen, 2002). The historical narratives to achieve these objectives can be considered "closed," because they impose a structure of meaning, rather than incite questions (Klein, 2010). From an epistemological perspective, historical knowledge is represented as "*factual*" indicating a fixed interpretation of the past.

History education in the enlightened tradition means to educate pupils to be able to critically reflect upon historical knowledge. There is a strong relationship with professional history because the past should be understood in a complex manner, meaning that pupils should master disciplinary conceptual categories (Carretero & Voss, 1994). Mastering these disciplinary and cognitive objectives should lead to "historical thinking", (Wineburg, 2001; Seixas & Peck, 2004), or "historical reasoning" (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). These concepts embody among other goals, the ability to form plausible critical interpretations based on evidence of multiple sources, and to contextualize the different perspectives of people (Barton & Levstik, 2008b). The underlying political and moral agenda is the importance of acquiring methodological skills during history education as tools for participating in a democratic multicultural society in a global world (Carretero, López, González & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012; Thornton, 2005). Seen from this perspective, historical knowledge is represented as principally *interpretive*, in the sense that it needs to be scrutinised because multiple interpretations of the past are possible. In addition, such provisional knowledge takes into account that the past is foreign because it cannot be directly accessed, and therefore should be approached by acknowledging historical distance (Lowenthal, 1985).

It should be noted that both romantic and enlightened objectives reflect an underlying political agenda in the sense that pupils have to be educated in history for the sake of their current and future citizenship. Given the epistemological differences in the representation of both kinds of historical knowledge, one can

understand that combining romantic and enlightened objectives may cause tensions, especially in culturally diverse countries. For example, Zanazanian and Moisan (2012) found that teachers in Canada find it hard to balance between transmitting a framework for creating national identity and stimulating pupils' critical thinking skills. They often resort to teaching factual representations of the past and the main markers of their group's collective memory. Bekerman and Zembylas (2010) showed that history teachers in Israel often remain firmly in the hegemonic historical narratives of their own community, which constrains critically negotiating competing narratives. We will now discuss how in the Dutch curriculum these epistemological tensions come to the fore and show the difficulty of resolving these tensions.

Epistemological tensions in the Dutch history curriculum

Until the 1950's, pupils in the Netherlands were primarily taught history with the purpose of creating a "national spirit," and with the intention of raising moral and responsible citizens (Wilschut, 2009a). During the 1960's, history as a school subject was in crisis. Academic historians started to emphasise the strangeness of the past and in doing so pointed out that the past provides no lessons for the future (Heuss, 1959; Plumb, 1970). Moreover, due to the Second World War, the patriotic objective of history education was criticised and deemed no longer desirable. School history moved towards developing pupils' understanding of history as *a form of* knowledge with its own disciplinary skills and epistemological problems. Accordingly, in the past three decades, more emphasis has been given to teaching practices characterising history as an academic discipline for teaching pupils what later was named "historical thinking or reasoning" (Wineburg, 2001; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). However, at the beginning of the 1990s, Dutch politicians started rethinking the moral and ideological dimensions of education, assuming that citizens were threatened in their national identities because of, among others, globalisation, individualism and non-Western immigrants, leading to a revival of neo-nationalist history aimed at enhancing collective identity (Grever, 2007).

In the Netherlands, this development resulted in the introduction of the semi-official Dutch historical canon in 2006 (Grever, Jonker, Ribbens & Stuurman, 2006). The advocates and compilers of this canon wanted to lay a generally and broadly accepted foundation of factual knowledge under the whole history curriculum in primary and secondary education. The canon consists of 50 topics, each summarising a particular historical event, figure or theme. An important objective of the canon was to promote and maintain the Dutch collective identity (De Canon van Nederland, 2006–2007) and the canon received an official status in primary and the first three years of secondary education. From its introduction, the canon has been intensely debated in the Netherlands. For example, Jonker (2006) observed that the canon, somewhat paradoxically in view of its closed character and national identity function, was presented as open and flexible, as the compilers were afraid to exclude certain communities. Critics of the canon argue that a global perspective of the past is more adequate for preparing pupils for participation in a multicultural society (Beyen, 2006; Ribbens, 2007). Epistemologically, the representation of historical knowledge in the Dutch canon corresponds more with a *factual* representation of historical knowledge.

The controversies surrounding the Dutch canon fell amid a period in which the curriculum for upper secondary education already was renewed and discussed. Since the mid-1990s the history curriculum was criticised as ineffective, with too much emphasis placed on historical thinking skills at the expense of memorising facts and chronology. A committee led by history professor Piet de Rooy (2001) was asked to design a new curriculum; as a result, the committee introduced a chronological framework of "orientation knowledge" comprising ten clear-cut "eras" with associative names and 49 distinctive "characteristic features." The framework was created to stimulate historical thinking, and should *not* be considered a factual aim in itself (Wilschut, 2009b). The new curriculum was implemented in 2007. The response of educational scholars, historians and teachers to this new curriculum was diverse. Part of the critique concerned the characteristics ascribed to the ten eras; more fundamental criticism concerned its lack of dealing with diachronic developments and the insufficient attention given to the interpretive

nature of historical knowledge (History examinations, 2006) In 2012, a new committee was appointed that complemented the curriculum with additional descriptions. Four historical contexts were added, which can be seen as broader historical themes that cover more time eras and are related to several of the "characteristic features." In addition, the historical skills described in the curriculum were revisited and more emphasis was placed on the interpretative character of historical knowledge (Board of examinations, 2013).

The curriculum developments show that there is recurrent tension between objectives of history education that represent the past as *factual* and objectives that represent the past as *interpretive*. To date, however, little attention has been devoted to which objectives prospective history teachers attribute to history education.

Epistemological beliefs

The sketched debates among historians and educators on historical "truth" lead to the question of how history teachers want to evaluate historical knowledge from an epistemological perspective. Researchers have often approached this question from the assumption that teachers' epistemological beliefs influence their pedagogical practices. Generally, epistemological beliefs refer to conceptions of the nature of knowledge and knowing (Pintrich, 2002). In history education, history teachers' epistemological beliefs refer to beliefs that indicate how teachers understand the nature of their discipline (Maggioni, VanSledright, & Alexander, 2009; Seixas, 1993; Wineburg, 2001). Epistemological beliefs are particularly important as history teachers can only represent historical knowledge as *interpretive* if they themselves are convinced about historical knowledge being constructed.

The literature on epistemological beliefs often departs from a developmental approach by defining a continuum ranging from naïve towards more sophisticated types or levels of beliefs. Well-known in this respect are Perry (1970) and King and Kitchener (2002) who, based on Piaget, state that beliefs about the certainty of knowledge and the process of knowing lie on a continuum, with different developmental levels ranging from simple black-and-white views towards

complex evidence-based ways of knowing (Brownlee, Schraw, & Berthelsen, 2011).

In line with this general epistemological research, scholars in the domain of history education distinguish between less and more sophisticated beliefs in their studies (Fallace & Neem, 2005; Maggioni, VanSledright, & Alexander, 2009; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Yilmaz, 2008). Naïve beliefs are usually associated with ignoring the difference between history and the past, which is interpreted in our terminology as a *factual* representation of knowledge. More sophisticated beliefs on history acknowledge multiple interpretations of the past and the active role of the knower in historical knowledge construction. The latter beliefs relate more closely to representing history knowledge as *interpretive*. Several scholars have proposed developmental models of increased intellectual sophistication (Lee & Shemilt, 2003; Maggioni et al., 2009; Rüsen, 1989; 2004). For example, Maggioni et al. (2009), based upon Lee and Shemilt (2003) has defined a three-stances model in which pupils develop from a copier stance (historical knowledge is a "copy" of the past), to a relativist stance (historical knowledge is merely a matter of opinion), to a criterialist stance (historical knowledge is interpretative, but also restrained by disciplinary criteria). However these developmental models can be questioned, both in terms of the strict categorization of levels and the underlying norm that determines what is to be considered sophisticated (Schommer-Aikens, 2004). Not surprisingly, the aforementioned scholars who use developmental models have also nuanced their models. For example, Maggioni et al. (2009), also question how flexible or rigid epistemological stances are, particularly considering how epistemological beliefs interfere with pedagogical beliefs.

The present study

We have argued that historical knowledge, from an epistemological perspective, can be represented as *factual* or as *interpretive*, and that history education tends to adhere to both representations. Currently, prospective Dutch teachers are confronted with a history curriculum in which both epistemological representations are intertwined. Despite the ongoing debates, there is no information

on how prospective teachers' position themselves regarding these two epistemological perspectives. We want to know which objectives prospective academic history teachers attach to history education at the very start of their teacher education program, and to consider how these objectives relate to *factual* or *interpretive* representations of historical knowledge. Accordingly, our research question is: *Which combinations of objectives of history education, and in doing so, epistemological representations of history knowledge, do prospective academic history teachers attach to history education at the very start of their university-based teacher education program?*

Methods

Participants

Participants in this study were prospective history teachers starting their university-based teacher educational program in the Netherlands in August 2012. To enter this postgraduate program, students need to have completed a bachelor's and a master's degree in history. Participants were spread across six different universities in the Netherlands. The intact 2012 cohort were approached for this study with a questionnaire, 66% (N=57) responded, and 59% (N=48) fully completed the questionnaire. Table 1 gives an overview of the details of the participants.

Table 1. *Information about participants in the study*

Characteristic	Participants
University:	
Utrecht	16
Groningen	6
Leiden	9
Nijmegen	6
Amsterdam VU	8
Amsterdam UVA	3
Gender	
Male	33
Female	15
Teaching experience	
None	17
Some days	16
1 year	10
2 years	2
3 years >	3

Instrument and data-collection process

We constructed a questionnaire consisting of 12 open-ended questions and a performance task (see Appendix 1). During the first days of the teacher education program responses were collected from the prospective teachers by means of the Web-based questionnaire tool SurveyMonkey. The 12 open-ended questions covered various topics related to the Dutch history education debates, such as the general importance of history education and the objective of a national canon. Open-ended questions were used, as has been recommended for explorative studies (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). We gave the respondents maximum freedom to describe their beliefs by encouraging them to use as much space as necessary

2

when describing their answers. Answers varied per question from several words to approximately 250 words.

The last part of the questionnaire consisted of a performance task, inviting respondents to give answers on a more concrete level than the open-ended questions (VanSledright, 2002; Wilson & Wineburg, 1993). The performance task included a recurrent and recent upcoming controversial issue in the Netherlands related to J.P. Coen (1587-1629), chief founder and director general of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC). In 2011, a group of citizens united and started a campaign to remove the J.P. Coen statue from the market square of the small city of Hoorn. In the so-called Dutch Golden Age, Coen established a chain of fortified posts in the Indonesian Archipelago and nowadays he symbolises the aggressive manner in which the VOC attempted to obtain a trade monopoly in Dutch East Indies (Spruit, 1987). The questionnaire contained enquiries of the respondents' position in this discussion and their teaching approach to this controversy.

Analyses

We searched the scientific literature for different aims of secondary school history education (Adler, 1984; Barton & Levstik, 2004; Chiodo & Brown, 2007; Donnelly, 1999; Evans, 1988, 1989, 1990; Dorsman, Jonker, & Ribbens, 2000; Goodman & Adler, 1985; Kocka, 1977; Seixas, 1998; Seixas & Clarck, 2004; Vinson, 1998; Von Borries, 2000). We used the literature for creating theoretical sensitivity (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and for 'sensitising concepts' to help us in the process of coding (Bowen, 2006). We used five sensitising concepts identified by Barton and Levstik (2004) as principal activities that students are expected to perform when learning history, namely: identify, analyse, respond morally to, exhibition of and "historically empathise" with the past. Barton and Levstik (2004) refer to these activities as "stances", as these activities refer to a combination of purpose and practice. These "stances" has been identified, based on a review of existing research on historical thinking and they set it in the theoretical context of "mediated action" (Wertsch, 1998). This theory calls attention to the interaction between a person, "cultural tools", and the cultural environment in which the person

is situated.

After receiving all the questionnaires, the qualitative data were entered in Atlas.ti (Muhr, 1997). The first author started the analysis by 'open coding,' or the identification of themes emerging from the raw data (Charmaz, 2006). Utterances that were not relevant to our research were excluded, including statements about pedagogy. All the utterances indicating an objective of history education were coded. We found many different objectives of history education; some were described in detail by the respondents and others more abstractly. In meetings with the second author we worked towards several broad categories in which all utterances could be coded, using the sensitising concepts. We categorised all aims under a comprehensive framework of objectives of history education. In the next sequence, the process of axial coding (Boeije, 2010), the objectives were named and a final coding scheme (i.e., six broad objectives of history education to be presented in the results section) was defined through a discussion with all the authors. We checked for inter-rater reliability: 25% of the questionnaires were coded by an independent researcher resulting in an un-weighted Cohen's Kappa of 0.78. After defining the different objectives of history education we considered how the objectives relate to *factual* or *interpretive* representations of historical knowledge. In doing so, we could calculate how many respondents mentioned objectives that relate only to interpretive or factual representations, or combined both representations of historical knowledge.

Results

Six objectives of history education

Six objectives of history could be distilled from the analysis of the questionnaire responses: the: (1) memorising; (2) critical/explanatory; (3) constructivist; (4) perspective-taking; (5) moral; and (6) collective-identity objectives. The amount of teachers referring to the objectives are displayed in Table 2.

2

Table 2. *Objectives of history education referred to by respondents*

Objectives of history education	Respondents
Memorizing	24
Critical/explanatory	48
Constructivist	37
Perspective-taking	26
Moral	16
Collective identity	7

1. *The memorising objective*

      The memorising objective of history education means that history education has to make pupils memorise and be able to display and memorise substantive knowledge. Substantive knowledge in history education refers to historical facts, persons, events, dates, etcetera. For example, in response to the question regarding what good history education is, one respondent stated: "*The building of factual knowledge of Dutch and world history.*" Another statement of a prospective teacher was that good history education should "*provide pupils with a substantial basis of factual historical knowledge.*" Twenty-four respondents gave answers referring to this objective.

2. *The critical/explanatory objective*

      The critical/explanatory objective of history education means that history education has to make pupils learn academic disciplinary skills in order to be able to think about history. This implies that history education should focus on learning different procedural concepts that enable pupils to understand the past in a rational and critical manner. Procedural concepts are concepts that historians use to make sense of the past, such as the concept of change and continuity. To understand what

history is, pupils should be able to evaluate evidence and information, as well as be critical and present arguments. An example from a respondent referring to this objective is: "*Pupils will learn different skills from good history education such as: making causal connections, interpret sources, asking critical questions and so on.*" Another example from the data is: "*… furthermore critical thinking and the critical use of sources should be at the centre of history education.*" The different concepts were used in an explanatory way and with such concepts, pupils could make rational sense of the past and of the way the past is related to the present. All of the respondents gave answers referring to this objective.

3. The constructivist objective

The constructivist objective of history education means that history education has to make pupils value historical knowledge from an epistemological perspective. According to the respondents, it was important that pupils learn that history is dynamic and can evolve over time; this indicated a belief that multiple stories or constructions of the past can exist. Pupils should learn that individuals produce historical knowledge and that the construction of historical knowledge is disputable. A statement from the data referring to this objective is: "*Pupils learn that multiple viewpoints are possible and that these can exist next to their own point of view.*" Another quote is: "*History is malleable and changeable, it is not science.*" Thirty-seven respondents gave answers referring to this objective.

4. The perspective-taking objective

The perspective-taking objective of history education means that history education has to make pupils understand historical figures or events within their own historical context. According to statements by respondents in this category, through hermeneutics, pupils should try to understand others' experience of life in history. In doing so, history is not about looking for similarities between the past and the present, but about emphasising the differences between past and present. An important aspect according to respondents was avoiding pupils' imposition of today's values on the past. A statement from the data referring to this objective is:

"*Such a pupil would, for example, be able to 'understand' why a German in 1933 could vote for Hitler.*" Another example is: "*History through which a person can empathise with another time without judging that time on the basis of today's knowledge, to avoid anachronisms.*" Twenty-six respondents gave answers referring to this objective.

5. *The moral objective*

The moral objective of history education means that history education has a moral purpose and can be a moral guide for the present; historical knowledge could function in sharpening individuals' moral consciousness. Historical figures or events of the past were seen as good and bad examples for contemporary moral behaviour. History can teach us lessons for the present, but can also teach us how we should behave. An example from the data is: "*I think that we can learn many lessons from our history with respect to our future. Something like the Second World War should never be repeated. This should always be remembered.*" Sixteen respondents gave answers referring to this objective.

6. *The collective identity objective.*

The collective identification objective of history education means that history education can contribute to creating a collective identity**.** The respondents who fell within this category all expressed themselves to be proponents of a Dutch canon. They pointed out that a canon provides important events and facts that Dutch citizens should know, indicating that a collective identity for them concerned national Dutch identity. A quote from the data: "… *a Dutch canon teaches us how the Netherlands became the country that we know nowadays, and how our Dutch identity developed. We should preserve that identity and therefore we could use the canon in our education.*" Seven respondents gave answers referring to this objective.

Objectives of history education from an epistemological perspective

In the following we will elaborate how to classify the objectives of history education into the two epistemological perspectives on historical knowledge, i.e., as *factual* or as *interpretive*. In doing so we can identify epistemological tensions.

Table 3. *Relation between objectives of history education and epistemological representation of historical knowledge*

Epistemological perspective: Objective	Factual	Interpretive
Memorizing	X	X
Critical/explanatory		X
Constructivist		X
Perspective-taking		X
Moral	X	
Collective identity	X	

We argue that historical knowledge in the moral objective and the collective identity objective are most likely represented as *factual*. First, both objectives of history education address historical knowledge as static and as representing truth thereby epistemologically assuming objectivity. In the moral objective, values are not contextualised historically or spatially situated, but considered with timeless validity. In the collective identification objective, elements of pre-established narratives are mobilised that present the nation state as a teleological outcome of the past. Both objectives of history education approach the past from a more "emotional" perspective. Historical knowledge is made explicitly usable for contemporary purposes. First, because the past is used as a moral guide for the present, as historical events and figures can be seen as good or bad examples; and second, because the past is used to aim for social cohesion, as represented in the form of the nation state.

Three objectives of history education represent historical knowledge primarily as *interpretive*, namely the critical/explanatory, the constructivist and the perspective-taking objective. These objectives share a rational and academic approach toward the past. The critical/explanatory objective aims to stimulate pupils to use disciplinary heuristics to critically question the past. This intellectual approach also applies to the constructivist objective of history education, as this objective implies that pupils have to learn history as an interpretive discipline, and thus that historical narratives are subjective human constructions. Finally, the perspective-taking objective represents historical knowledge as interpretive, as perspective recognition does not refer to "*feeling*" like an historical actor, but rather to teaching pupils to contextualise beliefs and opinions of historical figures in their historical context. Thus, pupils should also become aware of their own perspective. All three objectives share the common belief that pupils should learn to question their intuitive ideas about historical knowledge. Arguably, this can be seen as a moral goal in its own right, be it less emotional and prescriptive or more open and tolerant.

Concerning "the memorising objective," we argue that historical knowledge is most likely represented as *factual*. However, knowing a certain amount of historical content can be regarded as a condition for engaging pupils in questioning the past. Moreover, a focus on historical content knowledge is not necessarily restricted to knowing only one construction of the past, such as in a "canon." The epistemological nature of this objective therefore depends largely on what possible successive objectives respondents might link it to. When seen as an educational goal in its own right, it clearly adheres to the factual domain.

Combined objectives of history education

Table 4. *Number of respondents that combining objectives of history education and epistemological perspective*

Amount of Combined objectives	**Participants**	**Mentioned objectives of history education**		
		Solely interpretive	Solely factual	Combining
One	0	0	0	0
Two	10	8	0	2
Three	20	10	0	10
Four	14	0	0	14
Five	2	0	0	2
Six	2	0	0	2
Total:	48	18	0	30

Note. The objective memorizing relates to interpretive and factual representations.

In the following we will give an overview of the combinations of objectives of history education. We will focus in more detail upon combinations of objectives that cause epistemological tension. Table 4 shows that 44 participants combine two, three or four objectives of history education. As can be seen in Table 4, 18 respondents only mention objectives of history education that represent historical knowledge as open and *interpretive*, whereas none of the respondents represents historical knowledge solely as *factual*. In addition, thirty of the prospective history teachers mention objectives of history education that represent historical knowledge as factual and objectives of history education that represent historical knowledge as interpretive. From these 30 respondents, 13 respondents combine solely the memorising objective, with objectives that represent historical knowledge as open and *interpretive*. To provide more detailed information about which objectives respondents combine that might cause underlying epistemological tension see Table 5.

Table 5. *Types of combinations of objectives epistemologically opposing*

Interpretive		*Factual*	
Objective	Memory	Collective identity	Moral
Memory	X	5	10
Critical/explanatory	24	7	16
Constructivist	19	4	10
Perspective-taking	10	3	8

Note. Every cell is number of respondents combining both objectives of history education. Memory relates to interpretive and factual representations.

Table 5 shows that 16 participants combine the moral objective with the critical/explanatory objective. Only two participants combine the collective identity objective with perspective-taking. To get a sense of how prospective teachers can

refer to epistemologically tensed objectives of history education we will discuss four examples.

The first example concerns respondent Betty who has referred to both the constructivist objective and the collective identification objective of history education. When Betty was asked about the importance of history education, she wrote: "*One [i.e., pupils] must be open minded and accept that there is no one real truth.*" However, when Betty was asked about the desirability of the Dutch canon, she wrote: " *Yes, because then everybody in the Netherlands will share the same basic knowledge. That creates a bond, and recognition of our common past.*" From an epistemological perspective, the plea for a canon in which historical knowledge is more represented as factual in order to provide national cohesion seems to conflict with the conviction that pupils should learn that multiple truths are possible.

The second example concerns respondent William, who argued for both the constructivist objective of history education and its moral objective. In various answers William pointed to the Bible as the norm and absolute authority, stating that it is important to teach history to pupils because: "*[We should] tell the coming generation the glorious deeds of the LORD, and His might, and the wonders that He has done.*" History used for this purpose is represented as closed and *factual*. Nonetheless, William also emphasised the constructive nature of historical knowledge, and acknowledged that historical knowledge evolves over time and should be contextualised. William argued that the performance task is a good example to teach pupils *"[because] you can show how history is perceived in different times, and how views upon historical events change over time."* This utterance also indicates that William wants to represent historical knowledge as interpretive.

The third example concerns respondent James, who has referred to both the perspective-taking objective and the moral objective of education. Whereas in the first objective historical knowledge is represented as *interpretive*, in the second objective historical knowledge and morals are more represented as *factual*. James' reference to the perspective-taking objective shows in his answer to the question "What characterises a pupil who is good in history?" to which he responded that a

2

good pupil should: "… *judge the past realising that in the past people had different norms and values.*" However, when James was asked to respond on the performance task, he referred to the moral objective, stating that pupils need to learn from history and that pupils have to be conscious of "… *the horrors that also happened in their own history.*"

A final example, showing yet another type of tension, is reflected in a single answer of respondent Peter, when he referred simultaneously to the memorising objective and the critical/explanatory objective of history education. When asked about the desirability of a canon, Peter wrote: "*As a historian among historians, I would say 'no,' because a canon always oversimplifies history. […] On the other hand, a canon is more comprehensible than many history books, and is therefore a lot easier to digest and to understand for the majority of the Dutch people.*" It is noteworthy that Peter, by referring to both objectives in a single quote and by explicitly positioning himself as a historian – distancing himself from the didactical or everyday context – seems to be aware of the underlying tension. In the conclusion and discussion we will provide several possible explanations for the relatively high number of respondents who mention objectives of history education with apparently opposing representations of historical knowledge.

Conclusion and discussion

The first part of our research question in this exploratory study was which objectives do prospective history teachers attach to history education at the very start of their university-based teacher educational program. We discerned six different objectives of history education in the total set of questionnaire answers. Five objectives relate to the sensitising concepts that we derived from Barton and Levstik (2004), but were slightly adjusted, as we aimed for objectives that are epistemologically distinctive as well as empirically grounded in teachers' perspectives. For one, the collective identity objective relates to the identification stance described by Barton and Levstik (2004). Whereas the identification stance refers to pupils associating themselves with individuals or as members of a large group in history when they are studying history, the collective identity objective

that we identified refers only to associations with a "national" identity. Second, the critical/explanatory objective relates closely to the analytical stance described by Barton and Levstik (2004). The analytical stance refers to ability to decompose the organizational structure of the past by, among others, searching for patterns or examining causes and consequences of events. Barton and Levstik (2004) included in this description the possibility of learning lessons from the past; for epistemological reasons, we excluded this, and considered this part of the moral objective that we identified. Third, the moral objective relates to the moral response stance described by Barton and Levstik (2004), referring to judgements about people and events of the past. In our categorization of the moral objective we added learning lessons from the past. Fourth, the memorising objective relates to the sensitising concept exhibition, which refers to displaying historical knowledge. Our category is more specific and refers only to cognitively knowing historical "facts" and not to other forms of exhibition. Fifth, the perspective taking objective that we identified relates mostly to what Barton and Levstik (2004) described as "historical empathy as perspective recognition", referring to pupils gaining sense of historical actors. Whereas they also considered the multiplicity of historical perspectives as part of perspective taking, we distinguished this as a part of a separate objective, identified as constructivist objective. The constructivist objective is not often described as an explicit objective of history education in and of itself. However, from an epistemological and teachers' perspective this makes sense, as teachers are found to struggle mostly with realizing this objective. Research has indicated several factors that can constrain prospective teachers in teaching history as construction, such as limited classroom control, a limited understanding of historical content, coverage of an expansive curriculum, and doubt in students' abilities (Barton & Levstik, 2003; Martell, 2013; Mayer, 2006; Van Hover & Yeager, 2004; Wilson, Konopak & Readance, 1994).

Our findings reveal that all respondents refer to the critical/explanatory objective. This finding corresponds with the research of Donnely (1999), who found that history teachers saw the commitment to developing children's intellectual judgments as their main goal. On the other hand this result is incongruent with the

findings of VanSledright (2008) who points out that for most history teachers in the US the goal of teaching history is teaching 'common historical knowledge' or for the purpose of cultural transmission. The first explanation for this dissimilarity can be that all history teachers in the Netherlands have, before entering teacher education, studied history at the university level, where it is likely that a critical approach towards the past was taught as part of historiography courses. A second explanation might be that prospective teachers still have idealistic ideas about history education at the start of their career.

It is noteworthy that, in relation to the epistemological discussions and developmental models proposed, 37 respondents adhere to the constructivist objective, which is often conceived as a sophisticated belief. We consider this an important finding because teaching about the interpretive nature of historical knowledge has become an important part of the new Dutch curriculum. Although having understanding of history's structure does not automatically translate into instruction for pupils (Bain & Mirel, 2006; Lampert & Ball, 1999)

With regard to the second part of the research question, we have described how the collective identity objective and the moral objective represent historical knowledge as rather factual, and how the critical/explanatory objective, the perspective-taking objective and the constructivist objective represent historical knowledge as rather interpretive. The memorising objective can relate to both representations depending on the purpose of knowing historical content. Considering this categorisation, we can see that 18 respondents only relate to objectives of history education that represent historical knowledge as open and *interpretive*, whereas none of the respondents represent history solely as *factual*.

We have found that 30 of the prospective history teachers mention objectives of history education that represent history as factual and mention objectives of history education that represent history as interpretive. In doing so, prospective teachers have to harmonise different epistemological representations of historical knowledge. 13 respondents solely combine the memorizing objective with objectives that represent historical knowledge as open and *interpretive*. An explanation for combing these objectives is that memorising historical content is

inseparably integrated in the other objectives as pupils need to have at least some substantive knowledge to construct a historical context to reason about the past (Havekes, Coppen, Luttenberg, & Van Boxtel, 2012; Lee, 2005; VanSledright, 2010).

17 respondents combine the collective identity objective or the moral objective with objectives that represent historical knowledge more as interpretive. This finding seems to be similar to the study by Zanazanian and Moisan (2012) who point out that history teachers seek to balance the two different social objectives of history education, namely transmitting a framework for creating a national identity and developing autonomous critical thinking skills. Our findings can also be related to the empirical study by Gottlieb and Wineburg (2012), who found that individuals cannot be positioned in a singular stance, but rather engage in what they referred to as "epistemic switching" when confronted with history that is strongly connected with identity or religion. We conceive "epistemic switching" as a useful term for acknowledging that a person does not necessarily hold epistemological beliefs isolated from context, but may also be evoked by interactions in the situation, thus likely to show a certain level of adaptivity. This idea also corresponds with the research of VanSledright and Reddy (2014), pointing out that history teachers can "wobble" between epistemic stances.

A first explanation for the finding that prospective history teachers engage in "epistemic switching" between objectives that represent history as factual and as interpretive may be that they are unconscious of how historical knowledge is represented in the different objectives of history education, perhaps instantiated by not being acquainted with different underlying epistemologies of history education in the first place. However, this explanation might underestimate the intellectual capabilities of the academically trained historians.

A second possible explanation is the developmental position that prospective history teachers are in: they studied at a university, where the past is commonly studied in scholarly isolation using scientific standards; as such, historical knowledge is represented as interpretive. As prospective history teachers, however, they are about to work beyond academic isolation, facing pupils in an

2

educational context. This entails including a multitude of additional concerns, such as: concerns about pupils' intellectual abilities and ways of learning history; beliefs about "manageable" education; concerns about their moral responsibilities. Such concerns align more with *factual* representations of historical knowledge. The transition process of prospective history teachers thus likely triggers a new epistemological perspective. Support for this proposition can be seen in the statements of several respondents who distinguish their perspective as a schoolteacher from that of being a historian. The quote we included from Peter in the prior section can be seen as an example, pointing out how he seems to find balance between a historian and a history teacher. Maggioni and Parkingson (2008), referring to the study by Hartzler-Miller (2001) conceptualised this phenomenon as teachers showing a "double epistemic standard;" that is, teachers can be aware of the interpretive component of historical knowledge, but still present history in school as a coherent historical narrative. This also corresponds with the idea of McDiarmid (1994) that history teacher' beliefs about history as a discipline and history as an teaching subject can be incongruent. The result that prospective teachers harbour objectives of history education that represent historical knowledge in opposite ways also provides evidence that epistemological developmental models can be questioned.

Our findings show that the objectives of history education that represent historical knowledge in opposite manners are not only combined within history curricula, but also within the beliefs of prospective history teachers. In teacher education, it might be profitable to explicate and structure the on-going debates about the objective of history education. Van Hover and Yeager (2007) propose that teacher educators have to gain a better understanding of the prospective teachers' epistemologies of history, as only then they can effectively challenge teachers to broaden their notions of what it means to teach and learn history. Discussing historical knowledge representation in the different objectives of history education might be helpful for this challenge. In several Western countries, history teachers have to teach the constructive nature of historical knowledge. However, previous research has reported that pupils tend to see history as a factual representation of the

past, rather than as interpretation (VanSledright, 2002; Wineburg, 2001). If teachers are to teach this latter aspect of the curriculum, they have to realise that particular objectives of history education pertain to a "realist" approach of the past (Den Heyer & Abbot, 2011), and that these objectives are intended to provide guidance and instruction, and therefore will most likely not challenge pupils' intuitive conceptions of history.

Furthermore, we suggest that history teacher educators can create the opportunity for prospective teachers to reflect upon the different roles they combine, including the academic historian, the history teacher, the person with certain moral and possibly religious beliefs, and the citizen of a specific country. In doing so, teacher educators can discuss how personal bias, ingrained within our very identity, will appear when we encounter or teach about the past (Hunt, 2002). This implies that every representation of the past includes an intimate interconnection and a degree of tension between interpretation and identification. From an epistemological perspective, history education inevitably refers to the present, which creates an unavoidable subjectivity, but which is something about which one can be reflexive (Jonker, 2012; Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000).

A challenging task for further research would be to describe and explain the prevalence and interaction of *factual* and *interpretive representations* of historical knowledge in actual teaching practice and over time, in doing so we can gain more insight into how "epistemic switching" can come to the forefront of history teaching.

Acknowledgements

Appendix 1
Research Instrument

1) Why do you think it is important that pupils attain a history education?

2) What are the similarities between history as an academic discipline and history as a secondary school subject?

3) What are the differences between history as an academic discipline and history as a secondary school subject?

4) Do you think that it is desirable that there is a Dutch canon? Explain your answer.

5) Do you think the "canon of the Netherlands" (created by the committee van Oostrom, www.entoennu.nl) must be the guideline for Dutch history teaching? Explain your answer.

6) What characterises good history education?

7) What characterises bad history education?

8) What characterises a pupil who is good at history?

Source 1: The following text was published on the website of the NOS (July 5, 2011).

Hoorn wants a more critical text on the J.P. Coen statue plaque
The city council of Hoorn wants to adjust the plaque on the statue of Jan Pieterszoon Coen in the centre of the city; the present text on the plaque is not critical enough. The plaque currently reads: "Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1587-1629) Born in Hoorn. Governor-General of the VOC and founder of Batavia, currently Jakarta. Statue founded in 1893". Followed by general tourist information regarding the square where the statue was placed. Commanded by Coen, the Netherlands strengthened its position in the East through expelling the Portuguese and enslaving the local tribes. A trading post was founded on Formosa, currently named Taiwan.

Bloody

The expansion did cost thousands of lives. Coen commanded the troops to burn the rebellious city of Jakarta, later he founded the city Batavia on the same ground. Until the Japanese occupation, Jakarta remained the capital of the Dutch East Indies. Coen also led an expedition to the Banda Islands that was so bloody that his commanders in the Netherlands reprimanded him. To establish a monopoly on the nutmeg trade, almost the entire indigenous population was murdered.

Citizens' initiative

The new text should clarify, in the opinion of the city council, how J.P. Coen currently is perceived. "The text also should do justice to the dark side of Jan Pieterszoon Coen" Part of the new text reads: "Both contemporaries as historians have criticised Coen's extraordinary hard commercial policy. In 1621, Coen captured the Banda Islands with violence, because the local tribes refused to sell their nutmeg exclusively to the VOC. These raids had cost numerous of casualties." On the website of the municipality of Hoorn, J.P. Coen is characterised as a ruthless administrator. "He did not shy away from preaching the superiority of the white race and acted murderous against innocent islanders." The citizens' initiative would prefer to replace the statue or move it to another place, but revising the old plaque is also an option. Next week the city council will vote on the plan.

9) What is your first reaction concerning this discussion about this place of remembrance (lieu de mémoire)?

10) What should be done with the statue? Explain your answer.

11) Is this case useable for your lessons? If you have chosen yes, how would you design your lesson about this case?

CHAPTER 2

2

CHAPTER 3

The Certainty Paradox of Student History Teachers:
Balancing between Historical Facts and Interpretation[3, 4]

Abstract

Teaching interpretational history is known to be challenging for history teachers. This study aimed at understanding how student teachers develop in terms of representing history epistemologically. 13 student teachers were interviewed drawing retrospective storylines. Student teachers reported more factual and less interpretational history teaching than they would have preferred, yet can be influenced in different epistemological directions by their work and learning environment. A prominent finding is that student teachers need to develop confidence in expertise before allowing the "uncertainty" of interpretational history teaching, showing a ´Certainty Paradox´. A case for careful apprenticeship selection and epistemological reflection is made.

Introduction

In the last decade, Dutch history teachers have witnessed a curriculum renewal for upper secondary education towards more emphasis on developing pupils' understanding of history as a form of knowledge with specific disciplinary skills and epistemological problems (Wilschut, 2009b). As a result, teachers in the Netherlands are officially required to teach history in such a manner that pupils are able to develop the epistemological insight that historical narratives are subjective interpretations, made in their own cultural contexts (Board of Examinations, 2013). Moreover, pupils should learn to judge and compare the validity of these interpretations on the basis of disciplinary criteria (Seixas & Morton, 2013; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2011; Wineburg, 2001). The idea that pupils should learn that history involves interpretation has been introduced in the educational curricula of many countries, including the US, Canada, the UK, Australia, and Germany (Erdmann & Hassberg, 2011). For example in a recent publication of the College, Career and Civic Life (2013), a framework for social studies standards in the United States, it is explicitly stated that history is interpretive and that "historical understanding requires recognising this multiplicity of points of view in the past" (p. 47). Still, several studies revealed that many teachers struggle with teaching interpretational history, especially in concrete classroom practice (James, 2008; Martell, 2013; McCrum, 2013).

In the light of the internationally changing curricula it is important to consider student teachers' perceptions and practices, as they will be central actors in future education. The first year of a teacher in the classroom is known to be significant in determining his or her attitudes towards teaching and for developing long-term practice and routines (Flores, 2001; Gratch, 2001; Hawkey, 1996). Several scholars have argued that, once teachers fall into routines of 'traditional' pedagogies with a focus on content, their beliefs and practices hardly change (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Thorton, 1998). Until now it is unclear what factors support or constrain the teaching of interpretational history.

While factors important for the development of student teachers, including both personal and contextual aspects, have been widely studied (e.g. Hammerness et

al., 2005), little empirical research has been conducted to determine whether these factors also impact teachers' epistemological representations of historical knowledge in the classroom. This study therefore investigates student history teachers' representation of historical knowledge during their pre-service teacher education programme, and which factors constrain or stimulate teaching history as *interpretational* as opposed to *factual*. Insight into these factors might help teacher educators to guide student teachers to achieve the new curriculum goals. Before going into the details of our study, we will describe how, from an epistemological perspective, historical knowledge can be represented in different ways. Then we will focus on the awareness of the subjective nature of historical knowledge which has become an important part of many curricula, including the Dutch. Finally, we will discuss factors known to impact teacher learning and development, including teacher expertise and various elements of the work and learning environments.

Factual and interpretive representations of the past

Southgate (1996) proposed that the debate about what historical 'truth' is can be simplified to seeing it as absolute, in the sense that history can be 'truthful', or considering it as relative, meaning that historical knowledge is always mediated. For those who agree that historical knowledge can be 'truthful', history can be condensed to 'historical facts'. Historical knowledge seen from this traditional, historicist and source-driven perspective can be displayed in a single objective and authoritative narrative, representing the past 'as it was'. Yilmaz (2008) proposes that this perspective reflects a more naïve understanding of history and for history education this translates, for example, into a teacher telling one specific narrative with no reflection on the epistemological status of the knowledge.

Various historiographical traditions in the twentieth century have attacked the idea that historical accounts can be truthful and objective descriptions of the past. To begin with, historians related to The Annales School broke with traditional historiography, criticising the idea that there is a one-dimensional time, from past to future, and emphasising the plurality of coexisting times. They changed the focus of history by studying long-term socioeconomic processes of the past rather than

political or diplomatic themes. In essence, it was an analytical history and its methodology was strongly based upon the social sciences. They tried to revitalise the historiographical tradition, but they were still committed to what they understood as a scientific approach to the past, and believed that rational constructions of the past are possible (Burguière, 2009; Iggers, 1997). However, a more radical approach followed The Annales School, taken by historians such as Hayden White (1987) and Keith Jenkins (2003). These historians explicitly challenged claims of neutrality and objectivity in historical research (Kosso, 2009; Southgate, 2009; Yilmaz, 2010). White's and Jenkins' ideas were influenced by post-structuralism, which focuses on the role of language in understanding the past. For example, White points out that historians, when interpreting historical accounts, cannot detach themselves from their own context, meaning that their ideological and theoretical orientation will influence their explanation and construction of the past (1987). It is important to note that White, although often interpreted as a radical sceptic, did not entirely reject historiographical enquiry, with historians being responsible for constructing the past based on the best evidence available (Yilmaz, 2010).

We have recently seen a more pragmatic stance from historians. Levisohn (2010), for example, stated that the past can never be fully represented, as it is always a matter of interpretation. However, building on the ideas of David Carr (1986), he suggested it is important to demonstrate the virtues of interpretation. He stressed that such epistemological grounding is also important for history education, which could otherwise lose its purpose. These ideas are in line with other historians who are taking a pragmatic historiographical position, such as Evans (1997), Iggers (1997), and Tucker (2004), all aiming for relative plausibility by adhering to academically accepted research methodologies. Most researchers in history education seem to adopt this more pragmatic position and advocate that teachers should incorporate epistemological reflection in their lessons, which is not the case in a factual representation of the past. For example, Parkes (2009) proposes a 'critical pluralist' stance towards history, which means the acceptance of narrative diversity in the curriculum and recognizing the inevitable different historical

interpretations, but also learning pupils to make value-judgements about the historical narratives they encounter. Yilmaz (2008) proposes that understanding how different schools of historical thought construct historical explanations is a precondition for history teachers to help pupils to gain a more nuanced understanding of the past.

Researchers in social studies have focused on different aspects of how to make pupils good interpreters. For example, one line of research focuses on pupils' reading of, and epistemological orientations towards, historical accounts. Well known amongst these is Wineburg (2001), who points out that historical thinking can be an 'unnatural act' for pupils, as they do not automatically take a more critical and reflexive position towards the past. Another line of research focuses on how to influence the epistemological beliefs of pupils through instruction. VanSledright (2002), for example, shows that fifth graders can engage in a more interpretative and investigative approach when they are properly trained. Another line of research focuses on the societal benefits of making pupils into good interpreters, because an underlying goal can be to make pupils more humane and tolerant citizens (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Research suggests that teaching interpretation can encourage young people to 'care' for those from different backgrounds (Kolikant & Pollack, 2009; McCully, 2012). Moreover, Whitehouse (2008) proposes that studying different historical interpretations also can help understanding current society and the conditions which have led to it.

The Dutch history curriculum

Comparing historical interpretations became an important part of the Dutch curriculum when Dalhuisen, an influential editor of a Dutch textbook on historical didactics in the 1970s, started to promote the 'methodology of inquiry', an adaptation of what Fenton (1966; 1967) in the US had been propagating as the 'new social studies' (Dalhuisen & Korevaar, 1971; Wilschut, 2009b). However, the 1990s saw a change in public opinion and politicians started to criticise the focus on thinking skills in favour of learning historical 'facts'. A committee led by history professor Piet de Rooy (2001) was asked by the Minister of Education to design a

new curriculum; however, this committee did not produce a list of 'historical facts' but rather a chronological framework of 'orientation knowledge'. The framework consists of ten clear-cut 'eras' with associative names and 49 distinctive 'characteristic features', and was designed with the purpose of providing a cognitive tool that can help pupils contextualise historical phenomena (Wilschut, 2009a). The new curriculum was implemented in 2007, which evoked mixed reactions of educational scholars, historians and teachers. Two important points of criticism concerned the insufficient attention given to the interpretive nature of historical knowledge and the lack of dealing with diachronic developments (History Examinations, 2006; Klein, 2010).

A second committee, appointed by the Minister in 2012, complemented the curriculum with four diachronic 'historical contexts', such as *Germany 1871–1945,* historical themes that cover more eras. A radical change from the committee, de Rooy's proposal was the addition of historical facts and prescribed historical narratives. The second committee also revisited the historical skills and specified the 'interpretive' skills (Board for Examinations, 2013). The new curriculum explicitly states that "pupils should be able to explain by means of concrete examples or source interpretations that historical narratives are constructions of the past" (Board of Examinations, 2013, p. 13). This latter goal echoes a relativist approach, but considering the entire curriculum, the designers seem to promote a more pragmatic position because pupils also have to develop skills to help them to weigh and evaluate different historical interpretations. Moreover, since pupils have to learn historical facts and narratives and simultaneously have to realise themselves that these narratives are interpretations, an epistemological tension is built into the prescribed history curriculum. An interesting question is how student history teachers try to find balance between teaching factual and interpretational history.

Teaching history as factual and interpretational

Student history teachers often enter the teacher education programme with little or no teaching expertise. Several authors have pointed out that becoming a teacher is not a steady growth process, as their beliefs are put to the test, which can

lead to tensions and even can result in practice shock when they are confronted with the everyday realities of teaching (Feiman-Nemser, 2003; Liston, Whitcomb, & Borko, 2006; Veenman, 1984). In this study we are especially interested in student teachers who are in favour of an interpretational presentation of history, and our aim is to determine which difficulties they encounter in realising their educational goals.

Many factors have been suggested that may influence student teachers' teaching. First, there is general consensus that student teachers do not develop in a vacuum, but that they are continuously influenced by their work and learning environments (Flores & Day, 2006; Opfer & Pedder, 2011;), including several actors such as their pupils and school mentor (Van Hover & Yeager, 2004; Moisan, 2010; Monte-Sano, 2011), but also mediating artefacts such as the state curriculum, tests or the school book (Barton & Levstik, 2003; Yeager & Van Hover 2006; Yeager & Davis, 2005; Wilson, Konopak, & Readence, 1994). Lovorn (2012) states that student teachers often conform to 'traditional' expectations, which means that they start to present history just as their predecessors did; as an authoritative narrative based upon facts that have to be remembered.

Second, a teacher's expertise plays a role in teaching history and to teach successfully, teachers have to integrate different types of expertise (Hammerness et al., 2005; Husbands, 2011). One area of teacher expertise involves classroom management, which is one of the most important problems for beginning teachers across the world (Evertson & Weinstein, 2006). Several scholars argue that the pedagogical approach of history teachers is related to their perceived ability to manage a class and their urge to maintain control (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Fehn & Koeppen, 1998; Martell, 2013; Virta, 2002).

Subject matter knowledge is a second area of expertise that entails knowledge about substantive content, procedural concepts and conceptualizations of the discipline. Regarding the latter, Maggioni, VanSledright, and Alexander (2009), Stoddard (2010), and Van Hover and Yeager (2003; 2004) contend that teachers' epistemological beliefs about subject matter can impact their teaching of history. Martell (2013) and James (2008) have shown that limited subject matter knowledge

can result in low teaching confidence, which may result in teachers avoiding difficult epistemological and moral questions.

A third and final area of expertise is pedagogical expertise. In research into history teaching, the concept of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) becomes more prominent. Shulman considered PCK as: "subject matter knowledge *for teaching*" (1987, p. 9). PCK for history consists of different components (Monte-Sano & Budano, 2013). Two important components in relation to this research are as follows. First, teachers have to transform historical knowledge into lessons. VanSledright (1996) points out that student history teachers struggle to make an 'ontological switch', which means having to switch from a focus on historical content to a focus on pedagogy. In line with VanSledright, several researchers found that student teachers struggle to make source-based exercises that could enhance historical interpretation (Seixas, 1998; Martell, 2013). Second, student teachers should learn to identify pupils' thinking about the past. However, research points out that student teachers find it difficult to recognise pupils' disciplinary thinking and are often surprised by the low skill level of the pupils (Johnson & Birkeland, 2004; Monte-Sano & Cochran, 2009).

The present study

In recent years, the Dutch history curriculum has changed and more emphasis has been placed on explicitly teaching an interpretational view of history. This means that teachers have to understand the epistemological discussions underpinning their subject and need to develop pedagogy to teach interpretational history. Despite the fact that student history teachers will play a central role in future history education, little knowledge is available on student history teachers' epistemological presentation of history to pupils. This study aims to fill this knowledge gap by studying the development of beginning history teachers with two central research questions:

1) *To what extent do student history teachers report a difference between their classroom practice and their professional preference with regard to teaching factual and interpretational history?*

2) *What factors constrain or stimulate teachers throughout the year in teaching factual and interpretational history?*

Methods

Context and programme

This study was conducted in a Dutch university-based teacher education programme leading to a teaching degree for upper secondary education. Students first completed a master's degree in history and then participated in this one-year teacher education programme. Student teachers from two out of the six universities offering a history teacher education programme participated in this study. They attended classes weekly at the university on general and subject-specific pedagogy and had their internships in upper general secondary education, preparing pupils for higher vocational education or university studies. During their internships the student teachers were gradually exposed to the teaching profession by giving them more responsibilities as a teacher, including an increase in the number of weekly lessons to be taught.

Respondents

For our study we aimed at questioning student teachers who initially took a pragmatic position, conceiving history as interpretational, yet that historical interpretations should be based on disciplinary criteria. All selected teachers adhered to this position and considered this to be a relevant insight for pupils in history education. Our aim was to ascertain whether they felt able to realize this objective. Therefore, we selected from a prior questionnaire study 13 teachers

amongst 48 student teachers, assuming that this number would be sufficient to lead to saturation of the topics in the data. We chose participants based on their questionnaire answers when they used phrases such as [in history education it is important that] "*pupils have a critical attitude towards sources and that know history is feasible and changeable*." Table 1 shows details of the participants.

Table 1. *Information about participants in the study.*

Teacher	Age	Gender	Teaching Experience
1 Peter	26–30	Male	none
2 Joyce	26–30	Female	1 year
3 James	26–30	Male	days*
4 Betty	20–25	Female	none
5 Mac	26–30	Male	days
6 Aron	26–30	Male	days
7 Mike	26–30	Male	none
8 John	26–30	Male	none
9 Jack	31–36	Male	days
10 Waldo	20–25	Male	none
11 Diane	26–30	Female	days
12 Chris	26–30	Male	none
13 Steven	26–30	Male	1 year

*days: several days experience

Instrument

In order to answer the research questions a semi-structured interview scheme and a storyline instrument were developed. All 13 student teachers were interviewed individually for 45 to 60 minutes (audio-taped) at the end of their teacher education programme (May and June, 2012). To investigate the first research question (*To what extent do student history teachers report a difference between their classroom practice and their professional preference with regard to teaching factual and interpretational history?),* we used the storyline method. Research suggests that teachers' knowledge and beliefs about teaching are tacit, and tenacious (Pajares, 1992). The storyline instrument has been successfully used for knowledge elicitation and studying teachers' learning experiences (Beijaard, Van

Driel, & Verloop, 1999; Meijer, DeGraaf, & Meirink, 2011; Meijer, Oolbekkink, Pillen, & Aardema, 2014; Orland, 2000). A storyline represents a teacher's evaluation of a specific criterion on the vertical line of a graph. The combination with time on the horizontal line makes the self-perceived development on this criterion visible. According to Beijaard et al. (1999), a storyline has several advantages: respondents evaluate experiences themselves, the subjective evaluations can be quantified in order to compare between respondents, and storylines are relatively easy to make and are a creative mode of self-expression. In this research, the respondents were provided with pre-structured graphs showing five different time periods on the horizontal line (representing the duration of the teaching education programme) and a scale from 0 to +60 on the vertical axis (see Figure 1 in the Results section). Respondents were asked first to draw two lines, one indicating attention over time in their classroom practices given to teaching factual history and the second to teaching interpretational history. Zero indicated no attention and 60 very much attention; examples of the storylines are displayed in Section 3.3. To investigate potential differences between their practices and preferences we asked them to draw two additional lines indicating the variation over time of their preference for teaching factual and interpretational history. To investigate which factors constrain or stimulate teaching factual or interpretational history (the second research question), participants were asked to explain changes in their storylines and were given time to elaborate on the different lines a detailed understanding of their considerations. At the end of the interview we introduced three factors related to their work and learning environments suggested in the literature (tests, mentor and teacher education programme) and asked whether these factors had impacted the storylines.

Data analysis

To answer the first research question we calculated for factual and interpretational history teaching the differences in scores between the practice and professional preference lines for all time periods and displayed these for all teachers

in one diagram.

For the second research question each interview was transcribed and the first researcher removed general statements not related to the research question. Then the transcript was divided into segments consisting of one or more sentences representing one chain of reasoning. The segments were grouped into two themes indicating the segment being related with teaching factual or interpretational history. We checked the inter-rater reliability of this segmenting procedure, and a second researcher coded six interviews resulting in an unweighted Cohen's kappa of 0.79.

Next, through open coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2014) segments were grouped into coherent categories per theme. During this analysis we used two sensitizing frameworks: teacher expertise and the work and learning environments that, after a process of axial coding (Boeije, 2010), resulted in a coding scheme including three areas of expertise (i.e., classroom management expertise, pedagogical content expertise, and subject matter expertise) and five factors related to the work and learning environments (i.e. school culture, interaction with pupils, pupils' cognitive abilities, teacher education programme, and teaching artefacts). We selectively coded all interviews and conducted an inter-rater reliability test with a second researcher coding six of the interviews. This test generated an unweighted Cohen's kappa of 0.78. In a second step, the positive and/or negative relation between all factors and factual or interpretational history teaching was coded and conducted a second inter-rater reliability test (i.e., based on six interviews) resulting in an un-weighted Cohen's kappa of 0.79.

Results

In this section we first describe the results referring back to the two research questions and then spell out how the different factors that are associated with the amount of teaching factual and interpretational history are combined in the practices of the student teachers.

Practice and professional preferences

Figure 1 shows the differences over time between reported factual history teaching practice and preference and reveals that most student teachers focus more than they prefer on teaching historical facts specifically at the start of their internship. The difference scores for reported practice and preferred interpretational history teaching (Figure 2) are mostly negative: student teachers focus less on interpretational history than they would prefer and again this specifically applies to the beginning of the school year. A comparison between Figures 1 and 2 shows that the storylines roughly mirror each other and that the participants combine factual and interpretational history teaching during the whole year. This is not surprising as the Dutch history curriculum includes teaching factual as well as interpretational history. Moreover, some respondents explicitly argued that some factual knowledge is conditional for understanding that history involves interpretation. As one respondent stated: *"... they really need to possess some factual knowledge in order to create a basis. Once they have that basis, they can let go of it"*.

Figure 1 reveals that concerning teaching factual history the discrepancy between practice and professional preferences at the beginning and end of the year is the same for five teachers, decreased for four teachers and increased for four teachers. Figure 2 reveals that concerning teaching interpretational history the discrepancies between practice and professional preferences at the beginning and end of the year is the same for five teachers, decreased for six teachers and increased for two teachers. Especially at the start of the year student teachers find it difficult to put their intentions and professional preference into practice.

3

Difference score: factual
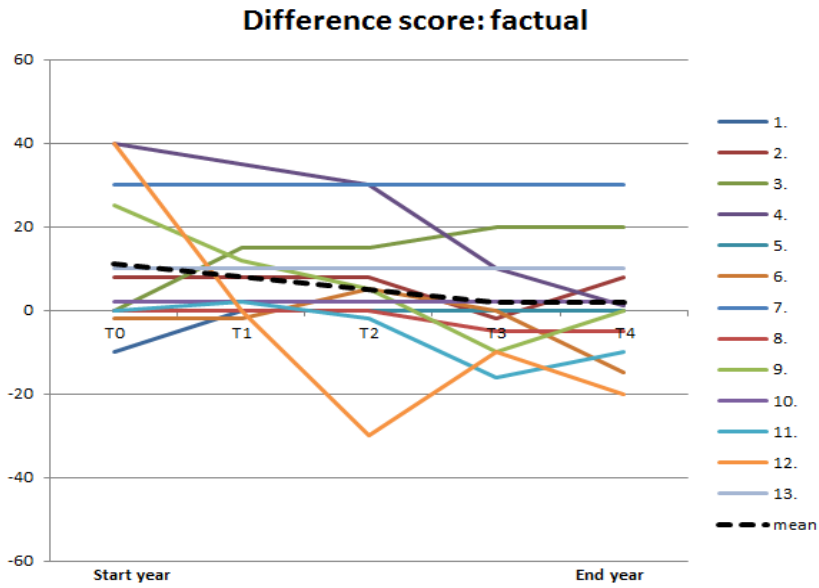
Fig. 1. Difference between reported practice and preferred factual history teaching

Difference score: interpretational
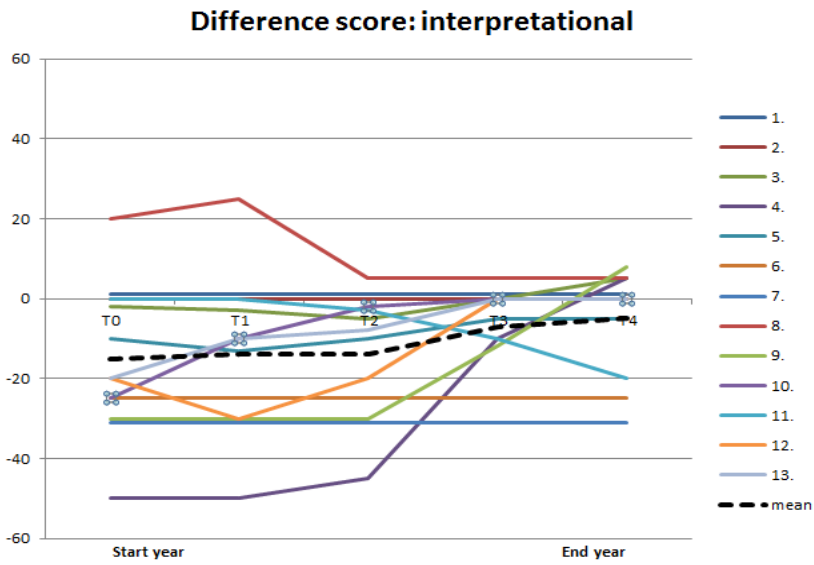
Fig. 2. Difference between reported practice and preferred interpretational history teaching

Factors associated with the amount of factual and interpretational history teaching

Teacher expertise

Table 2 shows that in almost all cases perceived lack of expertise is associated with teaching more facts, and perceived confidence in expertise is associated with more interpretational history teaching. Three areas of expertise were found to be related to the teachers' way of teaching history: classroom management, pedagogical content, and subject matter expertise.

Classroom management expertise

The category 'classroom management expertise' refers to managing a class and creating a (healthy) teacher-student relationship in order to build a safe learning atmosphere. Four teachers mentioned that their beliefs about managing a class and their uncertainty about interpersonal classroom management skills stimulated them to teach historical facts. Betty said: *"Because in my mind I wanted to be a powerful teacher, in terms of leadership, and you may well try to be in control but if you don't have discipline, they will wander off"*. In addition, she said that teaching about interpretation caused *"some kind of dissonance"* in the classroom, which was not the case when merely teaching historical facts. Mac mentioned that he was afraid to question the epistemic status of the history book, because he thought it would undermine his credibility as he was a beginner teacher.

Eight teachers mentioned that creating a good interpersonal relationship with the class and feeling confident about classroom management skills were preconditions for teaching interpretational history. For example, Jack stated: *"Like okay, I am able to convey this in such a way that they understand it, and the same holds for certain techniques that you master, and that makes you much less worried about taking the lead, how you start up or round off, at a certain point you just know how to do that and then you…automatically get more attention for things such as…for your subject: how it is structured?"* Most of these teachers pointed out that focusing on interpretation could cause uncertainty and turmoil in the classroom but, during the year, they became more confident in handling these situations.

Pedagogical content expertise

Pedagogical content expertise refers to facilitating pupils' learning by selecting appropriate teaching and learning methodologies. Eight teachers commented that uncertainty and lack of pedagogical content expertise made them focus on teaching historical facts. For example, John responded thus to the question why he taught many facts: *"As something to hold on to, I think it is easier to discuss facts in your lessons than to, you know, also because it is simply manageable".* Several other student teachers mentioned that teaching facts diminished the uncertainty caused by their need to organise the historical knowledge for themselves and to figure out how to transfer these facts to the pupils. Jack, for example, said that, at the start of the year, designing his lessons consisted merely of selecting historical facts and how to present these to the pupils. Waldo and Mike pointed out that they struggled with the transition between history being taught at a university and at a secondary school. Mike said that his expectations of teaching history were different to the real situation. This was due to differences between the way history is being taught at university and history as being taught at secondary school. He said: "*I started as a historian, and I became a teacher",* meaning that the learning processes of the pupils had become more central in his lessons than 'transmitting' historical facts.

Interestingly, however, Mac and Jack indicated that, along with increasing pedagogical expertise, they started teaching more facts. The reason they gave was that they aimed for teaching history skills, but discovered that their pupils first needed a certain amount of factual knowledge in order to think about history. Mac said: *"Yes, that's the wrong order, I should have made sure first that their foundation was all right and that all of them were familiar with those events".* Jack mentioned he was shocked when, while discussing the historical significance of the attack on Pearl Harbor, a pupil asked who Pearl Harbor was.

Nine teachers said that they struggled with how to teach interpretational history because they felt pedagogically insecure and because they lacked teaching strategies. John said: "*Hmm, yes, I also think it's very difficult to actually make that clear to pupils, to convey it as it were. You know what I mean?"* Several

respondents mentioned that, during the year, they learned about specific tools and teaching strategies that they could use for interpretational history teaching. For example, Aron said that, at the start of the year, he merely had one teaching strategy, which was explicitly telling the pupils that history involves interpretation. However, during the year, his lessons became more interactive. Waldo also said that he had to learn how to structure his lessons and guide pupils towards interpretation. As a student, he worked as a teaching assistant. He said: "*here [referring to secondary school] I need to engage pupils much more, provide more structure, take the lead more [than at the university], and that is difficult when you directly point out that multiple interpretations are possible.*" Several teachers said that at the start of the year they were not aware of the epistemological beliefs of their pupils. Diane said she paid little attention to interpretational teaching: "*because I did not always realise how my pupils differed from me.*" These teachers mentioned that, during the year, it became easier to recognise and respond to pupils' epistemological conceptions of the subject.

Subject matter expertise

Subject matter expertise refers to knowledge on historical content and historiography (including methodological procedures and epistemological considerations). Four teachers said that when they felt unsure about their subject matter expertise they focused on teaching historical facts because teaching facts made them feel more confident or they were afraid of teaching nonsense. Mike said for example: "*Yes, in the beginning I was still very uncertain, you know, about whether the facts that I was conveying were actually correct, that's why I stuck to the story as closely as possible*".

Seven teachers reported that they needed specific and profound content knowledge to teach interpretational history and they only possessed such knowledge for a limited amount of historical themes. Respondent Peter said: "*Yes that happened to be something about which I had followed a course at the university, so that was something I know a lot about and then…*" It appeared that especially

knowledge of the historiographical debate around an historical topic was deemed a precondition for teaching interpretational history.

Work and learning environments

Table 3 shows the factors related to the work and learning environment that can stimulate or constrain teaching factual and interpretational history: school culture, interactions with pupils, pupils' cognitive abilities, the teacher education programme and teaching artefacts. The table shows that individual teachers' environment can stimulate them into different directions simultaneously.

School culture

We defined 'school culture' as the values, beliefs, and goals within the school in which the student teacher is situated. Utterances related to the supervisor, teacher colleagues, and the broader cultural setting of the school were coded within this category.

Four teachers reported that the school culture stimulated them to teach historical facts, which constrained them in focusing on interpretation. Two teachers explicitly mentioned the supervisor as directly impacting their teaching practice. The supervisor of Betty advised her to focus on facts to gain respect in the classroom. Betty quoted her supervisor: *"You really have to make sure to have enough factual knowledge and to show enough factual knowledge in your lessons…because that's when they [referring to the pupils] follow you"*. Diane experienced only limited freedom and felt very restricted at her school, as she had to do exactly what her supervisor told her, which was covering mostly historical content in her lessons. She said: *"I mean, I was simply demanded to, 'I want you to start teaching this' and I couldn't make my own choices about it"*.

Table 2. *Self-reported associations between factual and interpretational history teaching and expertise.*

Teacher	Teaching (more) factual history *associated with expertise*			Teaching (more) interpretational history *associated with expertise*		
	Interpersonal	Pedagogical	Subject matter	Interpersonal	Pedagogical	Subject matter
Peter						+
Joyce	-			+		
James		-	-		+	+
Betty	-	-		+		
Mac	-	- **and** +		+		+
Aron				+	+	
Mike			-	+	+	+
John		-			+	
Jack	-	- **and** +	-	+	+	+
Waldo		-		+	+	+
Diane		-			+	
Chris				+	+	
Steven					+	+
Total	4-	8-/2+	4-	8+	9+	7+

Note: - means a perceived lack of expertise; +means a perceived confidence in expertise.

3

Two respondents described the atmosphere at their school as very 'traditional', referring to the traditional didactic relationship between teacher and pupils and the focus on the transmission of content. For example, Chris outlined that all his colleagues were over the age of 60 and were very rigid in their teaching style. Although he would have liked to focus more on interpretation, he adjusted to the other teachers.

Six teachers mentioned the school culture as stimulating them to teach interpretational history. Four of them reported that the supervisor was a stimulating factor. Mac said that he observed his mentor successfully engaging the pupils in a discussion about the nature of historical knowledge and that this 'best practice' inspired him to focus more on historical interpretation. Waldo received a historiographical book from his supervisor, which included several ideas about how to teach interpretation. This book made him aware that interpretation is something you can do with pupils, as before he thought it was too difficult for pupils. The other student teachers were encouraged to focus more on interpretation in their discussions with their supervisor. Two teachers said that the whole school environment was important and that they were given significant freedom. Joyce said she worked at an 'innovative' school where the pupils worked in large groups and the teacher functioned merely as coach. She described how this school worked according to the 'flipped classroom' principle. This means that the pupils had to watch short videos at home that contained a lot of historical content before these were discussed in class. She said that, due to this principle, she had more time in her lessons to focus on interpretation.

Three teachers described how their epistemological representations were influenced by differences between their supervisor and other history teachers at the school. For example, Waldo described how he and his supervisor focused on interpretation in both their lessons but that the other history teachers at this school did not. This became a problem when a colleague created a test that contained many factual questions; as a result the pupils did not do very well on this test. After this experience, Waldo adjusted his teaching style to the teachers who designed the test. Also, the other two student teachers described that the specific teaching style of the

teacher with whom they interacted had impacted their epistemological representation.

Interaction with pupils

The category 'interaction with pupils' consists of utterances in which the pupils were actively named as an influencing factor. Five teachers said that pupils influenced them to teach facts because the pupils directly requested them to, as they were used to learning facts. Peter said that, in his perception, pupils were more like passive consumers and were not really interested in history. They directly asked for teaching facts in line with the test that mostly contained factual questions. Three teachers said that the pupils reacted rebelliously or became bored when he merely focused on teaching facts. These teachers described teacher-centred lessons in which they used MS Powerpoint for 'transmitting' historical knowledge for the duration of almost an hour. They noticed that, after several lessons, the pupils could not concentrate anymore and became rebellious; one teacher even spoke of a: "*revolt among pupils*". To adapt, the teachers changed their pedagogies, their lessons became more interactive and they started to teach fewer historical facts and their focus on interpretation slightly increased. Eight teachers said that the pupils limited them in teaching interpretational history because they asked for simplicity and 'truth'. These teachers struggled with the uncertain reactions of pupils when they taught that history involves interpretation. Peter explicitly mentioned the reaction of the pupils: *"more like a kind of irritation 'and then you are telling us that you can also look at this differently, or that there are different opinions about that'. So they are not exactly happy about that"*. It should be noted that teachers who especially struggled with interpretational history teaching had to teach classes that were used to a factual representation of historical knowledge. According to the respondents, these pupils were used to a specific teaching style and often did not like change.

Three teachers mentioned the enthusiastic reactions of the pupils when they emphasised that history involves interpretation, which stimulated them to experiment with interpretational history teaching: *"They were enthusiastic and they*

also wanted to understand why it [certain events] happened. And accordingly I was thinking: we will continue this. To boost it some more". It should be noticed that the idea that history involves interpretation was not totally new for these pupils as their previous history teacher had already focused on interpretation.

Pupils' cognitive abilities

The category 'pupils' cognitive abilities' refers to the intellectual abilities of the pupils which influences factual or interpretational teaching. Nine teachers pointed out that they focus less on teaching facts if the cognitive level of the pupils is higher. In addition, 10 teachers stated that, when teaching older pupils they gave more attention to interpretational history teaching. The main argument they provided was that pupils in the upper classes of secondary education have a greater intellectual ability to understand that history involves interpretation. Aron said: "…*upper classes because their cognitive level is further developed. They can reflect on their thinking processes, as 'is this true?'"*

Teacher education programme

The teacher education programme was mentioned as an influencing factor. Mac said that the literature provided by his teacher educator taught him that pupils first need factual knowledge before they can be taught historical skills, which influenced him to teach facts. Two teachers emphasised that the teacher education course helped them to learn about different teaching strategies that helped them to teach fewer facts. Betty stated*: "Here the decline is much stronger as a result of the stimulating effects of teacher education courses for example, and also because I followed some workshops and learned more about teaching methods, etc., and about skills"*. Eight teachers mentioned teacher education as an influencing factor in teaching more interpretational history. All these eight teachers said that the teacher education courses helped them to acquire more specific teaching strategies. Several of these teachers pointed out that the discussions about the purposes of history education also helped them to reflect on their own goals and made them realise that interpretation is an important aspect of history teaching.

Teaching artefacts

Tools that teachers (have to) use in their teaching were categorised within the category *teaching artefacts*. We distinguished three types of artefacts: tests, schoolbooks, and the curriculum. The student teachers associated all artefacts as stimulating factual and constraining interpretational history teaching. Within this category, five teachers reported the school department tests as stimulating them to teach historical facts because these contained many factual questions. As teacher Peter pointed out: *"I think it's very important that they know in which date something happened. No, not that at all. It's more like just pragmatic—the test".* These teachers had to use their supervisors' tests. Six teachers mentioned the history book as stimulating their focus on teaching facts. Three teachers said that the school tests did not contain questions about historical interpretation. Joyce, however, was allowed to make her own test, which enabled her to include questions involving interpretation. Two teachers reported that they strictly followed the history book, which limited them to focus on interpretation. Two teachers said that they felt restricted by the curriculum and therefore had no time for interpretational history teaching. In contrast, two other teachers said that the state curriculum was a stimulating factor to teach interpretational history. Waldo explained: *"The exam curriculum. I didn't know much about that when I started the course. So we dealt with that clearly. And there I realised that I needed to pay more attention to it in my lessons, because it was a really important part of the exam programme".*

3

Table 3. *Associations between factors in the work and learning environments and factual and interpretational history teaching.*

Teacher	Teaching (more) factual history associated with					Teaching (more) interpretational history associated with				
	School Culture	Inter-action with pupils	Pupils' cognitive abilities	Teacher education	Arte-facts	School Culture	Inter-action with pupils	Pupils' cognitive abilities	Teacher education	Arte-facts
Peter			-		+		-	+		-
Joyce	- and +	+	-		+	+	+	+	+	+
James				-	+				+	-
Betty	+	+	-	-		-	-	+	+	-
Mac		- and +	-	+	+		+	+	+	
Aron					+	+	-	+	-	
Mike	-	- and +	-	-			- and +	+	+	
John		-				+	-			
Jack		- and +	-				-	+	+	
Waldo	-	+	-		+	- and +	-	+	+	-
Diane	+	+	-		+	- and +	-	+	+	-
Chris	+		-		+	-			+	
Steven			-			+		+		-
Total	3-/4+	4-/5+	9-	3-/1	8+	4-/6+	8-/3+	10+	8+	6-/1+

Note: - means negative association; +means positive association.

Combined impact of factors over time

As Tables 2 and 3 above indicate, teachers are stimulated in various ways to teach factual or interpretational history. These tables do not give insight into the combined impact of the factors on an individual teacher over time. We will describe therefore the storylines of four teachers to illustrate that factors can either align or cause tension in their impact on teachers' reported practices.
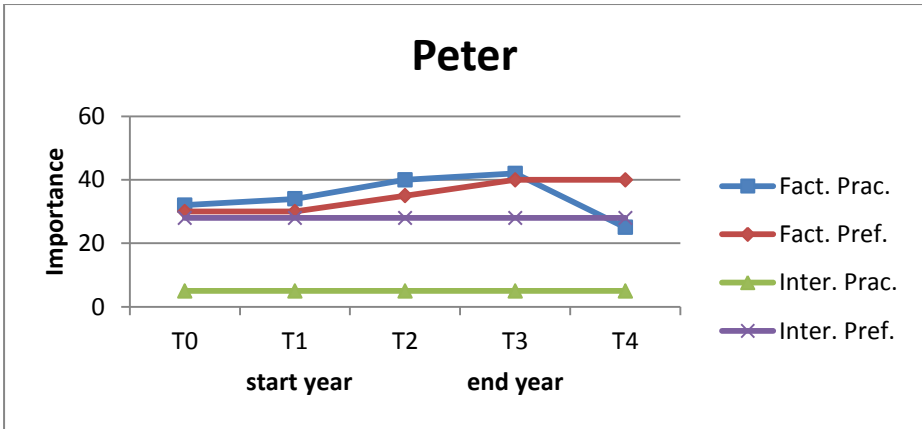
Fig. 3. Sustained factual teaching.
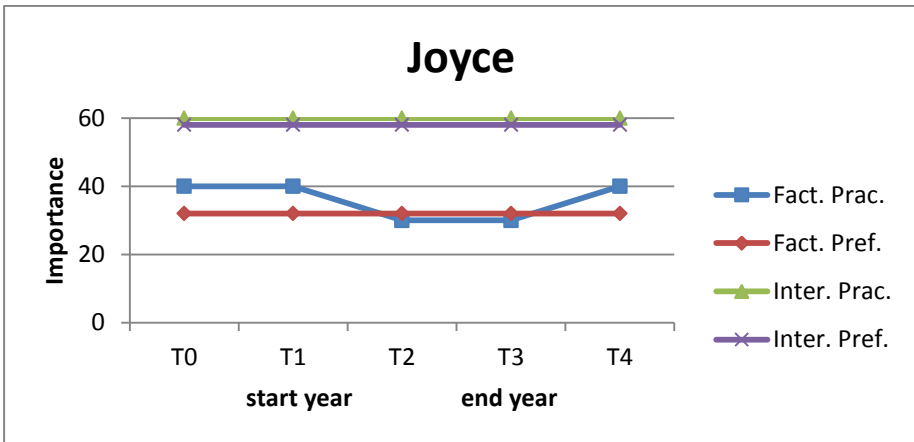
Fig. 4. Sustained interpretational teaching.

Figures 3 and 4 show teachers who use a particular epistemological way of teaching from the start of the year that hardly changes. In the case of Peter the focus on historical facts was dominant throughout the year. Peter said that facts were important because of the school tests: he started to teach more facts because the pupils scored very badly on the factual questions of the first test, which explains the increase in his *factual knowledge* line. Peter drew a stabile low line for interpretational history. He explained that the pupils became frustrated when he taught historical interpretation; moreover, nothing in the school culture stimulated him to teach interpretational history. He experienced time pressure, as he had to cover the whole prescribed curriculum, which made him focus on teaching facts. "*Haha, but it holds you back a little, because you're stuck to a fixed teaching programme and you have to deal with a chapter, and these and those chapters are being tested".* Although Peter said that his professional preferences align more with interpretational history, he accepted that this was difficult within this school and with these pupils.

Joyce reported practices that were aligned with her professional preferences. She reported focusing on interpretational history teaching throughout the year. She had her internship at an innovative school where she was given much freedom to teach in her own way and develop herself. Historical facts were important for Joyce too and for specific themes she focused more on factual knowledge (causing the fluctuations in the storyline) because pupils didn't have sufficient prior knowledge to engage in more complex historical thinking. Interpretational history teaching, however, was her main focus during the whole year. She explained that her supervisor also focused on interpretation and therefore the pupils were already acquainted with ambiguity in history. In addition, she was given freedom to create all her teaching materials and tests.
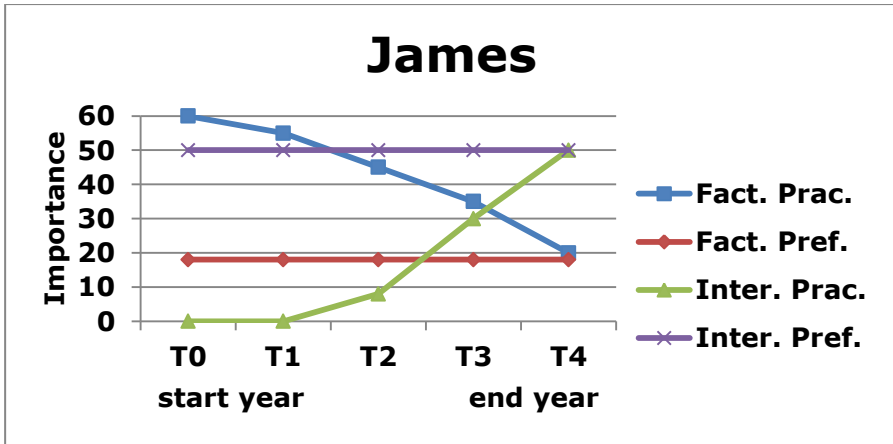
Fig. 5. Gradual development.

Fig. 6. Development full of tensions.

For eight teachers, however, a gradual development towards interpretational history teaching is visible throughout the year. This was not only due to a development of expertise, but also to the environment stimulating particular directions. This development for example in the case of James, took place

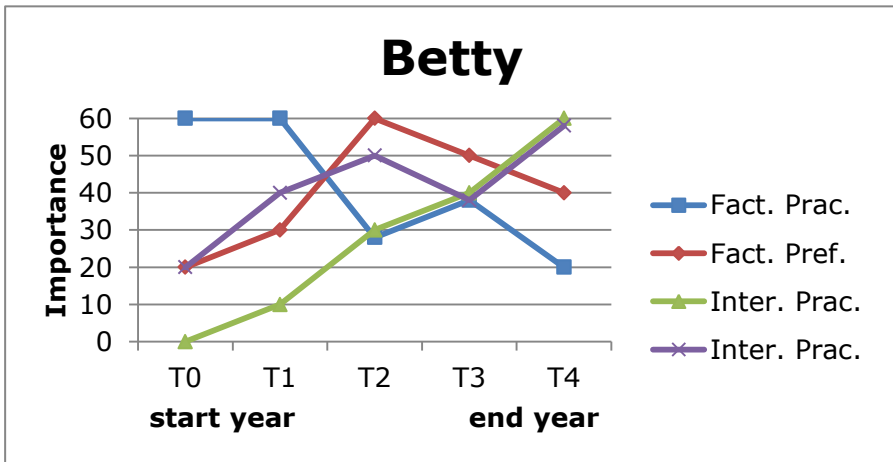gradually, and he explained that at the start of the year he felt insecure and therefore he strictly followed the book and represented the content of the book as facts: *"I have mmm, in the beginning I just followed the book, actually the book simply tells the truth".* It was due to the teacher education course that he learned that it is an important curriculum goal to teach pupils about interpretational history. Moreover, he had to reflect on his teaching goals and practices and in doing so he became conscious of his "uncritical" history teaching. He mentioned that he developed more pedagogical expertise during the year and gained more confidence to teach interpretational history. He said that confidence in subject matter knowledge was an important condition before teaching interpretational history. In contrast to most teachers, James did not mention school culture or the pupils as an influencing factor on his practice.

The development of teaching interpretational history can also be fraught with tension, as the example of Betty demonstrates. Betty described significant classroom management problems during the year. Her supervisor advised her to focus on teaching historical facts, believing that, by telling facts, she would gain respect as an historical expert. Betty also mentioned that the school tests contained many factual questions. During the year, Betty experienced friction between herself and her supervisor, as she wanted to focus more on interpretational history teaching. However, Betty experience is that, if she started to question the epistemic nature of historical knowledge, the class was thrown into turmoil. She described a hostile class environment in which a few pupils were interested in interpretation but these pupils were afraid to actively participate in the lessons. Moreover, Betty pointed out that, at the start of the year, she did not have the pedagogical knowledge to teach interpretational history. However, during the year, via the teacher education programme, she gained more knowledge of different teaching methods, which enabled her to start experimenting with teaching interpretational history. During the interview, she still constantly mentioned the struggle between her own beliefs about dealing with her classroom problems and those of her supervisor. In addition, Betty also struggled with her own epistemological beliefs about what good history teaching is. Betty emphasised the interpretive nature of historical knowledge;

somewhat paradoxically, she also thought that a good history teacher has to know everything in order to act as an authority. She said:*"If I only know one narrative and nothing else, then yes… I am not the history teacher who knows everything which I should actually be."*

Conclusions and Discussion

In the Netherlands, as in many other countries, student history teachers have to master new pedagogies for teaching interpretational history. This study aims to understand how student history teachers currently report representing historical knowledge in their classes and what factors impact the epistemological focus of teaching. To start with, we want to note that factual and interpretive representations should not be seen as dichotomous, as pupils need to have at least some factual knowledge to construct a historical context for interpretation (Havekes, Coppen, Luttenberg, & Van Boxtel, 2012; Lee, 2005; VanSledright, 2010).

The first research question focused on potential differences between teachers' perceived classroom practice and professional preference. Most student teachers report focusing more on teaching historical facts than preferred, especially at the start of their teacher education year. They also report focusing less on teaching interpretational history than they prefer. In the interviews the student teacher pointed out that especially at the start of the year they find it difficult to put their intentions and professional preferences into actions, a problem that Kennedy (1999) called "the problem of enactment". This finding seems to correspond with the body of literature proposing that teachers develop through phases, as for example Fuller (1969) stated moving from an early concern with their "self" and their (in)ability to control the classroom towards more complex teaching skills (which in this research concerns interpretational history teaching). Our findings do not, however, corroborate the idea of a natural, linear developmental path as the interviews revealed that learning to teach interpretational history is also highly situational and continues to be experienced by the student teachers as full of tensions and pitfalls.

The second research question focused on identifying the factors constraining or stimulating student teachers in teaching factual and interpretational history. Two sets of factors impacted their reported practices: teacher expertise and the work and learning environments. We found that perceived lack of expertise is associated with more factual teaching. In line with previous research, several student teachers reported that at the start of the year they were overwhelmed and reverted to practices that felt safe (Moir, 1999; Veenman, 1984). A strong focus on teaching factual history felt safe because this allowed the student teachers to represent the past in a predictable and unambiguous way "as it really was", thereby avoiding difficult epistemological questions from the pupils.

As opposed to the case of factual history teaching, more interpretational history teaching is associated with perceived confidence in expertise. In line with results by Martell (2013), we found that student history teachers have to feel confident in their classroom management expertise to counter their fear that they cannot control the class during whole class discussions. In addition, the lack of pedagogical expertise constrained the teaching of interpretational history because the student teachers did not have sufficient knowledge of specific teaching methods. Therefore, we agree with Martell (2013) that teacher educators should provide practical tools and teaching methods about how to teach interpretational history. We agree with VanSledright (1996) that student teachers have to make an 'ontological switch', which means that many student teachers fundamentally have to revise their thinking about instruction. We found several examples of student teachers who expressed 'traditional' instructional beliefs resulting from their educational experience as a student at the university. We do not deny the benefits of teacher-centred teaching and lectures, but we agree with Windschitl (2002) that student teachers have to learn multiple teaching strategies to actively involve pupils into interpretation. However, a focus upon pedagogical expertise is not sufficient. Several respondents report that they perceived having confidence in their own subject matter knowledge, and especially knowledge of specific historiographical debates as a condition for teaching interpretational history. In line with Yilmaz (2008), we propose that teachers need to have sophisticated epistemic understanding

of the nature of the discipline themselves if they are to teach effectively interpretational history. In accordance with several authors, we therefore suggest that historiographical training is important for history teachers (Fallace & Neem, 2005; Parkes, 2009; Whitehouse, 2008). Several examples of these trainings have already been developed and described (Fallace; 2007; Lovorn, 2012; McDiarmid & Vinten-Johansen, 2000). Drawing upon these examples we suggest that in such training teachers should be actively be engaged in historiographical debates and translating these debates to the classroom practise.

An important result of this study is that student teachers want to feel certainty based on a sense of confidence in their own expertise before engaging pupils in the uncertainty inherent in interpretational history. This result leads to a remarkable paradox, which we here refer to as the 'Certainty Paradox' of student history teachers: (factual) certainty is needed to be able to cope with and engage in (interpretational) uncertainty. Interestingly, this shows that teachers might easily and perhaps counterproductively convey their own psychological need (i.e., for certainty) to their pupils.

Besides expertise we found five different factors related to the work and learning environments that influenced student teachers' teaching, including school culture, pupils' cognitive abilities, interaction with pupils, the teacher education programme, and teaching artefacts. It is well known that the school culture, and specifically the supervisor who is part of that, plays an important role in the development of teachers (Hobson, Ashby, Malderez, & Tomlinson, 2009; Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2002). Our results show that the supervisor can also impact teachers' epistemological focus in teaching practice by emphasising that factual or interpretational history is important. Our finding that the cognitive abilities of pupils can also impact the epistemological focus of history teachers is also in line with the literature. Moisan (2010) for example found that teachers generally consider upper secondary education easier for teaching interpretational history than lower levels because of the higher cognitive abilities of the pupils. In addition to this we found that pupils can also have an active role in constraining or stimulating the teaching of interpretational history, as interactions with pupils were reported by history teachers

3

to impact their behaviour. Several teachers mentioned that their pupils gave the impression that interpretations were too difficult or that facts were too simplistic. It is not clear to what extent pupils have explicitly mentioned this, or whether teachers have concluded this based on pupils' reactions in the classroom. In line with previous research artefacts such as the curriculum, school tests, and the history book directly impacted the reported practices (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Mayer, 2006; Monte-Sano, 2011; Yeager & Davis, 2005). We found that student history teachers perceived the artefacts mainly as constraining them in teaching interpretational history, and as influencing them to teach factual history. Whereas the school as a working environment was not necessarily defined as stimulating in one specific epistemological direction, the teacher education programme was exclusively associated with interpretational history teaching.

When looking at the work and learning environments of individual student teachers it becomes clearer how a teacher can be stimulated in a single direction (to either teach factual or interpretational history) or in conflicting directions. When stimulated in a single direction, a teacher may feature a particular epistemological way of teaching from the start, which hardly changes. In some cases, however, tensions were found within the teachers' reported practices. We found several cases in which the student teacher described socio-cultural differences between the teacher education programme and the actual school context that led to so-called 'discrepancy experiences' or tensions between the idealistic notions of the teacher education programme and the pressure from schools to rely on traditional patterns (Brouwer & Korthagen, 2005; Cole & Knowles, 1993). It is important that teacher educators, in allotting student teachers to schools, deliberately take into consideration the school's orientation in history teaching. As this study makes clear, a training place can either stimulate or frustrate the initial preference of the student teacher. As a case can be made for both the usefulness of alignment (i.e., safety, confidence) and of tensions (i.e., awareness of different teaching realities, reflexivity) for teachers' development, it might be wise to have two or more apprenticeships during teacher education, as this might provide a basis for student

teachers to discuss teaching orientations and the impact of work and learning environments on a meta-level.

For our study we used the storyline method. The student teachers appreciated the method as it helped them to structure their experiences over time. For us, it allowed us to retrospectively distil the development of student teachers, without potentially impacting it along the way. Nevertheless, a simultaneous disadvantage of the storyline method is that it requires a respondent to think about a long period of time; student teachers might gloss over important aspects, and their reports are limited by the limitations of a person's conscious self-knowledge (Conway, 2001). Moreover, Nisbett and his colleagues have pointed out that people do not always know wat influences their behavior (Nisbett & Ross, 1980). We acknowledge these limitations of self-reported data. Barker, Pistrang and Elliot (2002) propose that the most important problem of self-reported data might be that people are not always truthful. Given that the new Dutch curriculum explicitly focuses on teaching history as interpretation, it might be the case that student teachers are more inclined to draw lines favouring interpretational history teaching. Therefore the student teachers might have provided more idealised versions instead of their actual teaching practices (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Kennedy, 1999; VanSledright, Kelly, & Meuwissen, 2006).

A challenging task for further research would be to study whether the 'Certainty Paradox' also applies to experienced teachers. What considerations do experienced teachers have before teaching interpretational history, and more specific, what content do they find appropriate for teaching that history is a construction? In doing so we might gain more insight into more subject-specific considerations of teachers and how they try to strike a balance between facts and interpretation.

CHAPTER 3

3

CHAPTER 4

Topic variability and criteria in interpretational history teaching.[5, 6]

Abstract

This paper studies the teacher perceived applicability of historical topics for interpretational history teaching and the criteria teachers use to evaluate this applicability. For this study, 15 expert history teachers in the Netherlands striving for interpretational history teaching were purposefully selected. Teachers were asked to mention historical topics using a ranking task technique to rank topics in order of applicability and to elaborate on how the topics were ranked. The results showed a large variation in perceived applicability among topics, both within and between teachers. Eight different topic-applicability criteria were discerned in the teachers' elaborations: (1) topic knowledge; (2) topic affinity; (3) topic constructedness; (4) topic de-constructability; (5) topic abstractedness; (6) topic sensitivity; (7) topic materials; and (8) topic inclusion in the history curriculum. We found that teachers tended to judge topics as applicable for interpretational history teaching partly depending on the degree of 'canonised interpretativity' in lesson materials and the curriculum, and to the degree to which they belonged to 'cold' (morally neutral) or 'hot' (morally sensitive) history. A theoretical implication of the findings is that interpretational history teaching is topic dependent. Teachers can be supported to teach history as interpretation by structured pedagogies.

Introduction

In the past two decades, developing pupils' historical and epistemological reasoning has become more central in history education (Clark, 2009; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2011; Wineburg, 2001). Specifically, more emphasis has been placed on the way in which historical narratives are subjective, that is, resulting from interpretations by specific actors and scholars in and over time, meaning that multiple perspectives on history may co-exist. It is then argued that pupils need to learn to judge and compare the validity of existing interpretations based on disciplinary criteria (Levisohn, 2010). This emphasis on what we call 'interpretational history' is now visible in the educational curricula of many countries, including the US, Canada, Australia, the UK, the Netherlands and Germany (Erdmann & Hassberg, 2011).

Research has shown that many history teachers struggle with teaching interpretational history; for such teaching, they not only need a sophisticated epistemic understanding of the nature of the discipline themselves, but they also require expertise on how to present and achieve such understanding amongst pupils (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Monte Sano, 2011; Wilson & Wineburg, 1993; Wineburg 2001). Previous research has shown that besides teachers' expertise factors related to their work and learning environment (i.e. school culture, pupils' cognitive abilities, curriculum; tests and schoolbooks) can constrain or stimulate interpretational history teaching (Barton & Levstik, 2003; James, 2008; Martell, 2013; Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016).

The various factors affecting the realisation of interpretational history education have been identified regardless of the specific subject matter to be taught. Up till now research on interpretational history teaching mainly assumes that teaching interpretational history is independent of historical topic. This assumption can be questioned because studies on sensitive history have shown that teachers' epistemological representations of the past may vary across topics (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2010; Salmons, 2003). Studies have shown how interpretational history depends on the relation between the topic and a teachers' (national and ethical)

identity, especially when the teacher feels emotionally connected to a certain topic (Zanazanian & Moisan, 2012; Zembylas & Kambani, 2012). Despite these indications that the historical topic matters in how interpretational history teaching takes place, the role of topics have not been explicitly considered yet in research on interpretational history teaching. One way to address the role of topics is to examine which topics history teachers perceive as applicable and which criteria they use to evaluate this applicability of topics in interpretational history teaching.

Theoretical framework

Historical thinking and epistemology

'School history' has long been associated with memorising factual knowledge, representing closed narratives consisting of 'objective facts' (Klein, 2010; Van Drie, 2005). Scholars consistently argue that the function of these 'closed narratives' is to justify the nation-state's existence and to provide cohesion to a national group and its identity (Barton & McCully, 2005; Bekerman & Zymbilas, 2010; Carretero, 2011; VanSledright, 2008). When history is represented as a 'closed narrative', teachers' come to function as epistemic authorities, transmitting the historical 'facts' and, in doing so, pupils are not given the opportunity to explore alternative ways of knowing.

In the last two decades, many researchers in history education promoted a shift towards historical thinking or reasoning (Lévesque, 2008; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2002). Although there is no clear definition of historical thinking, it is generally associated with coming to understand the inquiry-based and rigorous methodology of historians (Maggioni, Alexander, & VanSledright, 2009; Wineburg, 2001). There is a growing body of research investigating the epistemological beliefs of teachers and pupils, as beliefs of both actors are expected to influence pupils' historical thinking. Generally, epistemological beliefs refer to conceptions of the nature of knowledge and knowing (Pintrich, 2002). Building upon the ideas of Perry (1970), many scholars in the domain of history education distinguish between less and more sophisticated beliefs (Fallace & Neem, 2005; Lee & Ashby, 2000; VanSledright & Reddy, 2014).

Well-known is the study of Maggioni et al. (2009), describing a three-stance model in which pupils can develop from a copier stance (historical knowledge is a 'copy' of the past) to a relativist stance (historical knowledge is merely a matter of opinion), and from a relativist to a criterialist stance (historical knowledge is interpretative, but also restrained by disciplinary criteria). Interpretational history teaching can be considered an educational activity geared towards "criterialism", in producing thinkers who can critically reflect on the diverse ways in which human groups and societies make sense of time and place (Chapman, 2011). Historical thinking is not an easy task; as discussed by Wineburg (2001); it can even be considered an 'unnatural act' for pupils as they do not automatically take a critical and reflexive position towards the past. Rather, pupils hold tacit assumptions about history based on everyday epistemologies that are difficult to change, being taught from an early age onwards to focus on the reproduction of events and historical details (VanSledright, 2002).

In a previous article we have argued that there is an epistemological tension in the Dutch history curriculum as it simultaneously focuses on learning prescribed historical narratives (i.e. reproduction) and on learning about the subjective and interpretational nature of such narratives (Wansink, Akkerman, Vermunt, Haenen, & Wubbels, 2017). This epistemological tension is reflected in the ongoing debate about the goals of history education in the Netherlands with, somewhat dichotomized, on the one hand proponents of defining and passing on a shared body of historical knowledge for all pupils (i.e. focus on reproduction and re-construction, see for example www.entoennu.nl) and on the other hand proponents of historical thinking skills (i.e. interpretation and deconstruction of history). It should be noted that the proponents of historical thinking skills often do not deny the importance of learning historical facts and narratives, but they typically do not consider this a goal in itself. Rather they tend to see facts and narratives a starting point for questioning and further reasoning (Havekes, Arno-Coppen, Luttenberg & Van Boxtel, 2012). Due to a recent curriculum change in the Netherlands, historical interpretation has become a more explicit aim of Dutch history education as reflected for example in the examination programme stating

that pupils should be able to explain by means of concrete examples or source interpretations that historical narratives are constructions of the past', (Board of Examinations, 2013, p. 13). The emphasis on historical interpretation can also be seen in other countries. For example in the United States, the recent College, Career and Civic Life framework for social studies standards (C3, 2013) explicitly states that history is interpretive and that 'historical understanding requires recognising this multiplicity of points of view in the past' (p. 47). Noteworthy is that the aforementioned curricula do not specify relevant topics for historical interpretation, implying that such interpretation should be a generic educational aim across topics. This challenges teachers to decide themselves when to teach prescribed narratives and when to deconstruct them as interpretational.

Teaching interpretational history

Epistemological beliefs do not develop in a vacuum, and history teachers can affect pupils' ideas about the nature of historical knowledge (VanSledright, 2002). However, as VanSledright (2008) discusses, for most history teachers in the US the goal of teaching history is to teach 'common historical knowledge' so as to transmit culture and create a national identity. It is argued that when teachers want to develop pupils to become interpreters, teachers have to realise that focusing on common history and national identity is limiting, as such a focus typically pertains to a fixed interpretation of the past (Den Heyer & Abbot, 2011) and is not likely to challenge pupils' intuitive conceptions of history (Wineburg, 2001).

Research shows that interpretational history teaching is not an easy task for teachers (Barton & Levstik, 2003; James, 2008; Martell, 2013). Building on this research, in a previous study (Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016), we identified factors stimulating or constraining teaching interpretational history, pertaining to teachers' expertise and the work and learning environment. More specifically, three types of expertise appeared particularly important in relation to interpretational history teaching. First, teachers must have adequate classroom management expertise for discussions and for dealing with pupils' uncertainty during interpretational history teaching. Second, teachers must possess sufficient historical

content knowledge. This is in line with the research of James (2008), who found that limited historical content knowledge results in low teaching confidence and in avoiding difficult epistemological questions. Third, limited pedagogical expertise can constrain teaching interpretational history, as teachers must have sufficient knowledge of specific teaching methods and the ability to identify the epistemological stance of the pupils. This finding corresponds with the findings of other researchers who show the importance of pedagogical content knowledge for history teaching (Martell, 2013; Monte-Sano & Budano, 2013; Monte-Sano, 2011).

With respect to the work and learning environment of teachers, we found that a teacher's context can both constrain and stimulate interpretational history teaching (Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016). We found that prospective teachers' educational practices can be strongly influenced by the school culture (i.e. the values, beliefs and goals set by the school) in which they have their first work experience. To start teachers give more attention to interpretational history teaching when the cognitive level of the pupils is high. In line with Barton and Levstik (2008) we found that teachers may experience lack of time for interpretational history teaching, because they feel they need to cover the history curriculum. Moreover, we found that the teachers were sometimes influenced by the tests that seldom contained questions related to historical interpretation, especially when 'teaching to the test'. And last, corresponding with previous research, we found that teachers relied heavily on the schoolbook that mostly constrained interpretational history teaching (Yeager & Hover, 2006; Martell, 2013).

Given all the research on interpretational history teaching mentioned above, it is remarkable that the role of historical content has not been studied yet in interpretational history teaching. Studies investigating the teaching of sensitive and controversial history, however, suggest that teachers' approaches to interpretational history teaching may depend on historical content. Parts of history may be experienced as more sensitive than others due to, for example, religious differences or because of currently perceived unfairness to other persons in the past (Savenije, Van Boxtel & Grever, 2014). Sheppard (2010) described sensitive history as a social construct, emphasising three features: (1) the topic is often a traumatic event;

(2) there is a sense of identification between those who consider or study history and those who are represented; and (3) there is a moral response to the topic. Such sensitivities may also concern the teacher. A study of teachers' perspectives on teaching about the Holocaust in culturally diverse classes showed several teachers feeling too emotionally involved in the subject and not wanting to upset their pupils by teaching about such a sensitive topic (Pettigrew, Salmons & Foster, 2009). Zembylas and Kambani (2012) highlighted the importance of emotions of history teachers when teaching controversial issues, specifically how teachers in Cyprus felt emotionally discomforted when teaching about the controversial 'Cyprus problem' in the context of the powerful nation-state structure.

Besides some historical topics being more generally controversial and sensitive, a teacher's own identity can play a role in how they perceive and may represent history in teaching. For example, Bekerman and Zembylas (2010) showed that history teachers in Israel often remain firmly anchored in the hegemonic historical narratives of their own community, thereby constraining critical and competing narratives. In addition, Zanazanian and Moisan (2010) described how teachers tend to focus on those events that are historically significant according to their group's collective memory and, in so doing, quest for a positivist-type, true and objective view on the past.

Although studies on teaching sensitive and controversial history suggest that historical topics matter in how teachers tend to teach, we do not yet know how teachers perceive the applicability of historical topics for interpretational history teaching, specifically what the criteria are that history teachers use to evaluate whether a topic is applicable to present as an historical interpretation. Such insight might give a further, more varied, understanding of the reported difficulties in interpretational history teaching. This leads to two research questions:

1. How applicable are various historical topics for interpretational history teaching according to expert history teachers?
2. What criteria do expert history teachers use to evaluate the applicability of historical topics for interpretational history teaching?

4

Table 1. *Participant information*

Teacher	Gender	Experience in years	School type	Period focus during university study
1. James	Male	5	Regional School	Early Modern History
2. Chris	Male	19	City School	Modern History
3. Waldo	Male	35	Regional School	Modern History
4. Diane	Female	26	Regional School	Middle Ages
5. Luke	Male	12	Regional School	Education & Communication
6. Walter	Male	25	Regional School	Modern History
7. Michael	Male	17	Regional School	Modern History
8. Bill	Male	11	Regional School	Early Modern History
9. David	Male	8	City School	Modern History
10. Edmund	Male	14	City School	Germany Studies
11. Alan	Male	6	City School	Classical History
12. Lee	Male	4	Regional School	(Modern) Political History
13. Kenneth	Male	11	Regional School	Modern History
14. Kathy	Female	26	Regional School	Modern & International history
15. Emily	Female	17	City School	Early Modern

Methods

To answer the research questions, 15 Dutch history teachers were purposefully selected (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007) based upon three criteria. First, we selected teachers in upper-class secondary education, as the Dutch curriculum for this level of education explicitly aims at interpretational history teaching. Second, the teachers needed to have at least four years of experience to assure that typical classroom management problems of beginning teachers (Koetsier, 1995) would not interfere with challenges related to interpretational history teaching. Finally, we aimed to select teachers who were favourable to interpretational history teaching, and who were recognised for their expertise in interpretational history teaching. History teacher educators from five university-based teacher-education institutes were asked to propose teachers who met the three criteria. Twenty-five teachers were nominated and approached, of whom 15 teachers were available and included in this study.

Data collection

Teachers were interviewed using a semi-structured interview including a card-ranking task designed for this study. The interviews lasted between 50 and 70 minutes. The card-ranking task is an established research method for knowledge elicitation in various fields of study such as psychology, sociology, and education (Feldman & Kropf, 1999; Friedrichsen & Dana, 2003; Hewson & Hewson, 1989). The main purpose of our ranking-task was to classify the degree of potential applicability of a historical topic to teach pupils that history involves interpretation. We measured topic applicability by means of two continua on which teachers had to place historical topics. The first line indicated which historical topics teachers thought were appropriate for interpretational history teaching, with the left end of the line representing not appropriate and the right end representing completely appropriate. The second line represented teachers' self-reported use of the topic to teach interpretational history, with the left end of the line representing no use at all and the right end representing frequent use.

The ranking-task consisted of two parts. In the 'open task', the teachers were free to choose approximately seven or eight topics; in the 'closed task', the researcher introduced seven topics. The seven topics were selected to cover a variety of core themes of the Dutch history curriculum, relating to various eras in history and various degrees of sensitivity. Two topics concerned the Holocaust and slavery, both referred to in the literature as sensitive (Kinloch, 1998; Salmons, 2003; Savenije, Van Boxtel, & Grever, 2014). A third topic concerned the Dutch Revolt that is typically perceived as "the Dutch Tale of Origin" and, therefore, related to the Dutch identity (Meesbergen, 2014). The fourth topic concerned the Reformation which is directly related to religious beliefs. Finally, the Cold War, the Early Middle Ages and the Roman Empire were selected as topics ranging in time from more recent to distant.

After a brief explanation of the purpose of the research and the two tasks, the teachers started with the 'open task'. In this open task, teachers were asked to write down freely chosen topics on blank cards to be placed on the continua, each time first considering placing the topic on the continuum representing appropriateness, and then considering the same topic on the continuum representing self-reported use. An example of a completed ranking-task can be found in Appendix 1. During this procedure, teachers were asked to think aloud and were given time to elaborate for a detailed understanding of their criteria. The researcher asked questions to stimulate elaboration (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013), such as; 'why did you put that card there?'

After the 'open task', the researcher introduced the seven topics and started the 'closed task'. Again, the teachers were asked to place the seven topics on the two continua and explain the criteria used after determining the appropriateness and use of a topic for interpretational history teaching. After the ranking task was completed, the teachers were asked to overlook the card-ranking task and to give their opinion on the card-ranking technique.

Data analysis

To answer the first research question, we quantified the data of the open and closed ranking tasks. Because the continua in the ranking-task were not divided in separate parts we first gave the historical topics a number according to the relative position of the cards on the continuum using a 10-point scale ranging from one, indicating not appropriate/not used, to 10, indicating highly appropriate/frequently used for interpretational history teaching. The results were entered into SPSS. For the predefined topics in the closed task, we calculated the correlation between the perceived appropriateness and self-reported use in the lesson (both scales ranging from 1–10), as both were intended to measure the perceived applicability of topics for interpretative history teaching. We found a high correlation ($r = 0.81$, $p = \leq 0.001$) showing considerable overlap, but also separate contributions of the two ways of operationalising topic-applicability.

In order to answer the second research question, first relevant 'units of meaning' were identified (Chi, 1997). In this study these units concerned text fragments containing a reason given by the teacher for a perceived degree of applicability (i.e. in terms of perceived appropriateness and/or self-reported use) of a topic. In the first phases of open and axial coding, 63 different criteria were identified across 356 text fragments. After the process of axial coding, a final coding scheme of eight categories of topic-applicability criteria was defined and agreed upon by all authors (cf. Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Finally, all text fragments were selectively coded using the final coding scheme (Danzin & Lincoln, 1994). We found both positive and negative formulations of criteria. A positively formulated criterion concerned a reason for teachers to consider the topic as applicable and negatively as not applicable. For example, a respondent could have an affinity (positive) or no affinity (negative) for a certain topic, both indicating that affinity is a relevant criterion. All eight categories of topic-applicability criteria were found in both the open- and closed-ranking task. For reasons of comparability, we focus in the results on the closed task in which all teachers ranked the seven topics that were provided. We checked the inter-rater reliability of the eight criteria for the closed task (i.e. containing 200 segments). An independent researcher was

trained to use the codebook and coded all interviews resulting in an un-weighted Cohen's Kappa of 0.88. Simultaneously, we checked the inter-rater reliability of the decision if a criterion was positively or negatively formulated resulting in a satisfactory unweighted Kappa of 0.96.

Results

Results of the open ranking task

Table 2 shows the freely chosen topics and the individual scores on the two continua, revealing the number of various topics that were chosen (82). Most topics (n=29) were situated within the 20th century, and the least (n=6) were situated within the 'long nineteenth century'. The chosen topics differed in specificity and in duration of the period. The topics differed in perceived applicability, as the topics were ranked significantly different on both continua, ranging from one (not appropriate) to 10 (highly appropriate), and from one (no self-reported use) to 10 (frequently self-reported use). The topic that was consistently seen as highly applicable (i.e. highly appropriate and used) was the Dutch Revolt and related persons and events (n=9, see numbers 23 to 27). In addition, the Cold War (n=6) and World War I (n=5) were seen as highly applicable, but one teacher ranked the Cold War as inappropriate and another ranked the self-reported use of the World War I as low. Most reported applicable topics (>6, n=21) were situated within the 20th century.

The topics that were almost consistently seen as not highly applicable were prehistory (n=3) and The Enlightenment, although both topics where by one teacher ranked as applicable. Most topics that were perceived as not highly applicable (score <5) were situated in Classical Antiquity and in the Middle Ages. Teachers strongly differed in their perception of how applicable more sensitive topics were, such as Armenian Genocide (n=3) and the Holocaust (n=3). Thirty-five different topics were only named once showing the diversity among chosen topics.

Table 2. *Overview of open task: free chosen topics and their appropriateness and self-reported use*

Period	Topics	N	Topic-applicability			
			Appropriateness		Self-reported use	
			<5	6>	<5	6>
20th Century	1. Conflict in Israel	1		10		10
	2. Cold War	6	3	10/10/9/10/8	3/3	10/10/10/8
	3. My Lai	1	1		2	
	4. Dutch East Indies	1		10		8
	5. Decolonisation	1		8	5	
	6. Jacopse en Van Es	1		9		10
	7. Politics After WWII	1		9		9
	8. WWII	3		10/10/9		10/10/9
	9. Holocaust	3	1	7/8	1/5	8
	10. 1930's (Germany)	2		10/9		10/9
	11. World Economic Crisis	1	1		1	
	12. WWI	5		6/10/10/9/10	3	10/9/9/10
	13. Armenian Genocide	3	1/1	7	1/1/5	10/9/9/10
		N=29	N= 8	N=21	N=11	N=18
Long Nineteenth Century (1789–1914)	14. La Belle Époque	1		8		8
	15. Social Issues of the 19th Century	1		10		10
	16. Industrial Revolution	2		8/6	4/1	
	17. French Revolution	1		8	1	
	18. Democratic Revolutions	1		10		10
		N=6	N=0	N=6	N=3	N=3
Early Modern Period 1450–1750	19. Scientific Revolution	1		9	3	
	20. Slavery	2		9/8		10/8
	21. The Enlightenment	4	5/2/2	9	5/4/2	8
	22. Overseas Explorations	1	1		1	
	23. Dutch Revolt	5		9/9/8/9/10		10/7/6/9/10
	24. Dutch Revolt and John Dryden, 1673	1		10		10
	25. William of Orange	1		6		6
	26. William of Orange and Reformation	1		10		10
	27. Dutch Iconoclasm	1		9		8
	28. Reformation	1		9		9

4

	2 N=20	5 N=5	6 N=15	5/2 N=7	N=13
29. Renaissance					
Middle Ages 5th–15th Centuries					
30. Crusades	2	1	8	5	8
31. Investiture Controversy	1	2		2	
32. Investiture Controversy and Feudalism	1	3		3	
33. Feudalism	1	2		1	
34. Charlemagne	1		8		8
35. Bonifatius	1		10		10
36. Time Era 3 and 4 (500–1500 A.D.)	1	1		1	
37. Islam		4		2	
	N=9	**N=6**	**N=3**	**N=6**	**N=3**
Classical Antiquity 600 AD					
38. Res Gestae Divi Augusta	1		10		10
39. Classical Antiquity	2	2	10	5	10
40. Greece	1		9	3	
41. Egyptians	1	3		5	10
42. Lascaux	1		10		
43. Neanderthaler	1	5		5	10
44. Time Era 1 (100,000–3000 B.C.)	1	4/3/1	10		
45. Prehistory	4		9	1/3/3/1	10
	N=12	**N=6**	**N=6**	**N=8**	**N=4**
Miscellaneous					
46. Institutional Structures	2	1/3		1/3	
47. Jesus and Mohammed	1	1		1	
48. National Identity	1		7		7
49. Nationalism			10		10
50. Classification of Time	1		7		7
	N=6	**N=3**	**N=3**	**N=3**	**N=3**

Results of the closed ranking task

Table 3 shows the results for appropriateness and use of the closed ranking task. The differences between the means and standard deviations show the variation of the applicability of the different topics. The mean of the continuum appropriateness was, for all topics, higher than the mean of self-reported use. This difference might be explained by the perceived limited amount of time for interpretational history teaching, with teachers reporting a feeling they need to cover a substantial number of topics in the year program. The Dutch Revolt was consistently seen as the most applicable topic, given the high means and low standard deviations on both continua (i.e. degree of appropriateness and amount of use). In addition, the Cold War was perceived as highly applicable, although the standard deviation was considerably higher than for the Dutch Revolt. The topics that were seen as least applicable were the Early Middle Ages and the Roman Empire, but the relatively high standard deviations of these two topics revealed that there were teachers who ranked these topics as rather applicable (James and Bill the Roman Empire and Chris, Bill and Katy the Early Middle Ages). The teachers ranked the applicability of the Holocaust in an extremely diverse manner. The mean of the continuum appropriateness was high (8.0), but the standard deviation was also high. This high standard deviation results from the fact that two teachers (Michael and James) ranked the Holocaust as not appropriate (ranking: 1), and three teachers (Michael, James and Alan) ranked the Holocaust as not used in their lessons (ranking: 1). However, 10 teachers ranked the Holocaust as highly appropriate (ranking: 9 /10), and eight teachers conveyed high self-reported use in their lessons (ranking: 9/10). The teachers also strongly disagreed on the perceived applicability of the topics Reformation and slavery (the ranking on both continua appropriateness and used ranged from 1–10).

Table 3 shows also large variations in individual teachers ranking of various topics. For example, Waldo and Bill both had a mean above nine regarding self-reported use (9.3 and 9.1, respectively), whereas Alan had the lowest mean for self-reported use (2.9).

Table 3. *Overview of closed task: given topics and their appropriateness and self-reported use*

	Roman empire		Early middle ages		Reformation		Dutch Revolt		Slavery		Holocaust		Cold War		Appropriate Mean SD	Self-reported use Mean SD
	A	S	A	S	A	S	A	S	A	S	A	S	A	S		
James	10	10	8	8	1	1	10	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	4.6	4.6
Chris	1	2	10	10	7	7	8	9	7	6	10	10	10	10	6.9	7.7
Waldo	10	10	1	5	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	8.7	9.3
Diane	3	1	3	2	8	3	9	8	7	3	8	8	10	10	6.9	5.0
Luke	6	3	7	1	9	6	6	2	7	4	9	10	10	9	7.7	5.0
Walter	8	6	2	3	10	9	8	5	10	10	7	8	10	10	7.9	7.3
Michael	5	2	8	9	10	9	9	8	8	8	1	1	8	9	7	6.6
Bill	10	10	10	10	6	4	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	9.4	9.1
David	6	5	7	6	3	2	9	7	7	2	10	6	8	4	7.1	4.6
Edmund	7	5	3	2	7	7	8	9	7	7	10	9	10	10	7.4	6.7
Alan	4	1	6	3	9	6	9	7	7	6	10	1	6	1	7.3	2.9
Lee	3	2	3	3	8	8	10	10	8	8	7	7	7	7	6.6	6.4
Kenneth	9	4	7	7	10	10	8	8	7	7	9	10	7	6	8.1	7.4
Katy	2/10	2/10	9	9	7	8	9	9	10	10	9	9	3	3	7.6	7.6
Emily	4	3	4	6	6	2	6	4	8	5	9	9	8	8	6.4	5.3
Mean	6.1	4.6	5.9	5.6	7.4	6.1	8.6	7.7	7.6	6.5	8.0	7.3	7.8	7.2		
SD	2.9	3.2	3.0	3.1	2.6	3.0	1.3	2.4	2.2	3.0	3.0	3.5	2.7	3.4		

A = appropriateness, S = self-reported used in the lessons

Eight criteria of topic-applicability

We distinguished eight categories of criteria underlying the teachers' perceptions of topic-applicability in interpretational history teaching: (1) topic knowledge; (2) topic affinity; (3) topic constructedness; (4) topic de-constructability; (5) topic abstractedness; (6) topic sensitivity; (7) topic materials; and (8) topic inclusion in the history curriculum. For several criteria, both positive and negative considerations were mentioned, illustrating the importance of the criterion for applicability.

Topic knowledge

Four teachers pointed out that a historical theme was applicable when they had sufficient historiographical and factual knowledge of the specific historical theme (i.e. positive consideration). Kenneth, for example, said that he listened to an audiobook that described the Spanish perspective on the Dutch Revolt. He pointed out that the book was interesting and made him aware of the Spanish interpretation of the Dutch Revolt. This book caused him to contrast the Spanish and Dutch interpretations of the Dutch Revolt. During the interview, Kenneth explained that substantive knowledge was a precondition for teaching different historical interpretations. Bill said that he had a lot of knowledge of the Dutch Revolt because he completed his PhD on this topic, and he considered it his 'territory'. Therefore, this topic was highly applicable for his nuanced history teaching. The interview with Bill further testified his extensive knowledge of the Dutch revolt, as did his reference to several of the

historians who contributed to the debates (whom he knew personally), thus showing his awareness of different historiographical debates.

Five teachers expressed the importance of topic knowledge in negative formulations. When they did not have sufficient knowledge of a topic, they perceived the topic as less applicable for interpretational history teaching. For example, Michael mentioned, regarding the Holocaust: *'It may be that I am not sufficiently specialised in that topic.'* Another example is Kathy, who found the Reformation less applicable, explaining that this was due to her lack of knowledge

4

on the details of the Reformation. We found an indirect indication of expertise being an important criterion of topic applicability for two teachers, Bill and Waldo, who ranked all topics as being applicable, and who differed from the other teachers, as they held their PhDs in history.

Topic affinity

Three teachers pointed out that an historical theme was applicable when they felt an affinity for the specific topic (i.e. positive consideration). For example, Luke stated that he thought the Cold War was highly applicable because he liked to teach about the topic. In addition, four teachers expressed that no affinity for a specific topic could be a consideration to find a topic less applicable for teaching interpretational history (i.e. negative consideration). Emily explained that when she had no affinity for a topic, in her case, the Early Middle Ages, it could harm her teaching: '…*but it is not my favourite time, I don't find it very interesting, then it just doesn't work well. I just don't like it that much.'*

Topic constructedness

Twelve teachers pointed out that a historical theme was applicable when they perceived the topic as a good example of a 'construction' in itself (i.e. positive consideration). Lee thought that the Reformation was highly applicable, as the concept of Reformation was a retrospective invention. He said, '*Only afterwards [the period] the word 'reformation' was invented and used for the events that happened. Therefore, it is easy to explain that the reformation is a construction.'* James and Chris mentioned that they thought that the Early Middle Ages as a concept was highly applicable, as the term 'Middle Ages' was invented later, during the Renaissance.

Five teachers said that certain topics were less applicable because these topics were perceived as more 'factual', making it difficult to provide another interpretation of the topic (i.e. negative consideration). For example, Alan described that he thought that the Holocaust was less applicable (than other topics): '*Concerning the Holocaust, in fact, it is believed worldwide that the events*

happened and that they were terrible.' In addition, Kathy said that that when she taught about the Reformation, she focused on facts and dates. She said that these historical events were not constructions, but were based upon facts: '*Therefore, it is more difficult. It is not so much a construction, but it is really more a list of facts.'*

Topic de-constructability

All teachers pointed out that a historical topic was applicable when they saw opportunities to de-construct the topic for pupils to show its interpretative nature (i.e. positive consideration). As a pedagogy, most teachers presented conflicting historical accounts in order to create cognitive friction within pupils. Alan said that topics were most applicable when it was easy to identify different interpretations within the topic. In line with this argument, Chris said that the Cold War was highly applicable, as it was relatively easy to discuss different perspectives: there was an explicit tension between the Western and Eastern Blocs. Other topics that were often referred to were the Reformation (Catholics versus Protestants) and the Dutch Revolt (Spain versus the Dutch Republic). Waldo said, for example, about the Dutch Revolt: *'The given that a Spaniard, a Catholic is wrong and that a Dutchman, a reformed is right, is a black and white image that asks for nuances.'* These examples address clear oppositional perspectives and are intensively debated in historiographical discussions according to the teachers.

Five teachers said that certain topics were less applicable because there was no strict dichotomy between two parties or a tense historiographical debate (i.e. negative consideration). Emily, for example, said that the Roman Empire was less applicable because she thought it was difficult to have multiple perspectives on this topic. Alan pointed out that the Middle Ages was less applicable because he thought that there was not an intense historiographical debate on the Middle Ages that currently creates societal arousal.

Topic abstractedness

Seven teachers mentioned that a historical theme was applicable when the topic was understandable and not too abstract for pupils (i.e. positive consideration),

meaning that the topic had to be imaginable, typically putting in favour those topics that were closer in historical time. Luke said, *'Yes perhaps the closer it is to our time, the better the pupils*

can create an image about that time.' Diane said that the Cold War was highly applicable because this event did not happen long ago and there are still traces of the Cold War in the present. Luke said that his pupils were more motivated to engage in interpretation when they felt emotionally related to the topic: when the topic connects with the social environment of the pupils.

Conversely, six teachers expressed that certain topics were too abstract for pupils (i.e. negative consideration). Emily said that the farther the topic went back in time, the more difficult and less imaginable it was. Likewise, David said that the Early Middle Ages was extremely abstract for pupils, making interpretative history teaching about this topic too difficult for students.

Topic sensitivity

Thirteen teachers pointed to sensitivity being an important criterion, but in a contradictory way: a historical theme was judged applicable when the theme was morally sensitive (eleven teachers) or when it was neutral (two teachers). The latter two teachers said that topics that were morally neutral, or non-sensitive, were more applicable for interpretative history teaching, as these topics created little arousal in the classroom (i.e. positive consideration). For example, Michael said that the Dutch Revolt was highly applicable because it was not overly sensitive for pupils. *'I do not think it is sensitive. I do not see the sensitivity, so I find this really an applicable topic....'*

In the other eleven cases, teachers judged a topic applicable when it was sensitive, typically because it allowed them to teach about the moral implications of history and discuss the underlying values (i.e. positive consideration). Michael pointed out that slavery was highly applicable because it was sensitive. *'Yes, the topic is sensitive, but that is not a reason not to teach about it; on the contrary, it is a good reason to treat it extensively in class.'* He wanted to historically contextualise slavery by making clear why people in the past had slaves and why

we now think this was morally wrong. Similarly, Bill described a discussion in his class on who was responsible for slavery and whether it was necessary for the Dutch government in the 21st century to make excuses.

Conversely, six teachers expressed that certain topics were too morally sensitive to discuss different interpretations (i.e. negative consideration). The elaborations during the interview indicated that this did not mean that these teachers did not discuss these topics in class, but that, when they did so, they were careful when discussing different interpretations. James, for example, said that slavery was not applicable because *'it is better not to nuance certain topics such as the Holocaust and slavery.'* Five teachers referring to topics as morally too sensitive mentioned the Holocaust as an example.

Topic materials

Thirteen teachers mentioned that an historical theme was applicable when historical sources or pedagogical materials about the specific topic were available (i.e. positive consideration). For example, Walter stated that many sources were available about the Cold War, which made it easier to design lessons about interpretations. He said, '*There are many [historical] sources available that can make it clearer (and better to understand) for pupils.'* Waldo said that it was helpful that he collected different sources during his career: '*I merely have to grab my materials on slavery and the project of class 2V and then I have many sources at hand.'* Other teachers mentioned that they used pedagogical materials that were already made by experts. For example, David mentioned that he used materials based on Active Historical Thinking method, an approach which focused on historical thinking strategies and was developed in the Netherlands by Havekes, DeVries and Aardema (2010) based on the work of David Leat (1998).

Conversely, six teachers considered a historical theme less applicable when they did not have easy access to historical sources or pedagogical materials about the topic (i.e. negative consideration). Alan said, *'Let me put it like this; some sources that contain inherent*
discussion are not easily accessible. Sources must be easily accessible.'

4

Topic inclusion in the history curriculum

Six teachers mentioned that a historical theme was more applicable when the topic was included in the official history curriculum (i.e. positive consideration). Edmund and Kathy mentioned the Reformation and the Cold War as being an extensive part of the history curriculum and, therefore, they took more time to teach in depth about these topics. Seven teachers expressed that a historical theme was less applicable when the topic was not included in the history curriculum, as this meant that they did not have time for more in-depth teaching about the historical theme, consequently focusing mainly on teaching historical facts (i.e. negative consideration). Edmund, for example, said that he had no time for interpretation when teaching about the Early Middle Ages: *'Unfortunately, the Early Middle Ages is a period that we are passing quickly in order to spend more time on other periods.'* Diane mentioned that, when she taught about the Reformation, interpretation was only a small part of her lessons because the curriculum made her focus on other, more 'factual', aspects. Luke stated that he thought that the Roman Empire was highly applicable, but that the state curriculum constrained him from teaching interpretational history. *'It is applicable…but I never get around to teaching it. I just leave it then.'*

Table 4. *Teachers' criteria if a specific topic is applicable for interpretational history teaching*

Topic	Dutch Revolt		Roman Empire		Early Middle Ages		Reformation		Slavery		Holocaust		Cold War		Sum		
Applicability	Most applicable		Least applicable		Least applicable		Miscellaneous		Miscellaneous		Miscellaneous		Miscellaneous				
Topic	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	N*
1. Knowledge	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	5	
2. Affinity	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	4	
3. Constructedness	2	1	1	2	3	0	2	1	0	0	2	1	2	0	12	5	
4. De-constructability	12	0	3	2	5	1	9	3	7	1	7	1	10	0	53	8	
5. Abstractedness	1	1	2	2	0	5	0	3	0	0	3	0	2	0	8	11	
6. Sensitivity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0/1*	0	4	1	5	5	2/1*	0	11	6	2*
7. Materials	8	0	5	2	4	3	5	0	4	1	6	0	3	1	33	7	
8. Curriculum	2	0	0	6	0	4	1	0	3	3	1	1	2	1	9	15	

P = positive association, N= negative association, * Neutral

4

Relation between perceived applicability and criteria

Table 4 provides insight into the perceived applicability of topics and related criteria: topics with high means and low standard deviations (as shown in Table 3) were most applicable, and those with low means and low standard deviations (as shown in Table 3) were least applicable; teachers disagreed when standard deviations were high. First, the Dutch Revolt was, on average, seen as the most applicable topic. Table 4 shows that 12 teachers mentioned a positive relation between The Dutch Revolt and their ability to de-construct this topic in order to create lessons about interpretation. Moreover, eight teachers had pointed out that historical sources and other pedagogical materials about the Dutch Revolt were relatively easy to access. None of the teachers mentioned this topic as morally sensitive.

Table 4 further shows that, on average, the Middle Ages and the Roman Empire were perceived as least applicable. These scores were a result of six teachers saying that the Roman Empire was only a small part of the history curriculum and four teachers saying that the Early Middle Ages were a small part of the history curriculum. This meant that they felt that they did not have much time to teach about these two topics. Moreover, five teachers expressed that the Early Middle Ages were difficult to comprehend for pupils because the topic was extremely far away in time and, therefore, exceedingly abstract for pupils.

Finally Table 4 shows that teachers differed in how applicable they thought the topics Reformation, Slavery, the Holocaust and the Cold War were. Slavery and the Holocaust were perceived as sensitive and, therefore, provoked different reactions by the teachers. The teachers especially disagreed about the applicability of the Holocaust. Seven teachers indicated that the Holocaust was applicable because of its de-constructability. Alan, for example, discussed with his pupils how countries, such as Iran and Israel, currently perceive the Holocaust differently. David used the Holocaust to teach his pupils to take the perspective of the different historical actors involved and to contextualise their behaviour and actions. Five teachers said that the Holocaust was a good topic to discuss moral values. For example, Chris said he thought that it was important that pupils thought about

everything, including '*the dark side of the good*'. In relation to the Holocaust, in class, he discussed controversies about the number of victims of the Holocaust. Interestingly, during the interview, Chris apologised for doing so by pointing out that discussing the Holocaust as a historical construct might be inappropriate. Chris' goal was to show the pupils that the sacredness and intangibleness of the Holocaust were culturally constructed. He said, *'Since the Holocaust is sacred, the moment you criticise it, it is possible to show its sacredness.'* Emily said that teaching the Holocaust from multiple perspectives was highly important, but was simultaneously difficult for her, as she works at a multi-ethnical school. As a teacher, several times, she was confronted with pupils who denied the Holocaust. She described how she struggled to react appropriately to these pupils. She pointed out that, in her classes, multiple interpretations could be discussed; however, the perspective of total denial of the Holocaust was not tolerated. During the interview, Emily explained the internal friction she felt concerning interpretational history teaching. On one hand, she wanted to be a history teacher and de-construct the past; on the other hand, she pointed out that, especially for non-Western pupils, some constructions of the past were exceedingly valuable to them. She said, '*But, I also love these children with their own story, their nationality, the things that they inherit. And then I think, "Who am I to throw their entire worldview completely upside down?"'*

Five teachers explicitly questioned the applicability of the Holocaust for interpretational history teaching. For example, James pointed out that, for him, the Holocaust was a moral anchor point. He said, *'I think one should not put it [the Holocaust] into perspective by saying that history is a construction. The Holocaust should be presented as it is; a low point in our history.'* Michael pointed out that pupils should be told that the Holocaust was a terrible event, and explained that it was difficult to have any other interpretation: '*Yes, is there any serious alternative interpretation concerning the Holocaust? Well, that is my perspective.'*

Conclusion and discussion

In this study we questioned the applicability (i.e. degree of appropriateness and use) of various historical topics for interpretational history teaching according

to expert history teachers. We found that topics differed in perceived applicability for interpretational history teaching. Teachers mentioned many different topics that were perceived as less or as more applicable. In the closed ranking-task, most teachers distinguished between the topics they considered applicable or not, while some teachers ranked almost all topics as highly applicable. Based on the teachers' elaborations, we discerned eight criteria that the history teachers used to evaluate the applicability of a topic. (1) topic knowledge; (2) topic affinity; (3) topic constructedness; (4) topic de-constructability; (5) topic abstractedness; (6) topic sensitivity; (7) topic materials; and (8) topic inclusion in the history curriculum.

The topics mentioned as being more or less applicable, remarkably related mostly to the 20th century. This can be understood when considering the two criteria that were mentioned for these topics: topic knowledge and topic affinity. Regarding topic knowledge, history education of the teachers seems to be an important factor, as testified by eight teachers who studied modern history at the university. Several teachers pointed to knowledge and affinity as being related, describing how they were often more motivated to gain knowledge about a specific topic when having affinity with this topic. Whereas previous research suggests topic knowledge to be a central pre-condition for interpretational history teaching (Martell, 2013), we found it being mentioned only nine times. A possible explanation might be that teachers are less aware of this criterion for the topics in the closed task, as these are included in the history curriculum and about which teachers therefore have already considerable knowledge.

Although teachers strongly differed in what topics they judged as more applicable, we found that a few topics were consistently perceived as applicable in both the open and closed task. For example, The Dutch Revolt was almost uniformly perceived as applicable. We have conceptualized this phenomenon as 'canonised interpretativity', what means that often the same topics are used to explain how positionality in time and place influences one's perspective on the past. For example, in public discourse, school methods and other pedagogical materials the Dutch Revolt is often framed within a discursive framework that focuses on

emphasizing how historical narratives are subjective, resulting from interpretations by specific actors in and over time.

In addition, the results show that there are topics that were nearly uniformly perceived as less applicable. For example, the Middle Ages were perceived as not applicable, because the topic is considered too abstract for pupils (criterium 1 topic abstractedness), is lacking sufficient historical sources for teaching (criterium 2 topic materials), and not fitting aside the history curriculum (criterium 3 topic inclusion in the history curriculum). In order to teach the Middle Ages in an interpretative way, curriculum designers should make this topic a larger part of the curriculum. Moreover, in line with Martell (2013), we propose that a database filled with materials and historical sources can help teachers in terms of designing their lessons and making the topic less abstract for pupils.

There were also a few topics that teachers disagreed about in terms of applicability for interpretational history teaching. These were more sensitive and controversial topics, such as The Holocaust. To further explore these disagreements, we will use a metaphor of cold and hot history. Among others, Lorenz (1995) and Goldberg, Schwarz and Porat (2011) used the metaphor of hot history, which refers to history in which parties still have a stake because individuals and groups are attached to the historical representations of this part of their past. The classical idea is that hot historical topics first must cool down in the passing of time before historians can rationally and academically approach the topic. Lorenz (1995) questions this conventional wisdom, as the Holocaust is currently still an example of hot history, even heating up while time passes. In line with Salmons (2003), we found that the Holocaust is 'hot' for several teachers. Due to their emotional involvements, these teachers explicitly focused on moral goals. Wansink et al. (2017) discussed that moral goals are strongly related to a 'fixed' representation of the past, as values are mostly not historically contextualised or spatially situated, but considered to have a timeless validity. In that way, moral goals might constrain interpretational history teaching. Some of the teachers showed what Maggioni and Parkinson (2008) conceptualised as a 'double epistemic standard'. For example, James was epistemologically aware that narratives about the Holocaust were based

upon interpretations, but he chose to represent the Holocaust as a fixed narrative, as he had an explicit moral goal with his lesson. It should be noted that what counts as 'hot history' is bound in time, place and culture; therefore, which areas of the past are perceived as sensitive history will vary in different educational settings and moreover depends on teachers' identity (Sheppard, 2010). Goldberg (2013) showed that when a sensitive historical topic evokes moral reactions amongst pupils, such reactions might constrain their further consideration and awareness of multiple interpretations of this topic. We therefore propose that teachers who aim at interpretational history teaching but lack expertise in this, can most easily start with cold history.

Finally, the finding that not all topics in the history curriculum are taught as interpretation illustrates that teachers have preferences for presenting specific historical topics as interpretation. Teachers seem to be inclined to favour topics that are 'canonised' as interpretation and are more cautious to use sensitive topics for interpretational history teaching. When choosing their topics it is important for teachers to be aware that they function as epistemic authorities (Raviv, Bar-Tal, Raviv, Biran, & Sela, 2003). If they want their pupils to become criterialist thinkers (Maggioni et al., 2009), they have to realise that making epistemological choices for their pupils is not only an ideological matter, but might also constrain their pupils' epistemic autonomy. An interesting socio-political question is how teachers' preferences relate to the social, cultural and political aims of history education, as history curricula tend to prescribe what pupils should 'remember' of the past (Thelen, 1989). Besides, it seems reasonable to have also societal discussions about the extent in which interpretational history teaching should cover all historical topics, but also the extent in which we want such decisions to be the individual and intellectual freedom of history teachers.

There are several implications following from the results of this study with regards to favourable conditions for interpretational history teaching at topic level. First, it seems more likely that topics are treated as interpretations if these have been included in the history curriculum. Second, topics can be more explicitly presented as an interpretation in lesson materials and other pedagogical materials that teachers

use. Preferably such 'canonisation' should not be to abstract for pupils and should avoid controversiality that goes beyond teachers' and pupils' comfort level. Despite these concrete suggestions, one can also question whether it is desirable to incorporate more 'canonised interpretativity' in a history curriculum because of the guiding effect this collective, semi-official history might have. The pedagogical consequences of 'canonised interpretativity' are paradoxical. It helps teachers in teaching interpretational history, but also limits the amount of different interpretations and local aims and choices of teachers.

For this study, we used a ranking-card method. The teachers appreciated the method, as it helped them structure the different topics and make their underlying criteria explicit. For us, it helped make visible the variability among the different topics. We expect that a ranking-task can also be a helpful instrument for investigating teacher beliefs also in other domains. Nevertheless, a disadvantage of the ranking-task is that it can be unnatural for teachers to speak about their practice in this way. In designing such a task the unit to be ranked can vary. In our study we have chosen to study topics to be more or less applicable for interpretational history. However, narrative entities can be broken down in smaller events, such as actions of historical figures, or historical movements that may or may not be suitable for interpretational history. Future research might focus on variability of applicability and use of events within one topic.

The current research has been carried out in the Netherlands. Therefore the findings of what topics are 'canonised as interpretation', or what counts as 'hot' or 'cold' history cannot be easily generalized, as these concepts are context specific and culturally bound. It seems plausible that the criteria that teachers use to evaluate if a topic is applicable for interpretational history teaching can be generalized to other countries, but to prove this further research is needed. It might be of interest to further investigate the concept 'canonised interpretativity' in relation to other subjects. For example, do teachers of other subjects also use the same examples when focusing on epistemology and the interpretive nature of knowledge? Other future research could move into three directions: first, it would be interesting to compare what historical topics are 'canonised as interpretation', and what history is

perceived as 'hot' or 'cold' cross-culturally. Second, for improving practice it is relevant to study history teachers in their daily practices while teaching interpretational history to learn more about the pedagogies they use. Third, it would be particularly interesting to observe teachers teaching interpretational history using 'cold' and 'hot' history in different contexts. Such a study might give us more insight in what (moral) dilemmas and practical difficulties teachers experience when teaching 'hot' history. Such insight might help designing courses to help teachers teaching 'hot' history. It is important for the quality of history education to provide teachers with such course. These can make them able to teach pupils that these topics can be approached from multiple perspectives and thus diminish the chance they avoid 'hot' history.

Acknowledgements

Appendix 1

Visualization of a ranking task

The top ranking line (A) represents the appropriateness continuum and the bottom line (B) the actual use continuum. The post-its without the white labels are the freely chosen topics, the post-its with the white labels in line A are the pre described topics for appropriateness and the post-its with the white labels in line B are the pre described topic for actual use. In the middle is a white card on which is written: Pupils should be able to explain by means of concrete examples or source interpretations that historical narratives are constructions of the past' (Board of Examinations, 2013, p. 13).

4

4
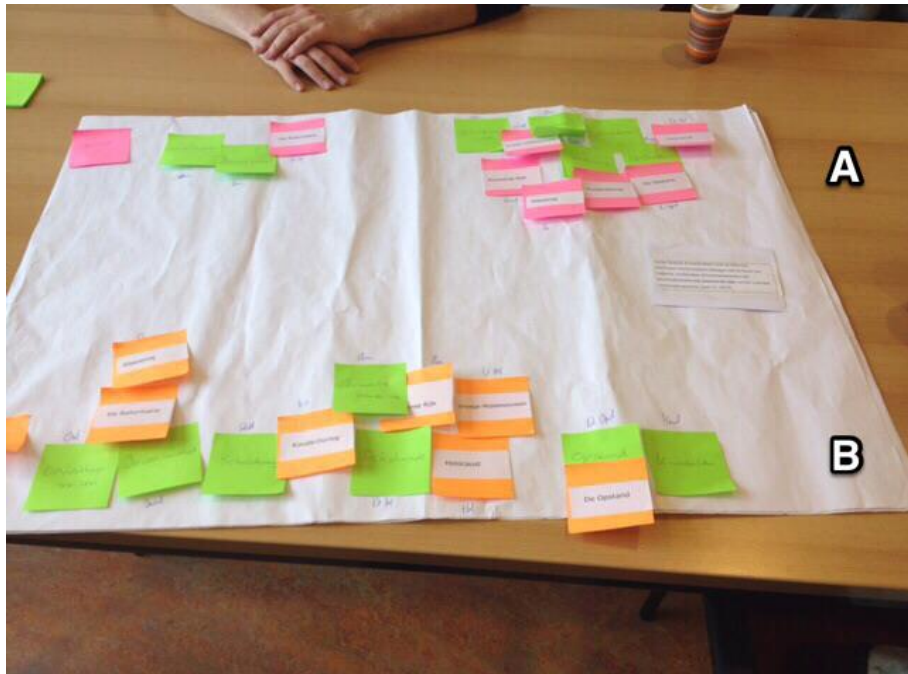
CHAPTER 5

Where does teaching multiperspectivity in history education begin and end? A temporal analysis[7,8]

Abstract

This study reports on the way five expert history teachers address multiperspectivity in three deliberately designed lessons and their underlying considerations for addressing subjects' perspectives in different temporal layers. Lessons studied covered three topics ranging in moral sensitivity (i.e., the Dutch Revolt, Slavery, and the Holocaust). After observing and filming the lessons, the teachers were interviewed. We analysed the lessons using a theoretical framework in which we distinguished three different temporal layers of perspective (i.e., in the past; between past and present; in the present), each with its own educational function, respectively: historical perspective taking, historiographical perspective taking, and contemporary perspective taking. Teachers appeared to address multiple temporal layers and functions of multiperspectivity in almost all of their lessons. However, teachers' focus on temporal layers and function differed between lessons. Four categories of considerations for or against introducing specific subjects' perspectives were found: functional, moral, pedagogical, and practical. Moreover, teachers engaged in "normative balancing", which means that not all perspectives were perceived as equally valid or politically desirable, thereby showing where multiperspectivity ends.

---

[7] This chapter has been submitted for publication as: Wansink, B.G.J., Akkerman, S., Zuiker. I., & Wubbels, T. *(submitted)*. Where teaching multiperspectivity in history education begins and ends: a temporal analysis.

[8] Acknowledgement of author contributions: BW, SA and TW designed the study, BW, recruited participants and collected the data, BW, IZ and SA constructed the coding scheme. BW and IZ analyzed the data, BW drafted the manuscript, all authors contributed to critical revision of the paper, TW and SA supervised the study.

Introduction

Over the past 25 years, the term multiperspectivity has gained importance in history education (Bergman, 2008; Grever & Van Boxtel, 2015; Stradling, 2003). In the context of history education, the notion of multiperspectivity refers to the epistemological idea that history is interpretational and subjective, with multiple coexisting narratives about particular historical events, rather than history being objectively represented by one "closed" narrative. Several researchers have proposed that such an interpretational approach to history education should go beyond relativism by teaching students to judge and compare the validity of different narratives using disciplinary criteria (Levisohn, 2010; Seixas, 2015; Stoel et al., 2017; VanSledright, 2011; Wineburg, 2001). Nowadays this notion of multiperspectivity is prominent in the educational curricula of several countries, including the US, Canada, the UK, the Netherlands and Germany (Erdmann & Hassberg, 2011).

Although multiperspectivity is increasingly emphasised, research has shown that many history teachers struggle with addressing multiple coexisting perspectives. Where such teaching is concerned, they need a sophisticated epistemic understanding of the nature of history as well as pedagogical expertise on how to achieve such understanding among students (Barton & Levstik, 2003; James, 2008 Martell, 2013; Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016a). Moreover, research has shown that teachers do not perceive all topics as equally suitable for teaching multiperspectivity. Teachers might perceive topics such as the Holocaust as being too controversial for addressing multiperspectivity in the light of their personal moral values (Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016b).

Despite the growing plea for multiperspectivity in history education, we lack empirical evidence on the practice of teaching multiperspectivity, arguably because an operationalisation of multiperspectivity seems to be missing. The aim of the present study is threefold. First, we aim to operationalise multiperspectivity in history education by proposing a theoretical model of temporality and by according the educational functions of multiperspectivity. Second, we aim to explore what forms and functions of multiperspectivity teachers address in lessons that vary in

topics and in perceived sensitivity. Third, we aim to explain patterns in teaching multiperspectivity by analysing teachers' considerations for introducing specific subjects' perspectives in their lessons and for disregarding others. Focusing on what teachers actually do, and with what considerations, allows us to show, not only the practice of teaching multiperspectivity, but also the limitations of such teaching.

Theoretical framework

A temporal model of multiperspectivity

The word *perspective* has a Latin root, "*perspectus",* meaning "look through" or "perceive" (Merriam-Webster dictionary). This original meaning suggests a perspective as inherently relative to the vantage point of a particular viewer, i.e., a subject. Multiperspectivity then, refers to multiple subjects' views on one particular object, in the case of history education typically concerning a historical event or figure. Chapman (2011) points out how multiperspectivity in history is an ambiguous notion. He argues that, on the one hand, when speaking literally on a perceptual level, a subjects' visual perspective plays no role in historical knowing, since the past does not exist anymore and therefore cannot be experienced or seen directly by a subject. Chapman argues that, metaphorically speaking, history is all about subject perspectives, and is always conceptual. Chapman defines a "perspective on the past" as a form of shorthand for the ways in which the concepts, questions and interests that a subject brings to the study of the past shape the conclusions the subject draws.

In the context of history teaching, the term multiperspectivity originates from the work of the Georg Eckert Institute (Germany) and the Council of Europe. Two main factors can be indicated that explain why the concept gained popularity. First, its attractiveness can be attributed to the growth of the "new history" approach in the 70s' and early 80's, as this movement questioned the strong emphasis in history education on teaching "closed narratives" with a focus on national history (Stradling, 2003). Although this movement did not deny the importance of chronology and historical facts, it emphasised that students had to learn to think historically, which includes the epistemological idea that multiple plausible

perspectives on the past can coexist (Bergman, 2000; Stradling, 2003). Proponents of a multiple perspectives approach to history teaching often also have an ideological and normative expectation. They point out that societies become more ethically and culturally diverse which makes an exploration of different perspectives a valuable and necessary way for students to find mutual understanding of different cultures and become responsible democratic citizens (e.g., Barton, & Levstik 2004; Rüsen, 1989; 2004)

In his guide, "Multiperspectivity in history teaching", Stradling (2003) defines the characteristics of multiperspectivity as: *"A way of viewing, and a predisposition to view, historical events, personalities, developments, cultures and societies from different perspectives through drawing on procedures and processes which are fundamental to history as a discipline"* (p.14)*.* Stradling (2003) sees the willingness to exercise empathy and to put oneself in someone else's shoes, in order to accept epistemologically the possibility that multiple perspectives exist, a precondition for teaching multiperspectivity. The former is an important aspect as several researchers have noticed that the willingness to exercise empathy reduces when an individual is emotionally strongly connected with the topic (Barton & McCully, 2007; Goldberg, Schwarz & Porat, 2011; Wansink, Zuiker, Wubbels, Kamman & Akkerman, 2017).

We define multiperspectivity, in the context of history and history education, as the consideration of multiple subject perspectives on a particular "historical" object. This historical object can be a historical event, phenomenon, or figure. To operationalise potential perspectives on the historical object, we propose a temporal framework. With the historical object by definition belonging to the past, potential subjects and their perspectives on the object can exist in three different temporal layers: (1) subjects positioned "in the past" (the time of the event, phenomenon or figure); (2) subjects positioned "between past and present"; and (3) subjects positioned "in the present". We argue that this temporal distinction of subjects and their perspectives is important, as it relates to different educational functions.

With the first temporal layer, in the past, we refer to perspectives of subjects who are contemporaries of the historical object. Primary sources can be used to represent the perspective of the constructor of the source. For example, a letter written by William of Orange (i.e., subject) describing the revolt of the "Dutch" nobles (i.e., object) against Spain. Multiperspectivity "in the past" refers to parallel or "synchronic" contemporaneous subjects' perspectives and its educational function is typically to teach students that different historical actors may have had different co-existing perspectives on a certain object, based on different experiences, beliefs and ideologies. Several authors have referred to this function in terms of "historical perspective taking", which is described as understanding the views of people in the past of their world and explaining their beliefs and norms (Endacott & Brooks, 2013; Endacott & Sturtz, 2014; Huijgen, Van Boxtel , Van de Grift & Holthuis, 2016). Historical perspective taking in this study refers to the combination of emotionally empathising with a historical subject and rationally reconstructing an adequate (historical) context to understand and make sense of the subject acting in that specific social and cultural context.

The second temporal layer that we distinguish is "between past and present", referring to perspectives of subjects that did not live simultaneously with the object, but that succeeded the object in time and have somehow been concerned with the historical object and its interpretation. Obviously, typical subjects being concerned with the past are historians, yet they may also be politicians, journalists, or citizens who display their interpretation and view on a historical object, for example because it relates to something in their own time. Multiperspectivity within this temporal layer can concern synchronous subjects situated in the same temporal context (similar to the function of perspective taking "in the past") as well as to diachronic subjects' perspectives that succeed each other over time (i.e., in different temporal contexts). An example of focussing on diachronic perspectives would be contrasting a source written by a historian in the 19th century (subject) with a source written by a historian in the 20th century (subject), both taking a perspective on the Dutch Revolt (object). Although historical perspective taking is addressed in this temporal layer, it's educational function is more extensive and complex than

5

perspective taking "in the past": (a) students have to take multiple historical contexts from multiple times into account instead of one, and (b) students are faced with epistemological questions of the historicity of the historical method, i.e., seeing different potential methods and sources used by subjects to (re)construct the past (Breisach, 2007; Iggers, 1997). Accordingly, we propose that the idiosyncratic function of this temporal layer can be labelled "historiographical perspective taking".

The third temporal layer we distinguish is "in the present", referring to those subjects who live in the present and take a contemporary position towards a historical object. Although a distinctive cut between the "past and present" and "contemporary positions or debates" to some degree may be arbitrary, we propose that a cut-off is meaningful for seeing its different educational functions; discussing a recent article of a journalist might serve a different goal for teachers than discussing an article written in the 19th century in terms of showing the significance and constructedness of history in the present for students. In the temporal layer "in the present", on top of any contemporaries (e.g., current politicians, historians, journalists, or citizens somehow concerned with the object), two distinctive (groups of) subjects are the teacher and the students. The specific educational function of addressing contemporary perspectives is reflexivity, that is, the realisation that perspectives are personal and that also teachers and students themselves are consumers of history, critically or uncritically accepting the constructions presented by others, or even making their own constructions of the past. The function of a teacher explicating one's own perspective makes clear that a teacher does not live in a vacuum, but that he or she is also an interpreter influenced by a specific social and cultural context. The educational function of asking students to take perspective on a historical object is that it teaches them to construe critically, informed by disciplinary criteria, their perspective on a specific historical object. This function resembles what Rüsen (1989) named the genetic competence, as during this construction process students should be able to combine and integrate "historical perspective taking" as well as "historiographical perspective taking" in order to reflect on their own temporal positioning, being actors in the continuous process of

historical meaning making. In Figure 1, depicting our theoretical model, each rectangle refers to the temporal layer in which the subject is positioned and which function is activated in this temporal layer.
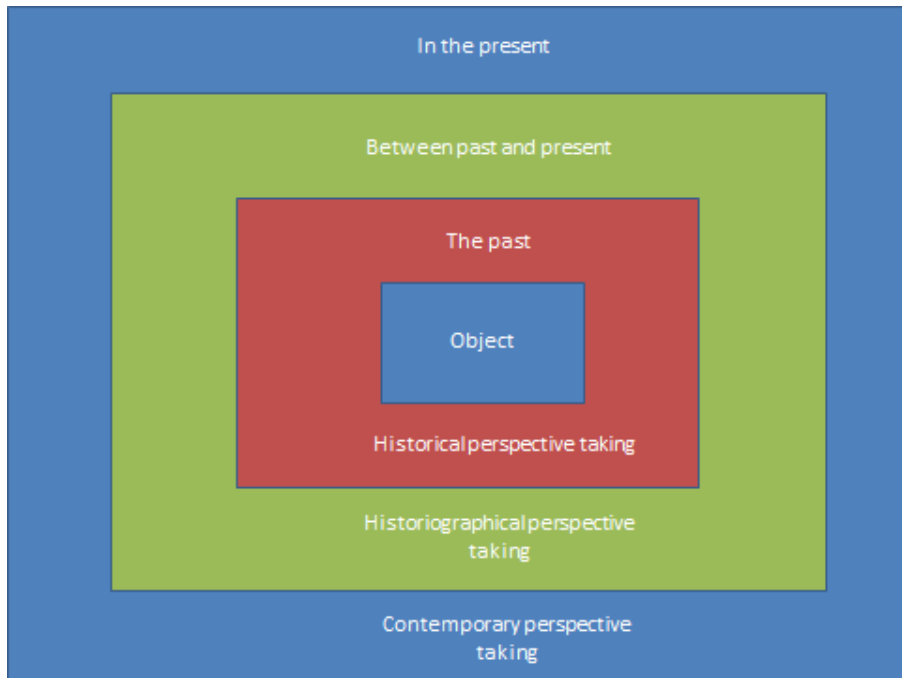
Fig. 1. a model of temporality and functions in multiperspectivity

Teaching multiperspectivity

In several countries in Europe and in the United States, the notion that history should be approached from multiple perspectives has become part of the history curricula. In Europe, the term multiperspectivity is used by The Council of Europe, for example in their recommendation for history teaching in European countries (2011). The council writes that history teaching should contribute to: "*the*

development of a multiple-perspective approach in the analysis of history, especially the history of the relationships between cultures" (p. 3*)*. In addition, curricula of several Western countries refer to different aspects of addressing multiperspectivity. For example, according the Gymnasium curriculum in Niedersächsen (Germany) students must learn that *"multiperspectivity at the level of the historical actors, means that the location-boundness of thought and action leads to a limitation of perception…"* (Niedersächsisches Kulturministerium, 2015, p. 15). In England, students at the age of 16–19 are to be taught to "*comprehend, analyse, and evaluate how the past has been interpreted and represented in different ways, for example in historians' debates …"* (OFQAL, 2011, p. 5). In the Netherlands, students should be able to explain "*how people judge and give meaning to the past and how this changed over time and can differ by group and individual …*" (Board of Examinations, 2013, p. 13). In the United States, the recent College, Career, and Civic Life framework for social studies standards (NCSS, 2013) explicitly states that students should learn about the interpretive nature of history, as "*even if they are eyewitnesses, people construct different accounts of the same event, which are shaped by their perspectives*" (p. 47).

Despite the increasing emphasis on multiperspectivity in different curricula, research shows that teachers often find it difficult to address different perspectives and how these can be interpreted and evaluated (Barton & Levstik, 2003; Martell, 2013). Research has shown various factors stimulating or constraining a multiple perspectives approach. To start teaching history from multiple perspectives requires three types of expertise: classroom management expertise, content knowledge of existing perspectives, and pedagogical expertise. When lacking these types of expertise, teachers tend to focus more on one perspective represented as a "closed narrative", partly because it gives certainty to the teacher in teaching practice (James, 2008; Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016b). Besides expertise, the work and learning environment in which teachers function impacts their pedagogies (Flores & Day, 2006; Opfer & Pedder, 2011). Teachers give more attention to different perspectives when students' cognitive levels are high (Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016a). Barton and Levstik

(2008) pointed out that teachers focus on historical facts solely when they experience time pressure or feel constrained by the history curriculum. Moreover, teachers can rely heavily on the textbook, which teachers do not typically associate with multiperspectivity (Yeager & Hover, 2006; Wineburg, 2001).

In addition, previous research shows that teaching interpretational history is also topic dependent (Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016b). According to teachers, a topic is more applicable for focusing on multiperspectivity when the teacher has affinity with and knowledge about the topic, when there are teaching materials available addressing different perspectives, and when the topic is included in the (national) curriculum so that they have enough time to address it in-depth. Moreover, teachers should be able to deconstruct the topic and perceive the topic as not too abstract for students (Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016a).

Last, earlier research has shown that the moral sensitivity of a topic can influence teachers' practices (Evans, Avery, & Pederson, 1999; Salmons, 2003; Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016b). Sheppard (2010) describes three features to identify a sensitive historical topic: (1) the topic is often a traumatic event; (2) there is some form of identification between those who study history and those who are represented; and (3) there is a moral response to the topic. Research shows that historical topics perceived as "cold history", meaning that there is little identification and no moral response caused by these topics are perceived by the teacher or the students as applicable for addressing multiperspectivity. In contrast, topics perceived as "hot history", which are mostly traumatic events, such as the Holocaust, evoking a moral response and certain degree of identification, are perceived as less or not applicable (Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016b).

The present study

Whereas some knowledge about the various factors stimulating or constraining a multiple perspective approach to history teaching is available, little insight exists as to how multiperspectivity can be, and is, addressed in history teachers' actual practices. This study aims to fill this knowledge gap by an empirical investigation into teaching practices and teachers' considerations, using

the presented temporal framework of multiperspectivity. This leads to the main research questions:

1. What temporal layers and sequences between subject perspectives do expert history teachers address in deliberately designed lessons from a multiperspectivity approach on three different topics?
2. What considerations for or against introducing specific subject' perspectives do expert history teachers have?

Methods.

Participants

To answer the research questions, we purposefully selected (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007) five history teachers from a subset of a larger pool of teachers (n = 15). These fifteen teachers had participated in a previous study (Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016a) and had been nominated by history teacher educators from five university-based teacher education institutes as being experts in history teaching. Teachers had to meet four criteria to be included in this study. First, they had to actively teach history in higher secondary education (general and pre-university), as the Dutch curriculum for this level of education aims at teaching history from multiple perspectives. Second, we included teachers with at least ten years of experience (Chase & Simon, 1973) in order to avoid interference of classroom management problems or limited pedagogical expertise. Third, we aimed at teachers who favoured a multiple perspectives approach to history education. Fourth, the teachers had to be willing to teach about three topics (i.e., Dutch Revolt, Slavery, and the Holocaust) in senior secondary education during the school year 2015–2016. From the participants' pool seven teachers met these criteria of which five were willing to participate in this study. Table 1 shows that the participants were three males and two females with teaching experience ranging from eleven to twenty-six years.

Table 1. Participants' information

Teacher	Gender	Teaching Experience	School type
1. Dylan	Male	12	Regional School
2. Ruby	Female	17	City School
3. Bruce	Male	11	Regional School
4. Kate	Female	26	Regional School
5. Luke	Male	14	City School

Design Procedure, instruments and data collection

The teachers were requested to design a lesson from a multiperspectivity approach to history teaching on three given topics (i.e., the Dutch Revolt, Slavery, and the Holocaust). We deliberately chose topics that varied in moral sensitivity and distance in time, but gave no further directions for, or restrictions to, what historical objects or subject perspectives teachers should address. The three topics are part of the Dutch higher secondary education (general and pre-university) history curriculum. Depending on the regular school curriculum the topics could be taught by the teachers at different moments throughout the school year (2015–2016) and to different student cohorts (ages ranging from 15 to 18). All teachers personally gave active consent for filming their lessons. Moreover, for each class that participated in this study the teacher asked students to give active consent for the video recordings. Also, parents were informed and asked to return a signed form only if they did not want their child to participate. The first author attended and videotaped all lessons, collected lesson materials (e.g., PowerPoint presentations, printed assignments, historical sources, etc.) and afterwards immediately conducted a semi-structured interview to elicit teachers' considerations for designing the lesson and to reflect on the given lesson. The interviews contained questions, such as: "what were your lessons goals in relation to multiperspectivity?" and "did you experience any tensions or dilemmas in designing a lesson about multiperspectivity in relation to this topic?" The question aimed at eliciting teachers' learning goals, pedagogies, important moments in relation to multiperspectivity during the lesson, and moral tensions regarding teaching about the topic and/or multiperspectivity. Interviews

were audio taped. All audio and video recordings of the 15 lessons and 15 interviews were transcribed.

Analysis

To answer the first question as to what temporal layers (i.e., in the past; between past and present; in the present) and sequences between subject perspectives do teachers address, we first identified relevant "units of meaning" in the lesson transcripts (Boeije, 2010; Chi, 1997). In this study, units of meaning existed of text fragments from the transcripts of varying length in which a subjects' perspective was introduced. Following the conceptualisation in the introduction, a perspective consists of a subject's "view" (i.e., making sense, describe, evaluate, understand) on a (historical) object. Additional lesson materials (primary and secondary sources) were also coded when the material represented a specific subjects' perspective. Our coding scheme consisted of three categories, corresponding to the three temporal layers. The first category consisted of subjects that lived during the same time as the historical object (i.e., "in the past"); the second category consisted of subjects succeeding the time of the historical object and are not related to a present discussion (i.e., "between past and present"), and the third category consisted of subjects that were introduced in the words of the teachers as subjects that take a perspective in a contemporary debate about the object (i.e., "in the present"). These included the students and the teachers. Students were coded as subjects taking a perspective only when they were explicitly instructed to think about and/or to formulate their perspective on a historical object. Similarly, we coded the teacher as a subject taking a perspective only when the teacher explicitly mentioned his or her perspective.

The first author distinguished, over all lessons, 146 unique subject perspectives and 204 sequential transitions between subjects (i.e., the same subjects' perspective can reoccur in a lesson). The first and third author both independently coded the temporal layer in which the subjects (n = 204) where situated. We checked inter-rater reliability, resulting in an un-weighted Cohen's Kappa of .74.

To answer the second research question about considerations for or against specific subject perspectives, first, relevant "units of meaning" were identified (Chi, 1997). In this study these units concerned text fragments from the interview transcriptions containing a consideration, which could be a reason or explanation as to why a specific subject was or was not introduced in the lesson. We used the functions of the different temporal layers (i.e., historical perspective taking; historiographical perspective taking and contemporary perspective taking) and criteria for or against the applicability of historical topic reported by Wansink, Akkerman and Wubbels (2016b) (knowledge; affinity; constructedness; deconstructability; abstractedness; sensitivity; materials; inclusion in the history curriculum) as sensitising concepts. After identifying the considerations, we used a procedure of open coding guided by our sensitising concepts. Our coding procedure consisted of four steps. First, the first and third author independently coded all considerations, being "for" or "against" introducing a specific perspective, resulting in an un-weighted Cohen's Kappa of .97. Second, they both coded if the consideration referred to none or to one of the three temporal layers (i.e., in the past, between past and present, in the present, neutral), resulting in an un-weighted Cohen's Kappa of .76. Third, through a process of open and axial coding (Charmaz, 2006), the first author distinguished four categories of considerations, which are functional, pedagogical, practical, or moral. A consideration was coded as functional when a teacher mentioned the educational function of perspective taking as a reason to include or exclude a specific perspective. The code pedagogical was ascribed when a teacher for example mentioned the degree of difficulty of a certain perspective as a consideration. Practical considerations consisted of reasons related to time constraints, the national curriculum, or the availability of source material. We coded a consideration as moral when the teacher mentioned the perspective to be sensitive or (un)ethical as a reason for it to be included, in or excluded from, the lesson. We checked the inter-rater reliability of these four categories after independent coding by the first and third author resulting in a satisfactory un-weighted Cohen's Kappa of .79.

Results

Four examples of lessons focusing on different functions of multiperspectivity

To illustrate how multiperspectivity can be taught and to show the variety of possible approaches, we describe four lessons. In the other parts of the results section, we will refer to these lessons to show the diversity of what functions of multiperspectivity teachers aimed at with introducing specific subject perspectives and instructions. All four lesson examples are about the Holocaust, yet they vary strongly in temporal focus, respectively focusing mainly on perspectives "in the past" (historical perspective taking), perspectives "between past and present" (historiographical perspective taking), perspectives in "the present" (contemporary perspective taking), and finally, perspectives from multiple temporal layers.

Lesson example 1: Main focus on "the past" and historical perspective taking.

For this lesson, teacher Dylan developed a role-play in which students had to put themselves into the shoes of different historical figures who lived directly after the Second World War. Dylan simultaneously introduced five contrasting subject perspectives (i.e., talk-show host, the opportunist, a fanatic Nazi, a resistance fighter, and an Auschwitz survivor). Dylan instructed the students to reconstruct a (historical) context around their historical figure and to "completely abandon their own value systems*",* and to "imagine" their figure. Then the students were given time to reconstruct the historical figures' lives by thinking about their social environment, work, beliefs etc. In small groups, the students practiced how they would react to different questions as "their historical figure". Finally, the whole class participated in the role-play in which one pupil played the role of talk-show host and asked the other students questions about their perspectives (representing a historical figure). For example, the talk-show host asked an "opportunist" why he was not in the resistance. The student answered, as his historical figure, that he was afraid of losing his job (i.e., historical perspective taking). After the role-play, Dylan showed a television fragment that had been broadcast on the news channel the day before, in which, after the commission of a crime, some Dutch politicians pleaded for ethnical registration. Then Dylan

instructed the students to formulate their opinion on this present debate, thereby referring to the notion that the Holocaust started with ethnical registration. A student for example answered that he was afraid that ethnical registration could lead to negative generalisations of populations (i.e., contemporary perspective taking).

Lesson example 2: Main focus on "between past and present" and historiographical perspective taking.

Teacher Bruce started his lesson by handing his students abstracts of four different books (written in different years) about the Holocaust. The students were given time to read all the abstracts. Bruce started to discuss the first book, De Meelstreep, written in 2001 about the rather cold reception of Jews after World War Two in the Netherlands. An exemplary question Bruce asked his students was: "What does this (i.e., book) say about the way the Holocaust was perceived? And what are the differences between the year '45 and the year 2000?" A student responded that the Holocaust was long before the year 2000, which means that society could look at the emotional pain, instead of just the material damage, because this had been repaired (i.e., historiographical perspective taking). Then, he discussed a book about the Dutch destruction of the Jews, written in 1965, by Presser, a Dutch Jewish professor. Bruce outlined the impact of the book on Dutch society, thereby asking the students to reconstruct the cultural context of the 1960's. Afterwards, he discussed the book, Hitler's Willing Executioners, written by Goldhagen in 1996. He instructed the students to contrast Goldhagen's perspective on the Holocaust with that of Presser. A student for example answered that Goldhagen's perspective was much less dramatic. At the end of the lesson Bruce discussed the book, The Holocaust Industry, written by Norman Finkelstein (2000). Bruce pointed out that, for Finkelstein, the Holocaust had become something sacred and that cynical organisations are using this status to earn money. Bruce ended his lesson referring to the different books with the words: "You know, I am not saying this is the truth, no, these are perspectives".

Lesson example 3: Main focus "in present" and contemporary perspective taking.

Teacher Luke started his lesson by explaining the meaning of the word Holocaust and showing a short film in which Hitler gives a speech about the exterminations of Jews. Then he showed a recent popular You-Tube video in which a Holocaust survivor dances with his family in Auschwitz to the song "I Will Survive", by Gloria Gaynor. Directly after showing the video, Luke asked his students for their reactions, by posing questions such as "would you have made this video?" A student for example responded: "Yes, first I thought it was disrespectful because they make everything so ridiculous as they are dancing, but later it turns out that they are happy because their grandfather survived and they are celebrating joy" (i.e., contemporary perspective taking). Luke made his own perspective explicit by conveying that he had watched the video with mixed emotions. After the plenary discussion, he showed and discussed several actual comments beneath the You-Tube video to show that people can have very different and extreme opinions. Then Luke showed a short video in which the dancer was asked to explain his motives. At the end of the lesson, the students were asked to design interview questions for the maker of the video. It was planned that, in a later lesson, a Skype session was going to be held with the maker of the video.

Lesson example 4: Mixed temporal focus and addressing multiple functions of multiperspectivity.

Teacher Kate started her lesson by discussing a newspaper article of the day before in which the following question was asked: "If you could go back in time would you murder this baby (i.e., picture of Hitler)?" She pointed out that the general message of the article was the question as to whether there would have been a second World War without Hitler. Next Kate said that the main goal of the lesson was to investigate who was guilty of the Holocaust. Therefore, she had developed an assignment in which students individually had to decide who was most guilty of the Holocaust (i.e., contemporary perspective taking). In doing so, students had to rank different historical subjects in order of their guilt, such as Hitler, Eichmann, and the entire German population. In the plenary discussion after the assignment, it

became clear that the students had different opinions about how to rank the historical actors. Moreover, many students struggled with ranking actors, for example several students said it was difficult to decide if the Holocaust was the responsibility of the entire German people (i.e., contemporary perspective taking). Afterwards the students were given three schoolbooks from different time periods and they had to find out who was guilty of the Holocaust according to the authors of these books (i.e., historiographical perspective taking). At the end of the lesson, Kate asked her students to write a paragraph in the history schoolbook about who, according to them, was guilty for the Holocaust. She said to the pupils: "…I invite you to write that paragraph, you are going to make that construction" (i.e., contemporary perspective taking).

Subject perspectives.

Table 2 shows the number of subject perspectives that teachers have introduced, and in which temporal layers these subjects were situated. We describe the results by temporal layer, by first presenting what lessons mainly addressed this temporal layer, and subsequently on which function of multiperspectivity the teacher mainly focused. Next we will describe in how many lessons subjects in this temporal layer were addressed, including the number of subjects over all lessons and notable differences between teachers or between the topics in addressing subjects within the temporal layer. After presenting the results of the temporal layers, we will briefly present some main findings based on Appendix 1, in which the sequential transitions between subjects' perspectives during lessons can be found.

Results per temporal layer and function of multiperspectivity

In the past

Based on Table 2 and Appendix 1, we found that in six lessons (1, 2, 6, 7, 11, and 15 respectively), teachers mainly addressed perspectives of subjects positioned "in the past", meaning that according to our theoretical model, the

teachers focused mainly on historical perspective taking. A good example is the first lesson example in which students had to put themselves in the shoes of a specific historical figure. During his instruction, Dylan introduced many features that we consider important elements of historical perspective taking, such as reconstructing an adequate (historical) context and reflexivity of presentism. Table 2 shows that, in total, 74 different subjects' perspectives were addressed divided over 14 lessons. The most subject perspectives in this temporal layer were addressed by Ruby (n = 30) and the least by Bruce (n = 6). The number of addressed subject perspectives varied considerably per lesson and topic, ranging from a perspective of one to seventeen subjects. In relation to pedagogy, we found that in most lessons (n = 12) teachers contrasted "synchronic" contemporaneous subjects' perspectives. Illustrative is lesson example one in which Dylan simultaneously introduced five contrasting subjects' perspectives situated within the same historical context.

Between past and present

In relation to the temporal layer "between past and present" we found that only three lessons (3, 10, and 13 respectively) were oriented mainly to subjects positioned "between past and present' and were subsequently focussed mainly on historiographical perspective taking. Illustrative is the second lesson example in which Bruce contrasted four different books on the Holocaust written in different times. This lesson is also exemplary for the complexity of historiographical perspective taking as students needed the knowledge to reconstruct four different historical contexts. Table 2 shows that, in total, 35 different subjects' perspectives were addressed in nine lessons. Most subjects in this temporal layer were addressed by Ruby (n = 14) and we found that Luke (n = 0) and Dylan (n = 1) positioned almost no subjects in this temporal layer. Again, the number of subject perspectives turns out to differ per lesson and per topic, ranging from one subject to ten. Regarding pedagogy, the results show that, in eight lessons, teachers contrasted "synchronic" or "diachronic" subjects' perspectives.

WHERE DOES TEACHING MULTIPERSPECTIVITY IN HISTORY EDUCATION BEGIN AND END?

5

Table 2. Temporal positioned subjects per lesson

Topic	Teacher	In the present		Between past and present	In the past	Total subjects
		Classroom	Contemporary debate			
Holocaust	1. Dylan	S=1	1	0	5	7
	2. Ruby	T=1, S=1	0	2	6	10
	3. Bruce	0	0	5	2	7
	4. Kate	S=1	1	4	0	6
	5. Luke	T=1, S=1	10	0	1	12
Slavery	6. Dylan	T=1, S=1	0	1	6	9
	7. Ruby	0	0	2	17	19
	8. Bruce	S=1	4	0	3	8
	9. Kate	T=1, S=1	1	6	7	16
	10. Luke	S=1	0	0	5	6
Dutch Revolt	11. Dylan	0	0	0	7	7
	12. Ruby	T=1	3	10	7	21
	13. Bruce	S=1	1	2	1	5
	14. Kate	S=1	0	3	5	9
	15. Luke	0	1	0	2	3
	Total	T=5; S=10	22	35	74	146

Notes: T = teacher; S = Students

In the present

In relation to the temporal layer "in the present", Table 2 shows that there were two lessons (i.e., lesson number 5 and 8 in Appendix 1) that mainly focussed on addressing subjects in this temporal layer, subsequently focussing mainly on contemporary perspective taking. A good example is lesson example three in which Luke asked the students multiple times to formulate their own perspective on a recent You-Tube movie and the comments beneath the movie. Table 2 shows that, in total, 37 different subjects' perspectives were addressed divided over 12 lessons. In our theoretical framework, we distinguished three different types of subjects that can be positioned in this temporal layer: (1) subjects that participate in a contemporary debate, including (2) the teacher and (3) the students. When it comes to the first type, we found that perspectives of subjects in a contemporary debate were addressed in eight lessons. The most subjects participating in a contemporary debate were introduced by Luke (n = 10) and the least by Dylan (n = 1) and Kate (n = 1). We found that three teachers connected their Holocaust lesson with a contemporary debate. In relation to pedagogy, we found that only in three lessons teachers contrasted subjects' contemporary perspectives "synchronically". When it comes to the third type, students' own perspectives, all teachers in ten lessons instructed their students to formulate their own perspective on a particular historical object. Teachers varied strongly in this respect, with Kate asking her students to formulate their own perspective in all three of her lessons, and Ruby only doing so in one. Formulating students' own perspective was most apparent in lessons about the Holocaust and Slavery (i.e., 8 out of the 9 lessons on these topics). The fourth lesson example in which students had to write a paragraph in their history schoolbook about who, according to them, was guilty of the Holocaust is a good illustration. On a meta-level we found that none of the teachers directly asked the pupils to introduce a specific subject perspective; it was always the teacher deciding which subjects, and in what temporal layer, were introduced.

Third, Table 2 shows that in only five lessons (by four teachers), the teacher made his or her own perspective explicit. For example, Kate asked her students during her lesson about slavery: *"What perspective did I just present?*

From what perspective did I just teach you?" Ruby was explicit about her own perspective in two of her lessons, while Bruce was not explicit in any of his lessons.

Combining multiple temporal layers

Finally, Table 2 shows that there were also lessons in which teachers did not focus on just one specific temporal layer (i.e., lessons 4, 8, 9, 12, 13, and 14) and consequently focused on multiple functions of multiperspectivity. Lesson example four in which Kate frequently switches between contemporary perspective taking and historiographical perspective taking is a good illustration. Table 2 shows that only in six lessons were all three temporal layers addressed. Dylan and Luke combined the least temporal layers in their lessons and Ruby, Bruce, and Kate combined the most.

Temporal sequences of subjects' perspectives

Regarding the temporal sequence of subjects' perspectives (Appendix 1), we found that in fourteen lessons teachers shifted across temporal layers. This means that in almost all lessons (n = 14) students had to reconstruct multiple and diachronic (i.e., over time) historical contexts. In general, we found no pattern in the sequences of temporal layers; for example a lesson could start or end in any temporal layer. Nonetheless, we noticed that in six lessons, students were asked to formulate their own perspective at the end of the lesson, indicating that students had to conclude by combining multiple temporal layers. The most shifts between temporal layers were made in Ruby's lesson about the Dutch Revolt (n = 20) and the least were made in Dylan's lesson about the Dutch Revolt (n = 0).

Considerations for and against introducing subjects' perspectives.

In this section, we will first describe the teachers' considerations for and against introducing subjects' perspectives per temporal layer. We will start with describing how many teachers referred to a specific function of multiperspectivity and then discuss if teachers had any moral considerations in relation to this temporal layer. Next we will determine if teachers had any pedagogical or practical

considerations that could be related to the temporal layer. Finally, we will present other types of considerations expressed by the teachers that could not be related to a specific temporal layer and were therefore categorised as neutral.

In the past

When it comes to the temporal layer "in the past", we found that all teachers except for Bruce referred to the function of historical perspective taking as a reason for introducing perspectives of subjects in the past in one or more of their lessons. In the interview held after the first lesson example, Dylan described that his main goal for this lesson was teaching students to empathise with a certain figure in the past to understand this figure's choices. In relation to moral considerations we found that several teachers said that addressing subjects "in the past" was not very morally sensitive for the students. For example, Bruce said about discussing different subjects' perspectives during the Dutch Revolt: "it is very safe, it is the 16th century", also Dylan said that this topic was not sensitive for his students: "no, it is too far removed from the world of these children". Concerning the Holocaust, one teacher (Ruby) exposed specific considerations against specific subjects' perspectives she addressed "in the past". Ruby deliberately disregarded the perspectives of the Jews framed as victims of the Holocaust. She said that focusing on the victimhood of the Jews (i.e., subjects) would not work in her multi-ethnic classroom as some pupils had little empathy for the Jews. Finally, we discerned two more pedagogical considerations that the teachers related to this temporal layer, but to us seemed rather neutral considerations. For a start, Ruby explicitly used primary historical sources (representing a specific subject in the past) to motivate students to participate in her lesson and Dylan said that specific primary sources could be too abstract for students (against).

Between past and present

For the temporal layer "between past and present" we found that all teachers except for Dylan referred to historiographical perspective taking as a reason for introducing subject perspectives "between past and present". Illustrative

is Bruce (lesson example 2) who said during the interview: "What I wanted to show is primarily the changing meaning of historical events over time. How do different generations deal with the past, what does the past mean for them and what reinterpretation of the past occurs consequently." Another teacher who referred to historiographical perspective taking was Luke who said in the interview after his lesson about slavery: "My goal was to make clear that the term slave, or slavery is of all times. And there are several ways to look at slavery." In relation to moral considerations, Bruce said that there was one Jewish girl in his classroom for whom the Holocaust was a very sensitive subject (lesson example two). However, instead of disregarding more controversial subject perspectives he spoke with this girl before the lesson and told her about the aim of the lesson, which was teaching the students how the Holocaust is perceived differently over time and in various contexts (i.e., historiographical perspective taking). Finally, two teachers exposed specific pedagogical considerations in relation to this temporal layer. Bruce said that teaching about historiography is mostly applicable for students with higher cognitive levels because historiography can be very abstract for students. Ruby said it is difficult to address subjects' perspectives in multiple historical contexts during a lesson as students often lack contextual historical knowledge. She said: "…and I hear myself talk while I realise they can't follow me because they don't know the context of that time."

In the present

In relation to the temporal layer "the present", we found that all teachers, divided over thirteen interviews, referred to contemporary perspective taking as a positive consideration for addressing present perspectives. A good example is Luke who said, in relation to his lesson about the Holocaust (lesson example three), that his main goal was to have students think for themselves and to form their own perspective on how to remember the Holocaust (i.e., contemporary perspective taking). Kate said during the interview that she wanted her students to become critical towards their own textbook (lesson example four). She said: "the schoolbook gives a certain perspective and what do you (i.e., students) think of

5

that? Moreover, she said that her students had to write their own paragraph about the Holocaust to understand that value free writing is impossible.

A central contemporary perspective is the one of the teacher him- or herself. Table 3 shows that, in the interviews, only Kate mentioned the importance of the teacher being explicit about his or her perspective in the classroom. She said being explicit is important: "to show that teachers also have a perspective, that teachers can be one-sided and that you can also be critical about your teacher." In contrast to Kate, three other teachers had explicit considerations against addressing their own perspective. These teachers mentioned in the interviews that they did not want to give their own perspective in the classroom, as they did not want to impose their opinions on the students; they argued that doing so could constrain students in becoming critical and autonomous thinkers themselves. For example, Luke said: "I wanted them to discover themselves that there are different views. Whether these views are right or wrong, is something I do not go into." Dylan somewhat paradoxically said in his interview: "There is always a risk in that I impose my political ideas, that is what I always have to avoid, but I have to teach students to be critical about what is being said." Also, Ruby struggled with the extent to which she would be explicit about her own perspective. On the one hand, she did not want to impose her values as she wanted the students to become autonomous thinkers. On the other hand, she said that her lessons aimed at educating students "who do not follow the populists". Moreover, she had strict norms about which perspectives were tolerated in the classroom. Ruby said in relation to pupils who made fun of the Holocaust: "I said to them (i.e., students): I am sorry, but this is not funny, this is not a topic to laugh about. I said that your own opinion does count for this topic."

We found that three teachers had explicit moral considerations against addressing specific perspectives concerning the Holocaust, which were all related to the present. These teachers deliberately did not address the perspective of Holocaust denial in their lessons. For example, Kate said: "Because there is still such a thing as absolute evil, you have to say: I will have nothing to do with this absolute form of evil." It should be noted that none of the teachers disregarded specific subject perspectives in relation to their lessons about slavery or the Dutch Revolt. Still,

some teachers made comments about the moral sensitivity of slavery. Bruce said that, for his students, the history of slavery was sensitive, but he knew his pupils so well that he could manage to discuss conflicting perspectives in his classroom. Ruby said that for her students the topic was not sensitive, but for her personally it was. She struggled with how to deal with the primary sources, she said: "before you know you are talking respect-less. You must not use the word nigger, but you see it in all sources, so before you know it you're talking about niggers." In relation to teachers addressing contemporary perspective taking we found two remarks from teachers both referring to using a contemporary discussion to motivate students. Luke said that he showed his students a recent controversial video about the Holocaust (lesson example three) to start a discussion with his students. He said: "this video provokes a huge reaction." Also Bruce used a recent debate to motivate his students. He said: "I knew everyone has an opinion about this discussion".

Pedagogical and practical considerations

Finally, besides considerations that could be related to a specific temporal layer, teachers also had more general pedagogical and practical considerations for or against addressing a specific subject perspective. To start, time was an issue that was frequently mentioned as constraining the teachers in the introduction of multiple perspectives (n = 10). Moreover, the teachers also mentioned the importance of the availability of historical sources (n = 8), such as primary sources and their affinity or lack of it with a specific subject (n = 3) as a consideration for or against addressing a subject in the lesson. Other less frequently mentioned considerations against addressing a specific perspective were that the historical actor was not part of the national curriculum, or the specific perspective was already covered in a previous lesson.

Table 3. Teacher mentioned considerations for (i.e. +) or against (i.e. -) specific subjects' perspectives

Topic			In the present			Betwe
			Functional	Pedagogical.	Moral	Functional
Holocaust	1.	Dylan	+, (t) -			
	2.	Ruby	+, (t) -		+, -	
	3.	Bruce			-	+
	4.	Kate	+		-	+
	5.	Luke	+, (t) -	(m) +		
Slavery	6.	Dylan	+			
	7.	Ruby	+		-	+
	8.	Bruce	+	(m) +	+	
	9.	Kate	+, (t) +			+
	10.	Luke				+
Dutch-	11.	Dylan	+			
Revolt	12.	Ruby	+, (t) -			
	13.	Bruce	+			+
	14.	Kate	+			+
	15.	Luke	+			
		Total	13+, 4T-1T+	2m+	2+, 4-	7+

Notes: Specifications of the functional, pedagogical, moral and practical considerations are: t=teacher;

Temporal layer

| en past and present | | In the past | | | undetermined | |
Pedagogical	Moral	Functional.	Pedagogical	Moral	Pedagogical	Practical.
		+				(ti) -
			(m) +	+, -	(ab) -	(h) +
	+					(h) +, (af)+, (ti)-
						(h) -, (ti) -
		+				(ti) -
		+		+		(ti) -, (h) +
		+				(ti) -, (h) +
						(ti) -
		+		+		(h) +
		+	(ab) -			
(ab) -						(af) +, (ti) -
(ab) +				+		(h) +
		+		+		(h) +, (ti) -
		+				(ti) -
1ab+, 1ab-	1+	8+	1m+, 1ab-	5+, 1-	1ab-	10ti-, 8h+, 2af+,1af-

ti=time; h=historical sources ; m=motivation; af=affinity; ab= abstractedness

5

Conclusions and Discussion

In the Netherlands, as well as in several other Western countries, teaching history from multiple perspectives has become an obligatory part of the history curriculum. Despite this shift in expectations for history education, little is known about the way teachers address multiperspectivity in their teaching practices and what their underlying considerations are. To investigate teachers' practices empirically we have conceptualised multiperspectivity in a temporal manner, proposing that subjects' perspectives may concern three different temporal layers (i.e., (1) in the past; (2) between past and present; (3) in the present), each with a distinctive educational function of multiperspectivity, respectively: (1) historical perspective taking; (2) historiographical perspective taking, and (3) contemporary perspective taking.

When considering subjects' perspectives per temporal layer that were addressed in the lessons, we found noteworthy variation. To start, one third of the lessons mainly focused on "the past". During the interviews that were held after these specific lessons, the teachers explicitly mentioned goals related to the function of historical perspective taking as described in our theoretical framework. Moreover, we found that in almost all lessons teachers positioned subjects in this temporal layer, although the number of subjects differed across lessons. This overall attention for "the past" might be explained by the fact that this temporal layer can be considered as history teachers' main goal, in line with the Dutch history education programme (Board of Examinations, 2013). When addressing multiple subjects' perspectives in the past, teachers introduced synchronic perspectives, which we think is not surprising, as offering students contrasting perspectives is a well-known and obvious pedagogy to teach about multiple perspectives (Bergman, 2000; Seixas & Morton, 2012; Stradling, 2003).

In contrast to the dominant focus on perspectives in the past, we found only a few lessons focusing mainly on perspectives "between past and present", emphasising historiographical perspective taking. It is with regard to this temporal layer that we see the strongest differences between teachers, with three teachers incorporating this temporal layer in almost all their lessons and two teachers almost

entirely disregarding it. An explanation for these differences between teachers could be that this temporal layer is not in the forefront of all teachers' minds, as the Dutch curriculum provides little or no guidance in what subjects' perspectives can be addressed in this temporal layer (Board of Examinations, 2013). Moreover, in the interviews, as well as in the literature, it has been pointed out that historiographical perspective taking can be very abstract for students and that students often lack knowledge to reconstruct multiple historical contexts (Fallace, 2007; Fallace & Neem, 2005).

Concerning the temporal layer "in the present" we found that in two thirds of the lessons, teachers asked their students to formulate their own perspective. Moreover, in almost all interviews, teachers mentioned lesson goals that were related to contemporary perspective taking, emphasising the aim of teaching students to be critical and to formulate a perspective themselves. According to the teachers in this study, given this frequent emphasis, this function of multiperspectivity seems to be the most prominent. We found that, in six the lessons, the pupils were instructed to formulate their own perspective at the end of the lesson, indicating that pupils had to wrap up and integrate multiple temporal layers in their perspectives. Based upon our theoretical model and Rüsen's (1989) concept of the genetic competence, one could argue that, only in one-third of the lessons, an elaborate form of multiperspectivity was achieved when all three functions of multiperspectivity were integrated. However, it is questionable if it is realistic and desirable to address all temporal layers in one lesson. All of the teachers also mentioned that they struggled with the limited amount of time in their lessons.

In relation to the limits of multiperspectivity we found that none of the teachers asked the pupils directly to introduce a specific subject's perspective in the lesson, meaning that the teachers functioned as "gatekeepers" making the decisions as to which subjects' perspectives were addressed in the lesson (Thornton, 1991). This finding is particularly important given the fact that the teachers explicated their own perspectives only in five of the lessons and therefore consciously or unconsciously enacted invisible censorship of their students by imposing specific

5

"hidden" representations of the past (Bourdieu, 2001). This censorship might be explained from a technical point of view, as the amount of perspectives that could be introduced is unlimited and a teacher as an expert can make reasoned decisions about what subjects to introduce in order to address one or more functions of multiperspectivity. On the other hand, we found that three teachers pointed out they were deliberately not explicit about their own perspective and, as such, strove for a "value-neutral" position. At the same time, we found that these teachers struggled with incorporating their own values in their lessons, as these teachers also had normative goals themselves or limited the perspectives that were tolerated in the classroom. Based on Veugelers and de Kat (2003) and Van Nieuwenhuyse and Wils (2012) we propose that these teachers engaged in what we refer to here as "normative balancing" between transferring values (i.e., imposing your own values) and value communication, (i.e., discussing and interpreting different values). We propose that this normative balancing, might be initiated by the fact that teaching about multiperspectivity also has a "dark side", as moral systems can be perceived as social constructs without any transcendent claims to truth. Consequently, multiperspectivity can lead to moral relativism, as values such as right or wrong seem to be dependent on one's contextual and temporal position.

Regarding this "normative balancing", a more general conclusion is that when teachers' own values were not at stake, because the teachers seemingly did not feel emotionally concerned with the topic, the teachers could focus on "value communication" and discuss contrasting subjects' perspectives. Related to this conclusion we found that teachers did not have any moral considerations against introducing specific subjects' perspectives in relation the Dutch Revolt and slavery. Whereas this finding is not so surprising for the Dutch Revolt given its distance in time, we were more surprised that teachers did not identify with slavery. An explanation could be the significance that is attributed to both historic events in Dutch society, as more attention is given to World War II than to slavery (Savenije, 2014). We found that the teachers identified themselves morally with the Holocaust, which caused them to focus more on transferring "absolute values". For example, three teachers said that they deliberately disregarded specific subjects' perspectives

representing Holocaust denial (Salmons, 2003; Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016b). A consequence of not addressing these perspectives is that students with these "extreme" perspectives will not be challenged to nuance their beliefs based on disciplinary criteria and humanistic norms (Orlenius, 2008; Van San, Sieckelinck, & de Winter, 2013). Second, the danger of disregarding specific subjects' perspectives is that the intended open narrative closes and the notion of multiperspectivity ironically becomes teleological, as only those subjects' perspectives are introduced that confirm one's own cultural and societal norms.

We found that, not only teachers' considerations, but also their practices were influenced by pedagogical and practical considerations. In line with the literature, we found that the experienced limited amount of time constrained teachers to address multiple perspectives (Barton & Levstik, 2003; 2008). Moreover, teachers were dependent on the availability of materials (Martell, 2013), and personal affinity with a topic deemed to be an important factor for introducing specific subjects (Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016b).

This study has several implications. First, we propose that thinking about multiperspectivity in a temporal manner and the functions that are related to temporal layers can become part of teacher education and teacher training programs in order for teachers to realise that by positioning subjects in different temporal layers, different functions of multiperspectivity are activated. Moreover, teachers might be helped by several examples of lessons in which different functions of multiperspectivity are addressed, as not all teachers have time or expertise to develop these lessons. Second, to stimulate historiographical perspective taking a recommendation for curriculum designers could be to prescribe more often what historiographical subjects should be addressed or provide more guidance on how historiographical subjects can be addressed without making it too abstract or complicated for students. Also, teachers might be stimulated to teach about historiographical perspective taking by providing historiographical training which should be closely connected with their teacher practices (Fallace & Neem, 2005; McDiarmid & Vinten-Johansen, 2000).

5

This exploratory study should be seen as a starting point for further investigation. First, to investigate the generalisability of the findings we propose that the results of this study should be contrasted with the results of a study in which regular lessons of history teachers are observed. Second, future research can investigate the impact of addressing multiperspectivity on students and studying the students' cognitive and affective limitations in understanding multiperspectivity. Third, we propose that future research could delve more into teachers' lessons over longer periods of time, in order to find out if teachers are consistent or inconsistent in what temporal layers and functions of multiperspectivity they address. Fourth, we

Appendix 1. The sequential temporal shifts between subjects' perspectives during lessons

		nr.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Holocaust	Dylan	1	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	S
	Ruby	2	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	S
	Bruce	3	B	B	P	P	B	B	B	B	B	B	B				
	Kate	4	A	S	B	B	B	B	S	S							
	Luke	5	S	A	P	S	T	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A		
Slavery	Dylan	6	P	P	P	P	P	P	T	B	S	B					
	Ruby	7	P	P	P	P	P	P	B	P	P	P	P	P	B	P	P
	Bruce	8	A	S	A	A	P	A	P	P	P	A	S	P	A	A	A
	Kate	9	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	T	A	S	P	B	B	P	P
	Luke	10	S	B	B	B	B	B	S								
Dutch R.	Dylan	11	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P				
	Ruby	12	P	P	P	B	P	B	P	T	P	B	T	P	P	A	P
	Bruce	13	B	P	B	P	B	P	B	B	A						
	Kate	14	P	P	P	P	P	B	B	B	S						
	Luke	15	P	P	P	A	P	P									

Notes: P= in the past; B= between; in the present: T= Teacher; S= Student; A= Actual

advocate studies on the relationship between the different functions of multiperspectivity and historical topics. Previous research suggests that there might be a relationship (Wansink, Akkerman & Wubbels, 2016b). Finally, future research could focus on where multiperspectivity "ends" and further investigate the tense relationship between a teacher's moral values and multiperspectivity.

Acknowledgements

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	Total shifts	Total sequences
														1	2
P	P	P	S	T										1	2
														2	3
														2	3
														2	3
														4	5
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P					4	5
														6	7
B														5	6
														2	3
														0	1
B	B	B	A	P	B	T	T	P	P	B	A	B	B	20	21
														7	8
														2	3
														2	3

debates

5

139

5

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter we will first present the main results for the four studies. Then we will discuss the contributions of these studies to the main purpose of this thesis, which was to

to explore student and experienced teachers' epistemological objectives and practices of history education, what facilitates and constrains them in interpretational history teaching and what teachers' practices look like when focusing on multiperspectivity. Finally, we will propose practical recommendations and discuss in what directions future research could move.

Conclusions chapter 2

> As a historian amongst historians, I would say 'no,' because a canon always oversimplifies history. … On the other hand, a canon is more comprehensible than many history books, and is therefore a lot easier to digest and to understand for the majority of the Dutch people. (Quote of a student teacher)

In this chapter we distinguished two epistemological representations of historical knowledge: a factual and an interpretive representation of historical knowledge. A factual representation refers to a teacher telling one account of the past without the need for explicit reflection on the epistemological status of historical knowledge. An interpretive representation refers to a teacher telling multiple accounts of the past with explicit reflection on the epistemological status of the historical knowledge, as well as providing disciplinary criteria with which the coexisting narratives can be evaluated and compared (Seixas & Morton, 2013; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2011; Wineburg, 2001). In this study we wanted to know which objectives academic student history teachers attach to

history education at the very start of their teacher-education programme, and we considered how these objectives relate to *factual* or *interpretive* representations of historical knowledge.

The intact 2012 cohort of student teachers from six different universities was approached to participate in this study; the questionnaire used achieved a response rate of 58%. Based upon the results of the questionnaire we discerned six different objectives of history education: (1) the memorising objective, referring to displaying and memorising substantive knowledge; (2) the critical/explanatory objective, referring to learning academic disciplinary skills in order to be able to think about history; (3) the constructivist objective, referring to evaluating historical knowledge from a constructivist epistemological perspective; (4) the perspective-taking objective, referring to understanding historical figures or events within their own historical context; (5) the moral objective, referring to the idea that the past can teach us lessons for contemporary moral behaviour; and (6) the collective-identity objective, referring to the idea that history education should contribute to creating a collective identity. In terms of the epistemological distinction between knowledge representations, the collective-identity objective and the moral objective represent historical knowledge as a rather factual and closed narrative, and the critical/explanatory objective, the perspective-taking objective and the constructivist objective represent historical knowledge as a rather interpretive and open narrative. The memorising objective can relate to both representations depending on the purpose of knowing historical content.

A significant overall result is that all teachers claimed to have a critical/explanatory objective and a large majority of them asserted they had a constructivist objective. We found that over half of the student history teachers mentioned objectives of history education that represent history as factual (i.e. collective identity and moral) and mentioned objectives of history education that represent history as interpretive. These findings reveal that teachers do combine objectives of history that can cause epistemological tensions in the representation of historical knowledge.

A primary explanation for combining objectives that could cause tension

might be the fact that student teachers were unconscious of the representation of historical knowledge in the different objectives of history education. However we propose that this explanation might underestimate the intellectual capabilities of the academically trained historians. A second explanation could be the developmental position that student history teachers were in, as learning to teach history triggers a multitude of additional concerns, such as apprehensions

about students' intellectual abilities and ways of learning history; beliefs about 'manageable' education; concerns about their moral responsibilities and finally the goals of the history curriculum. Such concerns align more with *factual* representations of historical knowledge. We found several examples of teachers showing a 'double epistemic standard', that is, these teachers were aware of the interpretive nature of historical knowledge, but nonetheless aimed to present history in school as a closed (factual) historical narrative (Maggioni & Parkinson, 2008). A third explanation is that individuals cannot be positioned in a singular stance, but rather engage in what Gottlieb and Wineburg (2012) have referred to as epistemic switching when confronted with history that is strongly connected with identity or religion. This epistemic switching means that a person does not necessarily hold static epistemological beliefs isolated from context. Epistemological beliefs may also be evoked by interactions within a situation, thus likely to show a certain level of adaptivity.

Conclusions chapter 3

> 'I have, um, in the beginning I just followed the book; actually the book simply tells the truth.' (Quote of a student teacher)

As shown in our study reported in chapter 2, teachers can be expected to potentially combine factual and interpretational representations of historical knowledge in their beliefs and practices. In chapter 3 we investigated how student teachers balanced factual and interpretational knowledge representations during their teacher educational programme. For this study we aimed to look at those

6

student teachers that were at least likely to show a minimal level of interpretational history teaching.

Therefore we purposefully selected 13 teachers, amongst the 48 student teachers featured in chapter 2, who initially supported the proposition that history is interpretational, and considered this a relevant insight for history education. The student teachers were interviewed and we used a storyline technique in which the respondents were asked to draw retrospective storylines indicating attention over time in their classroom practices given to factual history teaching and to interpretational history teaching.

We found that most student teachers reported focusing more on teaching historical facts and less on teaching interpretational history than they would have preferred. In line with the literature, student teachers found it difficult to put their intentions and professional preferences into action especially at the start of the year (Kennedy, 1999). Two sets of factors impacted their practices: the work and learning environments and teacher expertise. In relation to the work environment an important conclusion is that student teachers can be influenced in different epistemological directions. We found that when stimulated in a single direction by the supervisor, a student teacher may feature a particular epistemological way of teaching from the start, which hardly changes. In line with previous research the results showed that student history teachers perceived artefacts such as the curriculum, school tests, and the history book mainly as constraining interpretational history teaching, and as influencing them to focus on factual history teaching (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Mayer, 2006; Monte-Sano, 2011; Yeager & Davis, 2005).

In relation to expertise we found that student teachers wanted to feel certainty based on a sense of confidence in their own expertise before engaging students in the uncertainty inherent in interpretational history. This result leads to a remarkable paradox, which we here referred to as the 'Certainty Paradox' of student history teachers: (factual) certainty is needed to be able to cope with and engage in (interpretational) uncertainty. Without sufficient historical expertise teachers strongly focused on factual history teaching, because it felt safe as it allowed the

student teachers to represent the past unambiguously.

Conclusions chapter 4

> *Expert teacher 1*: 'Since the Holocaust is sacred, the moment you criticise it, it is possible to show its sacredness.'
>
> *Expert teacher 2*: 'I think one should not put it [the Holocaust] into perspective by saying that history is a construction. The Holocaust should be presented as it is: a low point in our history.'

In the fourth chapter we investigated how applicable various historical topics are for interpretational history teaching, and what criteria experienced history teachers use to evaluate the applicability of historical topics for interpretational history teaching. We deliberately selected experienced teachers, as we did not want typical beginner problems of student teachers to interfere with the considerations regarding the applicability of topics for interpretational history teaching. We used a sampling procedure in which educators from five university-based teacher-education institutes were asked to recommend teachers who were recognised for their expertise in interpretational history teaching. Eventually 15 Dutch history teachers were selected. We designed a card-ranking task in which teachers had to classify the degree of potential applicability of a historical topic to teach students that history involves interpretation.

We found that teachers differed in their perceptions of the degree of applicability of topics for interpretational history teaching. However, a few topics were consistently perceived as applicable. For example, the Dutch Revolt was almost uniformly perceived as applicable. We have conceptualised this phenomenon as canonised interpretativity, which means that often the same topics are used to explain how positionality in time and place influences one's perspective on the past. In addition, the results showed that there are topics that were nearly uniformly perceived as less applicable, for example the Enlightenment. Teachers mentioned multiple reasons for considering a topic being less applicable for

6

interpretational history teaching and four frequently mentioned criteria were: (1) teachers had no knowledge about the topic or affinity for the topic; (2) teachers lacked sufficient historical sources for designing lessons about interpretation; (3) the topic was not part of the curriculum; (4) the topic was perceived as being too abstract for the students.

There were also a few topics that teachers disagreed about in terms of applicability for interpretational history teaching. Corresponding with previous research, teachers were divided about the applicability of the Holocaust for interpretational history teaching (Salmons, 2003). Several teachers said that sensitive topics, such as the Holocaust or slavery, were not applicable for interpretation and deconstruction for moral reasons. Based upon the research of Lorenz (1995) and Goldberg, Schwarz, and Porat (2011), we introduced the metaphor of 'hot' and 'cold' history. Hot history refers to history in which parties still have a stake because individuals and groups are attached to the historical representations of this part of their past. For example, we found that the Holocaust could be hot for several teachers and due to their emotional involvement they disregarded this topic as applicable for interpretational history teaching. Several of these teachers said that they deliberately presented the Holocaust more as a factual narrative. In doing so, these teachers exposed a double epistemic standard (Maggioni & Parkinson, 2008), as they were aware that narratives about the Holocaust are based upon interpretations, but for moral reasons they chose to represent the Holocaust in the classroom as a factual narrative.

Conclusions chapter 5

> 'Because there is still such a thing as absolute evil, you must still say, this absolute form of evil you do not touch.' (Quote of an expert teacher)

In chapter 5 we aimed at gaining more insight into interpretational history teaching by studying teachers' practices when teaching history from multiple perspectives and investigating what considerations teachers have for addressing

specific subject perspectives in their lessons. For this study we first developed a theoretical framework in which we distinguished in advance three different temporal layers of multiperspectivity (i.e. in the past; between past and present; in the present), each with its own educational function respectively: (1) historical perspective taking, which refers to the combination of emotionally empathising with a historical actor and rationally reconstructing an adequate historical context to understand and make sense of the historical actor acting in that specific social and cultural context in the past; (2) historiographical perspective taking, which includes the former function; it is more extensive as students also have to take into account the historical context of the interpreters, for example historians. As such, students are faced with multiple historical contexts from multiple eras and subsequently are confronted with the epistemological question of the historicity of the historical method (Breisach, 2007); and (3) contemporary perspective taking, the aim of which is reflexivity, that is, the realisation that perspectives are personal and that teachers and the students themselves are consumers of history in the present, critically or uncritically accepting the constructions presented by others, or even making their own constructions of the past.

With this framework we analysed how teachers operationalised a multiperspectivity approach to history teaching, more specifically what temporal layers and sequences of subject perspectives experienced history teachers address in deliberately designed lessons about multiperspectivity. In addition, we investigated expert teachers' considerations for or against introducing specific subject perspectives. The teachers were requested to design a lesson from a multiperspectivity approach to history teaching on three given topics (the Dutch Revolt, slavery, and the Holocaust). We deliberately chose topics that varied in moral sensitivity and distance in time. For this study we purposefully selected five expert teachers who participated in the study of chapter 4. We observed and filmed the teachers while teaching the three lessons, interviewing them directly after each lesson.

When considering subject perspectives per temporal layer that were addressed in the lessons, we found noteworthy variation. To start, one third of the

6

lessons mainly focused on 'the past' and subsequently aimed at historical perspective taking. This finding might be expected as the past can be considered the history teachers' main focus, also in line with the focus of the Dutch history education programme (Board of Examinations, 2015). In contrast to the dominant focus on perspectives in the past, we found only a few lessons focusing mainly on perspectives 'between past and present', emphasising historiographical perspective taking. It is with regard to this temporal layer that we saw the greatest differences between teachers, with three teachers incorporating this temporal layer in almost all their lessons and two teachers almost entirely disregarding it. One explanation for these differences between teachers could be that addressing subject perspectives in this temporal layer might not be in the forefront of all teachers' minds, as the Dutch curriculum provides little or no guidance in what subject perspectives can be addressed in this temporal layer (Board of Examinations, 2015). Moreover, in line with the literature, several teachers pointed out that historiographical perspective taking can be very abstract and students often lack the knowledge to reconstruct multiple historical contexts (Fallace, 2007; Fallace & Neem, 2005). Finally, taking into account the findings of chapters 3 and 4, we might expect teachers to lack sufficient historiographical knowledge themselves. Concerning the temporal layer 'in the present' we found that in two thirds of the lessons, teachers asked their students to formulate their own perspective. Moreover, in almost all interviews, teachers mentioned lesson goals that were related to contemporary perspective taking, emphasising the aim of teaching students to be critical and to formulate a perspective themselves. Given this frequent emphasis, this function of multiperspectivity seems to be the most prominent according to the teachers in this study.

When it comes to the limits of multiperspectivity, we found that in two third of the lessons the teachers were not explicit about their own perspective and consequently enacted invisible censorship with their students by imposing specific hidden representations of the past (Bourdieu, 2001). Another finding exposing the limits of multiperspectivity was that the teachers engaged in what we referred to as normative balancing, which means that teachers balanced between having

considerations for transferring values (i.e. imposing your own values) and with having considerations aimed at value communication, (i.e. discussing and interpreting different values) (Van Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012; Veugelars & de Kat, 2003). In relation to this normative balancing we found for example that several teachers deliberately disregarded the perspective of Holocaust denial from their lessons. One of the consequences of not addressing these 'radical' subject perspectives is that students with these beliefs will not be challenged to nuance their beliefs based on disciplinary criteria and humanistic norms (Orlenius, 2008; Van San, Sieckelinck, & de Winter, 2013). Furthermore, the danger of disregarding specific subjects' perspectives is that the intended open narrative closes and the notion of multiperspectivity ironically becomes teleological, as only those subjects' perspectives are introduced that confirm one's own cultural and societal values.

Overall conclusion

Confirming results from previous studies, this thesis shows that teaching interpretational history is a path full of tensions and pitfalls (Barton & Levstik, 2003; James, 2008; Martell, 2013). Based on previous research and the empirical findings, we have identified four factors that can influence teachers' practices regarding interpretational history teaching. These four factors are characteristics of: (1) teacher expertise; (2) the work and learning environment; (3) historical topics; and (4) teachers' beliefs. Nevertheless, these factors cannot be considered in isolation, because in practice these factors do not function independently from each other, as for example a teacher can have more or less expertise on a historical topic.

Teacher expertise

We propose that for interpretational history teaching, history teachers have to integrate different types of expertise (Hammerness et al., 2005; Husbands, 2011). This thesis shows that three types of expertise are important in relation to interpretational history teaching. These are (1) classroom management expertise, (2) subject knowledge expertise, and (3) pedagogical expertise. Several scholars have shown how history teachers' practices can be influenced by their classroom

6

management expertise (Fehn & Koeppen, 1998; Virta, 2002). The results of this thesis support this, showing how teaching interpretational history is indeed also dependent on teachers' perceived ability to manage a class and their need to maintain control. The findings of chapter 3 show that student teachers might avoid interpretational history teaching when they experience classroom management problems. To nuance the influence of classroom management, we want to highlight that in chapters 4 and 5 none of the participating experienced teachers mentioned classroom management as an important constraining factor. However, the experienced teachers expressed the need to create a stable and safe learning environment, as teaching about interpretation and addressing multiperspectivity can create fierce discussions in the classroom, especially when focusing on sensitive and controversial topics.

Subject matter knowledge is a second area of expertise that can constrain or facilitate interpretational history teaching. The student teachers as well as the experienced teachers mentioned sufficient subject matter knowledge as a precondition for interpretational history teaching. This finding is in line with other scholars mentioning subject matter knowledge as important for teaching history (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Fallace, 2007; Husbands, 2011; Klein, 2010; VanSledright, 2011). In general, we found that teachers were more willing to teach about interpretation when they had knowledge about the topic as well as an affinity for the topic (chapters 3, 4 and 5). Martell (2013) and James (2008) have shown that limited subject matter knowledge can result in low teaching confidence, which may result in teachers avoiding difficult epistemological and moral questions. Corresponding with their findings we found that several teachers reported focusing more on teaching historical facts when they lacked in-depth knowledge about the topic or when they were not very interested in the topic.

Third, teachers have the laborious job of not only knowing the theoretical and procedural intricacies of disciplinary history, but also understanding in-depth how to translate this knowledge into pedagogical practices (Monte-Sano, 2011; Monte-Sano & Budano, 2013; Schulman, 1989; Tuithof, 2017; VanSledright, 2011). The results of chapter 3 show that several student teachers lacked

pedagogical knowledge about how to teach interpretational history teaching. This result is not surprising and corresponds with previous research investigating the pedagogical knowledge of student science teachers (Janssen, Tigelaar, & Verloop, 2009). In relation to interpretational history teaching the consequence of not having pedagogical knowledge was that these student teachers mainly focused on teaching historical facts. In chapters 4 and 5 none of the experienced teachers explicitly mentioned that they lacked pedagogical knowledge for teaching interpretational history. However, many experienced teachers said it took them a great deal of time to find appropriate historical sources and to develop lessons about interpretation.

Work and learning environment

In relation to the work and learning environment, it is noteworthy that we found that most factors to be mentioned as constraints for interpretational history teaching (chapters 3, 4 and 5). This thesis provides empirical evidence that important factors constraining interpretational history teaching are the perceived pressure from the history curriculum, and the tests and content of the history textbooks, factors that have been found separately in earlier studies (Barton & Levstik, 2003; Wilson, Konopak, & Readence, 1994; Yeager & Davis, 2005; Yeager & Van Hover 2006). Research has already widely pointed to the generic impact of the school environment on the way teachers teach (Hobson, Ashbu, Malderez, & Tomlinson, 2009; Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2002). This thesis specifically shows that the choice of school in which student teachers undertook their apprenticeships played a significant role, as the mentor could either constrain or facilitate the student teacher in focusing on interpretational history teaching. Finally, in line with the findings of Moisan (2010), student teachers and experienced teachers said that they focus more on interpretation if the cognitive level of the pupils is higher.

6

Historical topics

An important contribution of chapter 4 to the field is the new insight in historical topics as directly influencing teachers' practices of interpretational history teaching. This is important as until now research mainly assumed that teaching interpretational history was independent of historical topic. In line with Barton and McCully (2012) and Sheppard (2010) chapters 4 and 5 showed that teachers can morally identify with a specific historical topic. This moral identification with a topic can influence teachers' epistemological knowledge representations in their teaching.

Teacher beliefs

Focusing on teachers' beliefs, an important overall finding is that in all interviews student teachers and experienced teachers mentioned interpretational history as an important aim for history education. However, we also found that teachers could have conflictious beliefs. Chapter 2 showed that student history teachers combined objectives of history education representing the historical knowledge as factual and as interpretive. Chapter 3 extended this finding by demonstrating that student teachers struggled to balance between teaching facts and interpretation. In chapters 4 and 5 we found that several experienced teachers had to balance their epistemological beliefs about historical knowledge and their pedagogical or moral beliefs. One explanation for this balancing might be that all participants in this thesis were trained as academic historians and as history teachers. Whereas academic historians could be expected to study history according to disciplinary standards, history teachers in secondary education might be expected to also have additional concerns with related to their pedagogical and moral responsibilities. We propose that combining both positions involves a process of conscious and unconscious balancing between how historical knowledge should be presented. Finally, how interpretational history teaching comes to the fore in teaching practices is the outcome of a complex interaction between the above-described personal and situational factors.

Practical recommendations

Curriculum designers

We can make several curricular recommendations to stimulate teachers to focus on teaching interpretational history. To start the Dutch history curriculum could be more detailed in what is expected from history teachers in relation to interpretational history teaching. For example, teachers might be helped if there were rubrics describing what level of interpretation should be aimed for within the different educational levels. To stimulate historiographical perspective taking (chapter 5) a recommendation for curriculum designers could be to suggest more often what historiographical subjects should be addressed or provide more guidance on how historiographical subjects could be addressed. In addition, we suggest that teachers are enabled to focus on interpretation if curriculum designers and other educational institutes provide practical tools and teaching methods about how to teach interpretational history. As shown in this thesis not all teachers have the expertise or time to develop these types of lessons.

Teacher education and in-service teacher training

Based on the results of chapter 2 we suggest that it would be profitable for teacher educators to explicate and structure the ongoing debates about the objectives of history education. Van Hover and Yeager (2007) propose that teacher educators have to gain a better understanding of the student teachers' epistemologies of history, as only then they can effectively challenge teachers to broaden their notions of what it means to teach and learn history. Discussing the problem of historical knowledge representation in the different objectives of history education might be helpful for this challenge. Moreover, we suggest that thinking about multiperspectivity in a temporal manner and the educational functions that are related to temporal layers could become part of teacher education in order for student teachers to realise the effects of positioning subjects in different temporal layers. In addition, it is important that teacher educators, in allotting student teachers to schools, deliberately take into consideration the school's orientation in

6

history teaching. As chapter 3 makes clear, a training place can either stimulate or frustrate the initial preference of the student teacher. As a case can be made for both the usefulness of alignment (i.e. safety, confidence) and of tensions (i.e. awareness of different teaching realities, reflexivity) for teachers' development, it might be wise to have two or more apprenticeships during teacher education, as this might provide a basis for student teachers to discuss teaching orientations and the impact of work and learning environments on a meta level.

In relation to in-service history teachers we suggest that historiographical training is important as experienced teachers can lose touch with the university (Fallace & Neem, 2005; Parkes, 2009; Whitehouse, 2008). Several examples of this training have already been developed and described (Fallace, 2007; Lovorn, 2012; McDiarmid & Vinten-Johansen, 2000). Drawing upon these examples, in such training teachers should actively engage in historiographical debates and translate these debates into classroom practice.

A recommendation for pre-service teacher training and in-service teacher training is that the opportunity should be created for history teachers to reflect upon the different roles they combine, including that of the academic historian, the history teacher, the person with certain moral and possibly religious beliefs, and the citizen of a specific country. In doing so, teachers can reflect on how personal predispositions, ingrained within their very identity, can come to play a role when they encounter or teach about the past (Hunt, 2002). From an epistemological perspective, history education inevitably refers to the present, which creates an unavoidable subjectivity, but which is also something about which one can be reflexive (Jonker, 2012; Stearns, Seixas, & Wineburg, 2000).

Suggestions for further research

This thesis was exploratory in nature and one of the first steps in researching teachers' beliefs and practices in relation to interpretational history teaching. We suggest future research into five directions. First, we propose further research to determine generalizability of the findings of this thesis to the broader population of history teachers in the Netherlands and international. The participants

were limited in amount and in the chapters three, four and five purposefully selected by the criterion that they all strive for interpretational history teaching. Future research could expand the focus of these studies to the broader group of history teachers to determine the extent in which they prefer and engage in interpretational history teaching and to investigate how this varies in relation to teacher expertise, the school environment and historical topics.

A second direction of research is longitudinal research on history teachers' beliefs and practices of interpretational history teaching. Such research could start with investigating student history teachers at the start of their teacher education program and can follow them during their induction period or even longer. Studying history teachers longitudinally might provide knowledge on teachers' development in their representation of historical knowledge be it factual or interpretation. We have suggested that student history teachers need to develop expertise for interpretational history teaching, but we do not expect that such development of their expertise automatically will lead to more interpretational history teaching.

Third, several concepts for history teaching that have been introduced in this thesis might be explored in other countries or culturally. More specifically, for the concept 'canonised interpretativity', it is relevant to investigate in other countries if history teachers use the same examples as Dutch teachers for interpretational history teaching. In addition, it would be interesting to investigate in different countries what topics are perceived as cold and hot history. Results on both research topics might help understand how national and cultural traditions influence practices of interpretational history teaching.

As a fourth line of future research we propose to investigate the impact of interpretational history teaching on students. Stoel, Logtenberg, Wansink, Huijgen, Van Boxtel and Van Drie (2017) have developed a questionnaire to measure students' epistemological beliefs in history. It would be interesting to do a semi-experimental study and to use this questionnaire to measure if students develop more nuanced epistemological beliefs in an experimental group in which history teachers focus on interpretational history, than in a control group in which teachers focus on teaching historical facts.

6

6

Finally, we suggest to investigate whether some of the findings of this study also apply for teachers in other school subjects, such as other subjects related to humanities or science, where epistemology and the interpretational nature of knowledge is considered relevant in education. In the science domain for example, there is growing consensus amongst scholars that science teachers should teach about the interpretational aspects of scientific knowledge. (Abd-El-Khalick & Lederman, 2000; Hashweh, 1996; Tsai, 2002;

Van der Zande, Waarlo, Brekelmans, Akkerman, & Vermunt, 2011). Within this context it can be relevant to investigate if science teachers are constrained or facilitated to focus on interpretational science teaching by the same factors as do history teachers. Within such a line of research across school subjects some of the introduced concepts might be useful as analytic tools for researching epistemological practices. For example, does the notion of 'certainty paradox' also apply to science student teachers, that is, do science student teachers also need (factual) certainty to be able to cope with and engage in (interpretational) uncertainty? Or can the concept 'canonised interpretativity' be used to investigate if science teachers use the same or different examples to teach about the interpretive aspects of scientific knowledge? Finally, it can be explored whether science teachers morally identify themselves with specific topics more than with others. Or to put it otherwise, can teachers identify with hot and cold scientific topics? If so, then a following question is whether such moral identification with specific topics influences science teachers' epistemological representations of knowledge in the classroom.

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

Tussen feit en interpretatie

Opvattingen over en praktijkervaringen met een interpretatieve benadering van geschiedenis in het onderwijs.

De interpretatieve benadering van geschiedenis heeft de afgelopen decennia in het Nederlandse onderwijs een steeds belangrijkere plaats ingenomen. Van docenten in het voortgezet onderwijs wordt verwacht dat ze hun leerlingen uitleggen dat historische kennis voor een belangrijk deel geconstrueerd is op basis van interpretaties. In de praktijk komt dit nog niet goed tot uitdrukking; docenten richten zich meer op historische feiten dan op interpretaties. Wat faciliteert of belemmert deze docenten? In dit proefschrift onderzoeken we de opvattingen van docenten geschiedenis over het doceren van een interpretatieve benadering van geschiedenis en wat een aantal docenten in de praktijk doet.

In **hoofdstuk 1** worden de kernbegrippen, de doelen en de onderzoeksvragen van dit proefschrift beschreven. We beginnen met het uitgangspunt dat epistemologische opvattingen over historische kennis gepositioneerd kunnen worden op een continuüm met aan de ene kant de opvatting dat historische kennis 'waar' is en gecomprimeerd kan worden tot historische feiten, wat zich in de praktijk kan vertalen naar lessen zonder enige epistemologische reflectie. Aan de andere kant van het continuüm staat de relativistische benadering, die verwijst naar de opvatting dat alle historische kennis subjectief is en dat er geen criteria zijn om deze kennis epistemologisch te beoordelen. De benadering die centraal staat in dit proefschrift onderschrijft de opvatting dat historische kennis interpretatief is. Binnen die interpretatieve benadering bestaan intersubjectieve, disciplinaire criteria die gebruikt kunnen worden om historische kennis te evalueren. In het onderwijs wordt deze benadering zichtbaar als een docent vertelt dat er verschillende interpretaties van het verleden bestaan. Daarbij moet de docent

6

benadrukken dat er wel degelijk criteria zijn om de uiteenlopende geconstrueerde verhalen over het verleden te beoordelen op hun kwaliteit.

In dit proefschrift hebben we de epistemologische doelen en praktijken van docenten-in-opleiding en van ervaren docenten onderzocht. Hierbij hebben we geanalyseerd welke factoren docenten belemmeren of ondersteunen in het doceren volgens een interpretatieve benadering van geschiedenis. Daarnaast hebben we onderzocht hoe docenten in de praktijk multiperspectiviteit vormgeven in de les.

In **hoofdstuk 2** hebben we 48 geschiedenisdocenten-in-opleiding een vragenlijst laten invullen over hun doelen met het schoolvak geschiedenis. Hieruit konden we zes verschillende doelen afleiden: (1) leerlingen het verleden laten memoriseren; (2) leerlingen leren kritisch te denken met behulp van academische vaardigheden; (3) leerlingen leren begrijpen dat geschiedenis een constructie is; (4) leerlingen leren dat ze historische personen moeten begrijpen en plaatsen binnen hun eigen historische context; (5) het vormen van een collectieve identiteit; (6) geschiedenis gebruiken om lessen te leren voor het heden. Vervolgens hebben we van deze doelen vastgesteld in hoeverre daarbinnen historische kennis door docenten wordt gerepresenteerd als 'feitelijk' of als 'interpretatief'. Ten eerste hebben we gesteld dat het memoriseren van historische kennis tot beide benaderingswijzen kan behoren, omdat ook voor een interpretatieve benadering historische kennis noodzakelijk is. Vervolgens stellen we dat de vorming van een collectieve identiteit en het vaak morele doel van lessen trekken uit het verleden historische kennis vereist die meer wordt gerepresenteerd als feitelijk. De andere doelen vragen om een representatie van historische kennis die meer interpretatief is. De resultaten laten zien dat ongeveer de helft van de docenten zowel doelen noemt waarin kennis meer als feitelijk dan als interpretatief wordt ge(re)presenteerd, alsook doelen waarbinnen die kennis meer als interpretatief dan als feitelijk wordt voorgesteld. Een eerste verklaring voor het samengaan van twee verschillende epistemologische representaties zou kunnen zijn dat docenten zich niet bewust zijn van de onderliggende spanningen tussen de doelen. We achten een meer plausibele verklaring dat de onderwijspraktijk waarin de docenten-in-opleiding terecht komen

ervoor zorgt dat zij verschillende doelen gaan combineren en afwisselen. Dit omdat zij naast hun rol als historicus ook andere rollen krijgen, zoals die van opvoeder. Vanuit deze verschillende rollen hebben docenten ook verschillende verantwoordelijkheden en mogelijk wisselende doelen met het vak geschiedenis.

In **hoofdstuk 3** hebben we onderzocht hoe docenten-in-opleiding tijdens hun opleidingsjaar historische kennis in de klas representeerden. We hebben daarvoor 13 docenten geselecteerd uit hoofdstuk 2, van wie we verwachtten dat ze een interpretatieve benadering van geschiedenis zouden gaan doceren. Deze docenten hebben we aan het einde van het opleidingsjaar geïnterviewd met behulp van storyline-techniek. Het bleek dat deze docenten meer aandacht gaven aan het doceren van feitelijke geschiedenis dan ze zelf wenselijk achtten. Twee factoren beïnvloedden hun praktijk: (1) de leer- en werkomgeving en (2) hun eigen expertise. Een belangrijke bevinding van het onderzoek is dat de stagebegeleider een grote invloed heeft op de representatie van historische kennis door de docent-in-opleiding. Een bevinding was ook dat docenten op het gebied van orde houden, vakinhoudelijke kennis en didactische kennis veel kennis en zelfvertrouwen nodig hebben om een interpretatieve benadering van geschiedenis te durven aan te gaan. Er is een bepaalde mate van zelfverzekerdheid nodig om onzekerheid te durven doceren; dit noemen wij de 'zekerheidsparadox'.

In **hoofdstuk 4** hebben we onderzocht welke onderwerpen docenten geschikt achten voor het hanteren van een interpretatieve benaderingswijze. Omdat we niet wilden dat beginnersproblemen van docenten-in-opleiding de resultaten zouden beïnvloeden, hebben we ervaren docenten geselecteerd op basis van adviezen van vakdidactici van vijf verschillende universiteiten. De geselecteerde 15 ervaren docenten kregen een sorteeropdracht. Ze bleken verschillend te denken over de geschiktheid van historische onderwerpen. Enkele onderwerpen zoals de Nederlandse Opstand werden door veel docenten genoemd als heel geschikt, onder andere omdat er gebruik gemaakt kan worden van een al voorbewerkt discours. We hebben dit fenomeen de 'gecanoniseerde interpretatie' genoemd. Er waren ook

6

onderwerpen die docenten minder geschikt vonden, zoals bijvoorbeeld de Verlichting. Overwegingen om een onderwerp minder geschikt te vinden waren onder andere: (1) te weinig kennis over het onderwerp of weinig affiniteit met het onderwerp; (2) te weinig materiaal om een les te maken; (3) het onderwerp maakt geen deel uit van het examenprogramma; (4) het onderwerp wordt gezien als te abstract voor leerlingen. Tenslotte verschilden de docenten sterk van mening over de geschiktheid van meer sensitieve onderwerpen zoals de Holocaust of Slavernij. Hierbij speelden vooral morele overwegingen van de docenten een rol.

In **hoofdstuk 5** hebben we onderzocht hoe docenten in hun lessen vormgeven aan multiperspectiviteit. Daarvoor hebben we eerst het begrip multiperspectiviteit geconcretiseerd door drie verschillende tijdslagen te onderscheiden met ieder een aparte functie. De eerste tijdslaag laag verwijst naar 'het verleden' en de functie hiervan is dat leerlingen leren begrijpen dat historische personen binnen hun eigen historische context geplaatst moeten worden. De tweede tijdslaag verwijst naar 'tussen verleden en het heden' en de functie daarvan is dat leerlingen leren begrijpen dat historische kennis veranderlijk kan zijn door de tijd heen. De derde tijdslaag verwijst naar het heden en de functie ervan is dat leerlingen leren begrijpen dat ook nu iedereen vanuit een bepaald perspectief naar het verleden kijkt.

Vijf docenten hebben we de opdracht gegeven om over de Nederlandse Opstand, Slavernij en de Holocaust een les te ontwerpen vanuit multiperspectiviteit en deze te geven. Alle lessen hebben we gefilmd en de docenten zijn erna geïnterviewd. We hebben geanalyseerd hoeveel perspectieven per tijdslaag de docenten per les introduceerden en welke redenen ze daarvoor hadden. De resultaten laten ten eerste zien dat de meeste perspectieven werden geïntroduceerd in de tijdslaag 'verleden'. Daarnaast verschilden docenten sterk in hoeveel perspectieven ze introduceerden in de tijdslaag 'tussen heden en verleden'. Docenten gaven aan 'het heden' heel belangrijk te vinden, omdat de leerlingen moeten leren ook zelf een kritisch perspectief op het verleden in te nemen. Ten

slotte bleek dat de morele opvattingen van de docenten van invloed waren op de perspectieven die wel of niet werden geïntroduceerd in de les.

In **hoofdstuk 6** hebben we de belangrijkste resultaten van de verschillende hoofdstukken samengevat en presenteren we onze conclusies. Op basis van onze eigen empirische bevindingen en voorgaand onderzoek stellen we dat er vier verschillende factoren zijn die het doceren van interpretatieve geschiedenis beïnvloeden. Dit zijn (1) de expertise van de docent; (2) de werk en leeromgeving waarbinnen de docent functioneert; (3) de historische inhoud; (4) de opvattingen van de docent.

Bij de eerste factor, docentexpertise, blijkt dat bij een gebrek aan expertise de kans groot is dat de docent het verleden presenteert als een feitelijk verhaal met weinig epistemologische reflectie. Bij de tweede factor, werk- en leeromgeving, hebben we geïdentificeerd wat het doceren van een interpretatieve benadering van geschiedenis belemmert. Docenten voelen institutionele dwang, ten eerste in termen van een gevoel dat ze het hele programma moeten afwerken; ten tweede in termen van de al bepaalde inhoud van de lesboeken en tot slot vanwege het ervaren van een tekort aan tijd om nieuwe of andere lessen te ontwikkelen. Bij de derde factor 'historische inhoud' hebben we gevonden dat het onderwerp van invloed kan zijn op de manier waarop historische kennis wordt gepresenteerd. Dit wordt bijvoorbeeld bepaald door morele identificatie met een historisch onderwerp. Bij de laatste factor 'opvattingen van docenten' vinden we dat docenten het doceren van een interpretatieve benadering van geschiedenis belangrijk vinden. Alhoewel ook blijkt dat docenten opvattingen over geschiedenisonderwijs hebben die hiermee op gespannen voet kunnen staan. Hierbij hebben we de term 'normatief balanceren' geïntroduceerd, die verwijst naar de spanning tussen het doceren van absolute waarden en het laten zien dat waarden ook relatief en veranderlijk kunnen zijn.

In het slothoofdstuk doen we een aantal aanbevelingen voor de onderwijspraktijk. We stellen ten eerste voor dat het examenprogramma meer duidelijkheid moet geven over wat precies van docenten verwacht wordt wanneer ze interpretatieve geschiedenis doceren. Ten tweede stellen we voor dat er bij het

invullen van stageplekken in de lerarenopleiding rekening gehouden moet worden met zowel de opvattingen van de docenten in opleiding als ook die van de stagebegeleiders. Ten derde vinden wij het wenselijk dat docenten meer aandacht gaan schenken aan historiografie. Dit zou gestimuleerd kunnen worden door hier in nascholing meer tijd aan te besteden. Een laatste aanbeveling is om docenten meer te laten reflecteren op de invloed van hun eigen normen en waarden op hun lespraktijk.

We eindigen het laatste hoofdstuk met suggesties voor verder onderzoek. Als eerste stellen we voor om de generaliseerbaarheid van de resultaten te vergroten door de studies te vervolgen met een grotere groep niet voorgeselecteerde geschiedenisdocenten. Ten tweede is het van belang om te onderzoeken in hoeverre het doceren van een interpretatieve benadering van geschiedenis ook invloed heeft op de epistemologische opvattingen van leerlingen over geschiedenis. Ook zouden de verschillende nieuwe concepten die we in dit proefschrift hebben geïntroduceerd gebruikt kunnen worden bij onderzoek naar geschiedenisonderwijs in andere landen, ondanks hun specifieke eigenaardigheden en gevoeligheden. Tenslotte stellen we voor om te onderzoeken of de bevindingen van dit proefschrift ook geldend zijn voor docenten in andere vakken waar interpretatie en multiperspectiviteit relevant wordt geacht.

REFERENCES

Abd-El-Khalick, F. and Lederman, N. G. 2000. Improving Science Teachers' Conceptions of Nature of Science: A Critical Review of the Literature. *International Journal of Science Education*, 22: 665–701.

Adler, S. (1984). A field study of selected student teacher perspectives towards social studies. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *12*(1), 13-30.

Ankersmit, F. R. (2001). *Historical Representation: FR Ankersmit*. Stanford University Press.

Bekerman, Z., & Zembylas, M. (2010). Fearful symmetry: Palestinian and Jewish teachers confront contested narratives in integrated bilingual education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *26*(3), 507-515.

Barker, C., Pistrang, N., & Elliott, R. (2002). *Research methods in clinical psychology*. London: Wiley.

Barton, K. C., & Levstik, L. S. (2003). Why don't more history teachers engage students in interpretation?. *Social Education*, *67*(6), 358-358.

Barton, K. C., & Levstik, L. S. (2004). *Teaching history for the common good*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Barton, K. C., & Levstik, L. S. (2008a). History. In J. Arthur, C. Hahn, & I. Davies (Eds.), *Handbook of education for citizenship and democracy*. London: Sage.

Barton, K. C. (2008b). Students' ideas about history. In L. S. Levstik & C. A. Tyson (Eds.), *Handbook of research in social studies education.* (pp. 239–258). New York: Routledge.

Barton, K. C., & McCully, A. W. (2005). History, identity, and the school curriculum in Northern Ireland: An empirical study of secondary students' ideas and perspectives. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *37*(1), 85–116.

Barton, K. C., & McCully, A. (2007). Teaching controversial issues... where controversial issues really matter. *Teaching History*, (127), 13.

Bain, R. & J. Mirel. (2006). Setting up camp at the great instructional divide: Educating beginning history teachers. *Journal of Teacher Education, 57*(3), 212-219.

R

Beijaard, D., Van Driel, J., & Verloop, N. (1999). Evaluation of story-line methodology in research on teachers' practical knowledge. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, *25*(1), 47-62.

Bekerman, Z., & Zembylas, M. (2010). Fearful symmetry: Palestinian and Jewish teachers confront contested narratives in integrated bilingual education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *26*(3), 507–515.

Bergmann, K. (2000). *Multiperspektivität: Geschichte selber denken*. Wochenschau-Verlag.

Beyen, M. (2006). *Canons in dialoog. Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (BMGN) *[Canons in dialogue. Contributions and statements regarding history of the Netherlands]*, 121, 93–98.

Board of examinations, History HAVO and VWO, syllabus national exam 2015, based on domain A and B of the curriculum (2013) [College voor Examens. *(2013).* geschiedenis HAVO & VWO, syllabus centraal examen 2015 op basis van domein A en B van het examenprogramma.] Retrieved September 18, 2013, from http://www.examenblad.nl

Boeije, H. (2010). *Analysis in qualitative research.* London: Sage.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (2003). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction in theories and methods* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Pearson Education Group.

Bourdieu, P. (2001). Television. *European Review*, *9*(03), 245–256.

Bowen, G, A. (2006). Grounded theory and sensitizing concepts. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *5*(3), 1-9.

Breisach, E. (1993). *Historiography: Ancient, medieval, & modern.* (2nd ed). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Brouwer, N., & Korthagen, F. (2005). Can teacher education make a difference? *American Educational Research Journal*, *42*(1), 153–224.

Brownlee, J., Schraw, G., & Berthelsen, D. (2011). Personal epistemology and teacher education: An emerging field. In J. Brownlee, G. Schraw, & D. Berthelsen (Eds.), *Personal epistemology and teacher education.* (pp. 3–21). London: Routledge.

R

Burguière, A. (2009). *The Annales school: an intellectual history*. Ithaca, NY Cornell University Press.

Carr, D. (1986). Narrative and the real world: An argument for continuity. *History and Theory*, 117-131.

Carretero, M., & Voss, J. F. (Eds.) (1994). *Cognitive and instructional processes in history and the social sciences.* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Carretero, M. (2011). *Constructing patriotism. Teaching of history and historical memory in globalized world.* Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Carretero, M., & Bermudez, A. (2012). Constructing histories. In J. Valsiner (Ed.), *Oxford handbook of culture and psychology.* (pp. 625–649). USA: OUP.

Carretero, M., López, C., M. P. González, & Rodríguez-Moneo, M. (2012). Students historical narratives and concepts about the nation. In M. Carretero, M. Asensio, & M. Rodríguez-Moneo (Eds.), *History education and the construction of national identities.* (153-171). Charlotte NC: Information Age Publishing.

Cetina, K. K. (2009). *Epistemic cultures: How the sciences make knowledge.* Harvard University Press.

Chapman, A. (2011a). Historical interpretations. *Debates in history teaching*, London: Routledge, 96–109.

Chapman, A. (2011b). Taking the perspective of the other seriously? understanding historical argument. *Educar em Revista* 42, 95–106.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory. A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage.

Chase, W. G., & Simon, H. A. (1973). Perception in chess. *Cognitive Psychology*, *4*(1), 55–81.

Chi, M. T. (1997). Quantifying qualitative analyses of verbal data: A practical guide. *The Journal of the Learning Sciences*, *6*(3), 271–315.

Chiodo, J. & Brown, T. (2007). Student perceptions of teaching: Assessing their mental images of teaching social studies. *Journal of Social Studies Research*, *31*(1), 12- 26.

R

REFERENCES

Clark, A. (2009). Teaching the nation's story: Comparing public debates and classroom perspectives on history education in Australia and Canada. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 41*(6), 745–62.

Cohen, L., Manion. L., & Morrison. K. (2007). *Research methods in education*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Cole, A. L., & Knowles, J. G. (1993). Shattered images: Understanding expectations and realities of field experiences. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *9*(5), 457–471.

Conway, P. F. (2001). Anticipatory reflection while learning to teach: From a temporally truncated to a temporally distributed model of reflection in teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *17*(1), 89-106.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2014). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications.

Council of Europe (2011). Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers – Retrieved December 15, 2016, from www.wcd.coe.int

Croce, B. (1941). *History as a story of Liberty*. London: George Allen & Unwin.

Cuban, L. (2002). Foreword. In B. VanSledright (Ed.), *In search of America's past : Learning to read history in elementary school*. New York: Teachers College Press. pp.vii–x.

Dalhuisen, L. G., & Korevaar, C. W. (1971). *De Methode van Onderzoek in het Geschiedenisonderwijs* [The method of inquiry in history teaching]. The Hague: Van Goor Zonen.

Davies, I. (Ed.). (2011). *Debates in history teaching*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

De canon van Nederland (2006–2007), vols. A,B, and C. [The canon of the Netherlands, volume A,B and C] Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press. Retrieved online September 18, 2013, from http://www.entoen.nu/en

De Rooy, P. (Ed.), & Commissie Historische en Maatschappelijke Vorming (CHMV). (2001). *Verleden, heden en toekomst* [Past, present and future]. Enschede: SLO.

R

Den Heyer, K., & Abbott, L. (2011). Reverberating echoes: Challenging teacher candidates to tell and learn from entwined narrations of Canadian history. *Curriculum Inquiry*, *41*(5), 610–635.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Donnelly, A. (1999). Interpreting differences: the educational aims of teachers of science and history, and their implications. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *31*(1), 17-41.

Dorsman, L., Jonker, E., & Ribbens, K. (2000). *Het zoet en het zuur, geschiedenis in Nederland.* [*The sweet and sour, history in the Netherlands*] Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Wereldbibliotheek bv.

Elgström, O., & Hellstenius, M. (2011). Curriculum debate and policy change. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 43*(6), 717-738.

Endacott, J. L., & Brooks, S. (2013). An updated theoretical and practical model for promoting historical empathy. *Social Studies Research & Practice*, *8*(1), 41–58.

Endacott, J. L., & Sturtz, J. (2014). Historical empathy and pedagogical reasoning. *The Journal of Social Studies Research, 39*(1), 1–16.

Erdmann, E., & Hassberg, W. (Eds.). (2011). *Facing - Mapping - Bridging Diversity*. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education. (Vol. 1). Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenshau Verlag.

Evans, R. J. (1997). *In Defence of History.* (London: Granta).

Evans, R. W. (1988). Lessons from history: Teacher and student conceptions of the meaning of history. *Theory and Research in Social Education, 16*(3), 203-225.

Evans, R. W. (1989). Teacher conception of history. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *17*(3), 210-40.

Evans, R. W. (1990). Teachers' conceptions of history revisited: Ideology, curriculum and student belief. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *18*(2), 101-138.

R

REFERENCES

Evans, R. W., Avery, P. G., & Pederson, P. V. (1999). Taboo topics: Cultural restraint on teaching social issues. *The Social Studies*, *90*(5), 218–224.

Evertson, C. M., & Weinstein, C. S. (2006). Classroom management as a field of inquiry. In C. M. Evertson & C. S. Weinstein (Eds.), *Handbook of classroom management: Research, practice, and contemporary issues* (pp. 3–16). Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Fallace, T. D. (2007). Once more unto the breach: Trying to get preservice teachers to link historiographical knowledge to pedagogy. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *35*(3), 427-446.

Fallace, T., & Neem, J. N. (2005). Historiographical thinking: Towards a new approach to preparing history teachers. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *33*(3), 329–346.

Fehn, B., & Koeppen, K. E. (1998). Intensive document-based instruction in a social studies methods course and student teachers' attitudes and practices in subsequent 214 field experiences. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *26*(4), 461–484.

Feiman-Nemser, S. (2003). What new teachers need to learn. *Educational Leadership*, *60*(8), 25–29.

Feldman, A., & Kropf, A. (1999). Teachers as curriculum decision makers: the selection of topics for high school physics. *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision, 14*(3), 241.

Fenton, E. (1966). *Teaching the new social studies in secondary schools: An inductive approach*. New York, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Fenton, E. (1967). *The new social studies*. New York, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Flores, M. A. (2001). Person and context in becoming a new teacher. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 27*(2), 135–148.

Flores, M. A., & Day, C. (2006). Contexts which shape and reshape new teachers' identities: A multi-perspective study. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *22*(2), 219–232.

R

Friedrichsen, P., & Dana, T. M. (2003). Using a card-sorting task to elicit and clarify science-teaching orientations. *Journal of Science Teacher Education*, *14*(4), 291–309.

Fuller, F. (1969). Concerns of teachers: A developmental conceptualization. *American Educational Research Journal, 6*, 207–226.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Company.

Goldberg, T. (2013). "It's in my veins": Identity and disciplinary practice in students' discussions of a historical issue. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *41*(1), 33–64.

Goldberg, T., Schwarz, B. B., & Porat, D. (2011). "Could they do it differently?": Narrative and argumentative changes in students' writing following discussion of "hot" historical issues. *Cognition and Instruction*, *29*(2), 185–217.

Goodman, J., & Adler, S. (1985). Becoming an elementary social studies teacher: A study of perspectives. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *13*(2), 1-20.

Gottlieb, E., & Wineburg, S. (2012). Between veritas and communitas: Epistemic switching in the reading of academic and sacred history. *Journal of the Learning Sciences*, *21*, 84–129.

Gratch, A. (2001). The culture of teaching and beginning teacher development. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 28*(4), 121–136.

Grever, M. (2007). Plurality, narrative and the historical canon. In M. Grever & S. Stuurman (Eds.), *Beyond the canon: History for the twenty-first century.* (pp. 31–47). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Grever, M., & Van Boxtel, C. (2014). *Verlangen naar tastbaar verleden: erfgoedonderwijs en historisch besef*. Uitgeverij Verloren.

Grever, M., Jonker, E., Ribbens, K., & Stuurman, S. (2006). *Controverses rond de canon*. [Controversies around the canon] Assen, the Netherlands: Van Gorcum.

Hammerness, K., Darling-Hammond, L., Bransford, J., Berliner, D., Cochran-Smith, M., McDonald, M., & Zeichner, K. (2005). How teachers learn and

R

develop. In L. Darling-Hammond & K. Zeichner (Eds.), *Preparing teachers for a changing world: What teachers should learn and be able to do* (pp. 358-389). San Francisco, C.A.: Jossey-Bass.

Hartzler-Miller, C. (2001). Making sense of "best practice" in teaching history. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *29*, 672–695.

Hashweh, M. Z. (1996). Effects of science teachers' epistemological beliefs in teaching. *Journal of Research in Science teaching*, *33*(1), 47-63.

Havekes, H., Coppen, P. A., Luttenberg, J., & Van Boxtel, C. (2012). Knowing and doing history: a conceptual framework and pedagogy for teaching historical contextualisation. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, *11*(1), 72-93.

Havekes, H., de Vries, J., & Aardema, A. (2010). Active historical thinking: Designing learning activities to stimulate domain specific thinking. *Teaching History, 139*, 52–59.

Hawkey, K. (1996). Image and the pressure to conform in learning to teach. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 12*(1), 99–108.

Heuss, A. (1959). *Verlust der Geschichte* (Göttingen, Germany: Van den hoeck & Ruprecht).

Hewson, P. W., & Hewson, M. G. A' B. (1989). Analysis and use of a task for identifying conceptions of teaching science. *Journal of Education for Teaching,* 15, 191–209.

History examinations. (2006) Report pilot CHMV/history examinations havo. [Geschiedenis examineren *(2006)* Rapport pilotproject CHMV/examen geschiedenis havo] Amsterdam.

Hobson, A. J., Ashby, P., Malderez, A., & Tomlinson, P. D. (2009). Mentoring beginning teachers: What we know and what we don't. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *25*(1), 207–216.

Huijgen, T., Van Boxtel, C., Van de Grift, W., & Holthuis, P. (2016). Toward historical perspective taking: Students' reasoning when contextualizing the actions of people in the past. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 1–35.

R

Hunt, L. (2002). *Against presentism*. Retrieved September 18, 2013, from
    https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-
    history/may-2002/against-presentism

Husbands, C. (2011). What do history teachers (need to) know. In I. Davies (Ed.),
    Debates in History Teaching (pp. 63–73). Abingdon, U.K.: Routledge.

Iggers, G. G. (1997). *Historiography in the twentieth century: From scientific
    objectivity to the postmodern challenge*. Hanover: Wesleyan University
    Press.

Janssen, F. J., Tigelaar, D. E., & Verloop, N. (2009). Developing biology lessons
    aimed at teaching for understanding: a domain-specific heuristic for student
    teachers. *Journal of Science Teacher Education*, *20*(1), 1.

James, J. H. (2008). Teachers as protectors: Making sense of preservice teachers'
    resistance to interpretation in elementary history teaching. *Theory &
    Research in Social Education*, *36*(3), 172–205.

Jenkins, K. (2003). *Re-thinking history*. London: Routledge.

Jonker, E. (2006). *De geesteswetenschappelijke carrousel*. [*The humanities
    carrousel*] Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press.

Jonker, E. (2012). Reflections on history education: Easy and difficult histories.
    Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society, *4*(1), 95–110.

Johnson, S. M., & Birkeland, S. (2004). *Finders and keepers.* San Francisco, C.A.:
    Jossey Bass.

Kelchtermans, G., & Ballet, K. (2002). The micropolitics of teacher induction. A
    narrative-biographical study on teacher socialisation. *Teaching and Teacher
    Education, 18*(1), 105–120.

Kennedy, M. (1999). The role of preservice teacher education. In L. Darling-
    Hammond & G. Sykes (Eds.), *Teaching as the learning profession:
    Handbook of policy and practice* (pp. 54–85). San Francisco, C.A.: Jossey-
    Bass.

King, P. M., & Kitchener, K. S. (2002). The reflective judgment model: Twenty
    years of research on epistemic cognition. In B. K. Hofer & P. R. Pintrich

R

(Eds.), *Personal epistemology: The psychology of beliefs about knowledge and knowing.* (pp. 37–61). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kinloch, N. (1998) Learning about the Holocaust: Moral or historical question? *Teaching History*, *93*, 44–46.

Klein, S. E. E. (2010). Teaching history in the Netherlands: Teachers' experiences of a plurality of perspectives. *Curriculum Inquiry*, *40*(5), 614–634.

Koetsier, C. P. (1995). Bridging the gap between initial teacher training and teacher induction. *Journal of Education for Teaching: International research and pedagogy*, *21*(3), 333-346.

Kocka, J. (1977). *Gesellschaftliche Funktionen der Geschichtswissenschaft*. In W. Oelmüller (Ed.), Wozu noch Geschichte? (pp. 11–33). Munich: Wilhelm Fink.

Kolikant, Y. B. D., & Pollack, S. (2009). The asymmetrical influence of identity: A triadic interaction among Israeli Jews, Israeli Arabs, and historical texts. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *41*(5), 651-677.

Kosso, P. (2009). The philosophy of history. In A. Tucker (Ed.), *Companion to the philosophy of history and historiography.* (pp. 7–25). Chichester, UK & Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lampert, M. & Ball, D. (1999). Aligning teacher education with contemporary K-12 reform visions. In L.Darling-Hammond & G. Sykes (Eds.), *Teaching as the learning profession: Handbook of policy and practice.* (pp. 33-53). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Leat, D. (1998). *Thinking through geography*. Cambridge: Chris Kingston Publishing.

Lee, P. (2005). Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History. In S. Donovan & J. Bransford (Eds.). *How students learn : History, mathematics and science in the classroom.* (pp. 31-78). Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.

Lee, P., & Ashby, R. (2000). Progression in historical understanding among students ages 7-14. In P. Sterns, P. Seixas & S. Wineburg (Eds.*), Knowing, teaching, and learning history*. (pp. 199-222). New York, NY: NYU Press.

R

Lee, P., & Shemilt, D. (2003). A scaffold, not a cage: Progression and progression models in history. *Teaching History*, 113, 13-24.

Lévesque, S. (2005). In search of a purpose for school history, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *37*(3), 349-358.

Lévesque, S. (2008). *Thinking historically: Educating students for the twenty-first century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Levisohn, J. A. (2010). Negotiating historical narratives: An epistemology of history for history education. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, *44*(1), 1-21.

Liston, D., Whitcomb, J., & Borko, H. (2006). Too little or too much: teacher preparation and the first years of teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *57*(4), 351–358.

Lorenz, C. (1994). Historical Knowledge and Historical Reality: A Plea for" Internal Realism". *History and Theory*, 297-327.

Lorenz, C. (1995). Beyond good and evil? The German empire of 1871 and modern German historiography. *Journal of Contemporary History*, *30*(4), 729–765.

Lovorn, M. G. (2012). Historiography in the methods course: Training preservice history teachers to evaluate local historical commemorations. *The History Teacher*, *45*(4), 569-579.

Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lowenthal, D. (1998). *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*. Cambridge,UK: Cambridge University Press.

Maggioni, L., & Parkinson, M. (2008). The role of teacher epistemic cognition, epistemic beliefs and calibration in instruction, *Educational Psychology Review, 20*(4), 445-461.

Maggioni, B., VanSledright, B., & Alexander, P. (2009). Walking on the borders: A measure of epistemic cognition in history. *The Journal of Experimental Education*, *77*(3), 187–213.

R

REFERENCES

Martell, C. C. (2013). Learning to teach history as interpretation: A longitudinal study of beginning teachers. *The Journal of Social Studies Research*, *37*, 17–31.

Mayer, H. (2006). Learning to teach young people how to think historically: A case study of one student teacher's experience. *Social Studies*, *97*(2), 69–76.

McCrum, E. (2013). History teachers' thinking about the nature of their subject. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *35*, 73–80.

McDiarmid, G. W. (1994). Understanding history for teaching: A study of the historical understanding of prospective teachers. *Cognitive and instructional processes in history and the social sciences*, *159*, 185.

McDiarmid, G. & Vinten-Johansen, P. (2000). A catwalk across the great divide: Redesigning the history teaching methods course. In Stearns, P., Seixas.P., & Wineburg, S. (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching and learning history: National and international perspectives* (pp.156-77). New York: New York University Press.

Meesbergen, G. (2014). Reflecties op het vergruisde beeld. De Nederlandse Opstand in de historiografie. [Reflections on the crushed image. The Dutch Revolt in the historiography] *Skript Historisch Tijdschrift*, *30.3,* 147–160.

Meijer, P. C., De Graaf, G., & Meirink, J. (2011). Key experiences in student teachers' development. *Teachers and Teaching*, *17*(1), 115–129.

Meijer, P. C., Oolbekkink, H. W., Pillen, M., & Aardema, A. (2014). Pedagogies of developing teacher identity. In *International Teacher Education: Promising Pedagogies* (Part A) (pp. 293-309). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Moir, E. (1999). The stages of a teacher's first year. In M. Scherer (Ed.), *A Better beginning: Supporting and mentoring new teachers* (pp. 19–23). Alexandria, V.A.: Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Moisan, S. (2010). *Fondements épistémologiques et représentations sociales d'enseignants d'histoire du secondaire à l'égard de l'enseignement de l'histoire et de la formation citoyenne* [Epistemological foundations and social representations of high school history teachers with regard to the

R

teaching of history and citizenship education] (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Montreal, Montreal.

Monte-Sano, C. (2011). Learning to open up history for students: Preservice teachers' emerging pedagogical content knowledge. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *62*(3), 260–272.

Monte-Sano, C., & Budano, C. (2013). Developing and enacting pedagogical content knowledge for teaching history: An exploration of two novice teachers' growth over three years. *Journal of the Learning Sciences*, *22*(2), 171-211.

Monte-Sano, C., & Cochran, M. (2009). Attention to learners, subject, or teaching: What takes precedence as preservice teachers learn to teach historical thinking and reading? *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *37*(1), 101–135.

Muhr, T. (1997*). ATLAS.ti –The knowledge workbench: Visual qualitative data, analysis, management, model building: Short user's manual*. Berlin: Scientific Software Development.

Newall, P. (2009). Historiographic Objectivity. In A. Tucker (Ed.), *Companion to the philosophy of history and historiography.* (pp. 7–25). Chichester, UK & Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards*: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12 Civics, Economics, Geography, and History* (Silver Spring, MD: NCSS, 2013).

Niedersächsisches Kulturministerium (2015). Geschichte: Kerncurriculum für das Gymnasium, Schuljahrgänge 5–10.

Nisbett, R. E. & Ross, L.E. (1980). *Human inference: Strategies and shortcomings of social judgment.* Englewood Cliffs. NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Nussbaum, M., & Cohen, J. (Eds.) (2002). *For love of country?: A new democracy forum on the limits of patriotism*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Leech, N. L. (2007). A call for qualitative power analyses. *Quality & Quantity*, *41*(1), 105–121.

R

Opfer, D. V., & Pedder, D. (2011). Conceptualizing teacher professional learning. *Review of Educational Research, 81*(3), 376–407.

Orland, L. (2000). What's in a line? Exploration of a research and reflection tool. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, *6*(2), 197–213.

Orlenius, K. (2008). Tolerance of intolerance: values and virtues at stake in education. *Journal of Moral Education*, *37*(4), 467–484.

Osborne, K. (2003). Teaching history in schools: A Canadian debate, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *35*(5), 585-626.

Pajares, M. F. (1992). Teachers' beliefs and educational research: Cleaning up a messy construct. *Review of Educational Research*, *62*(3), 307-332.

Parkes, R. J. (2009). Teaching history as historiography: Engaging narrative diversity in the curriculum. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, *8*(2), 118-132.

Peck, C., & Seixas, P. (2008). Benchmarks of historical thinking: First steps. *Canadian Journal of Education*, *31*(4), 1015-1038.

Perry, W. G. (1970). *Forms of intellectual and ethical development in the college years: A scheme*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Pettigrew, A., Salmons, P., & Foster, S. (2009). *Teaching about the Holocaust in English secondary schools: An empirical study of national trends, perspectives and practice*. London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Pintrich, P. R. (2002). Future challenges and directions for theory and research on personal epistemology. In P. R. Pintrich (Ed.), *Personal epistemology: The psychology of beliefs about knowledge and knowing.* (pp. 389–414). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Plumb, J. H. (1970). *The Death of the Past.* (London: Macmillan).

Putnam, H. (1981). *Reason, truth and history* (Vol. 3). Cambridge University Press.Raviv, A., Bar-Tal, D., Raviv, A., Biran, B., & Sela, Z. (2003). Teachers' epistemic authority: Perceptions of students and teachers. *Social Psychology of Education, 6*(1), 17–42.

R

Ribbens, K. (2007). A narrative that encompasses our history: Historical culture and history teaching. In M. Grever & S. Stuurman (Eds.), *Beyond the canon. History for the twenty-first century.* (pp. 63–76). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C. M., & Ormston, R. (Eds). (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. London: Sage.

Rüsen, J. (1989). The development of narrative competence in historical learning: An ontogenetic hypothesis concerning moral consciousness. *History and Memory*, *1*(2), 35–59.

Rüsen, J. (2004). Historical consciousness: Narrative structure, moral function, and ontogenetic development. In P. Seixas (Ed.), *Theorizing historical consciousness.* (pp. 63–85). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Rooy, P. de (Ed.). (2001). Commissie Historische en Maatschappelijke Vorming (CHMV) (2001) Verleden, heden en toekomst [Past, present and future] (Enschede: SLO).

Salmons, P. (2003). Teaching or preaching? The Holocaust and intercultural education in the UK. *Intercultural Education*, *14*(2), 139–149.

Savenije, G., Van Boxtel, C., & Grever, M. (2014). Sensitive 'heritage' of slavery in a multicultural classroom: Pupils' ideas regarding significance. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, *62*(2), 127-148.

Schommer-Aikens, M. (2004). Explaining the epistemological belief system: Introducing the embedded systemic model and coordinated research approach. *Educational Psychologist*, *39*(1), 19–29.

Segall, A. (1999). Critical history: Implications for history/social studies education. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, *27*(3), 358-374.

Seixas, P. (1993). The community of inquiry as a basis for knowledge and learning: The case of history. *American Educational Research Journal*, *30*(2), 305–324.

Seixas, P. (1998). Student teachers thinking historically. *Theory and Research in Social Education, 26*(3), 310-341.

R

REFERENCES

Seixas, P. (2000). Schweigen! Die kinder! Or, does postmodern history have a place in the schools. In P. Stearns, P. Seixas, & S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching and learning history: National and international perspectives* (pp.19–37). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Seixas, P. (2015). A model of historical thinking. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 1–13.

Seixas, P., & Clark, P. (2004). Murals as monuments: Students' ideas about depictions of civilization in British Columbia. *American Journal of Education*, *110*(2), 146-171.

Seixas, D. P., & Morton, T. (2012). *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts*. Nelson College Indigenous.

Seixas, P., & Peck, C. (2004). Teaching historical thinking. *Challenges and prospects for Canadian social studies*, 109-117.

Sheppard, M. G. (2010). *Difficult histories in an urban classroom* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Shulman, L. (1987). Knowledge and teaching: Foundations for the new reform. *Harvard Educational Review*, *57,* 1–22.

Southgate, B. (1996). *History: what & Why, Ancient, Modern, and Postmodern Perspectives.* Routledge, London.

Southgate, B. (2009). Postmodernism. In A. Tucker (Ed.), *Companion to the philosophy of history and historiography* (pp. 540-550). Chichester, U.K. & Malden, M.A.: Wiley-Blackwell.

Spruit, R. (1987). *J.P. Coen, dagen en daden in dienst van de VOC.* [*J. P. Coen, days and deeds in the service of the VOC*] Houten, the Netherlands: De Haan.

Stearns, P. N., Seixas, P. C., & Wineburg, S. (2000). *Knowing, teaching, and learning history: National and international perspectives*. NYU Press.

Stoddard, J. D. (2010). The roles of epistemology and ideology in teachers' pedagogy with historical 'media'. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, *16*(1), 153–171.

R

Stradling, R. (2003). *Multiperspectivity in history teaching: a guide for teachers*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Tsai, C. C. (2002). Nested epistemologies: science teachers' beliefs of teaching, learning and science. *International journal of science education*, *24*(8), 771-783.

Stoel, G., Logtenberg, A., Wansink, B., Huijgen, T., Van Boxtel, C., & Van Drie, J. (2017) Measuring epistemological beliefs in history education: An exploration of naïve and nuanced beliefs. *International Journal of Educational Research* 83:120-134.

Symcox, L. & Wilschut, A. (2009). *National History Standards. The Problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History*. Charlotte NC: Information Age Publishers.

Thornton, S.J. (1991). Teacher as curricular-instructional gatekeeper in social studies. In J.P. Shaver (Ed.), *Handbook of research on social studies teaching and learning.* (pp. 237-248). New York: Macmillan.

Thornton, S. J. (1998). *The persistent problem of method in social studies teaching*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Education Research Association, San Diego, CA, April 1998. Retrieved November 27, 2014, from www.eric.ed.gov

Thelen, D. (1989). Memory and American history. *The Journal of American History, 75*(4), 1117–1129.

Tosh, J. (2006). *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods, and new directions in the study of modern history*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.

Thelen, D. (1989). Memory and American History. *The Journal of American History* Vol. *75*(4), 1117-1129.

Thornton, S. J. (2005). Incorporating internationalism into the social studies curriculum. *Educating citizens for global awareness*, 81-92.

Tucker, A. (2004). *Our Knowledge of the Past.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Van Boxtel, C., & Grever, M. (2011). Between disenchantment and high expectations: history education in the Netherlands (1968-2008).

R

In E. Erdmann & W. Hasberg (Eds.), *Facing, mapping, bridging diversity: foundation of a European discourse on history education. Part 1* (History education international, 1) (pp. 83-116). Schwalbach: Wochenschau Wissenschaft.

Van Der Zande, P., Waarlo, A. J., Brekelmans, M., Akkerman, S. F., & Vermunt, J. D. (2011). A knowledge base for teaching biology situated in the context of genetic testing. *International Journal of Science Education*, *33*(15), 2037-2067.

Van Drie, J., & Van Boxtel, C. (2008). Historical reasoning: Towards a framework for analyzing students' reasoning about the past. *Educational Psychological Review*, *20*(2), 87–110.

Van Drie, J. (2005). *Learning about the past with new technologies. Fostering historical reasoning in computer-supported collaborative learning* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The Netherlands, Utrecht University.

Van Hover, S. D., & Yeager, E. A. (2003). Making students better people?: A case study of a beginning history teacher. *The International Social Studies Forum, 3*(1), 219–232.

Van Hover, S. D., & Yeager, E. A. (2004). Challenges facing beginning history teachers: A exploratory study. *International Journal of Social Education, 19*(1), 8–26.

Van Hover, S., & Yeager, E. (2007). " I Want to Use My Subject Matter to...": The Role of Purpose in One US Secondary History Teacher's Instructional Decision Making. *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l'éducation*, 670-690.

Van Nieuwenhuyse, K. V., & Wils, K. (2012). Remembrance education between history teaching and citizenship education. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, *7*(2), 157-171.

Van San, M., Sieckelinck, S., & de Winter, M. (2013). Ideals adrift: an educational approach to radicalization. *Ethics and Education*, *8*(3), 276–289.

R

VanSledright, B. (1996). Closing the gap between school and disciplinary history? Historian as high school history teacher. *Advances in Research on Teaching, 6*, 257–289.

VanSledright, B. (2002). Fifth graders investigating history in the classroom: Results from a researcher-practitioner design experiment. *Elementary School Journal*, *103*(2), 131–160.

VanSledright, B. (2008). Narratives of nation-state, historical knowledge, and school history education. *Review of Research in Education*, *32*(1), 109-146.

VanSledright, B. (2011). *The challenge of rethinking history education: on practices, theories, and policy.* New York: Routledge.

VanSledright, B., Kelly, T., & Meuwissen, K. (2006). Oh, the trouble we've seen: Researching historical thinking and understanding. In K. C. Barton (Ed.), *Research methods in social studies education. Contemporary issues and perspectives* (pp. 207–233). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

VanSledright, B., & Reddy, K. (2014). Changing epistemic beliefs? An exploratory study of cognition among prospective history teachers. *Revista Tempo E Argumento, 06*(11), 28–68.

Veenman, S. A. M. (1984). Perceived problems of beginning teachers. *Review of Educational Research, 54*, 143–178.

Veugelers, W., & de Kat, E. (2003). Moral task of the teacher according to students, parents and teachers. *Educational research and evaluation*, *9*(1), 75–91.

Vinson, K. D. (1998). "The "traditions" revisited: Instructional approach and high school social studies teachers." *Theory & Research in Social Education, 26*.(1), 50-82.

Virta, A. (2002). Becoming a history teacher: Observations on the beliefs and growth of student teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *18*(6), 687–698.

Von Borries, B. (2000). Methods and aims of teaching history in Europe: A report on youth and history. In P. N. Stearns, P. Seixas and S. Wineburg (eds), *Knowing, Teaching,and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press), 246–261.

R

Wansink, B. G. J., Akkerman, S. F., Vermunt, J. D. , J. P., Haenen & Wubbels, T. (2017). Epistemological tensions in prospective Dutch history teachers' beliefs about the objectives of secondary education. *The Journal of Social Studies Research*, 41, 11-24.

Wansink, B. G. J., Akkerman, S. F., & Wubbels, T. (2016a). The Certainty Paradox of student history teachers: Balancing between historical facts and interpretation. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *56*, 94-105.

Wansink, B. G. J. , Akkerman, S. F., & Wubbels, T. (2016b). Topic variability and criteria in interpretational history teaching. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 1-23.

Wansink, B. G. J., Zuiker, I., Wubbels, T., Kamman., M. & Akkerman, S. F. (2017). If you had told me before that these students were Russians, I would not have believed it': an international project about the (New) 'Cold War'. *Teaching History,* 166, 30-37.

Webster, M. (2016). Merriam-Webster online dictionary. Retrieved December 8, 2016, from www.merriam-webster.com

Wertsch, J. V. (1997) Narrative tools of history and identity, *Culture & Psychology*, 3, 5–20.

Wertsch, J. V. (1998). *Mind as action*. Oxford University Press.

White, H. (1987). *The content of the form: Narrative discourse and historical representation*. Baltimore, MA: The John Hopkins University Press.

Whitehouse, J. (2008). Teaching the historians: How might historiography shape the practice of teachers? *Agora*, *43*(2), 4.

Wils, K., & Verschaffel, T. (2012). Longing for the present in the history of history education. *Paedagogica Historica*, *48*(6), 793-799.

Wilschut, A. H. J. (2009a). History at the mercy of politicians and ideologies: Germany, England, and the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th centuries. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *42*(5), 693–723.

Wilschut, A. H. J. (2009b). Canonical standards or orientational frames of reference? In L. Symcox & A. Wilschut (Eds.), *National history standards,*

R

the problem of the canon and the future of teaching history (pp. 117-141). North Carolina: Information Age Publishing.

Wilson, E. K., Konopak, B. C., & Readence, J. E. (1994). Pre-service teachers in secondary social studies: Examining conceptions and practices. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *22*(3), 364–379.

Wilson, S. M., & Wineburg, S. S. (1993). Wrinkles in time: Using performance assessments to understand the knowledge of history teachers. *American Educational Research Journal, 30*(4), 729-769.

Windschitl, M. (2002). Framing constructivism in practice as the negotiation of dilemmas: An analysis of the conceptual, pedagogical, cultural, and political challenges facing teachers. *Review of Educational Research*, *72*(2), 131-175.

Wineburg, S. (2001). *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts: Charting the future of teaching the past.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Yeager, E. A., & Van Hover, S. (2006). Virginia vs. Florida: Two beginning history teachers' perceptions of the influence of high-stakes tests on their instructional decision-making. *Social Studies Research and Practice*, *1*(3), 340-358.

Yilmaz, K. (2008). Social studies teachers' conceptions of history: Calling on historiography. *Journal of Educational Research*, *101*(3), 158–175.

Yilmaz, K. (2010). Postmodernism and its challenge to the discipline of history: Implications for history education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, *42*(7), 779-795.

Zanazanian, P. & Moisan, S. (2012). Harmonizing two of history teaching's main social objectives: Franco-Québécois history teachers and their predispositions to catering to narrative diversity. *Education Sciences*, *2*, 255–275.

Zembylas, M., & Kambani, F. (2012). The teaching of controversial issues during elementary-level history instruction: Greek-Cypriot teachers' perceptions and emotions. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *40*(2), 107–133.

R

CURRICULUM VITAE

Bjorn Wansink was born in 1977 in Werkendam, the Netherlands. After completing secondary education (Mavo and Havo) he started to study at the teacher education institute at the Hogeschool Utrecht. After one year he decided to continue his education studying history at Utrecht University. After his graduation he directly began to work as a history and social studies teacher at Develstein College (Zwijndrecht). After one year of teaching he continued his career as a professional musician. Two years later he again started to work as a history teacher at Griftland College and simultaneously enrolled in the teacher education programme at Utrecht University. In 2006 he started a postmaster study to become a communication trainer at the Hogeschool Den Haag. In 2006 he began to work as a junior adviser and history teacher educator at University Utrecht. In 2011 he wrote a PhD proposal and applied for an PhD grant. During the years 2012-2017 he combined working as a part-time PhD researcher with being a teacher educator. Currently he works as a lecturer, trainer and researcher at the Department of Education, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Utrecht University. He is a frequently asked expert and works for the Council of Europe participating in a intergovernmental project named: "Educating for Diversity and Democracy: Teaching history in contemporary Europe." His main areas of interest are: history, epistemology, teacher education, cultural diversity, critical thinking and dealing with controversial issues. His scholarly work is published in journals such as: Teacher and Teaching Education, The Journal of Curriculum Studies, Research in Social Education, International Journal of Educational Research and Teaching History.

C

DANKWOORD

Ik kijk met veel plezier terug op mijn promotietijd. Sanne Akkerman, geweldig hoe je mij hebt begeleid en wat zal ik onze gesprekken missen. Theo Wubbels en Ed Jonker altijd kon ik op jullie rekenen. Jullie hebben mijn teksten veelvuldig voorzien van kritische en constructieve commentaren. We waren een goed team. Itzél Zuiker, dank voor het meehelpen en je enthousiasme voor het onderwerp. Jacques Haenen, jij stond me bij aan het begin, dank voor al je geduld. Albert Logtenberg, het idee voor dit proefschrift ontstond op jouw kamer in Amsterdam. Martine van Rijswijk, dank voor je positieve steun en dat we nog maar lang kamergenoten mogen blijven. Marloes Herijgers, bedankt voor het redigeren van de samenvatting. Jan Vermunt, dank voor het opstarten van mijn promotietraject. Bas Agricola en Femke Kirschner, sorry voor het moeten aanhoren van mijn gezucht en gesteun tijdens het schrijven. Hanneke Tuithof, je bent een super collega, dat we nog veel mooie colleges samen mogen geven. Larike Bronkhorst, dank voor het mij stimuleren om te gaan promoveren. Alle universitaire vakdidactici geschiedenis, fijn dat jullie mij geholpen hebben. Carla van Boxtel en Jannet van Drie, dank voor de onderzoeksgroep. Jullie hebben het geschiedenisonderzoek in Nederland wereldwijd op de kaart gezet. Jaap Patist, geweldig om met jou te kunnen samenwerken en te brainstormen. Jan van Tartwijk, dank voor het vertrouwen en de verantwoordelijkheid die je mij geeft. Els Laroes, what a journey… Aan alle docenten die hebben meegeholpen, zonder jullie had dit proefschrift er nooit gelegen; wat heb ik veel van jullie geleerd! Maurits Kamman, ik vond je lessen inspirerend en wat een prachtig project hebben we gedaan. Ed Arnold, fijn dat ik je 'aangenomen zoon' ben. Aan alle ondersteuners en student-assistenten die interviews hebben zitten uittypen, super fijn! Nienke van Emmerik voor het helpen bij de opmaak. Dank aan al mijn vrienden die ik echt te weinig heb gezien. Geert Bruinsma, dank voor het meedenken met artikel 1. Dim, fijn dat je bij ons bent. Mike, dat we vaker samen mogen gaan kiten. Riny, dank voor alle mogelijkheden die je mij hebt gegeven en geeft, je bent fantastisch! Loek en Olga, ik geniet van jullie energie. Josje, het was niet altijd makkelijk voor je. De druk is eraf, ik hou van jou. Als laatste papa wat mis ik je, maar wat zou je trots zijn geweest.