JYU DISSERTATIONS 502

Ida Vesterinen

Orders of History

An Ethnographic Study on History Education and the Enacted Curriculum

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation explores the enacted history curriculum in a Finnish lower secondary school classroom. Using an ethnographic approach the study explores the core practices and ideas grounding the enacted curriculum, the relationship between the enacted and the prescribed curriculum, and the influence of contextual and situational conditions on the enacted curriculum. Data collection took place in 2017-2018 during the implementation phase of the latest national core curriculum, where the disciplinary approach stressing the knowledge formation processes of history was further promoted. The study comprises 62 history lessons of one group of eighth graders (14–15-year-olds). The data includes fieldnotes, interviews, and other materials such as exams and school textbooks. A cultural models theory was used to elicit the different culturally shared ideas grounding the enacted curriculum. Based on the analysis, the conception of school history reflected the collective memory approach to history education. However, there were also attempts to participate students in the formation of the single narrative of history. In terms of the disciplinary approach, the teacher perceived the new curriculum alongside other concurrent reforms to promote a technical–rational view of education. Thus, the curriculum represented a threat to student access to broad education and critical citizenship, especially as the role of content knowledge in the reform was unclear. The teacher also considered the specified assessment criteria to limit teacher autonomy to make teachers adopt the reform. The study implies the execution of the curriculum reform has failed to acknowledge certain cultural conditions. The more detailed design of the latest curriculum is a problematic way to make teachers whose professional identity rests on autonomy to get on board with the reform. Moreover, the emphasis placed on assessment has overshadowed questions about the purpose of the reform in history education. In addition, the conceptualisation of the disciplinary approach as 'skills' instead of the study of the different dimensions of historical knowledge has likely promoted the perceived disconnect between skills and knowledge, causing teachers who value broad education to suspect the reform.

Keywords: history education, ethnography, curriculum, enacted curriculum, collective memory, disciplinary thinking, education policy, educational reform

TIIVISTELMÄ

Vesterinen, Ida
Historian järjestykset: Etnografinen tutkimus historiakasvatuksesta ja toteutuneesta opetussuunnitelmasta
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Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan yläkoulun historianopetuksen toteutuneen opetussuunnitelman perustana olevia käsityksiä, toteutuneen ja virallisen opetussuunnitelman välistä suhdetta sekä konteksti- ja tilannesidonnaisten tekijöiden vaikutusta toteutuneeseen opetussuunnitelmaan. Aineistonkeruu toteutettiin lukuvuonna 2017–2018, jolloin otetiin käyttöön myös viimeisin valtakunnallinen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelma, jossa painotettiin historian osalta tiedonmuodostusprosessien oppimista. Tutkimus toteutettiin etnografisesti, osallistumalla yhden suomalaisen yläkoulun kahdeksannen luokan historian oppitunneille (62 oppituntia). Aineisto koostuu kenttämuistiinpanoista, haastatteluista ja koulutyöhön liittyneistä aineistoista. Toteutuneen opetussuunnitelman taustalla olevia kulttuurisesti jaettuja käsityksiä analysoitiin kulttuuristen mallien teorian avulla. Analyysin perusteella käsitys kouluhistoriasta perustui kollektiivisen muistin välittämiseen. Toisaalta oppilaita pyrittiin aktivoimaan ja heidän tuli itse rakentaa historian suuri kertomus oppikirjojen ja internetlähteiden avulla. Tuore opetussuunnitelmauudistus näytti tutkitun luokan historianopettajan tulkinnassa muiden samanaikaisten koulutusreformien tapaan edustavan teknis-rationaalista, elinkeinoelämän tarpeita korostavaa käsitystä kasvatuksesta. Kun sisältötietojen merkitys uudistuksessa oli jäänyt epäselväksi, vaikutti se uhkaavan yleissivistyksen ja kriittisen kansalaisuuden ideaaleja. Lisäksi opettaja kritisoi tarkennettujen arviointikriteerien rajoittavan opettajien autonomiaa. Tutkimuksen perusteella opetussuunnitelmauudistusta tehdessä ei ole parhaalla tavalla huomioitu joitain kulttuurisia reunaehtoja. Opetussuunnitelmaperusteiden lisääntynyt yksityiskohtaisuus istuu huonosti opettajien autonomiaa korostavaan koulutuskulttuuriin. Lisäksi tiedonalakohtaisen lähestymistavan käsitteellistäminen taidoiksi historiallisen tiedon eri ulottuvuuksien sijaan on todennäköisesti ollut tuottamassa käsitystä taitojen ja tietojen erillisyydestä. Seurauksena historianopetukseen kohdistuneet uudistukset saattavat näyttäytyä epäilyttävinä yleissivistyksen merkitystä korostavien opettajien silmissä.

Avainsanat: historiakasvatus, etnografia, opetussuunnitelma, toteutunut opetussuunnitelma, kollektiivinen muisti, tiedonalakohtainen ajattelu, koulutuspolitiikka, koulutusreformi

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Towards a disciplinary approach in history education

Why history matters? This question has driven reforms of schools' history education in many countries worldwide in the past decades. Oftentimes, the response has been to replace the so-called collective memory approach, a focus on information transmission and building national identities, with a disciplinary one. Thus, history education is expected to grasp the knowledge formation processes considered typical for historical research. Instead of fostering social cohesion through the construction of imagined communities, the disciplinary approach introduces students to the intricacies of source work and stresses the interpretive nature of historical knowledge in the hopes of cultivating critical citizenship and participation (e.g. Seixas, 2000; VanSledright, 2011). While some Anglophone and European countries have been most eager in adopting the disciplinary approach, the trend has not been limited to the Western world, as countries such as Zimbabwe (Sibanda & Blignaut, 2020), China (cf. Suominen, 2021, 145–146) and Argentina (Gonzales, 2012) have adopted the approach in their curricula. Of course, many countries continue to rely on the collective memory approach, while others integrate elements from different approaches (cf. Ahonen, 2016).

Inspired first by the example set by the UK (see Ahonen, 2020) and complemented later by Northern American perspectives, the move towards a disciplinary approach has been rather unambiguous in Finland. In the past few decades, historical thinking skills have found their way to the core of national curricula and are now considered the main objective of history education. Whereas the first national core curriculum for basic education of 1970 introduced about an eight-page list of historical content knowledge to be mastered (Komiteanmietintö, 1970, 218–227), the 1994 curriculum put more emphasis on the ability to find and apply historical information and achieve competence in its analysis and thus on critical thinking (Virta et al., 1998, 75; EDUFI, 1994, 96). The 21st century curricula have further promoted the transformation and at the latest shifted the focus away from socialising students to a national identity. In addition, the curricula also include

elements from the German tradition focused on fostering historical consciousness, but its role in comparison to the disciplinary aspects is quite marginal (Veijola, 2016a).

Although the demand to steer away from mere memorisation of historical facts in history education is a much longer-term discussion (cf. Veijola & Rautiainen, 2019), the turning point in the development of the disciplinary approach can be placed in the 1960s and 1970s. The grounds for the change are manifold. First, the introduction of historical thinking reflects developments in academic historiography during the latter part of the 20th century. The scope of historical research broadened, as the so-called 'new history' (e.g. Burke, 2001) presented novel approaches to and sources for the field. As a result, the idea of a grand historical narrative fragmented into a variety of smaller narratives, questioning the previous single-perspective national histories (Booth, 1994, 62; van den Berg, 2010, 229; Ahonen, 1997). Moreover, viewpoints diversified as discussions on who has a right to history and whose history is worth writing began to redefine the field. With accelerating globalisation and increasingly multicultural classrooms, these questions became equally prominent in the sphere of education. Therefore, the original purpose of history education as the transmitter of a collective memory lost its legitimacy, as it was considered inadequate to serve the needs of a plural society (Lévesque, 2008, 6–7).

The introduction of the disciplinary approach to history education was also due to developments taking place in education sciences, ruled by psychological research in the 1960s. First, the so-called 'cognitive revolution' challenged the idea that learning would occur through the memorisation of information. Instead, emphasis was placed on cultivating more profound sense-making (Lévesque, 2008, 10–11). The influential Bloom's taxonomy (Bloom, 1956; see also Kratwohl, 2002) drew further attention to the fact that history education of the day focused on lower-level cognitive abilities of memorisation and recall at the expense of introducing students to applying, analysing or creating knowledge. Moreover, building on the work of Jean Piaget in the 1950s, Jerome Bruner's (1960) and Paul Hirst's (1965) ideas considering school subjects as distinct forms of knowledge called for education grounded on the basic principles governing each discipline to foster fundamental understanding in individual school subjects (Ahonen, 1990, 24; Wineburg, 2001, 40–41; Retz, 2016, 508–509). As a result, academics and history educators, particularly in the UK and the US, started to conjure up a form of history education more considerate of conceptual understanding, epistemological issues and source work abilities related to history (Phillips, 2012, 13; Seixas, 2017a, 61).

In addition to these shifts in academic research, the disciplinary approach relates to debates regarding the whole purpose and rationale of education and schooling. The 1960s and 1970s marked a paradigmatic change for history as a school subject, as the previously intrinsic value of historical knowledge was challenged (Rüsen, 1987, 279; Keating & Sheldon, 2011, 10). The increasing criticism of nationalism after the Second World War and an increasing appreciation of technology and natural sciences posed an uncomfortable question regarding the

relevance and legitimacy of history and other humanities as school subjects, to which the disciplinary approach was seen to offer a solution (Booth, 1994, 62). Part of the Anglophone world was already experimenting with the disciplinary approach, as curriculum interventions such as the Amherst Project (1960–1972) in the US and the School's Council History Project (1972) in the UK adumbrated guidelines for future history education. However, at this point Finland followed the example of West Germany, where the societal pressure to prevent the re-rise of totalitarianism in the future resulted in placing emphasis on social sciences and more recent history, thus stressing the role of history in citizenship education and assuring democracy (Arola, 2002, 22; see also Rüsen, 1987, 279). As the technical–rational view of education has gained ever-growing significance in curriculum planning (Moore & Young, 2009; Komulainen & Rajakaltio, 2017), the introduction of the disciplinary approach can also be understood in the light of this development, as a response to those questioning the justification of the existence of history as a school subject.

Discussions surrounding and defining the transition towards a disciplinary approach in history education have relied on dichotomies, posing it as the very opposite of the previous collective memory approach committed to passing national master narratives to new generations. The difference between the two is approached as a question of whether history education is to promote educated citizenship or patriotic nationalism (Carretero et al., 2012, 2). Moreover, the disciplinary approach is associated with embracing critical thinking and student participation, whereas teaching based on the collective memory approach has been characterised with unflattering labels, such as indoctrination (Taylor, 2000, 850) or propaganda (Kello & Wagner, 2017, 206). The problems of the latter approach are said to include the othering of those who have no place in national narratives, creating hostile images of entire peoples, providing low cognitive challenge and causing the school subject a reputation of being boring or irrelevant (e.g. VanSledright, 2011, 28–30; Phillips, 2012, 12–13).

Despite the strong juxtaposition of the two approaches, research exploring the actual practice of history education suggests classroom realities do not follow such steep categorisations. Instead, studies indicate either that the collective memory approach still continues to flourish in classrooms around the world or that the two approaches in fact co-exist, as teachers create moments of disciplinary thinking within the framework of knowledge transmission (e.g. Nokes, 2010, 535; Ledman, 2015; Rantala et al., 2020, 43–44, 170; Puustinen & Khawaja, 2020). Moreover, there are also other relevant perspectives and discussions related to the significance and purpose of history education. For instance, the recent trend of designing education around general, transversal skills and competences has altogether questioned the role of individual school subjects (cf. Harris & Ormond, 2018). However, like a great deal of international academic literature on history education, discourse in Finland has largely focused on the dichotomy between the collective memory approach and the disciplinary one.

This study delves into this transition between the two fundamentally different approaches to history education. When I first started planning this research sometime in 2015, couple of things seemed evident. First, the history section of the freshly designed *Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education* (2014) was firmly rooted in a disciplinary approach. Second, even though the shift of emphasis from content-driven education to the adoption of a disciplinary approach had already taken place in the nineties in Finland, signals from the field of history education implied that teachers continued to swear by the collective memory approach. However, there was little research or evidence on what was happening in Finnish history classrooms, on how teachers understand their task as history educators and on the kinds of problems they have with negotiating and implementing the official history curriculum. Inspired by these conditions, this study focuses on the everyday work of a history teacher through the analysis of ethnographic data collected from a school year's worth of lessons of one experienced history teacher. The data collection took place in the 2017–2018 school year at the time of the implementation of the latest Finnish national core curriculum. While the data was collected from the lessons of a group of eighth graders (14–15-year-olds) still following the previous national core curriculum from 2004, the analysis will show that the curriculum reform and the longer-running process of transition from the collective memory approach to the disciplinary one characterised the daily work of the teacher.

1.2 Research scope and objectives

In essence, this study falls in the field of history education. Like all research in subject-specific education, it is firmly rooted in both educational sciences and the academic discipline defining the school subject, in this case, history. Therefore, it is interested in questions of learning, teaching and knowledge formation (cf. Kallioniemi & Virta, 2012, 11). However, it also suggests that the school subject in question and its academic counterpart profoundly influence these processes, as disciplines differ in their knowledge structures, knowledge formation processes and the social and cultural practices that define the discipline (Juuti et al., 2012, 55). Therefore, studies in the field of history education have examined a variety of issues, such as the history of history education (e.g. Cannadine et al., 2011; Yeandle, 2015; Rautiainen & Veijola, 2020), history curricula (e.g. Marti et al., 2020; Veijola, 2016a; Kölbl & Konrad, 2015), learning and understanding history (e.g. Shemilt, 1983; Ahonen, 1990; Wineburg, 1991; Barton & Levstik, 1996; Vänttinen, 2009; Veijola et al., 2019), teaching practices and teacher identities (e.g. Virta et al., 2001; Nokes, 2010, Saye et al., 2018; Sulkunen & Saario, 2019), learning materials (e.g. Holmén, 2006; Norppa, 2019; Van der Vlies, 2017) and connections between historical culture and historical consciousness (e.g. Ahonen 1998; Löfström, 2012; Moller, 2012; Lévesque & Croteau, 2020).

As curricular objectives around the globe have converged towards the emphasis of disciplinary thinking and skills,[1] research in history education has circled questions related to defining, developing and implementing the disciplinary approach (cf. Seixas, 2017b). These issues have been topical in Finnish research as well. In the past few years, the project *Engaging in Disciplinary Thinking: Historical Literacy Practices in Upper Secondary Schools* (HisLit) examined said matters in the context of voluntary secondary education.[2] Research conducted in the project has found certain patterns that characterise the state of history education in Finland. Overall, it seems that the disciplinary approach is still in the process of settling in in Finnish upper secondary school history classrooms. Studies assessing students' historical literacy abilities show document-based tasks to be foreign and challenging to upper secondary schoolers (Rantala & van den Berg, 2015; Veijola, 2016b; Veijola & Rantala, 2018). In accordance, while teachers may agree with objectives regarding disciplinary abilities, their implementation seems to be in its infancy (Rantala et al., 2020). Moreover, surveys conducted in the project indicate a mismatch between the objectives teachers set out for history education and the elements that ground their teaching methods and assessment practices (Rautiainen et al., 2019; Rautiainen et al., 2020).

These studies imply there are both difficulties and confusion related to realising disciplinary goals in history education. In that, they align with observations made in international research. As Rantala et al. (2020, 174–175) note, besides the UK, a pioneering country in introducing the disciplinary approach to history education, most other countries committed to the approach have struggled to implement it. For instance, as VanSledright and Límon (2006), Cuban (2016) and Nokes (2010) suggest, history education in the US continues to follow the collective memory approach regardless of the big investments and projects undertaken to develop history education and instil the disciplinary approach. Moreover, studies regarding history education in Belgium (Voet & De Wever, 2016), Austria (Bernhard, 2017), New Zealand (Harris & Ormond, 2019) and Sweden (Samuelsson & Wendell, 2016) indicate that history teachers struggle to understand the contents of concepts related to the disciplinary approach and have difficulty implementing the curriculum.

While the current study was carried out as part of the HisLit project focused on upper secondary education, it is set in the previously less examined territory of compulsory basic education, more specifically lower secondary education. Of course, studies concerning upper secondary education are relevant indicators of how history education is realised in basic education, as history teachers at both

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[1] It is also necessary to note that while such a trend has been apparent in the past few decades, certain countries such as Russia, Hungary, Poland and Denmark have begun to reemphasise the significance of reviving historical canons and the collective memory approach (Ahonen, 2016). Moreover, as the study by Suominen (2021) suggests, a more detailed comparison between curricular objectives may reveal great differences in curricular concepts and their realisation even among countries that aim for critical thinking.

[2] Upper secondary schools target students aged approximately 15–19, with an aim for broad education, comparable to high schools. For a more thorough description of the education system, see subchapter 2.1.

levels share the same teacher training, and students in upper secondary education have all participated in history lessons in basic education. However, there are also notable differences between the two contexts that highlight the need to explore history education in lower secondary schools separately. First, the history curricula somewhat diverge in their commitment to the disciplinary approach. As Rantala and Ouakrim-Soivio (2020, 473) note, the core curriculum for basic education is more firmly rooted on said approach, while the curriculum for upper secondary schools is more of a compromise between the disciplinary and the collective memory approaches. Furthermore, teachers in lower secondary education enjoy greater autonomy, as no standardised testing takes place throughout the nine years of basic education. In contrast, teachers in upper secondary education are bound by the matriculation examinations that have been suggested to still lean towards the collective memory approach (Puustinen et al., 2020). Finally, the compulsory nature of basic education assures a different and perhaps more diverse student demographic. Therefore, the study takes place at a phase where history education reaches the whole age group for the last time.

As noted, research on lower secondary history education in Finland is rather scarce. However, it implies similar phenomena as studies on upper secondary education. While students are capable of disciplinary thinking when deliberately instructed and guided to do so (Vänttinen, 2009), reasoning with historical sources seems to be an unfamiliar task to students (Manninen & Vesterinen, 2017). An assessment study on learning outcomes in history conducted with students graduating from basic education found that while students were able to recall content knowledge, they struggled with questions assessing disciplinary thinking (Ouakrim-Soivio & Kuusela, 2012, 50–51). Moreover, whereas internationally the turn to the disciplinary approach in history education has often engendered great controversy in the form of 'history wars' (e.g. Nash et al., 1998; Taylor & Guyver, 2012; Samuelsson, 2017), the reception of history curricula based on historical thinking in Finnish basic education has been rather amicable. A survey mapping the views of history teachers regarding the latest national core curriculum of 2014 showed that teachers in both lower and upper secondary schools were quite content regarding the disciplinary objectives of history education (Rantala & Ouakrim-Soivio, 2018). However, as for upper secondary school teachers, these studies also imply confusion regarding these objectives, as a significant number of teachers tend to list content topics when asked about the aims of the school subject (Rantala & Ouakrim-Soivio, 2018, 12; Ouakrim-Soivio & Kuusela, 2012, 34).

As Cuban (2016) notes, the gap between the adoption of a policy and its implementation in a classroom can vary 'from an inch to a mile wide' (p. 163). The suggested reasons for the slow adoption of the disciplinary approach have ranged from teachers being strongly influenced by their own school experiences (see Virta, 2002, 688) to teachers' beliefs regarding students' abilities in disciplinary thinking (e.g. Van Hover & Yeager, 2004; McDiarmid, 1994). However, as noted, studies on lower secondary school history teaching and its teachers who in Finland enjoy internationally notable teacher autonomy are scarce. Moreover,

as the survey by Rantala and Ouakrim-Soivio (2018) suggest, Finnish teachers seem at least to accept the objectives of the disciplinary approach. As the two approaches to history education differ in their value base, ideas regarding the nature of historical knowledge and conceptions of learning and teaching, their simultaneous presence in the field of history education is a noteworthy phenomenon requiring further exploration.

To dig deeper into these questions about history teachers' reasoning regarding history education and the history curriculum, I use an ethnographic approach and participant observation to explore the following questions: (1) What are the core practices and ideas grounding the enacted history curriculum? (2) What is the relationship between the enacted curriculum and the prescribed curriculum? (3) What is the influence of contextual and situational conditions on the enacted curriculum? To that end, I distinguish between prescribed, enacted and experienced curriculum. Prescribed curriculum refers to the official policy document, the written curriculum defining the ideals and aims of education. Enacted curriculum is the implemented version of the prescribed curriculum, interpreted by the teacher, covering all classroom events related to realising education. Typically, the enacted version of the curriculum differs at least somewhat from the prescribed one, as the rather straightforward tasks set by the official curriculum are fitted into the complexities of real life. The experienced curriculum refers to how students receive and understand the enacted curriculum (see Lahdes, 1997, 68). As noted, I focus on the enacted curriculum while recognising its interaction with the other two curricula.

History teachers' teaching practices and relationship to the prescribed curricula have previously been explored through surveys (e.g. Sulkunen et al., 2019; Harris & Burn, 2016) and interviews (e.g. Ledman, 2015; Ormond, 2017; Suominen, 2021). In addition, observational methods have been used to study history and social studies teachers' disciplinary practices (e.g. Burn, 2007; Gestsdóttir et al., 2019; Puustinen & Khawaja, 2020), pedagogical content knowledge (Childs et al., 2012; Moyo & Modiba, 2014) and authentic pedagogy (Saye et al., 2018). However, an ethnographic approach with an extended observation period combined with interviews and naturally occurring data[3] has yet to be utilised. Some researchers have relied on longer observation periods and a variety of data, but these studies have concentrated on students' historical thinking (Levstik & Barton, 2008) or the use of historical media (Stoddard, 2008) or have involved intervention to develop teachers' practices in specific areas (e.g. Reisman, 2012). However, present study aims to explore history teachers' daily work and everyday practices. By employing an ethnographic approach and providing a more detailed description of a teacher's work, I wish to further deepen (and perhaps complicate) the picture offered in previous research. Such an approach allows examining not just observable practices but the use and significance of cultural resources, beliefs and perceptions in reasoning about the enacted curriculum.

Finally, it is useful to consider how this study contributes to the field of history. This study analyses history lessons as a place where conceptions about

[3] See subchapter 3.3.

history are transmitted and reinterpreted. Bearing in mind that practically all Finns attend lower secondary school at a certain age, history education is then a central place for the production and reproduction of a shared historical culture. Moreover, as lower secondary education is the last time almost half of each age cohort encounter formal history education, the way history is taught has great meaning for how historical research is understood and used in society (cf. Wertsch, 2002, 68). Therefore, changes in history curricula are expected to influence citizens' conceptions of history on a large scale. For that reason, it is in the interests of the academic discipline to gain a sense of what is happening in lower stages of education, as it has consequences on the level of the whole society. Furthermore, as noted, history teacher trainees often stick to the models of teaching history inherited from their own school experience. Moreover, university students have been found to experience an epistemic breach between history studies in and before university (Virta, 2011; Veijola & Mikkonen, 2016). Therefore, like all research on history education, this study has relevance in terms of understanding the field on which future history students start building their expertise and in terms of knowing how to support them accordingly to achieve and apply that expertise as future historians, history teachers or other related professionals.

1.3 Structure of the study

In this introduction, I have outlined the central context of the study, namely the changes in history education adopted internationally and in the Finnish national curricula for basic education during the past few decades. Understanding these developments is essential, as the data collection was both inspired by and took place at a time when these shifts of focus in history education were a target of vivid discussions among history educators as a new national curriculum was introduced and implemented. As the analysis will show, questions regarding the direction of history education were very topical for the participant teacher in this study, for whom the curricular change combined with my presence in the classroom inspired a re-evaluation of the meaning of history and its teaching. As the review of previous research suggests, the view from the field of history education appears contradictory, as teachers both embrace and refuse to follow a curriculum based on disciplinary thinking instead of transmitting a collective memory or a body of knowledge. As a similar phenomenon is familiar outside Finland and research in Finnish history education has in recent years focused on upper secondary schooling, a closer look at basic education seems to be in order. Moreover, the use of an ethnographic approach justified, as it allows a deeper examination of the contradictions other means of research have so far pointed out.

The second chapter presents some central information on the features of the Finnish education system and lower secondary education on which this study focuses. Moreover, it discusses the forms and content of history teachers' pre-service and in-service training and gives a more thorough description of Finnish history curricula. Thus, the purpose of the chapter is to provide a description of

the preconditions for teaching history in Finland. As such, it aims to clarify the basic features of the framework within which teachers work and the possibilities, challenges and limitations in enacting the curriculum. The chapter focuses on describing the field of education in its current state; therefore, preceding historical developments are outside its scope. I have placed these historically oriented discussions in connection with the analysis, where I examine the significance of some of these features in more depth.

After setting the scene in which the data and analysis of this study are situated, the third chapter introduces the history classroom and study participants, as it zooms in on the ethnographic field. As the researcher defines the ethnographic field, I begin the chapter with a reflection on my positionality, focusing particularly on my relationship with the different forms of history education. Moreover, as ethnographies are always contingent on the participants, I continue by presenting the school, the teacher and the students that participated in this study. I then discuss the data collection and my experiences from the moment of beginning the data collection to the end. Last, I introduce the cultural models theory the analysis is based on. Relying on this theory means that in this research, culture is understood as knowledge produced and shared within communities and interpreted by individuals for situational use. Finally, I describe how this theory was applied in this study and discuss how observations made in the field were analysed. Overall, the chapter aims to depict the process of translating my field experiences, including the lives of participants, into the text at hand.

The next three chapters comprise the ethnographic analysis. These chapters describe the happenings in the field and present three viewpoints regarding the enacted curriculum. Chapter 4 discusses the perception of history education assumed by the participants. It describes the core practices employed by the history teacher and discusses the cultural models used to reason about history as a school subject. The first subchapter discusses the interaction of a conception regarding the nature of historical knowledge and the means with which it can be verified. The second subchapter discusses two temporal models used to determine the structure and significance of history education. Their interplay with the temporal structures of schooling and the resultant problems are addressed. The last subchapter discusses models of historical expertise used by participants to assess competence and form objectives for history education.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 further explain the enacted curriculum and interpretations of the prescribed curriculum. Chapter 5 explores the teacher's educational ideals, namely student participation. This ideal is examined from two perspectives as brought up by the teacher—the use of the constructivist approach to engage students in the learning process and the perception of students as equal knowers compared to the teacher and other adults. These ideals and their realisation in the classroom are discussed in reflection on the conception of history discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 6, the final analysis chapter, focuses on the teacher's ideas about curricular change and suggests that the teacher's interpretations regarding the latest curriculum were influenced by the education policies and related public discussion of the time. In interaction with the perceptions of

the form and purpose of history education and the teacher's educational ideals, these policies and discussions defined the teacher's perception and reception of the novel curriculum and the disciplinary approach to history education. Finally, I conclude the study with Chapter 7, where I ponder the role of the questions in the significance and purpose of history for the enacted curriculum and policy implementation.

2 PRECONDITIONS FOR TEACHING HISTORY IN FINLAND

As the enacted curriculum is not solely the product of a teacher's personal will and aims, it is necessary to understand the basic conditions in which all history teachers in Finland exercise their profession. This chapter introduces these conditions, starting with the big picture, meaning the education system as a whole and the role of lower secondary school in it. The focus then shifts to the bases of expertise of history teachers and the specifics of teacher education. As history education already begins in primary education, the chapter also discusses the differences between history teachers in primary and lower secondary education. Finally, the chapter narrows in on the prescribed curriculum to see how history is defined in the most central policy document guiding teachers' everyday work.

2.1 Central features of the Finnish education system

The Finnish education system comprises pre-primary education, compulsory basic education and voluntary education at the secondary[4] and tertiary levels. This formal education can be complemented by liberal adult education, such as summer universities, folk high schools or sport institutes. All children in Finland have a subjective right to municipally provided daycare, and at age six nearly the whole age cohort attends one-year pre-school (Kupiainen et al., 2009, 13). Children enter the compulsory nine-year basic education at the relatively late age of seven (OECD, 2014, 312). Compared to the international situation, Finnish students spend less time in school and less time doing homework than their peers in most other countries (Sahlberg, 2015, 87–88). Basic education is divided into six years of primary education and three years of lower secondary education.

[4] Currently, the education system is undergoing change, as from August 2021 on compulsory education is extended to include everyone under 18, thus practically making the previously voluntary secondary education compulsory.

After this, approximately 90% of students continue to voluntary secondary education, which means either vocational schooling that prepares them for direct employment or more academically oriented general upper secondary school. Regardless of their choice of secondary education, all students have the possibility to continue their studies in tertiary education and apply for either polytechnic studies or universities that are free of cost, like the previous stages (Kupiainen et al., 2009, 13–15; Darling-Hammond, 2010, 165–167).

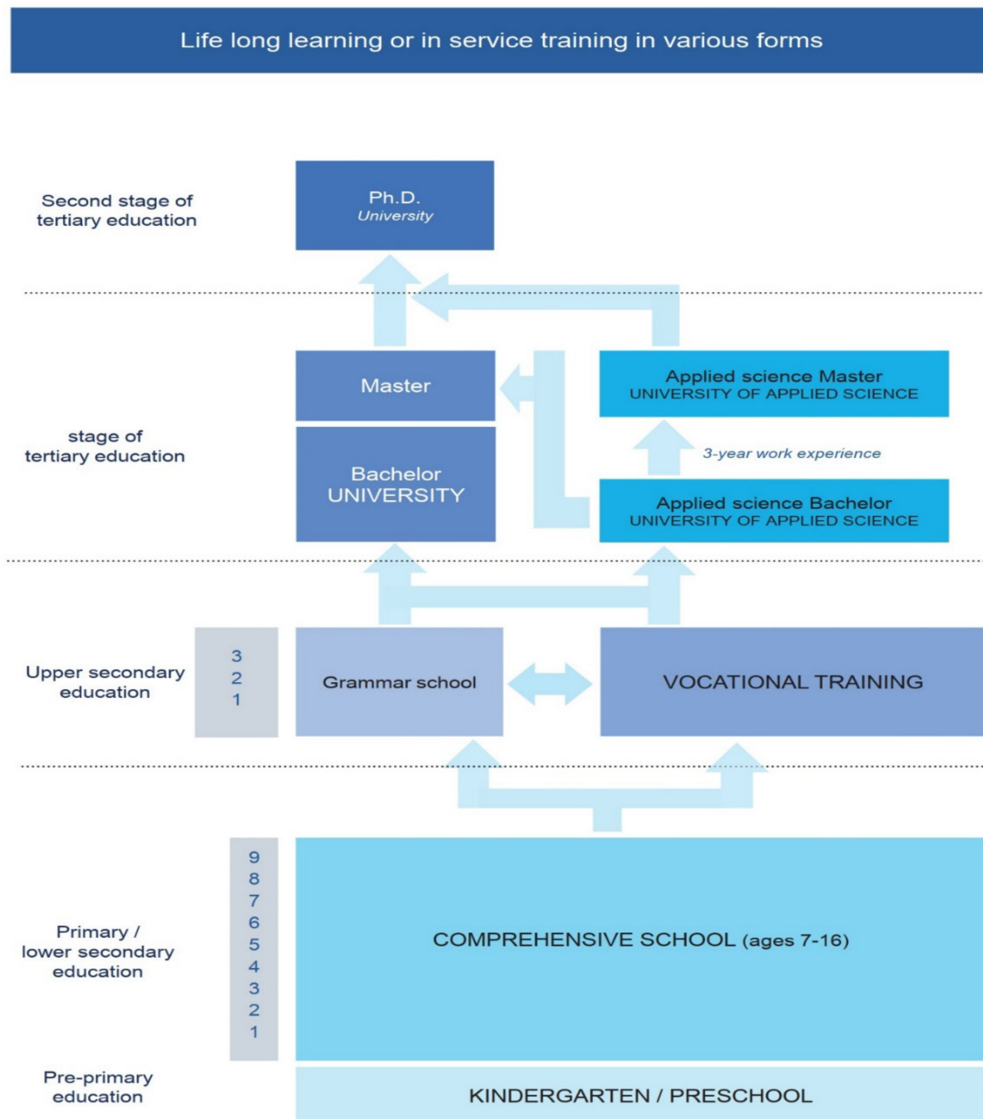

FIGURE 1 Basic structure of the educational system in Finland. From Rehm et al. (2020).

The focus of this study is on lower secondary education, where the majority of compulsory history education takes place. Covering the last three years of basic education, lower secondary education is a distinct phase bearing a resemblance to both primary and upper secondary education. In primary education, students are taught by a class teacher who teaches most school subjects. There are some exceptions, as, depending on the educational background of the class

teacher, subject teachers are often responsible for subjects such as music or foreign languages. Overall, it is not uncommon for a student to go through all six years of primary education mostly under the tutelage of the same class teacher. Therefore, the change from primary to lower secondary education is quite drastic. In the latter, education is taken over by subject teachers (see Saloviita, 2020, 273). Thus, students encounter several teachers a day, as they are rotated from lesson to lesson. In this sense, the structure of lower secondary schooling resembles that of secondary schooling. The key difference is that in lower secondary education students have home groups with which they go about most of their school days. Thus, students have an anchor in the form of their classmates, whereas in upper secondary schools groups may differ from course to course.

Another significant difference between primary and lower secondary education can be found in the temporal and spatial structures. In primary education, each group typically has appointed classrooms in which most subjects are taught, while in lower secondary education the students move from classroom to classroom for lessons. From a teacher's perspective, this rotation of students between classes naturally means that subject teachers easily see over a hundred students a day. Moreover, in primary education the possibility to stay put from lesson to lesson allows flexibility and provides better opportunities for integrating different school subjects. While the Finnish National Core Curricula of the 21st century emphasise the need for such integration (EDUFI, 2014, 32; 2004, 36), in lower secondary schools this requires extra manoeuvring. As teachers work within the fragmented structure of lower secondary school timetables, matching their curricula with those of other teachers and finding time for co-planning requires more effort. Therefore, it is no wonder that the teaching profession has been characterised as private, isolated and even lonely (cf. Sahlberg, 1998, 137; see also Nikkola et al., 2019).

Overall, the work environment of a teacher in basic education is defined by the same ideals that originally grounded the foundation of comprehensive schools in Finland—equity and participation. For teachers, these ideals become evident in their everyday encounters with students. In practice, equity and participation mean that all students regardless of background or place of residence are entitled to quality education free of charge (Toom & Husu, 2012, 41). The introduction of comprehensive schooling in the 1970s signified the abolishment of streaming, grouping students according to their abilities (Kalalahti et al., 2015, 21). Moreover, for a few decades comprehensive schooling was defined by the lack of entry exams or ability groups. These features of the education system have resulted in a very low number of private schools and quite heterogeneous student demographics in most schools (Toom & Husu, 2012, 41). However, the education policies of the 1990s stressing the importance of competition, efficiency and freedom of choice in schooling re-introduced the concept of streaming (Aho-

nen, 2014, 77–78; Ahonen, 2003, 180). Unlike in most countries, streaming in Finland has not typically meant a choice between public and private schooling.[5] Instead, students usually choose within the public system. This means that students can go to a school other than the one closest to their place of residence or alternatively apply[6] to schools offering weighted-curriculum education, meaning that in addition to regular teaching students specialise in a specific subject, such as music or physical education (Kalalahti et al., 2015, 22).

However, although slowly increasing, the differentiation between schools is still modest (Ahonen, 2014, 77–78), and most students attend their nearest school (Ouakrim-Soivio & Kupiainen, 2020). In accordance, most teachers continue to encounter groups with varying abilities and backgrounds. Moreover, unlike in secondary education, lower secondary education targets the whole age cohort, assuring subject teachers both the challenges and opportunities posed by diverse classrooms. Furthermore, the principle of inclusion introduced in the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) has brought new demands for the teaching profession, as children with special needs should participate in regular classrooms and education with adequate help whenever possible (Saloviita, 2020, 270–271).

In addition to these attributes of the education system influencing the nature of student demographics, another feature of the Finnish education system essential in defining the teaching profession is the breadth of teacher autonomy. The basis of this autonomy is having highly educated teachers who are trusted to know how to best organise education and to take their curricular responsibilities seriously (Erss, 2018, 247). This arrangement is often characterised as a culture of trust that relies on the abandonment of accountability measures and provides great professional freedom regarding curriculum design, teaching methods and learning materials (Tirri, 2014, 603; Sahlberg, 2015, 99–100). Even in comparison to other Nordic countries that are also known for broad teacher autonomy, Finnish teachers enjoy particular freedom in exercising their expertise (Dovemark et al., 2018, 126). From the late 1980s onwards, there have been no inspections of teaching materials or classroom activities. Moreover, there are no standardised tests in primary education. Only at the end of upper secondary school do students take matriculation examinations testing the adoption of knowledge and skill requirements of upper secondary education. Some national tests are also conducted for specific subjects in basic education, but these tests are based on sampling and are not used to evaluate individual schools or teachers (Vitikka et al., 2012, 85). Furthermore, a crucial element defining the extent of teacher autonomy in Finland is teachers' participation in constructing the local-level curricula. As the national core curriculum is a framework curriculum meant

[5] This is largely due to the simple lack of private schools, as they too offer free education. However, they constitute less than 3% of basic education in Finland, which partly explains the popularity of public schooling (Kalalahti et al., 2015, 22).
[6] The selection to these groups has not resulted in introduction of entry exams measuring general school success. Instead, aptitude tests or other criteria are used (Kalalahti et al., 2015, 30).

to be interpreted and specified at the local level, teachers are active agents in forming the curricula that guide their work (Toom & Husu, 2012, 43).

To sum up, there are both system-wide features and features more specific to lower secondary schools that influence the everyday work of subject teachers and thus the possibilities and challenges they face when reflecting on the prescribed curriculum. As noted, the breadth of autonomy of all teachers is noteworthy. Moreover, the cost-free nature of the education system and the lack of streaming makes this autonomy necessary, as the heterogeneous student demographics require context-specific and situation-sensitive measures that are considerate of diverse classrooms. However, while the siloed structure of lower secondary schools allows teachers to exercise this autonomy to the full, it also tends to leave them in solitude in developing their practices.

2.2 History teachers' qualifications

History education in Finland begins in primary education. Depending on curricular solutions on the school level, first history lessons take place in either fourth or fifth grade when students are roughly 10–11 years old. While the focus of the study is on lower secondary education, it is necessary to understand the differences in the educational backgrounds of history teachers between primary and lower secondary schools, as the latter inherits their student demographic from the former. Moreover, because the differences in educational backgrounds are quite distinct it may influence the expectations lower secondary school teachers have regarding the knowledge and abilities of their students.

In international comparison, Finnish teacher education is highly popular. Both class and subject teacher education attracts a great number of applicants each year, assuring a highly selective intake (Niemi, 2010, 28; Toom & Husu, 2012, 39; Darling-Hammond, 2010, 171). Although throughout the 2010s the number of applicants in class teacher education decreased, the teaching profession continues to be a desired career choice (see Korpela, 2019; Tikkanen, 2017). Possibly due to its autonomous and independent nature, teaching in Finland is often rated among the most admired and desired professions, comparable to the medical and legal professions (Sahlberg, 2014, 101, 130). The profession gained increased prestige after the introduction of research-based teacher training in the late 1970s and the success of Finnish students in Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) testing in the past few decades (Rantala et al., 2013, 62). However, the diminishing popularity of teacher education is an equally real phenomenon. It is speculated that the reasons for this are unrelated to pedagogical aspects but rather include issues such as experiences of constant hurry, challenges maintaining control over students and other problems relating to student behaviour (e.g. Rantala et al., 2013, 67)

As noted, history education in primary schools rests on class teachers, who complete a master's degree in educational sciences. Class teacher training is research-based. In the Finnish context, this refers to the central role of research in

all aspects of teacher education. In other words, teacher education is informed by up-to-date research and evidence; pre-service teachers acquire scientific literacy skills and conduct research themselves in the form of masters' theses. The goal of teacher education is to create the identity of a 'teacher as a researcher' of their own work (Niemi, 2010, 39–41; Darling-Hammond, 2010, 171). While class teachers are very familiar with questions regarding general education, the role of individual school subjects is rather limited. Excluding mathematics and Finnish lessons, history and most other school subjects are only appointed a single course (4–5 ECTS). Due to the autonomous nature of universities in Finland, the content of teacher education can vary significantly. However, history-specific studies targeted at class teacher trainees typically examine issues such as the nature of historical knowledge, developments taking place within the field of historical research and challenges relating specifically to history education (van den Berg, 2010, 233). Therefore, the challenge for teacher trainees is to form a sufficient understanding of the basics of history education during this brief introduction.

In lower secondary education, history education is switched over to the responsibility of subject teachers. In basic education, over 99% of history teachers have received the necessary qualifications to practise their profession (Kumpulainen, 2017, 41). Like class teachers, subject teachers complete a master's degree. However, instead of education sciences, they typically major in one of the school subjects they teach. For instance, most history teachers in lower and upper secondary education have majored in history. These teachers have taken at least 120 ECTS history credits. Moreover, subject teachers typically also have qualifications to teach subjects other than their major. This is enabled by completing a minor (a minimum of 60 ECTS credits) in the chosen subject. For history teachers, the most popular choice is social sciences, which allows them to teach social studies. In fact, approximately one tenth of all lower secondary history teachers have majored in social sciences, with history as their minor (Ouakrim-Soivio & Kuusela, 2012, 33). In addition to subject-specific studies, subject teacher qualifications include 60 ECTS credits in educational studies, including courses in general education, subject-specific teaching and a practicum (Virta & Yli-Panula, 2012, 202). Therefore, teacher training involves co-operation between subject faculties, teacher training departments and teacher training schools where pre-service teachers do their practical training (Veijola, 2013, 16).

Overall, the studies that prepare subject teachers for the pedagogical and general educational aspects of their service comprise a year's worth of studies. Typically, these are spread out over different years, with basic studies incorporated into a bachelor's degree and intermediate studies into a master's degree. During these studies, pre-service teachers get a crash course in a variety of educational issues. For instance, in subject-specific studies they are familiarised with key questions in thinking and learning in the subjects and are introduced to the prescribed curriculum and its development, different teaching methods and materials, student assessment and cross-disciplinary approaches (Virta & Yli-Panula, 2012, 202). The courses in general education aim to give an overview of the basics of psychological and sociological approaches to education sciences and issues,

such as instruction, ethics, group phenomena and the interaction between teachers, school communities and society (e.g. Veijola, 2013, 17). Unlike class teachers who experience uncertainty in terms of their subject matter mastery (van den Berg, 2010, 233), subject teachers have the opposite challenge, as they need to gain command of a broad variety of educational issues in a limited time frame.

With these challenges in providing the necessary means for history teaching in both subject and class teacher training compounded by the ever-changing demands on teachers, continuing education ought to play a significant role in strengthening teacher qualifications (cf. Desimone, 2009). However, as Helin (2014, 147, 161) notes, there is no systematic continuing education for teachers in Finland, and teachers experience a mismatch in the amount of continuing education offered compared to the pace of required changes in schools and education. The only permanent form of continuing education is the so-called VESO days[7] offered by employers, which comprise three six-hour workdays per year dedicated to developing teachers' practice. These are compulsory for all teachers with permanent, full-time contracts or at least year-long fixed-term contracts. Topics discussed during VESO days include issues relevant for the teaching profession at large, thus usually excluding subject-specific themes (cf. Ouakrim-Soivio & Kuusela, 2012, 33). There is also voluntary training, such as state-funded voluntary training on educational policy priorities, occasional university-provided continuing education and training funded by the European Union (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2005, 66–67). Nonetheless, most teachers mainly attend only compulsory training. However, there is also a small, active group of teachers who attend voluntary continuing education regularly (Helin, 2014, 12; Atjonen et al., 2008, 157).

Continuing education targeted specifically at history teachers has been offered mainly by the Finnish Association for Teachers of History and Social Studies (HYOL). The education they provide has typically emphasised questions relating to subject matter content rather than pedagogical issues. Moreover, attendance depends on the willingness and resources of individual teachers. Other than the abovementioned, subject-specific continuing education has been scarce if almost non-existent. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that in addition to special needs education, subject-specific training is the most wanted topic for continuing education among teachers (Atjonen et al., 2008, 154). Overall, from the perspective of practicing teachers, the adoption of novel elements introduced in the subject-specific sections of each new national core curriculum has similarly depended on the willingness and resources of individual teachers.

[7] An abbreviation of *virkaehtosopimukseen perustuva koulutus*, which translates as *training based on collective agreement*.

2.3 The prescribed curriculum and history in basic education

2.3.1 Curriculum design in Finland: process and structure

Curricular reforms in basic education in Finland follow a regular, approximately 10-year-long cycle and therefore are not necessarily prompted by topical needs for educational reform. The process of a curricular reform starts as a legislative process initiated by the Parliament of Finland. Parliament prescribes a Basic Education Act, a Government Decree on National Objectives of Education and the Distribution of Lesson Hours, which form the basis for curriculum design. The reform process itself is coordinated and governed by the Finnish National Agency of Education (EDUFI) that operates under the Ministry of Education and Culture. The agency prepares the Finnish national core curriculum for basic education that serves as a framework for local-level curriculum planning (Säily et al., 2020; Vitikka et al., 2012, 85–86). On this basis, municipalities form their own curricula. The local-level process is to complement, specify and determine points of emphasis to assure a context-driven curriculum (Erss et al., 2016). Municipalities also have the power to decide whether all schools in said municipality follow the same curriculum or if schools have the possibility to further modify the municipal-level curriculum and create their own curricula. An assessment report regarding the implementation of the 2014 core curriculum showed that 54% of schools in basic education that responded to the survey used municipal-level curriculum, while the rest had either a school-level (18%) curriculum, a subregional (14%) curriculum or a combination of both (12%–14%) (Saarinen et al., 2019, 78).[8]

The national core curriculum has a two-part structure that reflects the two curricular traditions on which it is grounded. The influence of the Anglo-Saxon Curriculum tradition is apparent in the general section of the framework, which provides an all-encompassing description of ideal school life, including the learning conception the curriculum is grounded on, goals for developing learning environments, school culture, working methods and a definition of the purpose and values of education. The second part of the framework reflects the German Lehrplan tradition, as it specifies the contents and aims of all individual school subjects included in the curriculum (Krokfors, 2017, 259). The curriculum also has a dual role as both an administrative steering document and a pedagogical tool for teachers to develop their practice. As Vitikka (2010) notes, the 21st century curricula in Finland has emphasised the first mentioned role to assure uniformity and equality in education regardless of students' place of residence. Therefore, the core curricula are increasingly specific in defining the principles and aims of education (Vitikka, 2010, 68–69).

[8] Sub-regions refer to groups of municipalities that have close ties and economic cooperation. A combination curriculum usually includes both regionally shared and school-specific sections.

As this study employs the division between prescribed, enacted, and experienced curricula, it might be useful to consider the suitability of the term 'prescribed' in the Finnish context. Curricular reforms in Finland are considered to be democratic processes, as the Finnish National Agency of Education is not only a norm-setting institution, but facilitates public discussion in different phases of the process regarding the aims, methods, and values reflected by the core curriculum. Thus, it is not solely in the hands of administrators, as a wide variety of actors are consulted throughout the reform: teachers, teacher educators, researchers, parents, teacher unions, and other interest-groups are all given a possibility to participate. Moreover, teachers are actively involved in constructing local-level curricula. As Vitikka et al. (2012, 86) note, these possibilities for local-level decision-making are seen as a way to increase teachers' commitment to curriculum implementation. This aspect of curriculum-design reflects the influence of the German Bildung tradition, which emphasises teacher autonomy and the role of teachers as curriculum theorists (Saari et al., 2017, 63).

Based on the aforementioned features of curriculum design, one might argue the term 'prescribed' is unfitting in the Finnish context, as it implies those higher up in the hierarchy hand the curriculum to teachers to be implemented. However, while teachers in Finland have the possibility to participate in curriculum design, the extent and impact of this participation is somewhat unclear. For instance, Säily et al. (2020) found that while the Finnish National Agency of Education provides possibilities for public discussion on the draft versions of the curriculum framework, at least in the subject of math these comments hardly ever resulted in any changes in the final versions of the curriculum, no matter how well argued or justified. It is also possible that local-level actors do not utilise the decision-making power assigned to them. In studies focusing on the local-level contextualisations of multiliteracy, one of the transversal competences mentioned in the core curriculum, Palsa and Mertala (2019; 2020) found that in most local curricula the texts regarding multiliteracy were identical with the national framework. Therefore, local-level actors had not used the opportunity for context-driven interpretation. Moreover, as Rokka (2011, 14) notes, teachers' perceptions regarding the curriculum are highly dependent on the degree of participation they have had in the curriculum design. The local-level curriculum design process relies on representative participation of teachers in the form of work groups (Salminen, 2018, 54). Thus, many teachers have little direct involvement in the process of curriculum design and may therefore experience the curriculum as 'prescribed'.

2.3.2 History in Finnish curricula

History is one of the 18 individual subjects mentioned in the curricula. Previously, it used to be incorporated with social sciences. However, the 2004 core curriculum separated the two into individual subjects with distinct aims, objectives and assessment criteria. As Virta and Ylipanula (2012, 190) note, the grounds for the separation was the distinct natures of the two school subjects and of the academic disciplines on which they are grounded. History education in Finland begins in

primary education in either fourth or fifth grade, depending on local-level solutions. Regardless of in which year or in which municipality students begin history studies, the total number of lessons allocated to history is typically the same, as the official Distribution of Lesson Hours determines the minimum hours to be dedicated to each school subject. The national core curriculum differentiates objectives, contents and assessment in history for primary education (grades 4–6) and lower secondary education (grades 7–9) (EDUFI, 2014, 276, 447). In the current Distribution of Lesson Hours, two lessons a week are dedicated to history in both primary and lower secondary education (Ministry of Education, 2012). In the previous Distribution of Lesson Hours, three lessons per week were dedicated to history in primary education, but in the latest distribution one of these lessons was given to social sciences, which was not taught in primary education previously. History in lower secondary schools is usually taught in grades 7 and 8, while social science is taught in ninth grade (Virta & Ylipanula, 2012, 191).

As the materials of this study are connected to both the 2004 and 2014 National Core Curricula, it is necessary to extend the following description of history curricula to cover the two 21st-century frameworks. Moreover, as the focus of the study is on lower secondary education, I will mainly discuss the objectives and contents mentioned for grades 7–9 in the national core curricula.[9] Both Finnish history curricula for basic education combine discussions on history education from the German and Anglo-Saxon traditions. The 2014 national framework makes these connections explicit by introducing the concepts of historical consciousness, historical literacy and historical thinking skills (Veijola, 2016a; EDUFI, 2014, 446–447). While the German and Anglo-Saxon traditions of history education have distinct roots and perhaps assign different meanings to history education, they have also found some common ground in both academic literature (e.g. Duquette, 2015; Körber, 2015; Seixas, 2017b) and curricula not just in Finland but also elsewhere (e.g. Skolverket, 2018; Gestsdóttir et al., 2019).

Of the three concepts, historical consciousness has the longest roots in Finnish curricula, as it was already a central concept defining Finnish history education in the 1980s (Ahonen, 2020, 134; Elio, 1992). The concept refers to the tendency of humans to perceive the contemporary and set expectations regarding the future based on their interpretations of the past (Gadamer, 1987). When historical consciousness was transformed into a didactical concept, history education was given the task to examine these interpretations of the past and explore their use and significance in the present. Moreover, these interpretations are considered to be socially constructed; they are adopted, reinterpreted and passed forward within communities from one generation to another (Rüsen, 2004; Lévesque & Croteau, 2020, 3) Therefore, the perceived challenge for history education is to move from the passive adoption of these interpretations to a more reflective relationship with them, thus forming an active historical consciousness (Duquette, 2015, 53; Kölbl & Konrad, 2015, 23–24; Lévesque & Croteau, 2020, 14).

While the German tradition has inspired Finnish curriculum design for a longer time, the Anglo-Saxon tradition is no newcomer, as it was adopted in the

[9] See objectives and assessment criteria as presented in the two curricula, APPENDIX 1-2.

Finnish curriculum for basic education in the 1994 national core curriculum (cf. Virta et al., 1998, 75; Ahonen, 2020). The two concepts attributed to this tradition, second-order concepts and historical literacy, are often referred to as the 'disciplinary approach' to history education (e.g. Seixas, 2000; VanSledright, 2011). While the two concepts are often integrated into a single approach (e.g. Paldanius, 2020a, 35) they also have distinct origins. Second-order concepts date back to 1970s Great Britain and the Schools Council History Project, a curriculum experiment that introduced the command of metahistorical concepts such as cause, consequence, time and historical empathy as the focus of history education (Lee & Ashby, 2000; Shemilt, 1983). Thus, the idea of history education was to grasp the interpretive nature of historical knowledge and the basics of historical knowledge formation. Historical literacy springing from North American discussions is a close relative to the British tradition but has an even stronger focus on working with historical sources (Seixas, 2017, 595–596).

While source work is also central in the British tradition, historical literacy puts it at the core of history education. The concept has its roots in Wineburg's (1991) study on the ways historians construct knowledge based on historical sources. Based on this study, Wineburg developed a heuristic of historical knowledge formation that involved three abilities—understanding the nature and purpose of the source (sourcing), examining the source in the framework of its historical context (contextualisation) and comparing the source with other related sources (corroboration). Overall, different conceptualisations of historical literacy have stressed similar attributes with a focus on the analysis of historical sources and the ability to produce justifiable interpretations on their basis (e.g. Maposa & Wasserman, 2009; Nokes, 2010, 524). The task appointed to history education as suggested by the disciplinary approach has therefore stressed a focus on critical thinking and the fostering of active and democratic citizenship (e.g. Rantala & Ahonen, 2015, 101).

To clarify the contents and points of emphasis in the Finnish national history curriculum for basic education, I use a three-part division of historical knowledge developed by Jarhall (2020). As Jarhall's analytical tool incorporates elements from both German and Anglo-Saxon traditions of history education, it is well suited to discuss the Finnish history curriculum. Jarhall divides the school subject of history into three dimensions with related concepts. The division into first- and second-order concepts is a common one, particularly in the British tradition (e.g. Lee & Ashby, 2000; Shemilt, 1983). First-order concepts refer to substantive knowledge in history, meaning historical facts and interpretations, the finished product of historical research familiar to all students from school textbooks. Second-order concepts refer to procedural knowledge in history. These are metahistorical concepts considered to be central in the formation of historical interpretations. In Jarhall's conceptual division, second-order concepts include both what VanSledright and Limón (2006) call second-order substantive knowledge and procedural (or strategic) knowledge. Thus, it involves both concepts that historians use to interpret and make sense of the past, such as change,

decline and causation, and knowledge on how to conduct research, such as assessment of sources or constructing evidence-based arguments (see VanSledright & Limón, 2006. 547). Therefore, the second-order concepts as defined by Jarhall are parallel to the disciplinary approach described above. The last dimension of historical knowledge, the third-order concepts, are perhaps more inspired by German didactics. They refer to the meaning dimension of historical knowledge, encompassing concepts such as historical consciousness and identity that relate to questions of values, ethics and the significance of history for an individual's life (Jarhall, 2020, 99–103).

Both 21st century national curricula for basic education have a strong emphasis on second-order concepts. The assessment criteria in both curricula mention almost exclusively abilities regarding knowledge formation, as they comprise three areas of abilities—acquiring information about the past, understanding historical phenomena and applying historical knowledge. In addition, the 2004 framework mentions seven sub-criteria, while the 2014 framework is more specific with 12 sub-criteria. These sub-criteria include skills such as the ability to read and interpret sources, the ability to understand causal relationships in history and the ability to evaluate the reliability of interpretations of historical events and phenomena (EDUFI, 2004, 223–224; 2014, 449). Thus, the sub-criteria specify the content of each of the three main criteria in a manner that grounds Finnish history education in the disciplinary approach adopted from the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

Second-order concepts are also mentioned in other parts of the history curricula. The 2014 framework defines the purpose of the school subject mainly in terms of historical knowledge formation and puts emphasis on understanding the interpretive nature of historical knowledge. For instance, history education is to support the development of students' historical literacy, which is defined as 'the ability to read and analyse sources produced by actors of the past and to competently interpret their meaning and significance' (EDUFI, 2014, 446). Whereas the objectives of history education mentioned in the 2014 framework are identical with the assessment criteria described above, the objectives in the 2004 framework are at the least phrased differently. However, of the five objectives mentioned, four are linked strictly to second-order concepts. They include source work abilities, the ability to explain the purposes and effects of human activity and gaining an understanding of the interpretive nature of historical knowledge (EDUFI, 2004, 222). Moreover, the 2014 version gives recommendations regarding learning environments and working methods. These recommendations emphasise the use of inquiry-based learning (IBL) methods and open learning environments to encourage students to use different source types to engage in making their own interpretations and in evaluating sources and historical information (EDUFI, 2014, 448).

Compared to second-order concepts, third-order concepts have a significantly lesser role in history education as defined by the 21st century curricula. The task of the school subject mentions the provision of material for identity building. Moreover, the only named objective unrelated to second-order concepts is to gain

ability in assessing future alternatives based on knowledge of the past (EDUFI, 2004, 222). The 2014 framework expands these a little. Besides identity building, history is to help students grow into 'active members of the society who understand diversity'. Furthermore, the mentioned objectives include 'significance, values, and attitudes', which involves the strengthening of students' interest in history as a field of knowledge and the identity building aspect of history education already mentioned in relation to the purpose of the subject. Unlike the second-order concepts mentioned in the objectives, this area remains outside the principles used for grade formation (EDUFI, 2014, 446–449). However, as Löfström et al. (2021) note, if curricula are read as a whole and the transversal competences mentioned in the general section of the curriculum are also considered, the role of third-order concepts is slightly stronger. For instance, the 2014 core curriculum aims to promote ethical thinking and to 'support growth as a human being and to impart competences required for membership in a democratic society and a sustainable way of living' (p. 21).

Overall, in terms of second- and third-order concepts, the 2004 and 2014 frameworks are almost identical. However, an examination of first-order concepts reveals a distinct difference between the two curricula. As Ahonen (2016) notes, the reduced list of historical events and phenomena in the 1994 framework led to some public concern and the restoration of a historical canon[10] in the 2004 core curriculum. Therefore, the contents of history instruction for grades 7–9 include 10 subject areas with 2–4 sub-topics each.[11] These contents form a chronology of 19th and 20th century history with an emphasis on Finnish and European history. Thus, students are familiarised with topics such as nationalism, industrialisation, the two World Wars and the Cold War (EDUFI, 2004, 222–223). In comparison, the 2014 framework is again a step away from the canon with only six content areas. For instance, while the 2004 core curriculum dedicated four content areas and 10 sub-topics to the 20th century wars, the 2014 framework dedicates only one content area to this era.

Moreover, the presentation of core contents differs between the two core curricula. For example, the 2004 version presents a subject area, such as 'The

[10] It is necessary to note that there is no official historical canon in Finland in a similar sense as in countries such as Hungary or Denmark, where certain historical narratives or a selection of events are either stated in the Constitution or provided as a fixed list of contents in the curriculum that teachers are obliged to transmit to all students. Instead, Ahonen uses the term 'canon' to describe the role of content knowledge in the different curricula. The 1994 framework provides no specific suggestions on what content to cover, and the 2004 framework offers a fairly detailed list of suggestions of content for teachers to follow. However, even the 2004 version does not demand teachers teach certain content, as assessment in the school subject focuses on historical skills.

[11] The core contents for primary education (grades 5–6) include eight content areas also forming a chronology that precedes the phenomena discussed in lower secondary schools, starting from the Stone Age and reaching the French Revolution. As an exception to the chronology, the very first content area deals with students' own roots and the history of their families and home regions and introduces students to the nature of historical knowledge (EDUFI, 2004, 220.) Thus, the first content area actually involves all three aspects of history education discussed by Jarhall, as it explicitly connects the subject matter (first order) to historical knowledge formation (second order) and the lives and identities of the students (third order).

World War II period', with a list of sub-topics such as 'World War II - its causes and consequences' and 'Finland in World War II - recovery from the war' (EDUFI, 2004, 223). The 2014 framework presents a subject area such as 'The Great War era'[12] with an explication of possible topics, themes and viewpoints: 'The pupils familiarise themselves with the World Wars, the Cold War and surviving a war, particularly from the viewpoint of ordinary people and human rights issues. The pupils learn about crimes against humanity, such as the Holocaust and other forms of persecution, as well as the promotion of human rights' (EDUFI, 2014, 447). Furthermore, it allows more flexibility regarding subject matter, as it suggests contents to be selected to support the achievement of the objectives. However, the overall differences between the two curricula remain minor, as both commit to the disciplinary approach as the preferred form of history education.

[12] These titles are from the official English translations of the core curricula, which lack conceptual precision. For instance, instead of 'historical literacy' the 2014 translation talks of 'textual skills related to history' (p. 446), and while The Great War is often associated solely with the First World War, the translation uses it in this much broader sense (p. 447).

3 THE FIELD, THE MATERIALS AND THE METHODS

To examine the ins and outs of the enacted history curriculum, this study employs an ethnographic approach. Ethnography is often noted as being an ambiguous concept; as there is no shared consensus on its meaning, it is therefore associated with various other labels, such as qualitative inquiry, fieldwork, participant observation and or case study (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, 1; Pole & Morrison, 2003, 2). However, certain features unite most ethnographic work. First, it is typically understood as a methodology, thus referring not just to a specific method of data collection but ultimately to the nature of the whole research process and the knowledge produced (Brewer, 2000, 2). In ethnography, the researcher typically participates in the lives of those under study, and the study takes place in participants' everyday contexts rather than ones created by the researcher. The research is usually small-scale, focusing on interpreting the meanings and actions taking place in a single setting or adopted by a certain group of people. A range of data sources is often used, and fixed research designs are avoided, as data collection is flexible and its means specify throughout the process (cf. Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, 3; Pole & Morrison, 2003, 3, 5; Brewer, 2000, 18–19). Furthermore, as Gould (2016) suggests, the essence of ethnographic research lies in reflexive thinking, as the researcher's own experiences influence her interpretations of the research subject and also because the researcher ultimately influences the study participants. Therefore, it is of importance to ponder on the relationships formed with participants and think of what is altogether possible for the researcher to know (Gould, 2016, 11, 38–32).

As the enacted history curriculum is likely the product of the interaction of a variety of beliefs, ideas and contextual and situational elements, ethnography therefore offers a useful perspective. Prolonged participation in the researched classroom and the use of several different source types allows an exploration of the relationship between the expressed ideals and their realisation in the classroom and the complex interaction of and hierarchies between the different ideas grounding the enacted curriculum. As ethnography is interested in how study

participants describe and define their own activities and experiences, it simultaneously places importance on the reference points to which these definitions are set against. The use of several source types thus helps the researcher to get a more thorough grasp of the ideas grounding the enacted curriculum, as participants assume different positions and define themselves and the school subject in reference to different 'audiences' in different situations (e.g. in an interview, in the classroom, in a written assignment, etc.), thus implying shared ideas and stances towards them. Moreover, compared to studies using observational data with short observation periods, ethnography allows developing relationships over time with study participants, thus creating a rapport (or sometimes mistrust) that may open doors to unexpected experiences and information. The significance of being able to develop these relationships and discuss issues over time is key in choosing ethnography; the reflexive analysis of the relationships is in itself a source of information about participants' meaning-making, for instance how a teacher describes one's work and justifies one's practices in relation to the researcher. Therefore, ethnography provides the depth and detail other means of research understandably lack. The downside is of course that the nature of ethnography does not allow generalisations. Instead, it offers explanations and provides new lines of inquiry for larger-scale studies to examine further.

As noted, ethnography involves the researcher engaging with the daily lives and activities of the study participants to access and experience the ways humans act, talk and make meaning in their natural environment (Brewer, 2000, 59). This natural environment is often referred to as 'the field'. However, the two concepts are not synonymous, as the latter is constructed by the researcher as she forms different relationships with the participants or makes decisions regarding her research by making choices regarding aspects such as data collection methods or the time spent in the field (e.g. Hämeenaho & Koskinen-Koivisto, 2013, 12–13). Atkinson (1992) suggests that a triple constitution of the field takes place in ethnography. First, the boundaries of the field are an outcome of the ethnographer's gaze and observations, influenced by the social transactions taking place in the field. Second, the field is reconstituted as texts-of-the-field in the ethnographer's fieldnotes, interview transcripts and finished research report. The last reconstitution happens at the hands of the reader, who reconstructs and recontextualises the field when interpreting the texts produced by the ethnographer (Atkinson, 1992, 9). Therefore, the following not only clarifies the used data collection methods and materials but reflects the research process in the first two reconstitutions suggested by Atkinson. I will discuss aspects such as the decisions made regarding location and time use, the significance of formed relationships and the technical and ethical choices that influenced the written field.

3.1 On researcher positionality

While ethnographic research aims to describe a culture and record the lives and experiences of participants, it is equally true that there is no way to obtain pure,

objective data and research results that reflect those lives as they are. Instead, the data is inevitably filtered through our personal experiences, beliefs and biases (e.g. Bennardo & de Munck, 2013, 63). Although it may be impossible to offer a comprehensive explanation including an exhaustive account of such biases here, certain background information is perhaps necessary for the reader to assess the interpretations I have made here. As the study touches upon the enacted curriculum and particularly the roles of the collective memory approach and the disciplinary approach in history education, I will focus the following discussion specifically on my personal view of the two approaches. This account aims to clarify my perspective on history education, which likely influences the interpretations presented in this study. Moreover, it offers an account of my positionality, as it specifies some of the attributes that influenced the role and status I had in the field (cf. LeCompte & Schensul, 2015, 262–263), which ultimately shaped my relationship with the participants, something that is discussed in detail later in this study.

First, I am a teacher qualified in history, social studies and ethics. I received my subject teacher education between 2009 and 2015, when I did my bachelor's and master's degrees at the University of Jyväskylä. Therefore, my history teacher training has at least supposedly prepared me to teach disciplinary skills. Second, as I started elementary school in 1996, it is safe to say that on the level of national curricula, the history education that I have received in basic education and in upper secondary school has leaned towards the disciplinary approach. On paper, my education as a whole suggests I ought to consider the approach as the natural and self-evident form of history education. However, as my choice of words above imply, in real life things have been somewhat more complex. Throughout my years in basic education, the history education I received was focused on transmitting specific historical narratives to students. My lower secondary school teacher in particular was a riveting storyteller rather than someone who considered it important to change perspectives or problematise and deconstruct familiar narratives. In upper secondary school, my history teacher was perhaps more attuned to the disciplinary approach, but as I had already adopted an idea of history as a fixed single narrative, I have become more aware of the nature of her pedagogical choices only after finding some of our old learning materials from her history courses. In hindsight, I would say she definitely got me more interested in history (given that I later pursued it as a major at university), but my established views on the nature of history were so rooted that they remained untouched, despite her attempts to help me broaden my perspective.

Therefore, I entered my university history studies with an idea of history as a fountain of truth regarding past events and developments. For me, this was a satisfactory motivation to begin my studies, as I felt that learning history would help me truly understand the surrounding society and quench my thirst to know about things. As I felt that I needed something in my degree that would help me find employment upon graduation, I also applied for subject teacher studies. At first, I was not too passionate about teaching, as it was more of a pragmatic choice rather than a calling. At this point, I would say I was quite a typical beginning

history teacher trainee, as I considered the task of a teacher to mainly be the transmission of content knowledge in ways that would be motivating to students.

Based on my study record, my teacher studies have included two history-specific courses, one called 'Principles of learning instruction and subject pedagogy' (5 ECTS) and one called 'Advanced subject pedagogy' (6 ECTS). This reflects the previously noted feature of teacher studies focusing mainly on general educational and pedagogical issues, while the fundamentals of the school subject are expected to be learned within history studies. At the time I entered university, basic studies in history resembled an in-depth version of upper secondary school history contents. In addition to an introductory course to the discipline, the courses comprised the basics of Finnish and (Western) world history, including courses on antiquity and the Middle Ages, the early and late modern periods, contemporary history and economic history.[13] The intermediate studies were more thematic and included courses that introduced different research orientations and subfields of history central in the research conducted in the department. However, the intermediate studies were also quite flexible and allowed me to complete them mainly by doing book exams.

Therefore, for reasons partly related to the nature of our history studies and partly related to my personal preference of reading books over participating in teaching, my understanding of history and its nature was only really challenged for the first time in the intermediate phase of the subject teacher studies in the fourth year of my university experience. During these studies, like some of the students in Veijola's (2013) study on history teacher trainees, I began to think that transmitting a certain historical narrative, raising students to a specific (national) identity or fostering a shared, fixed conception of history were not sufficient enough purposes for history education. However, at the end of the teacher studies, I had not quite figured out an alternative to the collective memory approach. In a sense, I had come to problematise and deconstruct some of my beliefs about history education but had not had enough time or resources to develop much of anything new to replace the previous ideas on teaching.

This state of confusion led me to a quest for a sounder teacher identity. I started by doing my master's thesis on history education in the context of an interdisciplinary upper secondary school course experiment based on team learning. At the same time, I began working as a substitute teacher. Upon graduating in 2015, I continued working as a substitute teacher and started planning for this study. While doing odd jobs and applying for funding for this research, I conducted a small study together with another doctoral student, Marika Manninen (University of Helsinki), on the historical literacy of lower secondary school students (see Manninen & Vesterinen, 2017). During the research excursions and in the instructions and materials suggested to me by some of the history teachers I substituted for, I observed that the collective memory approach still prevailed in

[13] It should be noted that since then things have changed, and currently the basic studies courses are grouped based on perspectives/subfields of history that reflect the research emphases of the department, such as 'Gender history' or 'Politics, language and culture'.

many Finnish history classrooms, despite being replaced by a disciplinary approach in the national curricula. As it happens, the supervisors of my master's thesis together with linguistics scholars at our university and from humanities and social science education at the University of Helsinki had devised a research project on historical literacy in upper secondary education (HisLit, *Engaging in disciplinary thinking: historical literacy practices in Finnish general upper secondary schools*). Therefore, once I entered the classroom examined in this research, I became well acquainted with literature on the disciplinary approach and became affiliated with a research group focused on developing the approach and studying its role and realisation in Finnish history education.

Regarding my current stance towards different approaches to history education, I might be called a proponent of the disciplinary approach. First, while I acknowledge the allure of the collective memory approach, as it can offer a sense of belonging and facilitate understanding the historicity of the contemporary, I find its exclusivity and monolithic nature a troubling fit for a plural society. In addition, the collective memory approach lacks some important aspects inherent in the disciplinary approach, such as multiperspectivity, epistemic access and recognition of the use of historical knowledge in society. However, I am also aware that in practice the disciplinary approach can take many forms, some more successful than others. Moreover, I appreciate the fact that realising the disciplinary approach in a meaningful way in the classroom is not an easy task and demands expertise in various issues (and resources to develop such expertise) on the part of the teacher. Furthermore, I would be careful in claiming to commit to a specific approach, as I prefer to consider history education as an open exploration. After all, the research contributions concerning history education made during the past few decades show how novel, interesting perspectives are always waiting around the corner.

To conclude this reflection on my positionality regarding the different approaches to history education, it is worth noting that discussions related to the differences between the two approaches to history education have definitely influenced the aspects I pay attention to when observing a classroom. As the introduction of the disciplinary approach has resulted in a focus on issues such as the nature of historical knowledge, students' role in knowledge formation and students' participation in history and identification with historical narratives, these aspects tend to draw my attention as well. While these dimensions of teaching certainly are considered throughout this study, it is also a necessary reminder that these are issues about which the prescribed curriculum instructs the teacher. Therefore, as the enacted curriculum is always in some way related to the prescribed curriculum and as the Finnish curricula for basic education of the past few decades have been grounded on the disciplinary approach, the following analysis touches upon the questions of to what extent and in what form is the prescribed curriculum realised in the classroom. For this reason, the disciplinary approach is used as a point of reference in the research, regardless of my personal commitments. Furthermore, it is also noteworthy that my presence in the classroom together with the coinciding curriculum reform likely inspired the teacher

himself to discuss and take a stand towards the prescribed curriculum and the disciplinary approach, perhaps more passionately than if the fieldwork would have occurred outside the immediate proximity of the reform. Consequently, my stance towards the different approaches of history education as perceived by the teacher influenced the nature of our relationship, as the study will show.

3.2 Participants – Middleton Comprehensive

As Coffey (1992, 42) notes, it is impossible to separate the field from the people who inhabit the setting, as they both facilitate the research, generate the data and influence the focus of the study. Therefore, a thorough introduction of the setting and the participants is essential when defining the field. Middleton Comprehensive is a school located in a municipality in inner Finland. To protect the anonymity of the participants in this study, both the name of the school and the municipality are fictional. The municipality in question has more than one school offering basic education, and like some other schools in the area and a growing number of schools in Finland, Middleton Comprehensive offers both primary and lower secondary education. In 2019, there were 2189 schools offering basic education in Finland. Of these, just over a fifth provided education for all grades from 1–9 (Statistics Finland, 2020). Like other similar comprehensive schools, Middleton Comprehensive has several hundred students and more than one history teacher.[14] This study focuses on one group of eighth graders and even more so on their history teacher.

In ethnographic research, the researcher does not simply choose who she is going to study. Instead, she depends on finding people who choose to give her access to the field and open up their lives to her (Härkönen, 2017, 190; Davies, 2002, 79). The selection of the teacher introduced in this study began with determining a geographic region within which I searched for history teachers with permanent contracts. This was the first and most important condition I had for the selected teacher. This was because a critical examination of the practices of someone with a fixed-term employment contract could potentially cause harm to their career progression, at least if they had hopes of continuing in the same school. While this likely narrowed the likelihood of ending up with a younger, less experienced teacher, I did not want to take even the slightest chance of causing someone problems. After all, it would be both ethically and practically impossible to carry out research in secret from the school community of the chosen teacher, and therefore any unflattering information revealed in the study would carry the risk of affecting the chances of turning a fixed-term contract into a permanent one. The geographic area from which the teacher was selected was chosen based on practicalities. I scouted teachers in a few municipalities that I had

[14] A background survey of a study on the learning results in history and social studies including a sample of 113 schools revealed an average of two history teachers per school, with the amount of history teachers per school ranging from one to six (Ouakrim-Soivio & Kuusela, 2012, 31).

easy access to, meaning that they were situated within a reasonable distance of places where I could find cheap accommodation, such as relatives or friends with whom to stay during the field period.

After filtering out teachers who were clearly on a fixed-term contract based on information available on school websites, I contacted a group of teachers through e-mail. Three teachers responded. I visited all three teachers and observed one history lesson taught by each teacher. As it turned out, one of the three teachers was on a fixed-term contract, leaving me with two choices for a teacher participant. The reason for choosing just one teacher to focus on ultimately originates from this selection process. At first, I considered the possibility of following a handful of teachers. Ideally, three or more teachers could have brought interesting variety, perhaps offering support for some findings in case they applied to more than one teacher or provided different perspectives on an overlapping phenomenon. However, as I ended up having just two candidates, I decided to choose only one. Unlike researching a small group of teachers, focusing on two might have resulted in an uncomfortable juxtaposition between the teachers. Moreover, as ethnography does not aim for nor allow generalisations, having a single participant teacher seemed sufficient. As Koskinen-Koivisto (2013, 15) points out, an individual discusses and interacts in reference to the surrounding culture, thus revealing shared ideas and their personal stances towards them (see also Passerini, 1988, 8). Therefore, studying just a single teacher would assumedly open up a view to teacher experiences on a broader scale. Furthermore, as Finnish teachers enjoy such extensive autonomy in their work, diving deeply into the work of a couple of teachers does not automatically provide a better study than a careful analysis of an individual teacher. In the worst case, choosing several schools and teachers may have offered too rich and too messy of a palette for proper handling given the constraints of a single study conducted by a single researcher.

The observed lessons provided little to go on in terms of selection, as both were quite content-driven, lively, and incorporated assignments for students to work on. Moreover, the teachers were close to the same age with an equal amount of teaching experience and were equally open to the idea of participating in my research. Therefore, the deciding factor was the short interactions I had with the rest of the faculty. At the school I eventually cut from my research, the history teacher was kind enough to introduce me to the teachers' lounge. The problem for me was that everyone, including all the people the history teacher chatted with, acted as if I did not exist. They simply did not look at me, respond to my hellos or talk to me. I cannot say I was all that shaken by this, as I had previously encountered similar behaviour in some schools when working as a substitute teacher. However, as a researcher I had to consider the possibilities of creating confidential and open relationships with other teachers in such an environment because at that point, I was incapable of predicting the role of the larger school community in my research.

As ethnographic knowledge is produced from the relationships formed in the field, the question of being welcome in the school community was not insignificant. After all, access to the field not only means having permission to conduct research but being able to participate in the community and its ongoing activities (Burgess, 1984, 61). Compared to the school described above, the faculty at the school I selected for this study was warm and welcoming. While I realise that choosing the latter may have excluded some interesting phenomena relating to faculty dynamics and professional identity, my focus at that point was strictly on history education, so I assumed the more welcoming school would be a safer (and perhaps easier) environment for creating researcher–participant relationships. As Coffey (1999, 40) suggests, good field relationships assure the researcher a better possibility of being engaged and included in the everyday activities taking place in the field.

The teacher I ended up working with is Ben (pseudonym), who was in his 50s and had almost 30 years of experience working as a history teacher. Despite his long career, he also had a spark for developing and updating his practices, like so many other teachers who received their training in the 1980s (cf. Kumpulainen, 2016,. 158). When I first met Ben, he told me he wanted to further emphasise the teaching of historical thinking skills and in a later interview explained that he was eager to have me in the classroom to get a sense of the latest trends and discussions in the field of history education. Moreover, it turned out Ben was attending a continuing education course on the disciplinary approach to history education during my stay in the classroom and was reading a recent book on the roots and principles of contemporary history education in Finland.[15]

In many ways, Ben is quite a typical Finnish history teacher. In 2016, 39% of teachers and principals in basic education were 50 or older, 32% were 40–49 and 29% were younger than 40 (Kumpulainen, 2017, 41). While almost 80% of all teachers are female, history teachers constitute an exception. Whereas there are no specific statistics regarding the gender distribution of history teachers, it is estimated to be closer to 50/50, as 47.5% of members of the Finnish Association of Teachers of History and Social Studies are men (Rantala & Ouakrim-Soivio, 2018, 8). Moreover, 50–54-year-old teachers, the group Ben belongs to, are most eager to attend continuing education. As they received their teacher training in the 1980s, aspects that are perceived to have revolutionised education in the past few decades—such as digitalisation, globalisation and other changes in work life—pose a greater challenge to this age group, which still has many years of their career left (Kumpulainen, 2017, 158).

As teaching and thus the enacted curriculum takes place in an interaction with students,[16] it is necessary to introduce the group of eighth graders in whose

[15] The book in question was 'Ajan merkit' by Professor Jukka Rantala and Professor emerita Sirkka Ahonen (2015).

[16] Even though the Finnish education system officially refers to those attending compulsory basic education as pupils (*oppilas*) and uses student (*opiskelija*) to refer to those in secondary or tertiary levels of education, I use the term student here to emphasise these youngsters as active agents instead of simply being targets of education. In accordance, I also feel the

history lessons I participated throughout the school year. From the few eighth grade groups Ben was teaching that year, I chose the one I met the first time I was visiting the school. This group comprised 24 students who all participated in this study. As such, there were more students than in an average classroom in Finland. In 2019, the average group size in grades 7–9 was 17 students. However, history is one of the school subjects with the largest group sizes, as studies show an average of 18–19 students per group (Ouakrim-Soivio & Kuusela, 2012, 31; EDUFI, 2020, 8). Moreover, while there are no statistics available on grades 7–9, in primary education approximately half of all groups had more than 20 students (EDUFI, 2020, 12). As Table 1 shows, there were a few more girls than boys in the group. The pseudonyms and thus the gender distribution suggested in the table are based on the genders implied by students' actual names. By this classification, I wish not to make claims about students' actual genders. However, as teachers are known to have (often latent) expectations regarding students based on their perceived gender, I wish to illuminate the view of the group from this perspective as well.

TABLE 1 Student participants

Girls	**Boys**
Anne	Samuel
Laura	Kai
Elisabeth	Oliver
Maria	Jasper
Paula	Leo
Elsa	Aaron
Amanda	Joel
Heidi	Jesse
Irene	Emil
Emma	Saul
Julia	
Vanessa	
Linda	
Sara	

However, from the viewpoints presented in this study, there are other attributes that are perhaps more important than students' perceived gender. Particularly regarding the issue of students' participation and identification with history, it is worth noting that there were at least two students with an immigrant background. One of the students was born in a different country but migrated to Finland as a young child. The other was from a multicultural family with a

term 'student' better reflects the constructivist conception of learning and the active role of learners stated in the prescribed curriculum for basic education.

mother born outside Finland. As I did not ask for such information on the questionnaire, I can only be certain of those students who independently brought up the issue during interviews. Another aspect worth noting is that there were several students who needed more or less special needs support in their history studies. Two students had the possibility of using a textbook during exams where its use was otherwise forbidden. There were also a handful of students who relied on a special needs assistant, a frequent visitor in the classroom.

I will not reveal the identity of any of the students described above, as I wish to assure students as much anonymity as possible. As the study includes students' responses to exams and assignments, I want to allow this group of students the possibility of remaining unidentified by their classmates and outsiders. Attributing the pseudonyms with these specifics would enable the students' classmates to connect some exam responses or interview excerpts with certain students, depriving them of the anonymity given to those classmates who do not fall into the abovementioned categories.

3.3 Engaging the field

While ethnographic research can include a variety of materials and data collection methods, participant observation is often associated as being at the heart of ethnography (O'Reilly, 2009, 150). Ethnographic research takes place in the natural environment of the study participants, in this case the school and come of its history lessons. As my description of finding a teacher participant in the previous chapter showed, the choice of location, school and classroom was largely dependent on finding a teacher willing to grant me access to their lessons. After that, I had many choices to make. First, I needed to decide how many groups to follow, which ones and for how long. The choice between seventh graders who were the first group following the latest core curriculum of 2014 and the eighth graders following the previous curriculum was not self-evident. However, as the differences between the two curricula were not that significant, I leaned towards eighth graders, who were already 'professionals' (cf. Lahelma & Gordon, 2003, 12–15) in terms of lower secondary school and familiar with the daily routines of education and what is forbidden and permissible. Moreover, I would get to see how the teacher had understood and interpreted the 2004 framework. This was of interest to me because the 2004 national curriculum did not receive as much attention as the 2014 version that seemed to revolutionise schools, if big news outlets were to be believed.[17]

[17] For instance, the biggest daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* reported that schools had experienced 'a revolution' (*vallankumous*) due to the curricular reform (Aalto, 2016). Similarly, *Kaleva* talked of revolution or upheaval (*mullistus*) (Sivula, 2016), and *Savon Sanomat* described the curricular reform as a big transformation (*iso muutos*) (Jääskeläinen, 2016). Moreover, these and some other news outlets, such as the national broadcasting company YLE and the biggest tabloids *Ilta-Sanomat* and *Iltalehti*, noted aspects such as the change from teacher-centred to student-centred learning and the introduction of transversal com-

As Brewer (2000, 80–81) notes, the time spent in the field should be long enough so as to represent the everyday life of participants. As I did not yet know the exact focus of my research, I wanted to choose something that reflected both the experience of the teacher and of the students. Therefore, I ended up focusing on one group during their history lessons. I reasoned that this would allow me to see and experience enough history education to get a sense of the 'big picture, the routine practices and core ideas guiding the activities. However, I also wanted to get a sense of the abruptness of it all—a lesson here and there, the short and fragmented period of time in which a teacher is expected to help students think historically or provide tools for identity building, among other things. The group I chose to observe was the same one I encountered during my first visit to Ben's classroom, as they had been welcoming the first time around and were, as Ben described them, 'a nice, pretty typical' and 'quite heterogeneous'[18] group of students.

At first, I estimated the lessons for the fall semester would suffice. However, as the Christmas break began to loom, I realised there were more questions and confusion than anything sensible to grasp and write about. In more technical terms, I had not yet reached a point of saturation, after which events taking place in the field no longer enrich or bring new ideas to the research but rather repeat what has already been experienced (Crang & Cook, 2017, 14–15). Therefore, after obtaining the teacher's agreement, I decided to stay for the rest of the school year. Middleton Comprehensive employed a system where the school year was divided into four periods, and the history lessons of the eighth graders studied were centralised into two periods. Thus, instead of having two history lessons a week, the group had four lessons a week in a period of about half a year. As a result, my stay at the school lasted from late October 2017 to mid-March 2018, comprising all history lessons (62 lessons altogether) for the eighth-grade group.

As the above-described process implies, the focus of the research was not settled beforehand but was determined and clarified in the process of engaging with the field. As Atkinson and Hammersley (2007, 87) note, the way the study participants perceive and define the researcher greatly influences the sort of information the researcher is able to obtain and thus the knowledge she is able to produce. The extent to which a researcher is considered an insider or an outsider relates to the oxymoronic issue of being both a participant and an observer. As Mills and Morton (2013, 54) suggest, full participation is impossible, as a researcher's participation is always instrumental, and one cannot detach oneself from the inevitable aim of producing research (see also O'Reilly, 2009, 151). However, the idea of being able to conduct pure observation is just as fictional, as the researcher always influences the field she observes in one way or another (Lappalainen, 2007c, 113). In practice, the degree of participation and 'insider-ness' is likely to fluctuate throughout the fieldwork period (Davies, 2002, 72). Moreover,

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petences as the great novelties in the curriculum (see Tiessalo, 2016; Koskinen, 2016; Mattila, 2016), even though these elements were included in the previous curricula from 2004 and 1994.

[18] Quotes are from my first interview with Ben on 9.11.2017.

field study often includes different types of relationships, and a researcher can adopt a variety of roles in different situations and social interactions (Hopwood, 2007, 65–66). Overall, the relationships formed and degree of participation influence the whole research process and thus the focus of analysis and ultimately the written field.

For this research project, the defining relationship was the one I formed with the teacher, as it both closed and opened opportunities. From the start, my role in the eyes of the students seemed to be that of an additional teacher in the classroom. While I sat among them and did not participate in teaching, my already established, amicable relationship with the teacher at the time of introducing myself to the class seemed to be part of the students' assessment regarding my status. During a lesson in which Ben himself was in continuing education and the school's crafts teacher substituted for him, one of the students who had been restless throughout the lesson and had made some unkind comments to some of their classmates noted in a snarky manner that he did not to understand 'why there are three teachers in the classroom'. This of course referred to the substitute teacher, the special needs assistant who was visiting the class that day and me. Therefore, my relationship with Ben, the gatekeeper[19] who granted me access to the classroom, influenced my interactions with the students and thus the direction and the focus of the study.

As Lappalainen (2007b) notes, there are limited possibilities for a researcher to get a sense of the experience of a youngster, as there usually is the inevitable difference in age and position. Thus, the researcher often falls into the category of being the 'different kind of an adult' in the room, compared to school faculty. (Lappalainen, 2007b, 66–68). My role in the eyes of the students likely fluctuated between the 'other teacher' and a 'different kind of an adult'. As explained, my position was at first strictly determined by my relationship with the teacher. Thus, my participation in relation to the students could be described as peripheral (cf. Adler & Adler, 1998), as I did not participate in the core functions students engaged in but rather observed them from afar. After interviewing the students, my relationship with them changed somewhat. For instance, some students started to greet me outside the school and at times, chatted with me in school. However, the co-operation with the teacher regarding a small teaching experiment on historical literacy towards the end of the field period likely shifted the role back in the direction of the 'other teacher'. In retrospect, to have achieved more of an insider position with students would have necessitated participating in other lessons with them. Popping in on a couple of lessons a week and only being associated with Ben worked against getting familiar with the students.

However, the relationship I ended up having with the students was also determined by the teaching practices Ben employed. More importantly, these practices steered my attention towards focusing more on the teacher instead of the students. While Ben had the students do a lot of group work, these assignments did not necessitate much conversing other than dividing the workload and

[19] The key participant who to an extent holds the keys to the researcher's possibilities of interacting with the field (cf. Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, 27).

deciding on who does which part. Conducting my research within the academic discipline of history also meant that I was committed to studying history in some form. Therefore, the saturation point regarding the very scarce, rather technical discussions students had on the subject was reached quickly. However, the teacher and our relationship turned out to be more fruitful. First, many of the claims Ben made in interviews about his teaching seemed to be in odd contradiction to his classroom practices. Second, the combination of my presence in the classroom and Ben attending continuing education and doing some topical readings on history education had consequences for our relationship, which opened the door for a completely new sphere of information.

Due to the changes in our relationship, the field period can be looked at as involving two phases in terms of the level of my participation. The first three months from entering the field to our second interview in January can be defined as a period of observing from a distance. By distance, I refer to the nature of the relationship I had with the teacher; we were both polite and even amicable but also somewhat covert. In ethnography, being overt or covert typically refers to the decision made by the researcher to either inform the participants on the fact that they are being observed, or do the research in secret (e.g. Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, 53). However, here I use the term covert to describe the rather common situation at the beginning of fieldwork, where both the researcher and the participants are reserved, perhaps trying to figure out one another's intentions, and the researcher aims to hide the specifics of the study from the participants.

The second phase of the field period was defined by a deepening participation combined with some discord and tension. Coffey (1999) notes that a researcher should not pursue arguments and difficulties and that it is often not the researcher but others who guide the social dynamics that occur in the field. Coffey also describes how the ethnographic tension, the need to strive for the role of a participant while holding on to the research agenda, eventually binds the relationships formed with study participants (Coffey, 1999, 41, 49). These issues became central in my interactions with the teacher in the latter half of the field period. As the deepening participation implies, the politeness and courtesy in the first phase gave way to trust and rapport. This was reflected in more open and honest conversations about the struggles Ben had with his work in general and with adopting certain elements of the national curriculum. Moreover, we entered a phase of collaboration, as Ben wished for me to plan a teaching experiment for him to execute. However, there was a simultaneous, newly found tension in our relationship that resulted in increasing territorialism, as Ben wanted to remind me of my outsider-ness.

This discord that took a covert form of snarky or cheeky comments regarding the difference in our professions was a result of a series of developments both in and out of my control. The element that I had control over was a conversation with the teacher about some of my preliminary observations to gain a better understanding of some of the choices he made regarding his teaching practices. This conversation took place right after our second interview, and it was a moment

where I revealed some new aspects of my research agenda to the teacher. Thus, Ben became more aware of my research interests. However, due to the attempts to catch up on the latest trends in history education, he had also become more aware of a gap between how he understood the objectives of the curriculum and how researchers or teacher trainers understood them. Therefore, my position as a researcher was suddenly more of an issue. Ben likely associated the approach to history education promoted by academics as something I also supported, although I never made any clear statements regarding my views on the matter.

While it might seem that such a turn of events would have had a negative effect on the fieldwork and my 'access'[20] to knowledge, for me it seemed like the opposite. As a result, our conversations regarding the curriculum were more honest and nuanced. At the same time, Ben was also somewhat on the defensive regarding his practices. While I cannot ever fully know what Ben knows or experience what he experienced during the fieldwork period (cf. Lappalainen, 2007a, 10), I imagine that he was worried about being judged. However, for me his reactions were revealing, as it was in this way that Ben defined his ideals and the perceived issues with the proposed approaches. Moreover, Ben was not the only one on the defensive, although I had to hide some of my feelings and reactions for research purposes. At times, I was irritated by Ben's pedagogical views and sometimes on a more personal level by some of his comments regarding my work. For instance, when Ben implied that academic work is defined by excessive amounts of free time, as someone with experience in both academia and being a teacher, I really had to bite my tongue so as not to show my irritation.

However, as Gould (2016) notes, ethnography requires comprehensive presence and participation by the researcher, including all the private and professional emotions that come with fieldwork. Moreover, this presence and the researcher as a subject is an epistemological question, as it defines what is possible for the researcher to know (Gould, 2016, 11, 15). Eventually, these feelings of irritation ended up working as a compass for analysis. First, they were a fresh reminder to stay cognizant of my own position, the ideas and values I had come to assume based on my experiences as a teacher or throughout my teacher training and on the related literature I had encountered so far. It was clear that my perspective was that of someone well acquainted with and perhaps committed to the disciplinary approach. Second, it seemed crucial for me not to brush aside Ben's comments but rather examine them. What was the teacher trying to say and achieve with these comments? Allen and Hancock (2016) use the concept of rippled epistemology to describe how the researcher's presence inevitably influences the milieu she enters, like a pebble being thrown into a pond. Therefore, it is up to the researcher to recognise and decipher these ripples to present the data as authentically as possible (Allen & Hancock, 2016, 132–133). Consequently,

[20] The quotation marks are used not because I wish to claim access to some fixed objective reality shared by the participants but rather access to new interactions and reactions and with them new knowledge.

paying attention to the changes in our relationship was integral for understanding Ben, and for the interpretations I have made of his practices and ideas throughout this research report.

3.4 Research materials

Like so many other ethnographies, this study utilises data triangulation, the use of different sources to examine the chosen phenomenon from different viewpoints (Denzin, 1978, 294–297; see also Kankkunen, 2007, 182). Sources in data triangulation refer to both different source types, such as fieldnotes and interview transcripts, and to the participants who have different positions regarding the studied phenomenon and thus offer different perspectives on the study (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2002, 141). The purpose of using data triangulation is twofold, as the strong program of triangulation defined by Flick (2018) suggests. First, triangulation offers extra information about the studied subject and thus adds breadth and depth to analysis. Second, triangulation might enable stronger validity of the research, as different sources can be used to confirm or diversify the information gained from a specific source (Flick, 2018, 530; see also Fielding & Fielding, 1986, 33).

The materials used in this study comprise three key data sources—fieldnotes based on participant observation, interviews with both the teacher and the students and so-called naturally occurring materials produced in history lessons throughout the school year, such as exams or assignments. I have also used some other materials that emerged during the research process, namely e-mail exchanges with participants and a research diary. The materials thus reveal a variety of different perspectives on the enacted history curriculum. Next, I will describe the materials in more detail and theorize about the conditions that influenced their formation and the shape they take in this research.

Fieldnotes

The experiences, happenings and interactions described in the previous subchapter were collected and recorded in the form of fieldnotes. These fieldnotes compose the key text-of-the-field (Atkinson, 1992) of this study. I chose to use a pen and a notebook for two main reasons. First, as Brewer (2000, 87) notes, all forms of devices used for recording the field can be intrusive, but a notebook is perhaps less so than a video camera or a tape recorder. Second, and more importantly, the choice of a suitable recording tool depends on the typical activities and ways of interactions that the study participants in the field are accustomed to (Schindler & Schäfer, 2021, 17). In a classroom where students were constantly working with pen and paper, a notebook seemed like a sensible, low-key choice. As the researcher's physical positioning in the field influences what she is able to hear, see and pay attention to (cf. Emerson et al., 2011, 13), at first I switched my seating in the classroom from lesson to lesson to achieve new perspectives. However, as the

students were seated in the same desks apart from some minor daily variations, I soon realised that my moving around seemed bizarre and therefore settled at a desk at the back of the classroom. This turned out to be a good choice, as I could hear and see most of what was going on in the classroom.

The construction of fieldnotes is a process, as they are written in several phases, starting from the jottings made in action to the transcribed accounts made off the field or at least outside the immediate vicinity of study participants (Schindler & Schäfer, 2021). As Emerson et al. (2011) suggest, even the records made in the field can include different forms of writing. First, there are notes made openly in the presence of study participants that often comprise short jottings that aim to capture key events in a word or two or short direct quotes from conversations. Second, there are notes made in the field but not in action, as the researcher withdraws to privacy and writes down observations based on recollections of recent experiences (Emerson et al., 2011, 21–23).

The fieldnotes produced throughout this study comprise both kinds of records. During lessons, I made shorter jottings that I often had the chance to expand in the classroom when the students were focusing on written assignments. However, I also used the teachers' bathroom as a hiding place to expand my notes after lessons and to write down conversations with the teacher that took place outside lessons. The last phases of the construction of fieldnotes occurred outside the field. After lessons, I immediately went home if possible to make transcriptions while my memory was fresh. At that point I would further expand the handwritten notes and form full accounts of the events and experiences of the day. However, the final step in writing the fieldnotes only occurred long after exiting the field, as I started writing this report and had to translate the selected excerpts from Finnish to English. Thus, my fieldnotes went through several reconstitutions to become the texts-of-the-field presented in this study.

In terms of content, my fieldnotes from the first lessons were a bit of this and that, as I was not exactly sure what I was going to focus on. They included detailed descriptions of classroom events, including teacher talk, student responses and reactions, student interactions in relation to school work and outside of it and of course my own initial reactions and ponderings. For instance, from the very first lesson I recorded the outline of the lesson; a Q&A session the teacher had with the students on the concept of a 'world war', including direct quotes from participants; notes about the classroom as a physical space (e.g. 'the bookshelf has been moved from the front of the class to the back of the class'[21]); and my own questions and observations I recorded on a different sheet[22] regarding a definition Ben gave on historical skills[23] and some other characterisations during

[21] Fieldnotes 23.10.2021.
[22] This was to help later coding by separating etic (observer's perspective) notes from emic (participants' perspective) ones.
[23] Fieldnotes 23.10.2021: 'Ben's definition of historical skills was interesting, as it seemed quite different from how disciplinary skills are usually understood. Perhaps he just wanted to use some examples that were easy enough for the students to grasp without having to give a lengthy explanation at this point?'

the lesson.[24] Therefore, from the start the fieldnotes included items relevant from the perspective of the enacted curriculum, such as observations regarding historical narratives and ideas about history, and notes on how the teacher discusses and applies curricular concepts. Still, the fieldnotes from the first few weeks are quite lengthy and include more miscellaneous content than later writings. As time went by, the notes became more focused, although every now and then I also included some seemingly irrelevant conversations or happenings to grasp the atmosphere in the classroom.

Interviews

The second key data set in this research are interviews[25] conducted with both Ben and the students. The interviews were semi-structured, combining both closed and open questions (cf. Brewer, 2000, 63; Hyvärinen, 2017). When conducting, analysing or using interviews, issues of validity and ethics are critical. Therefore, I began the interviews by informing the interviewees about the anonymity of the interviews, the use of the interview recordings and the interviewees' rights to control their participation, for instance by discontinuing the interview at any point (cf. Hyvärinen, 2017). In terms of analysing the interviews, it is also necessary to recognise the power relations inherent in each interview. As Vähäsantanen and Saarinen (2013) note, power relations change in the course of an interview, shifting back and forth between the interviewer and the interviewee. While the interviewer may have the power to ask questions or choose the form of recording device, the interviewees also have power, as they can withhold information or steer the interview in a direction better suited to them. Moreover, elements like individuals' backgrounds, such as age, gender or professional status, their expectations regarding the interview and the interview practices used affect how interviewees act and respond, including their courage to disclose during the interview (Vähäsantanen & Saarinen, 2013, 17; see also Kosunen & Kauko, 2016, 39; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, 79). To better consider these power relations, after each interview I jotted down observations regarding issues such as the location of the interview, the nature of interaction and non-verbal communication (cf. Crang & Cook, 2007, 82).

As the interviews with students and the teacher differed in many respects, including location, purpose and the nature of the relationship I had established with them, I continue to discuss these interviews as individual data sets. With Ben, I had the chance to conduct three interviews in different phases of the field period. The first interview was at the very beginning after I had attended a few of his lessons, the second was around halfway through January and the third was a week after the history lessons ended in March. All three interviews occurred in Ben's dedicated classroom, where all the history lessons also took place. Thus, it

[24] For example, research diary 23.10.2017: The teacher noted the multicultural nature of the Balkans as a 'built-in weakness'. Seems like something deserving of a longer discussion. Perhaps they'll come back to it later?
[25] APPENDIX 3-6.

was a familiar setting for both of us and the main stage for our research cooperation. The first and the last interview lasted about an hour, while the second one was slightly shorter. Like with the students, I recorded the interviews with an audio recorder and later made transcripts, anonymising names of people and places. When translating the transcripts for the writing at hand, I aimed to capture the meanings of expressions as closely as possible. However, in this translation process some of the features typical of spoken language, such as stammering or dialect features, were lost.

I have interpreted these interviews not just as explications of values and aims regarding history education but also as situations where teacher identity and researcher–participant relationships were negotiated and defined. In general, when interviewing teachers and students, interviewees' attempts to 'please' the researcher with their responses must be considered. While students may consider the researcher as another teacher seeking 'correct' answers, teachers can also aim for a professional appearance and provide answers that stress the significance of educational policies or pedagogical ideologies, follow the ideas of the prescribed curriculum or otherwise reflect the shared consensus (cf. Tolonen & Palmu, 2007, 159–160). Particularly in the interviews with Ben, the role of power relations and expectations regarding the research agenda were pronounced. This was especially true in the latter two interviews, as Ben had become more aware of how his teaching practices related to the prescribed curriculum. As Vähäsantanen and Saarinen (2013, 507) suggest, foregrounding qualities of the interviewer that separate her from the interviewee can be viewed as a strategy to take control of the situation. Consequently, in interactions taking place during the interviews, Ben used different subtle strategies to underscore his expertise in the practice of teaching compared to mine. For instance, in our last interview Ben implied my juniority by noting how he almost forgot I was in the classroom, as I blended in with the students. Moreover, brushing aside my previous experience in teaching, he said he wished to have shown me a new perspective on the practice compared to the perspective offered by academia. As these and other, more straightforward notions regarding the difference in our perspective ended up being crucial signals for understanding Ben and his stance towards the prescribed curriculum, I will ponder on their significance and on our researcher–participant relationship when necessary in connection to the analysis presented throughout this research.

Compared to other forms of interviews, ethnographic interviews are influenced by field experiences. Therefore, interview questions are not solely the result of a researcher interacting with extant research literature concerning their research agenda. Instead, time spent in the field impacts the focus of research and thus the construction of suitable questions (Tolonen & Palmu, 2007, 92). Moreover, it is typical in ethnographic research to conduct several interviews with the same participant and engage in informal 'interviews' in the form of long on-site discussions (Heyl, 2001, 369). Both the audio recorded and less formal conversations with Ben fall into this category of lengthy ethnographic interviews guided by observations and relationships formed in the field. However, the interviews I had with the students were less defined by the ethnographic approach. Of course,

the interview questions were partly influenced by my on-site experiences thus far, and students were more or less accustomed to my presence in the classroom. Otherwise, these interviews were more structured compared to those with the teacher. Moreover, they were one-time occurrences, averaging somewhere between 15 and 20 minutes.

The purpose of the interviews was to get a sense of the students' ideas about history and their relationship with it. By the time of the interviews, I had already steered my focus towards the enacted curriculum. Still, I wanted to do the interviews as planned. First, I considered them as a way to get onto slightly better terms with the students, even if just to make the rest of the field period more comfortable for them and myself. Second, I felt that student interviews could offer new insight into the enacted curriculum, as teachers' ideas about students, their capabilities and expectations regarding the school subject form in interaction with them, and these ideas likely influence the shape of the enacted curriculum. The interviews occurred in December and January. Of the 24 students, 22 agreed to an interview. I offered the students the possibility to take part in the interview either individually, in pairs or in groups of three. Altogether, there was one interview with a group of three, one student wished to be interviewed individually and the rest of the students showed up in pairs.

I had asked each student to prepare for the interview by bringing with them some artefact that reminded them of history, something they associated with history. This was to serve as an icebreaker, to get the conversation going and provide a less ceremonious entry to the interview topics. Moreover, it served as a way for the students to approach the subject of the interview from a personal, familiar perspective. Another artefact available in the interviews was their first exam in the course, one regarding the First World War. The exam served as a concrete bridge from students' everyday encounters with history to history as a school subject. While the focus of the research is on the enacted curriculum and the teacher, the interviews were fruitful in offering a different perspective of the everyday practices occurring in the classroom.

The location of the interviews varied according to what classroom was available. The first interviews took place in a modernised classroom next to the history classroom. Instead of the traditional desks and chairs, this room provided a less formal environment with a carpet and colourful, soft sitting blocks that could be arranged according to need. Thus, it was the most ideal of the three spaces used for the interviews, as it slightly alleviated the sense of hierarchy inevitable in interviews between adults and children. The second space available for interviews was the classroom dedicated for crafts. The upside of this room was that it was similarly distinct from the history classroom as the first classroom. Therefore, the change of scenery allowed a slight departure from the roles adopted in Ben's classroom. As mentioned, at least some of the students considered me an additional teacher. Thus, the use of these spaces helped redefine my relationship with the interviewed students, enabling a shift from teacher–student roles to researcher–student ones. The least opportune of the spaces used for the interviews was the last one used in January. It was a small and dim office space

with just enough room for a desk and a few chairs. The confined space did not allow a similar informality as the two classrooms.

Most of the interviews were fruitful, as students were eager to share their views with someone who was ready to listen. However, a few of the students were somewhat reserved or nervous, which causes challenges in terms of the use of these interviews. The transcripts and my research diary shows there were some points in interviews with some students where I had to milk answers from the students. Ruusuvuori and Tiittula (2005) suggest it is not uncommon that the interviewer has to participate in producing answers if the interviewee provides scanty responses. However, to me using such responses here seems dubious, as it poses the question of whether these interviews reflect the views of the students or rather their forced compliance with the interpretations I have suggested. After all, I was still perceived as the 'other adult' or as 'another teacher' in these interactions and therefore as being in a position of authority in relation to students. Of course, this does not mean these interviews are useless. Rather, I have used caution and deliberation in their use, as they also involved important indicators regarding students' relationship to history. For instance, some of the artefacts these students brought to the interview attested to the significance and presence of history and products of historical culture in their lives. Therefore, I have examined all the conducted interviews as entities, results of context-conditioned interactions, and have considered their use on that basis.

Other materials

Besides fieldnotes and interviews, I make use of a miscellaneous selection of other materials that emerged during and after the field period as part of everyday schooling and in the interactions with participants. The most important of these from the perspective of this study are so-called naturally occurring materials that were used and produced in history lessons.[26] During the field period, the class had four exams, four large written assignments and an oral presentation (including PowerPoint slides). These were all assessed and graded by the teacher. Except for the exams, the other assignments were executed in groups. In addition to these, students completed three handout tasks and a number of smaller assignments in their school notebooks. I took photographs of all assignments completed on separate handouts but left the notebooks in the privacy of the students. I took photographs of all the materials Ben presented to the students from the front of the class, such as slide shows, pictures and maps. Furthermore, I utilised some of the e-mail correspondence I had with the teacher during and after the field period. The last naturally occurring materials are the school history textbooks used in almost all the lessons. Perhaps somewhat untraditionally, the group used two different books, *Forum 7 & 8* and *Historian tuulet*[27] *7 & 8*, both belonging to textbook series from Otava Publishing Company. The reason for using both seventh and eighth grade books was that the group apparently continued from where

[26] APPENDIX 7.
[27] Translates as *Winds of history*.

they had finished in seventh grade. Because of this, the group used seventh grade history textbooks up until the Christmas break.

There were also materials that were produced specifically as a result of the ongoing research. As mentioned, at the end of the field period, we conducted a small teaching experiment grounded on prompting historical literacy, which I planned and Ben executed. I met this request by the teacher to do such an experiment for two reasons. First, I genuinely wanted to help Ben, who had been kind to me throughout the process and seemed sincerely interested in learning more about the disciplinary approach. In addition, it felt like a very small favour to do for someone who had let me stay in his classroom for such a long time. Second, observing Ben going about such an experiment seemed like a chance to further clarify his ideas and stance towards the disciplinary approach. Moreover, as the experiment took place just before the final exam held during the last lesson of the course, there was little risk in influencing the teacher's practices too much. During the experiment, the students completed individual handout tasks regarding the Cold War. In addition, they formed groups and made posters based on interviews they had conducted with family members or other adults who had recollections of the Cold War period. These assignments were recorded in photographs I took with my smartphone.

Finally, as noted, I kept a separate research diary where I included notes on research ideas, initial interpretations made while observing the lessons and descriptions of the contextual conditions of and interactions during the interviews. While the other materials described here have been used explicitly in the analysis in this study, the role of the research diary is more implicit, as it has been used as a support material when considering the nature and validity of the other materials. Furthermore, it has been helpful in constructing this particular chapter on defining the field, especially in reflecting on the conducted interviews and the nature and formation of the relationships I established with the study participants.

3.5 Ethical considerations

In the course of defining the field, I have already touched upon some of the ethical issues and choices made in the research process. For instance, I have mentioned informing the participants about the use of interview recordings and my attempts to protect their anonymity. Here, I will discuss these and other ethical choices and some of their problems in more detail. Ethics in research conducted with humans relates to questions on the rights of the study participants and the consequences of the research (Murphy & Dingwall, 2001, 339). This is reflected in the guidelines of the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity (TENK), which state that a researcher needs to respect the dignity and autonomy of human research participants and that research must be conducted in a manner that does not cause significant risk, damage or harm to research participants (TENK, 2019, 8).

As part of negotiating access to the field, I followed these guidelines on seeking informed consent from study participants. After finding the participant teacher, I sought approval for conducting the research from the principal of Middleton Comprehensive. I then applied for and was granted a research permit from the municipality, after which I sought permission from the study participants and informed the students' parents about the research. In the process of applying for permission, I also informed the participants about the purpose of the research, their right to refuse to participate in the study or certain parts of it, their right to withdraw from the study at any point and the processing of the collected materials (cf. TENK, 2019, 9–11). As I had originally planned to stay in the field only until Christmas break, I sought permission again and re-explained the ethical procedures to participants before the end of the year.

Despite following these rules and guidelines, the question of informed consent is more complex than getting official research permission. As Halse and Honey (2010) suggest, the ideals regarding participants' right to refuse or withdraw from the study and having sufficient information on the purpose and both positive and negative consequences of the research are tricky to achieve in qualitative research. For instance, the focus of the research can change in the course of conducting research. Moreover, forms of knowledge production that rely on interaction with study participants can involve surprises that can be impossible to predict (Halse & Honey, 2010, 128). These issues particularly apply to ethnographic research, where both the purpose and the focus of the research result from spending time with research participants, and where happenings in the field can take many unexpected turns.

For instance, in this research one of the surprises that had a significant impact on the contents of the study was Ben's attending the continuing education course. This is why in ethnography consent is something that is considered to be negotiated throughout the research process (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 4). In this study, I had the possibility of doing so in very literal terms, as I had to reapply for research permission. Furthermore, I sought consent by discussing my observations with Ben in January 2018, with the students in February 2019 and again with Ben in May 2021. The first discussion with Ben took place face-to-face at the school and concerned my initial interpretations. At that point, two observations were mainly discussed. The first concerned the attempt to bring together aspects of the collective memory approach and the disciplinary approach. The second concerned the way the need to get through certain content knowledge limited the realisation of Ben's ideals regarding student participation. During this conversation, Ben expressed agreement even on the more critical notions about his practices. However, after the conversation I was unsure whether we were on the same page when discussing the combination of the two approaches, as I felt our understanding of the concept of historical skills differed significantly. To make sure Ben had the necessary information regarding my interpretations and to give him an update on my study, I reached out to him again in April 2021. This interaction was via e-mail, as the Covid 19 pandemic made face-to-face meetings impossible. In hindsight, I feel it was good that Ben had the chance to carefully

familiarise himself with the outline and conclusions of my study in written form. Having read the summary of my thesis, Ben responded with curiosity but said he was not going to comment on my work any further, as he trusted it to be 'the way it needs to be'.[28]

As noted, I also presented my work to the student participants in February 2019. This discussion took place during their history lesson, when I used a PowerPoint slideshow to help show them how the interviews and the materials they had produced during the lessons were anonymised and used as part of my research. The slideshow included examples from the materials and explained the type of things I found interesting and noteworthy. For instance, I presented excerpts from the students' responses to written assignments and pinpointed characteristics that repeatedly featured in them (discussed in this report in Chapter 4). I once again shared my contact information with them so they could approach me with comments and questions in case something came up after my visit or in case there was anything they wanted to discuss more privately. Finally, I gave them a rough estimate of when the thesis would be published. Perhaps reflecting our somewhat strained relationship, the students did not have any comments, although they seemed interested in hearing about my observations and their role in the research.

These discussions relate to another aspect of respecting participants' rights to self-determination and autonomy. The problem of ethnography lies in writing and interpreting and thus defining the lives of participants from an outsider's point of view. While the ethnographer has the right to make these interpretations, their public nature poses an ethical problem, particularly if the participants do not agree with how they are being defined and written about. This is why it is important that participants are aware of their position of being interpreted by the researcher (cf. Murphy & Dingwall, 2001, 345–346). Moreover, as Stacey (1988, 26) notes, because of the problems associated with writing about other people, ethnographers need to be aware and humble regarding the limited ability of their writing in representing the lives of others. For these reasons, I have attempted to clarify my own background and the personal interests that originally inspired me to conduct this research. In addition, I have tried to be careful in clarifying the perspectives presented in the text and the differences between my interpretations and those of the participants.

As noted, besides questions related to the rights of study participants, ethical consideration must also focus on the possible consequences of the study. Particularly in ethnography, there is a risk that the researcher will cause harm to the individuals under study. The interactions in the field and the research publications that result can cause anxiety, stress, embarrassment or other uncomfortable experiences for participants. Moreover, the presence of the researcher can lead to increased self-awareness of the participants, which can have both positive and

[28] Ben in an e-mail dated 20.05.2021: 'I am not going to give any more comments at this point. I trust your work to be the way it needs to be. After all, you spend a lot of time with us on my lessons. I am just happy and a little bit proud that I have had this chance with my students to benefit research and thus development of history education.'

negative consequences. For instance, increased self-awareness can be either empowering or devastating, depending on the nature of the realisations (Patai, 1991, 147–149; Murphy & Dingwall, 2001, 340). The difficulty lies in the unpredictable nature of ethnographic fieldwork. For instance, in this study the unexpected attendance to continuing education and the other forms of self-study undertaken by the teacher was a source of stress and tension for him when combined with my presence in the classroom. Therefore, the consequences of this study for the teacher were not only positive.

While it can be impossible to foresee such negative outcomes beforehand, the researcher has control over writing about these experiences. As these texts-of-the-field can involve aspects about participants that are not always flattering, a central part of protecting the participants' experiences and right to continue self-defining those experiences is the provision of anonymity. As the TENK guidelines state, the privacy and anonymity of study participants needs to be considered as carefully as possible, and all personal information must be removed from research data the moment it is no longer necessary for carrying out the research (TENK, 2019, 14–15; see also European Union, 2016). The transcripts of fieldnotes and interviews have only ever existed as pseudonymised versions. Moreover, other identifiers, such as names of places, were either pseudonymised or removed when writing the transcripts. Once this study has been published and has undergone sufficient collegial peer review, all the materials will be disposed of. Of course, as Burgess (1984, 206) notes, the provision of such anonymity does not necessarily keep the participants from identifying one another from the research. While I have attempted to protect the students from being identified (see subchapter 3.1), it might be impossible to provide Ben similar protection from colleagues who were aware of the research taking place.

Another form of protecting participants' anonymity comes from the choices made in writing about the events and phenomena in the field. While spending an extended period of time in the field offers a lot of interesting and even 'juicy' possibilities for writing, the events included in this report are carefully chosen based on whether they serve the purpose of the study. In addition, some details that may have supported or clarified the arguments presented in the study were discarded as bearing the risk of hindering participants' anonymity. Of course, such selection does not automatically serve the benefits of participants, as it further limits the capacity to provide a rich representation of their experiences (cf. Stacey, 1988, 26).

Therefore, discussing the research results and participants' views regarding them is important, even if it does not remove all problems related to representation. However, this is not the only motive for discussing the results with participants. Doing so is also a form of reciprocity. As the researcher receives personal and academic gains from conducting the research, it might be ethical to share these gained insights and bring the research back to the community (Mills & Morton, 2013, 135). Of course, there remains the risk of raising uncomfortable self-awareness, as in participant observation in general. However, as Gobo (2008) notes, the way the researcher exits the field also signals their stance towards the

participants. Simply leaving once sufficient data has been collected can be perceived as exploitative, a 'colonial' attitude to research. (Gobo, 2008, 306–307). Therefore, I felt discussing the results with both students and the teacher was the ethical thing to do. From the perspective of the field, this reciprocal approach to exiting the field also extended its limits, as the relationships with participants continued.

3.6 Data analysis

3.6.1 Cultural models theory

As the research at hand aims to examine not just the enacted curriculum but also the reasoning and cultural conditions on which it is grounded, the analysis presented in this research employs cultural models theory developed in cognitive anthropology. Therefore, culture is understood as historically and socially transmitted ideas and practices that result from human action and produce future action (cf. Wong & Tsai, 2007, 210). Moreover, culture is approached as shared knowledge that works as a resource for individuals to function in communities and interpret their experiences (Quinn & Holland, 1987, 4). The very basic assumption underlying the theory is that individuals of a certain group share understandings of the world and rely on these understandings to structure their existence (Quinn, 2005a, 2; Stark, 2011, 16). As Shore (1996) suggests, these understandings or this cultural knowledge can be examined as a distributed system of models. As the distribution of models happens through social interaction, it follows that all individuals do not share the same models or the same variations of the shared models. This is also why Shore emphasises that the models that constitute cultural knowledge are produced by humans and human actions and are therefore constantly being constructed and reinterpreted (Shore, 1996, 7, 312). As Barth (2002, 3) notes, a focus on cultural knowledge also allows a focus on agency and knowing and on agents who hold, learn, produce and apply this knowledge. Here lies the reason for using cultural models theory in this research. It enables analysis not just of the cultural attributes that created conditions within which the participants in this study operated but also allows analysis of the ways the understandings that constituted these conditions were used to reason about history education and the enacted curriculum in a flexible manner. Thus, the examination of these models is not just a question of establishing their existence but of empirically showing their connection to participants' everyday experiences and activities (cf. Hämeenaho, 2014, 150).

Cultural models are mental representations, expectations and self-evidencing that frame experience, facilitate reasoning, offer conclusions about encountered situations and provide objectives for action (Quinn & Holland, 1987, 4–6; Keller, 1992, 60; Bennardo & de Munck, 2013, 3). These models or schemas are simplifications that can be applied to particular situations. Thus, they serve as flexible templates through which individuals interpret the world (D'Andrade,

1992, 52). In a sense, they work as cultural tools that are used according to need, although as Quinn and Holland (1987, 11) note, the metaphor of a tool can be misleading, as these models are rarely consciously activated or discarded (see also Quinn, 2018, 172–174). Cultural models are considered to have orientational force in redirecting the meaning of events, evaluative force in providing assessments of qualities such as 'good' and 'bad' and to some extent motivational or directive force through the authority, expertise or intrinsic persuasiveness attributed to them (Blount, 2011, 20; Quinn & Holland, 1987, 9). As research on hidden curriculum (e.g. Broady, 1986; Karjalainen, 1996) suggests, schooling and education are defined by both explicit and acknowledged and implicit and less consciously pursued objectives. Therefore, cultural models theory is useful in unpacking both stated and latent ideals and understandings that underscore the everyday practices of history education and the interpretation of the prescribed curriculum.

Cultural models theory makes a clear distinction between cultural and mental models. Cultural models are intersubjective and observable from the interaction where they are produced, shared and maintained. Mental models are personal variants of the shared cultural models, moulded for use by the individual's previous experiences and understandings (Bennardo, 2018; Kajander, 2020, 37). Of course, I am not a mind reader and therefore cannot grasp participants' mental models as they are. Instead, I focus on constructing the cultural models used by examining their observable forms as reflected in speech, texts and practices. Therefore, the analysis aims to illuminate the situational and particular use of cultural models by individuals. Another distinction made in cultural models theory is the difference between prototypical and inherently flexible foundational models and the complex, lower-level variations used for situational purposes (Bennardo, 2018; Bennardo & de Munck, 2013, 3–4; Shore, 1996, 53; see also Kronenfeld, 2008, 5–6). In this research, I focus mainly on the lower-level models and the ways they are applied in particular situations by the participants. As the materials of this study are situated firmly in a school context, aspiring to construct foundational models seems out of reach, while at the same time it might be safe to say that certain ideals likely are context-dependent variations of some foundational models. To exemplify, a model of historical expertise is likely to be a history-specific form of, for instance, some higher-order model of expertise, but differentiating the elements that are distinctive to historical expertise from the elements that are common to the general prototype of expertise would be very speculative.

A noteworthy feature of cultural models in light of this research is how they differ in terms of how formalised they are. As Shore (1996, 44) suggests, certain models can be acknowledged forms of a culture, whereas others are implicit and unconscious. Often, the models fall somewhere in the spectrum between these two opposites (Quinn & Holland, 1987, 8). Therefore, rather than asking participants directly about the cultural models they use, it is useful to observe situations or ask interview questions where participants have to activate and use these models (D'Andrade, 2005, 90). Moreover, as models are observable not only in

terms of linguistic production but also in terms of human behaviour, the ethnographic approach and materials used in this research are ideal for analysing cultural models (cf. Bennardo, 2018; Bennardo & de Munck, 2013, 60–61). Moreover, cultural models can take a variety of forms, as they reflect the complexity of the experiences they derive from (Quinn, 2005b, 38). Material artefacts, movement, verbal and non-verbal interaction and even emotions[29] can all be ways to share, convey and construct cultural models (Shore, 1996, 44; Wong & Tsai, 2007, 211; Kamppinen, 2017, 143). Hence, using different types of research materials gives a broader view of the models used in a history classroom and allows the examination of the different forms a specific model can take..

Another analytical tool useful in examining cultural models is the concept of cultural standing. As Ortner (1990, 63) proposes, to have established the status of being a widely shared model, cultural models have gone through a hegemonic selection. The power of cultural models comes from their shared-ness, the fact that individuals look around the communities they inhabit for examples of what is considered a normal life accepted by their peers. While it can be easier or motivating to fulfil these norms at least to some extent, this does not mean that people automatically adopt these models. Individuals can also question or break such norms (Quinn & Holland, 1987, 11).

The concept of cultural standing can therefore be used to illuminate both the status of a cultural model in a community and an individual's stance towards it. As Strauss (2005) notes, some shared models are so deeply internalised that people hardly realise they exist or acknowledge any alternatives for them. However, some models are more contested, and therefore people are more aware of them and the belief systems that question them. Strauss suggests this cultural standing of a model can be examined as a continuum that moves from controversial to debatable opinions and from common opinions to those taken for granted (Strauss, 2005, 203–204, 232). Strauss also proposes a variety of ways to analyse cultural standing. For instance, taken-for-grantedness is often reflected as presenting debatable claims as ordinary matters of fact, while opinions that are more controversial involve phenomena such as self-censorship or low commitment and often cause more affective reactions (Strauss, 2005, 233–238).

Of course, affective reactions are not always a sign of controversial cultural standing or opposing cultural norms. For instance, individuals sometimes find themselves in messy situations where it is unclear how to move forward, or as individuals can assume contradicting models due to sociocultural complexity, they may face situations where they have to 'negotiate' between these models (Keller, 1992, 72; Strauss, 2018, 117). These types of contradictions can manifest as ambivalence or confusion or depending on the situation and the possible audience as a variety of emotions (Shore, 1996, 35). Moreover, even people who share a relatively similar variation of a specific model can attribute different personal relevance to it and consequently have very different reactions to similar situations (Strauss, 2018, 122). Therefore, analysing cultural models or cultural

[29] As Wong and Tsai (2007) note, emotions can themselves be cultural models because they reflect culturally shared norms or values.

standing is not a straightforward task. Rather, it requires sensitivity to the situational aspects at play. As Quinn and Holland (1987, 7) note, individuals' behaviour or speech does not directly correspond with their stance towards a cultural model. Instead, a careful consideration of contextual features is necessary, as models are employed in relation to other people and the audience, according to the needs of the situation (cf. Quinn & Holland, 1987, 7).

The analysis presented in this study somewhat aligns with the two continuums discussed above relating to cultural models. First, the focus of the analysis moves from internalised and less consciously employed models to more acknowledged ones. This is a result of starting the analysis from the very core, routine practices that Ben and the class repeated from day to day and leaving discussions regarding the curricular reform and the latest national core curriculum to the final analysis chapter. Consequently, the analysis also moves along a continuum of cultural standing, starting from taken-for-granted models and continuing with ones that are more controversial. It is also for this reason that the analysis in Chapter 4 describes and examines phenomena that were also less dependent on my presence in the field. However, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 discuss materials and events that were more contingent on researcher–participant interactions in the field. The analysis in these chapters focuses more on the level of explicitly expressed ideals and their relationship to questions evoked by the latest curricular reform. In accordance, they also include more analysis of my influence in the field and consideration of issues of cultural standing, as the teacher aimed to discuss controversial educational issues according to expectations he had regarding my standing on these topics.

3.6.2 The process of analysis: from the field to the text

The epistemological foundations of ethnography lie in the hermeneutic tradition. Therefore, the process of knowledge formation springs from the interactions in the field and develops based on the researcher's preconceptions of the phenomenon and the participants under study (Fingerroos & Jouhki, 2014, 12–14). Therefore, analysis in ethnography is a continuing process that begins in the field, as the focus of analysis starts to take shape and guide further observations and data collection (Brewer, 2000, 108). As Kearney (2005, 21) notes, most research projects arise from 'long-term obsessions and random happenings', and as the focus and process of research in ethnography relies on unpredictable interactions occurring in the field, the notion is even more accurate. As a result, like in all hermeneutic research, the process of analysis influences the formation of eventual research questions and concepts (Hämeenaho, 2014, 64–65).

In congruence with the research approach, the focus of this study took shape as the relationships in the field formed based on the relationship I had with the teacher, 'the gatekeeper', and his teaching practices. Throughout the field period I focused not just on these practices but particularly on the tensions, contradictions and even blind spots that were apparent in Ben's depictions regarding his own work and the prescribed curriculum. However, it is necessary to note that the early roots of the current research are in my master's thesis that also dealt

with questions of history education in the context of an upper secondary school course experiment that integrated different school subjects and employed inquiry-based teaching and learning methods. During that time, I was familiarised with some topical issues in the field of history education, which seemed to revolve around two notable gaps in research. One was the lack of research on students' historical thinking (a situation that has since improved), and the other was the difficulty in getting the disciplinary approach rooted in history classrooms. Because of some long-term personal obsessions about history education and some random happenings regarding the selection of the participant teacher and the relationships formed in the field, the study at hand ended up dealing with the latter.

In accordance with the hermeneutic roots of ethnography, the analysis presented here is the result of abductive reasoning. Thus, the interpretations and observations presented in this study are contingent on my personal experiences and some theoretical notions I encountered before and during the analysis process (cf. Grönfors, 2011, 19–20). Because of my background as a history major, my previous experiences in teaching and my thesis concerning history education, I was already familiar with certain phenomena and theoretical concepts that likely influenced the observations made in the field and that later helped to ground those observations and find new ways to theorise about them. Therefore, while I have aimed to respect the emic perspectives of participants and to root this text-of-the-field in the collected materials, the analysis conducted throughout the research process is best described as movement and discussion between data-contingent inductive reasoning and existing theoretical leads (cf. Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2002, 99).

Once the field period ended and the data was collected, the next phase of analysis was inspired by keyword analysis and gist analysis. Keyword analysis developed by Quinn (2005b) focuses on patterns, keywords and metaphors individuals use when talking about a specific topic. This mode of analysis suggests that reasoning is culture-laden, and the keywords or metaphors refer to the models on which individuals' reasoning is based. Therefore, the aim is to use these keywords to reconstruct the cultural models and implicit assumptions individuals draw upon as they explicitly describe certain phenomena (Quinn, 2005b, 44–45, 61). As I had already determined the focus of the research before entering this stage of analysis, I applied the keyword analysis to specific themes that were related to the issue of interest, the enacted history curriculum. Therefore, I focused on how participants reasoned about history, knowledge and knowing, learning and competence and teaching. Moreover, I examined how the teacher discussed his ideas concerning students. These are also aspects previous research on teacher knowledge has found central in defining practitioners' work (cf. Cunningham, 2007; Monte-Sano & Cochran, 2009; Tuithof et al., 2019).

However, as cultural models can take non-linguistic forms, the keyword analysis seemed insufficient to grasp certain non-verbal practices, silences and the visual aspects defining the classroom environment. Furthermore, I needed something to better grasp not just the cultural models used but also their cultural

standing and participants' stance towards the models. Therefore, I employed a close relative of keyword analysis developed by D'Andrade (2005) called gist analysis. The idea is to examine the data to find or reconstruct gist propositions. For instance, if a student were to say 'I learn best by listening; things stick in my mind the easiest if the teacher just explains them', a gist proposition it involves might be that 'competence in history is the ability to memorise content knowledge'. However, as the data was not limited to the spoken word, I applied the sentiment of gist analysis to consider non-verbal models. Therefore, I also interpreted the sort of propositions that underscored these other type of activities or spatial features. Moreover, together with Strauss' (2005) ideas regarding the analysis of affects, reactions and the level of taken-for-grantedness, gist analysis also enables the study of the cultural standing of the models used because it focuses on the sort of *claims* inherent when addressing specific issues.

As the ethnographic data concerns the experiences and doings of a single teacher, the cultural models and their shared-ness is explored further by reflecting the findings with previous research, literature on certain historical and cultural trajectories and relevant topical issues and conditions, such as policies and discourses regarding education. Sufficient contextualisation and discussion vis-à-vis the literature are thus used as argumentation aids but also to show how the individual case or the individual teacher reflects the experiences of many and how the work of a history teacher is not a purely individual project but also an interaction with the surrounding cultural conditions. Of course, the scope of ethnographic data remains that the results are not generalisable as such. Instead, the purpose is to open up new lines of inquiry, to possibly provide some theoretical insights and to primarily offer a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of the studied phenomenon, culture or community.

As with other means of classification, a focus on the cultural models used might easily result in a reductive description of the field (cf. Stark, 2011, 178–179). Consequently, I also included and analysed examples of exceptions that contradict the described models (cf. Brewer, 2000, 117). Thus, I aimed to capture the complexity of participants' experiences by including examples of exceptions, anomalies and insecurities related to the interpretations made. Doing so ensures a more nuanced analysis and a fairer description of participants' experiences. Moreover, cultural models theory in itself recognises the complexity and messiness of cultural phenomena, as it aims to grasp the diversity and situatedness inherent in the use of cultural materials and acknowledges the possibility of experiences that cannot be predicted by any cultural model (Shore, 1996, 315; Kajander, 2020, 40). The following analysis therefore aims to capture some of that complexity through an awareness and appreciation of the limited capacity of the theories used and of the limited capacity of the researcher to understand and explain all discussed events and phenomena in full.

4 TRANSMITTING A HISTORY: CULTURAL MODELS DEFINING THE SCHOOL SUBJECT

I start the examination of the enacted history curriculum by studying how its target of attention, the school subject of history, was described and understood in the classroom. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it provides an overall description of the enacted curriculum in Ben's classroom and the core actions taking place during an average history lesson in terms of learning and teaching history. Second, it does this via an analysis of the cultural models the teacher and the students used to orientate their actions when dealing with history. Therefore, the focus of the chapter is on the participants' understanding of the nature and purpose of the school subject. The particular interest in these ideas springs from the profound influence they have on the enacted curricula. These ideas inform the objective setting, whether it is the teacher trying to determine the best practices or the students attempting to manage schoolwork in accordance with their personal learning goals.

In this chapter, I explore history education and history as a school subject as a specific culture of knowing. Academic disciplines have their own traditions, a set of intellectual practices and, like history, are often institutionalised into professions. Academic disciplines have their own distinct assumptions and ideas about the world and their own means and linguistic practices for communication (Burke, 2016, 19; Barth, 2002, 3). For instance, the concept of disciplinary literacies and its sub-concept of historical literacy are grounded on the notion of academic disciplines having their own set of linguistic conventions and practices determined and regulated by the practitioners and the surrounding institutions, reflecting identities and power relations inherent in the community (e.g. Lea & Street, 2006, 368; Lea, 2008, 231). Moreover, some studies suggest that academic tribalism (Becher & Trowler, 1989) is especially typical for subject teachers, who tend to identify with the academic disciplines they aim to teach and who often end up overlooking their studies in educational sciences and pedagogy (e.g. Virta et al., 1998; 2001; Veijola, 2013).

While connected to its academic sibling through the objectives of the national core curriculum and school textbooks that are often (co-)authored by historians, history as a school subject and the classrooms where it is taught form a culture of knowing distinct from academic history. In this study, I follow the definition given by Kalela (2001, 17–19), who places history as a school subject in the realm of public histories and as such within historical culture.[30] Historical culture refers to the social processes of history making, the different social practices for interpreting and reproducing the past outside academic research (Kalela, 2012, 2–3; Rantala, 2012, 9–10). Inherent in each historical culture is a shared idea about what history is. This idea includes a suggestion about the relationship between the past, the present and the future and the role history has for human agency. Moreover, it indicates epistemological ideas about how historical knowledge comes into being and about the connection between the past and the histories told about it (Grever & Adriaansen, 2017, 81–82). These ideas are often passive, even unconscious, and as such are expressed only implicitly. Furthermore, they establish a shared framework for each group to examine and discuss past phenomena and processes (Lindroos, 2001, 121–122).

The significance of the aforementioned ideas about history in relation to classroom practices and the enacted curriculum is reflected well in research on teachers' personal epistemic beliefs. Personal epistemologies refer to individuals' often tacit or even unconscious theories of knowledge and knowing (e.g. Muis et al., 2006, 4–6; Yang & Tsai, 2012, 259; Yilmaz, 2010). For instance, Hofer and Pintrich (1997) specify personal epistemologies as ideas about the nature of knowledge, its defining features and structures and the process of knowing, including the sources and justification of knowledge (see also Feucht & Bendixen, 2010, 4). In accordance, studies on epistemological beliefs conducted in educational contexts have focused on participants' ideas on what knowledge is and how it is constructed and evaluated. Questions about the sources used or the ways in which knowledge is acquired and represented have also been of interest (e.g. Muis, 2004; Maggioni & Parkinson, 2008).

Studies on teachers' personal epistemologies suggest they have a strong effect on the classroom activities the teacher engages in (Maggioni & Parkinson, 2008, 449; Yang & Tsai, 2012, 259). For instance, Tsai (2006) found that teachers who considered scientific knowledge as certain and absolute emphasised teacher-centred practices and focused on the acquisition of information, while teachers who understood knowledge as theory-driven and tentative were more interested in student understanding, application of scientific concepts and interactive classroom practices. Therefore, the way teachers perceive the subject they

[30] Therefore, I differ from Ahonen (2002a), who places school history outside historical culture and considers the task of history education as forming a bridge between the two through the critical examination of the historical conception inherent in historical culture. While I agree with the idea of such critical treatment, studies on history education around the globe suggest school history is not in unison with academic history and differs in terms of the narratives it displays, the conception of the nature of history it portrays and the purpose it is given. Therefore, I choose to follow Kalela, whose definition recognises the role of schools in disseminating 'official' histories.

teach is connected to their ideas about learning and teaching, their assumptions regarding students' abilities and other matters that are central in organising education (cf. Ball, 1991, 1–2).

In accordance, research on teacher beliefs in the domain of history emphasise the relationship between classroom practices and participants' conceptions of history (e.g. McCrum, 2010, 104). For instance, Voet and De Wever (2016, 60–62) found teachers' epistemic beliefs influence whether they understood the purpose of inquiry based learning (IBL) more as a simple retrieval of information or as an investigative stance with question setting, analysis and argumentation as essential elements in the learning process. Yeager and Davis (1996, 162) pointed how teachers' epistemic considerations influenced the way they thought about using primary sources as part of instruction. Gestsdóttir et al. (2021) found that teachers who considered historical knowledge as interpretive engaged students in historical inquiry, while teachers who viewed history as a fixed, knowable entity were more inclined toward lecturing. On another note, Wansink et al. (2016) found that student teachers reported having difficulties in realising the interpretive nature of history in the classroom, thus suggesting the necessity of experience and expertise in putting ones' intentions into practice during lessons. Nevertheless, teachers' ideas on the nature and purpose of the school subject inform instructional decisions and classroom practices (Mansour, 2009, 31; Pajares, 1992, 326).

Moreover, research also suggests some teachers make a distinction between history as a school subject and academic history. For example, they might conceive the nature of historical knowledge as constructed and interpreted, while holding the belief that history as a school subject should focus on covering factual content (McDiarmid, 1990). Therefore, it is necessary to stress the following analysis focusses on beliefs about the nature and purpose of history as a school subject and not academic history. As Lyons' (1990, 175) study illuminated, teachers' reasoning is underpinned by the concurrency of epistemic evaluations and considerations of other factors, such as understandings concerning students as knowers. While epistemic beliefs inform classroom practices, there are other factors at play. A focus on models informing the nature and purpose of history is then a prominent starting point, but the analysis in this chapter and later in this study will also show the interaction of multiple elements informing the enacted curriculum.

The study of the models informing teacher beliefs about the nature and purpose is then necessary, as teachers mediate these models to students through classroom practices. As Shulman (1987, 9) argues, these subject matter-related practices communicate an array of ideas, including attitudes, values and considerations about what is significant about the subject. The models we adopt concerning history influence the way we perceive the world and our place in it (cf. Maggioni & Parkinson, 2008, 447). As Rüsen's (2004, 72) matrix on historical consciousness suggests, there are different ways to relate to the past and the stories addressing it. We can assume values prescribed by tradition and consider society

as natural and static, or we can take a critical, more agentic stance. The way history is approached in schools can influence our perceptions of not only the past but also of the present and the future (Duquette, 2015). Consequently, curricular changes concerning the nature and purpose of history education have often been greeted with such suspicion that subsequent debates have been characterised as 'history wars' (Taylor & Guyver, 2012, xi–xii). These debates show the impact history education is considered to have on the formation of students' identities as citizens.

Research has shown formal schooling to influence students' thinking about knowledge and its formation (e.g. King and Kitchener, 2004; Maggioni Ricoscente & Alexander, 2006, 488; Paulsen & Wells, 1998, 375–376). However, as the premise of school history as a culture of knowing implies, communication in the classroom is not a one-way street. Instead, teachers' epistemic beliefs interact with those of students', who arrive in the classroom with their own ideas about knowing and learning (Lyons, 1990, 174–175). Students already have knowledge and beliefs about how the world works, possibly including ideas about the school subject as well (Sawyer, 2006, 2; Bransford, 2000, 10). As studies on the influence of historical culture show, school is only one of the fora where students interact with ideas about history. Video games, movies, stories told by family members and/or social media influence ideas about history, often in ways more compelling than formal schooling (Rosenzweig, 2000, 264–625; Korte & Paletschek, 2017, 200; Kristiansson, 2021, 103–104). Research suggests these products of popular culture and other informal ways of learning have a strong influence on students' conceptions of history (e.g. Rantala, 2011a; Ahonen, 1998, 46). These ideas about historical culture can either support (Rantala, 2011b, 42) or contradict (Wertsch, 2000, 38–39) those conveyed in school.

While the focus of the study is on the enacted curriculum (that is, the teacher's concrete interpretation of the prescribed curriculum), my analysis illuminates students' ideas on history as well. To an extent, it broadens the scope of the chapter to consider the interaction between the enacted and the experienced curriculum. This slight reach outside the enacted curriculum is in fact a relevant addition in terms of understanding the teacher's practices, as teachers' beliefs about students form during interactions with students and their actions and responses in the classroom. Therefore, examining how students react to the enacted curriculum helps in understanding the teacher's pedagogical choices and the ideas he has about students' abilities (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5). Moreover, my analysis shows the shared-ness of the cultural models used; it is apparent that the students employ the cultural models in setting objectives regarding their schoolwork accordant with those employed by the teacher in organising classroom practices. However, the interview data and the solidity of the cultural models indicate that the teacher's practices further consolidate the students' pre-existing ideas, placing the roots of the acquired models in earlier encounters with history education and/or historical culture. Thus, it is this interplay between the broader historical culture, students' ideas about history, the

teacher's expectations regarding students and the resultant choices of practice that make the student perspective useful in the study of the enacted curriculum.

To reconstruct the cultural models defining the school subject, I have drawn attention to the activities and propositions repeatedly attached to the concept of history in the classroom. For instance, throughout the lessons, students were instructed to *find* and *pick* historical information; history was to be *gone through* during the history courses, and the ultimate objective was to *stick history in the mind*. As suggested by the cultural models theory, such activities and propositions refer to the models used by participants to reason with the school subject. While much of the previous research literature has focused on teachers' and students' epistemic beliefs, the analysis here is not limited to these beliefs but concerns ideas about history in a broader sense. Therefore, based on repeated propositions made regarding history, I have reconstructed models related to epistemology, time and historical competence from the ethnographic data. The following chapter examines the cultural models used to define the relationship between the past and historiography and the hierarchies between different sources of knowledge. I also study the participants' conceptions of time and the repercussions in terms of objective setting in history as a school subject. Moreover, I explore ideals of historical expertise in the classroom and their role in informing the purpose of the school subject. As an examination of such shared cultural models, the chapter provides an anthropological perspective on history education, a study of the cultural aspects of the construction and dissemination of historical knowledge (cf. Löfström & Hakkari, 2003, p. 324).

4.1 Epistemology grounded on institutional trust

In history education, the debate on the nature of history has long circled the question of whether it is possible to recover and represent the past as it was in the form of a single narrative. The history and theories of history show several possible epistemic stances towards history. For instance, Munslow (2007, 10–14) makes a distinction between reconstructionists who consider past reality as accessible through its traces, constructionists who acknowledge the role of theory and thus *a priori* thinking in the formation of historical narratives and deconstructionists who reject the correspondence between history and past reality altogether. In the context of history education, Seixas (2000) presents three different orientations separated by their relationship to epistemology—a collective memory approach, a disciplinary approach and a postmodern approach. The collective memory approach focusses on demonstrating history as a single narrative. The disciplinary approach takes a step back and grapples with the knowledge formation process of history, stressing the constructed and the justified nature of historical interpretations. The postmodern approach emphasises the role of the interpreter and the power dynamics underpinning knowledge formation in academic research (Seixas, 2000, 20–21). These categorisations indicate the variety of

ways both historical research and teaching can relate to epistemology and thus the inseparable nature of epistemological considerations and teaching practices.

In accordance, previous research on history teachers' epistemic beliefs shows a range of considerations on the accessibility of the past and the justification of historical knowledge. For instance, in a study of 60 teachers Bouhon (2009, p. 195) found both teachers with positivist views who considered historical knowledge as objective and neutral and teachers with constructivist beliefs emphasising the constructed and interpreted nature of history. Those with positivist beliefs considered history to have encyclopaedic value, while those with constructivist views saw its use in providing useful heuristics in dealing with historical information and encounters with the past. Yilmaz (2010, 171) identified similar categories with teachers who equated history with the past and those with a more disciplinary understanding of history. Following Maggioni et al. (2009), Voet and De Wever (2016, 61) found teachers with criterialist, objectivist and subjectivist notions about historical knowledge formation. Criterialists considered there to exist clear criteria for judging the plausibility of historical accounts. Objectivists designated no role for interpretation in historical knowledge formation, while subjectivists regarded the evaluation of historical explanations as a question of opinion. Providing a more nuanced interpretation, McCrum (2010, 80–81) illustrated how teachers' beliefs fall on a continuum rather than into distinct categories in terms of certainty of knowledge and the connection between history and past reality.

The starting point of the analysis presented next was the teacher's utterances about the nature of history when giving instructions to students, such as the use of the words *find* and *pick*. On the basis of this observation, I analysed the fieldnotes, interviews and other classroom materials focusing on propositions related to epistemics. In the following analysis, I have reconstructed two cultural models related to the epistemology of history used repeatedly in classroom activities—history as a fact and institutional trust as a means of verification. Therefore, in this chapter I look at how the teacher expressed and mediated ideas about the correspondence described above through instructions and assessment practices and study how these ideas were grounded on a specific knowledge hierarchy suggested by the teacher in the method of knowledge verification used.

4.1.1 History as a fact - a quest for the correct version

The extent to which historical knowledge can be objective and represent the past as it was is a topic of enduring and ongoing[31] discussion. Since Leopold von Ranke and the quest to reframe history as a serious academic discipline, conceptions on the retrievability of the past have alternated from conceiving history as an objective and neutral scientific enterprise to viewing historiography as a representation reflecting contemporary needs rather than past reality (Rüsen, 2005,

[31] For example, in 2020 there was a debate on the credibility of knowledge and the role and nature of objectivity in the field of history in the leading Finnish journal of history, *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* (see Hannula & Apajalahti, 2020a/b; Sivula, 2020; Kuukkanen, 2020).

43, 59). Like in practically all other fields of research, the conversations in history have touched upon questions of whether it is possible for the researcher to fully detach from their values and beliefs and whether the source materials and the representations based on them will ever truly reflect past life as it was (Koskinen, 2016). For instance, the narrativist critique of historiography disconnects the past from the representations provided by historians, as these representations are comprised of meanings, interpretations and results of literary conventions the past life did not itself entail (e.g. Ankersmit, 2002, 11–17; White, 1973). Others, such as Megill (2007, 112), consider the work of historians as both interpretive and objective by defining objectivity as having epistemic authority that can be intersubjectively scrutinised and tested. On a similar note, Kuukkanen (2015) suggests in a postnarrativist account of history that while historical representations might not correspond with past reality as such, they can still be rational and justifiable.

Interest in the epistemological positions of historians or those of history teachers springs from the consequences these stances have for the social relevance of history. As Froeyman (2016) notes, different epistemologies relate to different conceptions of the purpose of history. For instance, those who consider historical knowledge as reflecting the past as it was give history the role of increasing social unity and a sense of community, as academic history can alleviate societal commotion by offering the impartial truth. Contrarily, narrativists may view society as a collection of a variety of ideas, where the voices of people from different backgrounds should be heard without the need to reach consensus (Froeyman, 2016, 220). In the context of education, VanSledright (2011) suggests teachers' choices influence whether students become naïve realists, naïve relativists or critical pragmatists and ascribes different societal stances for each epistemological view. For example, teaching that leans towards naïve realism often includes the recollection of specific narratives as the unquestioned truth, which might encourage students to view society as given and natural and therefore maintain societal hierarchies and divisions (VanSledright, 2011, 22–24, 66). On another note, Koskinen (2016, 35, 40–41), who considers all fields of research as objective in the sense they acknowledge the inescapable limitations of knowledge formation and have created processes to somewhat control the influence of said limitations, notes how emphasising the subjectivity of knowledge may have undesirable consequences for the public view of the credibility of knowledge. Thus, history education and the epistemological stances it promotes have societal ramifications and therefore deserve to be studied.

Levstik and Barton (1996) refer to the disciplinary approach in history education as 'doing history', as students actively engage in historical investigations and the process of knowledge formation. As a result, students are also acquainted with epistemological questions related to history, as they consider multiple interpretations and perspectives of past actors and form evidence-based historical accounts. Therefore, students engage not just in doing history but also in doing epistemology. However, history and epistemology can also be 'done' from other perspectives than the criterialist take suggested by the disciplinary approach.

Whether the chosen teaching practices align with a collective memory, disciplinary or postmodern approach to history education, epistemological questions are always addressed in one form or another. Next, I examine the means and nature of the epistemology 'done' in Ben's classroom.

Doing epistemology

Ben had organised the history curriculum for the class into roughly three alternating cycles. First, there were typically one or two primarily teacher-centred lessons in which Ben would introduce a new topic to the students. Then students were given 3–6 lessons for completing a written assignment, which Ben would assess. Finally, the class would have an exam on the same topic discussed in the written assignments. Throughout the school year, the class went through four of these cycles, meaning they had four assessed[32] written assignments and four exams. In addition, they had some 'off-script' lessons in between. During these lessons, the class often watched a clip from a movie or did a small exercise on a related topic. Here, I focus attention on both teacher and student activity and suggest the different ways epistemology was manifested in action.

Looking at the instructions given or the questions posed by the students indicates learning history as a quest for correct answers. The epistemological stance was reflected in classroom practices that can be conceptualised as a *pedagogy of picking (poimimisen pedagogiikka)* (cf. Rantala et al., 2020). The activities Ben usually instructed the students to focus on were finding and looking for answers. For instance, in three of the four graded written assignments, the teacher dealt out a list of content-driven questions and told the students they should 'find answers to the assignment from textbook chapters four through eleven'.[33] Moreover, there were occasions when the teacher would use the instructive word 'pick' to describe expected activities:

> *'Now we are going to practice picking up information from a moving picture… Now take the handout I dealt out last time…' The teacher is trying to get the data projector to work while giving instructions to the students. 'The idea is to use the film to… Take the handout in front of you, the side with Lenin's face on it. The idea is to build a picture of Lenin, the kind of a person he was. The film we are going to watch is a documentary, so it does not really compare to Terminator or anything. But let's just try to find a person behind the statue. They speak both Finnish and Russian here, so when they speak in Russian you can pick things from the subtitles, and when they speak Finnish, you can pick things from their speech'.*[34]

[32] Assessed in the sense these assignments were marked and counted as part of the final grade for the course.
[33] Fieldnotes, 23.2.2018. For an example of the questions set in the written assignments, see section 4.2.1.
[34] Fieldnotes, 10.11.2017.

The student response to the instructions followed the logic of picking up information. Some students put more effort in working up cohesive answers using their 'own words' in writing about the information read, as Ben would occasionally urge the students to do.[35] Other students applied the practice of picking in a more straightforward manner by copying answers from the textbook or some Internet source.[36] This was a permitted practice. When guiding students who struggled with understanding textbook contents, Ben would himself adjust expectations regarding the act of transforming information into ones' own words and help the students copy lines from the textbooks to find the correct answers and complete their assignments.[37]

The pedagogy of picking is informed by the idea of the full correspondence between the past and history and the truthfulness of the historical information provided. The act of picking necessitates there being something ready to be picked, whether it is ripe fruit or a correct answer. Therefore, the practice rested on a belief there was a correct version of history available. This epistemic belief of history as a string of facts was displayed in the assessment practices as well. Assessment is a powerful method for sharing and reinforcing cultural models in schools. As Pickford and Brown (2006) note, assessment is likely to influence the content and ways of student learning more than any other individual factor. Thus, assessment tends to guide learning (Atjonen, 2007, 61). Along with the pedagogy of picking, Ben's assessment practices created a coherent picture of history as a fact, as they reflected the accessibility of a past reality.

In course exams, the idea of correspondence between history and the past was reflected throughout the exam questions in that they necessitated the recall of factual knowledge of terminology and specific details. Therefore, the common denominator in the exam questions was that they tested memorisation of historical facts. As students had to write extensively in the written assignments, essay tasks were excluded from the exams. Instead, they included tasks such as matching,[38] choosing between true and false statements[39] and a variety of open questions. The last included listing, explaining or describing events. For instance, in

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[35] Fieldnotes, 16.2.2018: Ben fetches a tablet and urges Emil to find a site called 'Dictatormarket' that includes 'valid information'. They browse the site together, with Ben asking Emil about the contents of the site. (--) Ben reads the page aloud, how Mussolini was 'a changed man' after coming back from the war. Then he asks Emil to write about these contents in his 'own words'.

[36] Fieldnotes, 10.1.2018: I see Samuel reading a Wikipedia text about Finnish presidents from his cellphone, while everyone else in the classroom is either chatting with each other or staring silently at their phones, with their index fingers swiping in steady rhythm. Samuel begins to read the Wikipedia text aloud, taking turns with Oliver, while Aaron's job is to write it all down on paper.

[37] Fieldnotes, 26.10.2017: The teacher is helping a student who describes having problems with reading because he immediately forgets the things he reads, so completing the assignment is a struggle. The teacher tells the students to focus on the bolded lines in the textbook, to write each bolded line down in their notebook and only then continue reading.

[38] For instance, in the third exam students were to 'Match the dictators with the isms they stood for' and find correct countries and ideologies for Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini and Joseph Stalin. In the fourth exam, they needed to pinpoint from a list of states the ones belonging to the Allies and the ones belonging to the Axis.

[39] For example, in the third exam students were to 'Mark a C (=correct claim) or an F (=false claim) on the left side of each sentence.' Students were to ponder the factuality of claims

the second exam students were to mention four things that had increased tension among Finns during 1917 before the Civil War. In the fourth exam, students were to 'give a short description of how the Second World War ended in a) Europe b) Asia'.

In the first two exams, the questions representing the majority of the test score were in the form of cloze tests, exercises where students needed to 'fill in the blanks' and supply words that have been removed from a passage of text. While most of the questions were worth 2–4 points, the cloze tests added up to 16 points in the first exam and 12 points in the second exam. The cloze passages were copied from textbook chapters and required detailed memorisation. For instance, the first lines of the second cloze test went as follows:

> *At the end of January in 1918, the Red Guard started their _____ from Helsinki. At the same night, the White Guard began to disarm _____soldiers sleeping in their barracks in _____. Finland was parted into two opposite camps, called _____ and _____. The war kindled. At the end of February 1918, _____ came back from Germany to help the _____. They immediately started to train amateur soldiers and lead them in battles. At the beginning of the war, the Red Guard attempted to occupy an important railroad junction called _____, with little luck.*

From the perspective of epistemology, memorisation itself is not a key indicator, while certainly being a suitable method for education grounded on learning history as a single truth. However, it is conceivable to memorise competing interpretations just as well as simple correct answers. Therefore, it is the object of memorisation that deserves attention. All the mentioned examples allowed only one possible correct answer that would deliver points. At times, Ben's marking practices further consolidated the idea. For instance, in marking the first exam, he gave no points to students who confused the names of First World War coalitions while reciting the co-operating countries correctly.[40]

Oftentimes, cultural models are so comprehensively internalised that people might not be aware they exist or recognise that they hold or promote such beliefs (Strauss, 2005, 203). Although producing and reinforcing the task of finding and giving the correct answers in both instructions and assessment practises,

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such as 'Heart diseases were the most common health problem and even the cause of death among young people in Finland. Therefore, heart sanatoriums were founded' or 'Still in the 1920–30s former Reds were suspected of preparing a revolution. Therefore the nation remained split until the end of 1930s.'

[40] Fieldnotes, 30.11.2017: 'The second task was about choosing from a list of countries the ones belonging to the Entente Powers and the Central Powers. The teacher is sorry, as many students had confused the coalitions, choosing countries belonging to Entente Powers as Central Powers, and vice versa. If this happened, the students automatically got no points for that exam question. The scoring system allowed students who did not remember the coalitions but guessed some of the countries in each coalition correctly to receive points, while students who remembered the coalitions but got mixed up with the names of the coalitions were left with zero points. Sara lists the Central Powers and Aaron the Entente Powers. Jasper shouts in frustration, as he finds he has confused the coalitions and asks the teacher whether his grade would have been higher without the mix-up.'

Ben was still confused about why the students were so scared about whether their answers were correct.

> *It might be this institution, how we're all like conditioned to this idea that right and wrong exist. And in history it's just not that simple, and probably not elsewhere either, but especially in history. So [students need] this courage to like pick things and think about whether this is something worth including here and so forth.*[41]

It is debatable whether the epistemic model used in the classroom equated with Ben's epistemological views on academic history. Besides the excerpt above, there was a classroom event when students were working on their assignments and Samuel asked the teacher about how to know what contents are relevant in terms of the assignment. Ben responded that 'there is no one correct answer' to historical questions, that different things were important to different groups and that history is 'interpretative by nature'.[42] Such statements reflect a different notion of history than the one in use during most of classroom time. It is likely Ben considered history as a school subject to differ from academic history.[43] As noted preciously, teachers might conceive the purpose of the school subject or the abilities of students in ways leading towards a teaching approach separate from one's understanding of the academic discipline. Research on history teachers has shown that some teachers personally assume interpretive and constructed notions about history while holding a concurrent stance that history education need not take questions on the nature of history into account, as students need to first master the grand narratives of history (e.g. McDiarmid, 1994). Therefore, the cultural models applied when organising history education can differ somewhat from the ones used to reason about the academic discipline.

A naïve realist historical culture?

Overall, Ben's teaching practices reflected the naïve realist stance towards history as suggested by VanSledright (2011). However, the teacher was hardly the sole promoter of naïve realism in the classroom. Teaching and classrooms have been described as nexuses (Halonen et al., 2015) or discursive nodes (Binnekade, 2015) where a variety of agents and policies interact in the adopted practices or teaching materials. In Ben's classroom, the epistemic stance found support from said materials, namely some Internet encyclopaedias and school textbooks. The most frequently used Internet source was Wikipedia. While Wikipedia can be used in a variety of ways for educational purposes due to the transparency of the process of making entries (e.g. Suoranta, 2009), the students used it more in the manner of a traditional encyclopaedia. As such, the genre features of Wikipedia entries become central as they convey ideas about the nature of historical knowledge. The analysis by Tereszkiewicz (2010, 102) shows that many entries follow the

[41] Interview, 22.1.2018.
[42] Fieldnotes, 6.11.2017.
[43] Discussed further in Chapter 6.1.

genre of printed encyclopaedias in their formal quality, are created using the passive, lack an apparent agent in the text and use a neutral tone, thus giving the impression of objectivity. In addition, many entries have some unique aspects, such as presenting information in integrated blocks of text instead of using separate paragraphs to specify different themes within a topic (Tereszkiewicz, 2010, 104). From an epistemological viewpoint, Wikipedia can then portray history as a collection of factual, uncontested information.

Nevertheless, while Wikipedia was used frequently, the school textbook still dominated as the main source of knowledge, having an active role in both enforcing and constructing ideas about historical truth. As the term 'school textbook' has been noted to refer to a number of products, such as the teachers' guide, exercise books and more recently electronic books and educational websites (Lebrun et al., 2002, 54; Grever & van der Vlies, 2017, 288), it is necessary to note that in Ben's classroom the only form of textbook in use was the main textbook with stories, source fragments and the like provided for student use.[44] Internationally, school textbooks are considered to support the collective memory approach to history teaching, giving an image of one, true history. Paxton (1999) argues that the distinctive epistemologies of different disciplines are often neglected when academic disciplines are transitioned to school textbooks. Instead, textbooks tend to reflect an ideal of neutral objectivity, as knowledge is portrayed context-free in objective and impersonal accounts without an authorial voice (Barth, 2002, 2; Grever & van der Vlies, 2017, 288). Some researchers suggest textbooks even create an epistemic barrier in relation to learning history if the objective is disciplinary thinking, as they provide little information on the sources and formation process of the information they convey (Foster, 2012; Wineburg 2001, 48–49).

Finnish textbooks have many of the aforementioned qualities, while being more transparent in their portrayal of epistemological questions in history. *Forum 7*, the textbook in primary use before Christmas break in Ben's class, dedicates the first chapter to some characteristics of historical knowledge formation. It mentions the importance of primary sources and source criticism and claims historical knowledge can change with the emergence of new sources (pp. 10–12). The book also includes a few sections with tasks in which contemporary sources are examined. The open approach to knowledge formation is likely a response to the national core curriculum and the need to 'familiarize the pupil with the nature, acquisition, and basic concepts of historical knowledge' (EDUFI, 2004, 220).

The extent to which the textbook's description of the epistemic questions of history align with the curriculum is unclear. The Finnish national core curriculum for basic education of 2004 conceives history as 'interpretations of historians' (p. 220). However, the textbook does not mention the role of interpretation. Moreover, its depiction of source criticism echoes perceptions perhaps more typical for historical research in the first half of the 20th century. First, the textbook notes

[44] In the first (9.11.2017) interview, Ben noted: 'I rarely use teachers' guides anymore; I used to rely on them more when I was young. Sometimes, if there is a good tip somewhere then I might look how its done and so. But I mostly plan lessons myself.'

'history speaks through sources'[45] (p. 10), implying the lack of the need for an interpreter.[46] It presents source criticism as a simple process of assessing the reliability of the source, as 'some sources give a fairly reliable depiction of the past, whereas other sources give a totally false picture of it'[47] (p. 12). Furthermore, it directs students to 'come up with sources that you consider as reliable or unreliable',[48] proposing sources as being reliable and telling the truth about the past, regardless of the intentions of the researcher. As Kalela (2012, 31–32) notes, a procedure like this easily results in discarding fruitful sources as unreliable, and hence the more contemporary take on sources is to assess their validity in answering the scholar's questions.

The rest of the textbook consists of chapters narrating historical events and phenomena in chronological order. These chapters reflect naïve realism with authorless descriptions, some bolded lines to draw attention to crucial contents and a 'sticky note', a list of core contents at the end of each chapter encouraging students to 'Remember these!' The contents are then presented as uncontested information safe for students to memorise. Moreover, there are about four questions at the end of each chapter; the last one necessitates the ability to apply the information provided in the textbook, while the rest of the questions require students to mainly find and copy the correct answers from the chapter. For instance, a chapter on the causes of the First World War poses the following questions: '1. What issues caused friction between European countries at the beginning of the 20th century? 2. Why did other countries fear the strengthening of Germany? 3. Who was … a) Germany in alliance with? b) Great Britain in alliance with? 4. Do you think Gavrilo Princip was responsible for the outbreak of the war? Justify your answer' (p. 151). Apart from the last question, the answers to the other three can be found bolded in the body text.

Finnish history textbooks thus seem to contradict the conception of historical nature stated in the National Core Curricula for decades. Whereas the curricula have emphasised historical knowledge as interpretative and stressed the importance of engaging students in knowledge construction, history textbooks tend to reflect a different tradition of teaching, namely the collective memory approach. Textbooks that have adopted the disciplinary approach suggested in the national core curriculum exist but still represent a minority of the school textbooks on the market (cf. Aalto & Kemppinen, 2020, 102). In Finland, there is a

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[45] Orig. = 'Historia puhuu lähteiden kautta'

[46] For instance, Megill (2007, 56) points out how evidence does not speak objectively about itself but from a subject position to another subjectivity in an argumentative field created by the latter. Kalela (2001, 95–96) depicts evidence as being mute, and only the researchers' questions transform that evidence into a source, telling us something about the past. Similarly, Hyrkkänen (2017) notes that a historical source does not explain itself or give away anything without the work of a historian. While being somewhat vague in how it perceives the nature of sources in historical research, the school textbook fails to mention the role of the historian, which supports the interpretation of the epistemological outlook I mentioned above.

[47] Orig.= 'Toiset lähteet kertovat melko luotettavasti menneisyydestä, toiset antavat siitä täysin väärän kuvan.'

[48] Orig.= 'Keksi mielestäsi luotettavia ja epäluotettavia lähteitä.'

lack of comprehensive research on how textbooks discuss and construct epistemological ideas. However, the existing literature shows little has changed since the introduction of the disciplinary approach in national curricula. Over three decades ago, Ahonen (1989) compared three textbook series and noted how they neglected epistemological questions altogether and presented content as a depiction of how things actually were in the past. In a recent study, Norppa (2019) analysed school textbooks from the perspective of historical literacy and found the great majority of tasks included in the books prompt memorisation instead of the critical analysis of sources or the construction of interpretations.

School textbooks have an essential role in maintaining a specific historical culture (Grever & Adriaansen, 2017, 78). As Porat (2001, 51) notes, they preserve and communicate cultural truths from one generation to another. As Foster (2012, 59) suggests, no matter the content and quality of the textbook, its use and treatment relies on a variety of variables, such as teacher autonomy, pressure coming from students' parents or public opinion and the political circumstances of each country. However, regardless of the uncoordinated nature in relation to the national core curriculum depicted above, and even though teacher autonomy in Finland is at a high level and allows great freedom in choosing learning materials, the use of textbooks is widely popular as most history teachers in Finland use textbooks either often or always during lessons (Ouakrim-Soivio & Kuusela, 2012). Although history teachers in Finland have typically majored in history, many teachers seem to lean towards naïve realism and the collective memory approach (Rantala & Ouakrim-Soivio, 2020). While not testifying to the actual practices related to the use of textbooks,[49] the surveys showing their popularity imply teacher contentment with the current selection.

As Grever and van der Vlies (2017, 288) note, history textbooks are embedded in a wider context of education, politics, media, popular culture and commerce. In Finland, the production of school textbooks is the only sector of the educational system that in theory is purely market-based. Therefore, it is based on a pluralist textbook system where a number of publishers compete to gain a profitable share of the market (cf. Taylor & Macintyre, 2017, 611). Consequently, while rooted in academic history and often co-authored by historians in terms of how epistemology is conveyed, textbooks might reflect more the needs of the historical culture than academic notions of the subject. Their popularity, uniformity and constancy suggest there continues to exist a demand within the society or among history teachers for straightforward historical truths. While making rather broad generalisations about the Finnish mentality, Lewis (2005, 63) identifies a near pessimist view of realism, pragmatism and a need for accuracy in his take on the core beliefs and values inherent in Finnish culture. Therefore, it may be no surprise that the naïve realist position on history is maintained in the historical culture at large beyond the walls of a single classroom.

From an epistemic viewpoint, the collective memory mediated and constructed through products of historical culture and thus the approach to history

[49] As Bain (2006) shows, school textbooks can be used in a variety of ways, for instance, by critically examining how epistemological understandings are constructed textually.

education grounded on said memory is in fact ambivalent. On one hand, it is ready to sacrifice accuracy in order to use the past for present purposes (cf. Wertsch, 2002, 31–33). On the other hand, it demands accuracy, as it calls for a 'single, committed perspective' to the past (Novick, 1999, 4). It might also be that this demand for historical truths was heightened during the data collection period. Lively public discussion related to 'fake news' and the 'post-truth world' did not escape the teacher, who showed concern over issues such as attempts to abuse history for political purposes, students having to cope with masses of fraudulent information due to the current media climate and people being manipulated by populists.[50] The role assigned to schools as strongholds of truth was perhaps emphasised, as these societal phenomena only underscored the epistemic need for accurate information. Therefore, reliance on the collective memory approach and delivering perceivably accurate information about the past possibly seemed even more like the ethical thing to do.

4.1.2 Verification through trust

The naïve realist conception of history implied in the classroom activities discussed relied on practices concerning the process of verification of historical knowledge. Verification of knowledge refers to the ways used to determine whether information is trustworthy and the criteria used for assessing whether something serves as evidence (Burke, 2016, 66). In history education, the explicitness of the knowledge formation process is a key issue in both disciplinary and postmodern orientations of teaching (Seixas, 2000) and as such is at the heart of attempts to reform history curriculum around the globe. Therefore, the use and assessment of primary sources and the justification of the interpretations made have a pivotal role in teaching and learning practices in the widely influential British and North American traditions (Seixas, 2017b) and to some extent in the German tradition of history education (Kölbl & Konrad, 2015). In contrast, the collective memory approach to history teaching is overall less concerned with questions of verification, as the goal is to transmit a specific narrative to students (VanSledright, 2011, 27–28).

In Ben's classroom, the verification process rested on trust in the teacher and the educational institution. There was a shared understanding taking the form of distinct silence around questions of the reliability and origins of the sources and information used. Overall, Ben did not discuss the nature of the sources used, and the students did not question the truthfulness of the information presented. This contract and the use of the cultural model was most evident in instances when Ben presented products of historical culture to provide a reliable account of the past. In the excerpt below, the class was about to watch a clip from the movie *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930). The task was to describe the living conditions and experiences of a soldier in the First World War. The purpose of the film is to exemplify life at the battlefront as it was.

[50] These points of discussion are examined further in subchapters 4.3.2 and 6.1.1.

'Let's take a look at the daily life of a soldier at the battlefront. You can write down whatever observations it is that you make during the film.' Ben explains the movie is a fictional story about young German boys who are excited to sign up to join the army until they rather soon have to face the true nature of the war.[51]

The teacher put forth the notion about the movie being fictional, but no discussion on the relevance of this fictional nature ensued. Instead, the informational role of the film was reinforced in the task that followed; a mind map of 'A Soldier's Daily Life at the Front' was made on the chalkboard, listing all observations made during the film. The students expected the teacher as a representative of the institution to only present truthful content, making any questioning unnecessary. Therefore, I suggest this silence reflected the use of *institutional trust* as a model of knowledge verification.

In general, institutional trust is a concept used to describe and examine citizens' orientation toward the political system and other established public institutions, such as law enforcement, social services and the educational system (Chang, 2013, 74; Bornstein & Tomkins, 2015). Overall, institutional trust in Finland is at a notably high level. While measuring institutional trust is a complex issue beginning with the difficulties in defining the term (Bornstein & Tomkins, 2015, 5; McEvily & Tortoriello, 2011) and international comparisons have their shortcomings as 'trust' may have different connotations according to language (Schoorman et al., 2015, 13–15), several surveys and studies attest to this notion. In both national and international studies, the citizens of Finland are shown to have great trust in institutions such as national media, law enforcement, the judicial system and the healthcare system (Eurofound, 2018; Salminen et al., 2007, 82; Transparency International, 2020; Haavisto, 2020; Vuorensyrjä & Fagerlund, 2018). Moreover, the educational system is one of the most trusted institutions (Kansan arvot, 2015, 2018; Haavisto, 2020). This trust in the educational system allowed the students in Ben's classroom to consider the teacher like a curator in a museum, selecting appropriate materials to shed light on past reality. The silence around questions of verification was a central practice where *institutional trust* was not only in play but was also reproduced through day-to-day repetition.

Moreover, practices related to the use of the school textbook show how the actions taken by the teacher helped communicate the model to the students. As for most other history teachers in the country, school textbooks were a cornerstone of Ben's teaching practices. Olson (1989) has noted how the treatment of textbooks in classrooms often reflects a religious ritual, where the textbook is valued over all other sources of knowledge as holding the truth on each matter. While my interpretation of the use of textbooks as a reflection of institutional trust is perhaps more secular, the actions taken to establish the textbook's status bore a resemblance to Olson's depiction. First, the textbooks were used, recommended to be used or at least presented as one of the choices of possible source material in all the observed history lessons. This availability and frequent use of

[51] Fieldnotes, 27.10.2017

the textbook alone suggested its particular significance as a source of knowledge. Moreover, there were some occasions when the teacher explicitly noted the primacy of the textbook, as in the following example:

> *The students start working on an assignment on the Civil War. Ben gives them a hint, mentioning that there is a chapter in the textbook called 'Reasons for the Civil war' and that 'wink wink' answers could be found there. He also permits the use of phones and Internet sources but says there is no use 'going further than the sea to fish'[52] because there are 'really good texts' in the textbook on the subject.[53]*

An interesting occasion reflecting the use of institutional trust as a model of verification happened when Ben implied the textbook serves as evidence suitable for proving historical claims true. The class was making a mind map on the chalkboard about the First World War and the features that made it a modern war. For homework, the students were assigned to read the textbook chapter called 'Reasons for the First World War' (Hämäläinen et al., 2011, 148–151) and based on that to come up with reasons to justify the claim of the war being modern. During the lesson, these reasons were listed on the board:

> *Ben asks the class whether there is 'still more evidence the First World War was modern?' One of the students mentions the development of cannons. Ben concurs and explains how they could shoot further and with more precision. Paula adds how 'way more people died' compared to previous wars. (--) The teacher concludes: 'From all of this it followed that the losses were much greater. Maybe now we've proven that the war was modern.'[54]*

The classroom event shows the coming together of two contradicting notions of history education. On one hand, Ben uses disciplinary language (evidence, prove), possibly echoing current educational discourse around the tradition of the disciplinary approach to history education and IBL.[55] On the other hand, the use of the textbook as evidence or proof even in the case that it does not offer contradictory narratives and interpretations, the belief that the textbook contains only truthful information is a clear demonstration of institutional trust. As a result, the language of the disciplinary approach seems to only reinforce the aura of institutional trust around the textbook, especially as science and universities belong to the long list of trusted institutions in Finland (see Poutanen et al., 2020). Therefore, using academic language underlines the authority of the school textbooks. Moreover, by showing such confidence in its contents, Ben extends the same trust he himself enjoys as a representative of the institution to the textbook. As institutions are comprised of individuals, institutional trust is interwoven with trust in said individuals. Citizens typically interact with institutions through

[52] Finnish equivalent for 'bringing coals to Newcastle' or 'bringing pizza to Rome'.
[53] Fieldnotes, 7.12.2017.
[54] Fieldnotes, 2.11.2017.
[55] For further discussion on Ben's relationship to the disciplinary approach, see Chapter 6.

the individuals that represent and work for them (Bornstein & Tomkins, 2015, 2–3). Therefore, these individuals can assume the power of the institution, making it possible for them to assign authority and trust the way Ben does here with the textbook.

Of course, the textbook as a symbol of institutional trust is not solely a result of the teacher's actions. Naturally, history textbooks are made specifically for the use of history education. Therefore, they are used almost exclusively within the school system. Due to this context-specific use, school textbooks, like the teacher, represent the institution. The actions of the teacher then confirm the already established status of the textbook. In fact, the teacher was not only a representative possessing institutional trust in the eyes of the students but was himself influenced by the institutional trust inherent in the textbook. For Ben, the trust in textbooks as having significant, trustworthy information turned into a sense of duty and compliance.[56]

While silence characterised the verification practices for the majority of the school year, there were some exceptions. In November, the class discussed a photograph taken during the Finnish Civil War in 1918.[57] This was one of the rare occasions when a contemporary source was examined in the classroom. Unlike other source materials used thus far, the photograph was subjected to an explicit process of scrutiny and verification. After a short discussion on the content and context of the photo, the teacher invited the students to speculate about the reliability of the source:

> *Ben asks a question about the reliability of the picture, whether the photo is staged and why it was taken in the first place. Although Emma is not raising her hand, Ben directs the question to her. Emma reckons the picture is staged and the person being shot is actually a friend of the shooter. Jesse thinks the victim's head in the picture has been manipulated so it cannot be told apart from the tree. Heidi believes the picture to be real because events like that were common at the time. Sara thinks the photo was war propaganda intending 'to portray the Whites in a bad light'.*
>
> *The teacher continues, asking about the motive for taking the picture in case it was taken by the Whites instead of the Reds. Aaron answers 'The Reds have done something wrong so they're being punished'. Samuel imitates the Whites, saying 'If you don't join us, this is what's gonna happen'.*
>
> *(--)*

[56] Discussed further in subchapter 4.2.3.
[57] Right after gaining independence from Russia, Finland fell into a cycle of confrontation between the socialists ('The Reds') and the middle classes ('The Whites') that, despite its overall short span (from January to May 1918) ended up in the tragic slaughter of approximately 38,000 (many in prisoner camps) in a country with a population of just over three million (e.g. Ihalainen, 2019; Tepora & Roselius, 2014).

Ben repeats the question about the reasons for taking the photo. Paula says it depends on which side took the photo, as the Whites could have taken it to boast and the Reds to show how evil the Whites were. Sara suspects the photo was taken to commemorate the cruel nature of the war and to make sure things like this would never happen again.[58]

Both the teacher and the students questioned the reliability of the source and considered its possible different viewpoints, message and audiences. The photograph called for an interpreter, as it did not involve a readily available narrative. Nonetheless, despite the lengthy conversation[59] about the photograph, this deviation in the practice of silence did not challenge the model of institutional trust. While questioning the individual source, the teacher did not make a connection between the struggle to assess the photo and the knowledge formation process behind textbook contents. Therefore, the students were safe to assume that expert historians figured out the real events and that the teacher presented them with the truth.

The few other occasions the class engaged in an explicit process of verification followed a similar script. Moreover, on the two occasions[60] when a question on the reliability of a used source was presented in an assignment, the responses reflected the use of institutional trust as a model of verification. Overall, many of the students struggled with providing answers, as criteria for assessing reliability had not been discussed in the lessons due to previous reliance on *institutional trust*. For instance, the students suggested the documentary on Nazi Germany was quite reliable 'as the video seems quite real'[61] or 'because it depicted Hitler's character, things he has done'.[62] Some, like Sara here, expressed institutional trust in more direct terms:

I think the documentary is a reliable source but it falls silent on some things like what a brute Hitler was. The documentary seems reliable (old footage) and in my opinion the 'narrator' told the truth and I suspect whether Ben would have shown the documentary if it was completely false.

In both the assignments, students employed institutional trust as a tool for assessing reliability. Another instance of applying institutional trust was in relation to Wikipedia, which most of the students used as their main source of information when they were assigned to do information retrieval and were allowed to use Internet sources. Unlike with many of the other source materials used, the students were aware of the shortcomings of Wikipedia. Several students ranked

[58] Fieldnotes, 27.11.2017.
[59] Around 20 minutes, comprising almost half of the lesson.
[60] First on January 26th (2018) regarding a documentary film on Nazi Germany, and second in February (2018) when students were working on an assignment on European dictators.
[61] Linda's response.
[62] Saul's response.

it as the least reliable source they had used, as 'anybody can write almost anything they like there'.[63] Of course, some assessed it as being reliable without further deliberation,[64] but most acknowledged some problems with its use. Based on my observations, Wikipedia was still used frequently in all the history assignments that allowed using Internet sources. This tension between the popularity of Wikipedia as a source of information and its perceived unreliability reflects the institutionalisation of the web-based encyclopaedia. Throughout two decades, Wikipedia has become a social institution with its own social structure, tools and procedures and rules and norms that guide its existence (Memmi, 2014, 79). Moreover, it has been interconnected with educational contexts from the beginning, as some of its first contributors and readers were students (Davis, 2018, 87). Berger and Luckmann (1967, 131–132) define institutions as repeated social practices and the process of institutionalisation as specific social practices becoming perceived as objective and self-evident. Therefore, the students' seemingly self-contradicting notions on the use of Wikipedia might only reflect the social practices comprising the institution. It is something teachers likely keep warning about but also something everyone still uses all the time. Both the caution voiced and the popularity are then mundane features of the institution.

4.1.3 Trust or authority? The two bases of a hidden epistemology

Using institutional trust as a tool of verification is useful, while as a sole criterion it is perhaps an inadequate means for assessing the credibility of knowledge. As Lowenthal (1996) notes, even the verification process of academic historical knowledge formation relies in part on collegial trust and canonised interpretations of history. Historical research builds upon and is in relation to previous historiography, and historians often need to assume at least the most persistent interpretations are somewhat accurate (Lowenthal, 1996, 120). In Ben's classroom, institutional trust was the only method of verification. Consequently, its use cemented the epistemological belief in the existence of a correct version of history and thus the connection between past life and history. As this notion of historical truth was upheld by the teacher, the textbook and other learning materials, institutional trust reinforced a 'naïve realist' historical culture.

Several features of the Finnish educational system feed into this trust assigned to the institution. First, this trust has to do with teachers, who are professionals with a master's degree as a basic qualification. Teaching has traditionally been a very popular career choice, making entrance to teacher education highly competitive and resulting in having the most skilled and committed applicants. Consequently, the teaching profession in Finland is a respected one comparable

[63] Response from Elsa's, Linda's, Irene's and Laura's group. It was unclear which of them wrote this part of the assignment.
[64] For instance, Anne and Oliver responded that 'I used the textbook and Wikipedia [sic] and the sources were safe' and that 'We used school textbooks, library textbooks and different Internet sources. The school textbooks were the easiest to find information from and the website used was very trustworthy'. Again, it was unclear which of the two students wrote which response.

to the medical and legal professions (Sahlberg, 2015; Valtonen, 2013, 165). Like in other Nordic countries, the Finnish educational system is structured on the ideal of school for all, meaning the state offers free education for everyone regardless of their background, abilities or place of residence (Blossing et al., 2014). In Finland, differences in the quality of schools are the smallest in the world, and as Finland's PISA success suggests that quality is quite satisfactory (OECD, 2009; OECD, 2018). Naturally, the good international reputation engendered by the PISA results has further fortified the trust in the system.

Also noteworthy is the nature of the educational system, which since the 1980s has been characterised as being built on a culture of trust (OECD, 2014, 176). This refers to a practice where teachers in collaboration with principals, parents and their respective communities are trusted to have the needed insight to provide quality education to students. This trust is expressed through the provision of school-level decision-making possibilities and broad teacher autonomy in terms of curriculum design, choosing teaching methods and materials and the absence of surveillance and accountability measures. For instance, there is no auditing, and the only standardised test students take is the National Matriculation Examination at the end of upper secondary school (Tirri, 2014; Toom & Husu, 2012). Therefore, institutional trust in schools is constructed by showing trust in the people who constitute the institution. The culture of trust extends to higher education as well, as universities have freedom in designing their own curricula (Tirri, 2014).

In the broader scope of things, institutional trust in Finland is of course a by-product of certain historical developments. Simola (2005) suggests Finnish culture has a somewhat inherent authoritarian, obedient and collectivist mentality. He suggests three historical reasons for this. First, there is the legacy of the wars of the 20th century. Being able to move on from the collective trauma of the devastating Civil War in 1918 to compose a united front in the Winter War against the Soviet Union in 1939 fed into 'a drift to social consensus' (p. 457). Second, Simola notes the country's relatively late and speedy industrialisation process, resulting in the co-existence of an agrarian, collectivist mentality and an industrial, individual mentality. Third, Simola points to the late establishment of compulsory schooling in 1921 and the birth of the comprehensive 'school for all' system that followed in the 1970s. Implemented rather rapidly and systematically, Simola notes the totalitarian manner in which the current school system came into being (Simola, 2005, 475–478).

Overall, many attributes engender institutional trust and thus enable its use as a model of verification. It is necessary to note these features are not the *cause* of using trust for such purposes but rather a prerequisite. The causes for such practice are likely multitude. First, there is the aforementioned historical culture of 'naïve realism', passing on the tradition of history education as the transmission of a collective memory. Second, teachers' ideas on the nature and purpose of history have been found to be influenced by their family backgrounds and previous experiences of history education (e.g. McCrum, 2010, 105). For instance, Ben noted in an interview how he admired his own history teacher who was a

riveting storyteller.[65] Furthermore, his own teacher training in the 1980s focused on frontal teaching methods.[66] Therefore, the implicitness of epistemological questions is hardly surprising.

Moreover, previous research suggests that 'a hidden epistemology' and verification based on institutional trust might be typical features of history education in Finland. Studies looking at students' abilities to cope with document-based tasks in different stages of the educational system have obtained similar results; a great deal of students read primary sources as neutral informational texts and struggle using them in argument formation (e.g. Rantala & Veijola, 2018, 9, 12; Manninen & Vesterinen, 2017). Of course, these issues are not limited to Finland, and similar phenomena have been documented internationally in countries where curricula promote reasoning with historical sources (e.g. Samuelsson & Wendell, 2016; Harris et al., 2013; Sendur et al., 2020). These findings parallel those regarding teachers' use of historical documents and school textbooks. For instance, Nokes (2010, 2013, 7) found that teachers treat textbooks as informational texts ideal for transmitting information to students. A study by Demircioglu (2010) found that even if primary sources were included in school textbooks, history teachers had difficulty using them appropriately. Van Hover et al. (2016) noted in a study of 35 teachers that historical primary sources were used either decoratively or in a straightforward manner as sources of factual content.

Naturally, institutional trust is not the only route to a hidden epistemology. While being a viable method of verification in the Finnish context, history education following the collective memory approach and thus being silent on matters of knowledge formation can be and has often been grounded not on trust but on authority. After all, history education and the narratives within it are eventually questions of power. For instance, the collective memory approach often aspiring towards national identity formation has been used to maintain and reinforce societal hierarchies and a division between ingroups and outgroups, 'us' and 'them' (Phillips, 2012, 12). The problem, at least from the perspective of those who consider the purpose of history education as inspiring national identities, is that students who do not identify with the presented narrative end up rejecting it. For instance, Wertsch (2000) notes how Estonians in the 1990s often knew the official version of the Soviet-era history portrayed in schools in detail but refused to believe it. Instead, they identified with 'alternative' histories, even when they had a much more fragmented command of those narratives. Similarly, respondents in the study by Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998, 111–113) did not trust school history, as they considered it fake propaganda, biased towards the white middle class. Moreover, the study by Harris and Reynolds (2014) on English history cur-

[65] I inquired about Ben's motivations for his career choice in an email, to which he replied by talking about his grandmother who told him about the 'olden days' and by noting how 'our upper secondary school teacher was inspiring and told us stories, though teaching back then was mainly frontal teaching' (email 22.11.2018).
[66] Interview 26.3.2018: 'We were taught to teach solely as frontal, like this very old style I had experienced during my own school days'.

riculum and its personal connection to students suggested that while white students found pride and points of identification in school history, students from minority ethnic backgrounds had a more detached relationship with the narratives portrayed in schools.

Therefore, the societal context and level of institutional trust influence the credibility of history education based on presenting a single, uncontested narrative. While the current situation in Finland seems to favour using institutional trust as a model of verification, certain societal phenomena—such as the rise of authoritarian populist movements or Euroscepticism—may pose a challenge to this trust (cf. Danaj et al., 2018) and its use. After all, alternative narratives challenging the official versions recited in school history are not completely foreign to Finns either, as before the Second World War school history tended to favour the perspective of the Whites, the victors in the Finnish Civil War (Arola, 2002, p. 17).[67] Moreover, there are already signs that the future of trust in educational institutions is unclear. While maintaining a high level, some recent surveys detect a decrease in trust in the educational system (Kansan Arvot 2015, 2018).[68] Furthermore, while the 2012 study by Fladmoe found practically no political polarisation in Finns' attitudes towards the educational system, recent polls regarding trust in science and tertiary education indicate otherwise, as supporters of the right-wing Finns Party in particular waver in their trust (Kiljunen, 2019). In addition, there are small signs of the erosion of the educational system that may have further consequences for trust. While the overall results still place Finland among the top achieving countries, the latest PISA results show a growing amount of students struggle with reading and natural sciences, a widening gap in competence between the different sexes and some regional differences implying slight inequality in the quality of schools around Finland (OECD, 2018). Of course, as examples from elsewhere in Europe show, the rise of conservatism or authoritarianism may also result in the further downplay of questions of verification or epistemology, as pressure to revive the collective memory approach increases (cf. Ahonen, 2016; Phillips, 2012, 14–15).

Another related question is the diversification of student backgrounds and its role in the future of the collective memory approach. It is certainly easier to legitimise single narratives as trustworthy when the proportion of minorities in the student population is small. However, increases in immigration and the growing public interest in questions of identity and problems faced by minorities might pose a challenge to relying on institutional trust and single-perspective histories. As Rinne (2019, 286) notes, school textbooks in Finland are still grounded on national and Western narratives that tend to other and estrange any minorities. Overall, there is little research on minority students' conceptions of history in the Finnish context. In Virta's (2008, 138–145) study on 36 immigrant students, most participants were content with school history and considered it

[67] However, while some researchers have suggested the 'White narrative' to have endured up until 1970s, Arola suggests this tendency was rather modest, as the national board of education wished to alleviate the inflamed social atmosphere after the Civil War.
[68] In 2015, 91% of citizens trusted the educational system either very much or a fair amount, whereas in 2018 the figure was 80%.

trustworthy even though it discussed history from a specific Finnish viewpoint and sometimes contradicted some of the interpretations students had assumed from their families. However, as public discourse on the role of immigrants and other minorities in Finnish society has heated up during the past decade due to refugee crises and populist movements' response to them, it might be worthwhile taking another look at how students from differing backgrounds relate to school history and the narratives it portrays. Such research might give answers about whether issues detailed in the above-discussed studies by Wertsch (2000), Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) and Harris and Reynolds (2014) already affect Finnish schools.

4.2 'Getting through': Conceptions of time informing structure and purpose

Next, I will consider the role of temporal models in the enacted history curriculum in Ben's classroom. When analysing propositions regarding the concept of history, I found several time-related ideas that more or less defined the structure that history took in the enacted curriculum. For instance, history as a school subject was about 'getting through' history, suggesting a form of linear movement. However, history also 'repeated itself', implying a cyclical notion of time. In this chapter, I examine the role of these temporal models in the formation of the enacted curriculum. While the starting point of the exploration was in such statements about the relationship of history and time, I extended the analysis of temporal models to the collected classroom materials. Shore (1996, 61) discusses different temporal models as shared frameworks within which individuals can orientate themselves in relation to others and the environment. In accordance, in this chapter I also explore how the temporality of history interacted with the temporal conditions of the school, together creating a kind of guide map coordinating the contents of each history lesson and course.

Such an analysis of temporal ideas assumes time is a cultural construct. Previous research on time and schooling supports such an assumption. Researchers have suggested the school experience is defined by a linear conception of time, the time of the clock and the calendar. It positions students and teachers under the same temporal structure, where lessons, breaks, work and holidays alternate (Adam, 1995, 61). Within this structure, personal notions of time appear; teachers spend their free time doing work to get exams marked on time, while students struggle with boredom perpetrated by lessons that seem to have slowed down or even stopped time (cf. Gordon, 1999, 102–103; Paju, 2011, 281–282). Moreover, time is a key device for the hidden curriculum. For instance, teachers can use time as a reward by ending the lesson before the school bell rings or dedicating part of the lesson to fun activities or a punishment by having detention (Laine, 2000, 38–41). As time is conceived as a resource, its allocation indicates hierarchies between different types of knowledge, as different school subjects are granted a

different amount of attention. Furthermore, it normalises a Western conception of time and with it industrial time. The linear, abstract, scientific and impartial time of the clock gives an impression of organising life around work as the natural state of affairs. Learning itself is permeated by time, as the clock sets the ideal pace of learning for each school subject. Students are then assessed based on their achievements within this frame of time (cf. Adam, 1995, 61–68).

Besides determining the structures and hierarchies of schools, temporal notions are of course key features of different conceptions of history and are thus particularly relevant for the structures and hierarchies of this specific school subject. As the history of philosophies of history shows, time and knowledge tend to interlock. For instance, one of the notions of history as perceived by ancient Greeks (much like Christians in the Middle Ages) was that time is a preordained system where divinities determined the passing of events, thus interpreting novel events within this framework (Väyrynen, 2015). While the linear conception of time described in the opening paragraph may appear as neutral and normal compared to the one just described, it is among all other conceptions of time a social construction containing specific values. This is finely reflected in the analysis of the modern time regime by Assmann (2013, 42–45), who identifies the Western conception of time as comprising a discontinuity between past and present, a belief in the acceleration of change and progress and the placement of the source of inspiration and innovation into the human author itself, therefore disregarding traditions and previous authorities. Moreover, it is hardly the only way to perceive time. For instance, time can be construed as cyclical or as an eternity (Grever & Adriaansen, 2017, 83), and these different notions of time can also overlap and be used by the same person to reason about different phenomena (Khalidi, 2002, 54–55).

Schools are then a focal place where students are socialised into a specific temporal mentality. While time allocated to history education is scarce, previous research on history education implies history education alone can influence how students perceive time and its interconnection with knowledge. Barton (2001) studied differences in how students in the US and Northern Ireland understood time and the origins of historical knowledge. The former believed historical knowledge to come into the world via oral transmission from one generation to the next, while the latter could identify several different historical sources. More importantly, the US students perceived history as a linear story of progress and explained change as the result of individual innovation without consideration of the broader social or economic context. Their Irish counterparts instead recognised how change and continuity are interwoven and can exist together, how change can take a different direction or happen at a varying pace in different places and that change happens as a result of both individual and context-dependent reasons (Barton, 2001, 39–41).

Such time-dependent, overarching stories involving values or beliefs have also been discussed using the concept of narrative (e.g. Ricoeur, 1988; Wertsch, 2002). In a sense, at least some of the ideas discussed in the following chapter could have been conceptualised as narratives, as they approach questions related

to national or Western narratives of history. However, I wish to stress the significance of time and temporality. This is because the data gives reason to suggest that it was namely the temporal aspects of history education and schooling in general that were essential in structuring the enacted curriculum. In Ben's classroom, the temporal models of history helped orientate activities within the temporal framework of the school. Notions of time expressed by the participants informed a purpose of history education and served as tools for structuring and organising teaching and learning. Moreover, there was no clear indication that the teacher was committed to specific historical content or narratives, as he noted how the makers of the latest national core curriculum were rather conservative in reforming the listed contents.[69] Therefore, in this chapter I use the concept of temporality and study the temporal models assumed by participants. First, I will look at the workings of the linear notion of time, proceed to the cyclical one and finally look at some consequences resulting from the interaction of the different temporal models.

4.2.1 Linear notion of time as a device for structuring schoolwork

The first temporal model discussed is a linear notion of time, one of the peculiarities of Western historical thinking (cf. Burke, 2002). While the origin of the observation of the existence of the linear nature of history as a cultural model was in statements made in interviews and in the classroom about 'going through' history, they were made in reference to other temporal models. Therefore, they will be discussed further in subchapter 4.2.3, which concerns the relationship between different temporal models and conditions. Here, the presence of the proposition of *history being linear* is reconstructed from other classroom materials, such as exams, other assignments, the learning materials used and the order of topics discussed in history lessons.

As noted, despite its seeming naturalness, the linear notion of time is a cultural construct like any other temporal conception. For instance, Ricoeur (1988, 106) relates how all calendrical systems have a founding event that determines the moment in reference to which every other event is dated, such as the birth of Christ. Moreover, Assmann (2013) describes such a notion of time as perceived as having the shape of an arrow, reaching 'irreversibly from the past to the future'. Grounded in the measuring techniques introduced in natural sciences, the linear conception of time has obtained the status of being natural and neutral, independent of cultural constructions (Assmann, 2013, 42). Furthermore, Adam (1995, 29) suggests this conceived neutrality has been exploited to construct otherness between Western culture and other cultures, as cyclical and mythical notions have been acknowledged as features belonging solely to 'traditional' cultures having yet to achieve the benchmark of linear modernity.

In Finland and undoubtedly elsewhere in the world, history curricula have adopted the linear model of time in a taken-for-granted manner. Even though some alternatives to the linear treatment have been proposed (e.g. Ahonen, 2016)

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[69] For further discussion on this, see subchapter 5.2.1.

and thus exist, Finnish history curricula approach time as a non-issue and propose a list of historical events and phenomena in their chronological order. As Marti et al. (2020, 84) argue in their analysis of the latest Finnish national core curriculum for basic education of 2014, this unproblematic stance towards time results in a history section that proposes a Western and European story of progress, starting from the birth of democracy in ancient Greece[70] and reaching its endpoint in the Nordic welfare state. While the 2004 version of the curriculum introduced a notably more detailed list of events and thus similarly assumed a linear model as the structure of history, the story of progress is curiously less evident. This is because it also recognises the dark clouds hovering above the Western narrative, such as the consequences of consumerism for the environment or the polarisation between the wealthy North and the poor South (EDUFI, 2004, 223). However, both curricula assume a linear approach to history, thus making it rather unsurprising that such an approach was a key component in Ben's enactment of the prescribed curriculum.

In Ben's classroom, the linear notion of time was evident in the domination of chronology and causation over other time constructs. This is hardly a surprising feature, as even in pioneering countries teaching historical thinking such as the UK, causation is addressed significantly more often than concepts such as interpretation, significance, continuity and change (Harris & Ormond, 2018, 9). Moreover, Coffin (2006, 136) notes causal explanations are a more esteemed form of historical argument in education, as the demands to produce them increase towards the end of formal schooling. However, the following analysis is less concerned with the sort of arguments that students were expected to provide but focusses more on the role the linear notion of time had in structuring lessons plans, written assignments, exams and consequently the ideas students had about history. Later in chapter 4.2.3, I will also discuss the role of linearity in the overall mission of history education.

The linear notion of time was evident in the way teaching was organised at different levels. To begin, the timetable as a whole was structured chronologically. Throughout the school year, students were introduced to (Western) European and Finnish history beginning from the First World War and ending with the first steps of the Cold War. Following the flow of the textbook, the class moved in an orderly fashion from causes to events and to consequences of the major political events of the 20th century. During the first history lesson, Ben introduced the course plan for the autumn semester, which he had split into five themes: 1) the First World War 2) the Russian Revolution 3) Finnish independence and the Civil War, 4) life in Finland in the 1920s and 1930s and 5) problems in the world economy during the 1920s and 1930s. The separation of the Russian Revolution and the Finnish Civil War from the First World War as independent themes reflects a longstanding tradition of school textbooks depicting Finnish

[70] Doing so even though the notion has been contested in the past few decades, as democratic practices have been argued to have existed before and developed in communities around the globe with no connections to or knowledge of the Greek innovation (e.g. Schemeil, 2000; Stasavage, 2020).

history in disconnection from the international context (Ahonen, 2017, p. 129–135). For example, *Forum 7* presents said events in the same order, starting with the causes, events and consequences of the First World War (Chapters 20–22), followed by the Russian Revolution and the independence of Finland (Chapter 23) and finally the causes, events and consequences of the Finnish Civil War (Chapters 24–26) (Hämäläinen et al., 2011, 148–185). Therefore, the textbook and the *institutional trust* it enjoyed had a great influence on the notion of time constructed in history lessons.

The repetitive pattern of causes, events and their consequences did not only determine the course schedule but was also used to structure assignments and exams. For example, the last graded assignment dealing with the Second World War included the following questions:

> *1) What causes can you find for the Second World War?*
>
> *2) Explain why Finland got involved in the war?*
>
> *3) The Axis powers were victorious during the first few years of the war. Find out why that was and give examples of some of the battles they won.*
>
> *4) Describe Finland's battle against the Soviet Union in the Winter War of 1939–1940. What eventually caused the war to end, and how did the Moscow Peace Treaty affect Finland?*
>
> *5) The Allies eventually won the war. Find out which things/events secured their victory in 1945.*
>
> *6) Compared to the Winter War, Finland's position and situation were different during the Continuation War. Explain why this was.*
>
> *7) Do textbook assignments from Chapter 10 OR freely describe what life was like for Finnish people during the war?*
>
> *8) What was propaganda like in WW2?*
>
> *9) Find out what the Holocaust was, why it happened, what happened and what were the consequences of it.*

A similar structure mapping out the chronology/sequence of events applied in exams. For example, the fourth exam covering the Second World War began with a question on Germany's expansion, the formation of alliances, some central developments during the war, German losses, the end of the war and the Allied discovery of the horrors of the Holocaust. Like in the written assignment described above, questions then moved to concurrent events in Finnish history. Student responses to the written assignments reflect the use of a linear notion of time as a tool to structure historical accounts. Some students formulated their

responses into timelines,[71] a form familiar to them from some of the exams and assignments.[72] In an assignment in which students prepared their own research questions concerning the Russian Revolution,[73] all students came up with lists, including questions, enabling them to place causes, events and consequences in order. For example, Laura, Irene and Amanda came up with the following questions:

> *Which year did the revolution begin? Why and how did it begin? Who started it? What happened in the February Revolution? What happened in the October Revolution? What consequences did the October Revolution have? How did the Revolution affect Finland? When did the revolution end?*

Throughout the school year, history was introduced as a sequence of events approaching contemporary times in an orderly, chronological fashion. Chronology, as Butler (2017) suggests, can be defined in multiple ways. Some scholars in the field of history education include a variety of time-related constructs when discussing the development of chronological thinking. For instance, Dawson (2014) pinpoints ideas such as duration, sense of period and sequencing as focal points for developing chronological understanding. Moreover, chronological understanding is considered a baseline for the examination of causation in history. Understanding causation necessitates a realisation of multiple chronologies coming together and making something particular happen (Rogers, 2011; Butler, 2017).

However, in Ben's classroom, and especially in the hands of the students, chronology simply meant the arrangement of events or dates in the order of their occurrence. At times, students would even approach causation as a chronological listing of events in a linear order. Coffin (2006, 136) notes how history textbooks often present causalities in implicit ways by portraying information in the form of timelines or bullet points, forcing the reader to construe the causalities themselves by 'filling in the blanks'. Similarly, the students perceived causalities as an equivalent of chronological order, where causes and consequences bore the meaning of simply having happened before or after an event. This approach was evident in responses to assignments asking for causes or consequences of an event where students did not match the answer to fit the question but rather presented a timeline of events predating or following the event. For instance, in one of the written assignments students needed to answer a question on how different dictators[74] managed to rise to power. Two student responses focussed on presenting aspects that were relevant in terms of the question, while the rest of the

[71] For example, Oliver asks whether it is possible to make the assignment in the form of a timeline. Ben praises Oliver for a 'fine idea' (Fieldnotes, 6.11.2017).
[72] The first and fourth exams included tasks on forming a timeline. There was a small 'off-script' task that necessitated the students make a timeline of the Russian Revolution, and the graded written assignment on the Finnish Civil War had a timeline task.
[73] For a fuller account and discussion of the assignment, see subchapter 5.1.1.
[74] More specifically, Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin.

students provided biographies discussing, among other things, the birth, childhood and school success of each dictator.[75]

The blurring of lines between chronology and causalities was perhaps a result of the purpose and use of causalities mainly as a structuring tool; quite often, reasons for events were listed while their contingencies or significance were left undiscussed. Moreover, as Coffin (2006) suggests, school textbooks often enforce a perception of causalities as inevitabilities, as their complexity and nature is neglected. This implicit approach results in an understanding of the nature of causalities more familiar from natural sciences than history. When constructing causalities in history, the role of happenstance or the unintended consequences of human actions requires consideration. For the people in the past, the future was open and unknown, just as it is for us in the present. Apart from human intentions and actions, there are contextual and non-human factors that require consideration. In addition, there are often several causes of events or phenomena, with differing amounts of significance in terms of the results. (Chapman, 2017, 131; Kalela, 2000, 113–114, 119). The history assignments often noted the possibility of several causes, as the teacher would prompt students to find 'as many reasons as possible'.[76] Otherwise, the presentation of causalities was more reminiscent of causalities in natural sciences, suggesting their straightforward and inevitable nature and thus possibly making the conceptual difference between causes and prior events somewhat obscure.

4.2.2 Lessons of history: a cyclical notion of time

While a linear conception of time determined the structure of history lessons and schoolwork, the purpose of learning history was defined more by a cyclical notion of time. Such a temporal idea was apparent as participants discussed the purpose of history education, suggesting history as a source of lessons due to its repetitive nature. Such repetition or sameness of historical events and phenomena are essential features in cyclical conceptions of time, outweighing aspects such as forward movement and cumulative progress (cf. Coffin, 2006, 98). However, cyclical notions of time do not necessarily exclude such concepts. Instead, linear and cyclical notions of time can co-exist (Khalid, 2002). In fact, as Coffin (2006, 98) notes, historical texts often employ cyclical episodes integrated into linear narratives. These include the use of life-cycle analogies to describe the development of civilisations and presenting the things such as war and conflict as cycles of repeated human activity. Thus, the co-occurrence of a cyclical notion of time together with the already discussed linear approach in the classroom is less surprising than it might first seem.

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[75] For instance, the first lines of a response regarding Hitler by J & L went as follows: 'Adolfus Hitler was born 20th of April 1889 in Braunau-am-Inn in Austria Hungary, and died 30th of April 1945 in Berlin. Adolf was baptised in the Catholic Church as Adolfus Hitler. Adolf's mother pampered him as a child. He was in the village school where he became interested in history. Hitler's mother put him later into a Lambachian monastery school hoping he would become a monk. Later he was expelled after getting caught smoking a cigarette in the monastery area.'
[76] Fieldnotes, 26.10.2017.

This co-existence was first evident in Ben's accounts of history. While a linear conception of time was used to structure lessons and learning tasks, a cyclical conception of time influenced one of the key purposes of learning and knowing history. In interviews, Ben's insights regarding the significance of history reflected the ever-enduring Ciceronian idea of history as *magistra vitae*, a teacher of life, a source of exemplars for making better-informed decisions in the present (e.g. Lowenthal, 1985, 46–47). For him, history accommodated some perspective, as the events taking place in the present are 'not that novel after all'.[77] In addition, history had the potential to help people avoid past mistakes:

> *[Without knowledge of history] we might lose historical awareness, this memory of events, the Holocaust and the like, and then we easily make new mistakes as we have no clue of where we are at, we're just bumbling in the dark. So maybe it [history] sheds some light on things. I'm not claiming it is the only thing that matters, but sometimes it feels like the humankind does not learn anything, and we're going towards another Cold War.*[78]

The idea of history as a teacher of life implies a similarity between past and present, involving the idea of the recurrence of historical phenomena or events. It suggests history repeats itself, thus having the quality of a cyclical notion of time. It suggests the present and the future are determined by, as opposed to resulting from, past events (Grever & Adriaansen, 2017, 82; Hartog, 2015, 73). While being a widely popular view on the significance of history, many historians reject such a role for history. As Barton and Levstik (2004, 75–76) note, the problem arises from the aforementioned determinism inherent in the cyclical notion. From a scholarly viewpoint, all historical events are unique due to the novelty of circumstances, the multitude and combination of causes influencing each situation and the role of the unexpected in life. Consequently, historians such as Tosh (2008) and Hyrkkänen (2011) have argued how history might better serve as a teacher of life if attention is paid to differences instead of similarities. Unlike in the assumption of the repetitiveness of history, here opportunities for agency open up; if things have been different before, then change is possible (Tosh, 2008, 28–29, p. 61; Hyrkkänen, 2011, 257–258).

Regardless of the concern voiced by these scholars, the idea of history as a teacher of life continues to have relevance, not least due to all future-oriented action being somewhat informed by past experience (Barton & Levstik, 2004, 79; Schäfer, 2007, 6–7). Moreover, Assmann (2013) suggests a shift in Western temporality from the 1980s onward implying a new (or perhaps a return to an old) relationship between past and present. With the concept of trauma, past and present have become fused again. Through trauma, past grievances such as colonialism, slavery, genocides and the like persist in the present, forming emotional, moral and even legal ties between past injustices and the need to take responsibility for them in the present (Assmann, 2013, 53). This notion of the significance

[77] Interview, 26.3.2018.
[78] Ibid.

of traumatic events and the responsibility they imply is present in Ben's accounts referring to the threat of repeating the Holocaust or the Cold War.

While having importance for the historical conception of the teacher, the cyclical notion of time had a latent role in the classroom. At times, Ben would provide a historical analogy either pinpointing similarities between past events from different eras or connecting a past phenomenon with current affairs.[79] Otherwise, this notion of history was less evident, possibly influencing the teacher's decision making while remaining somewhat unnoticed by the students. Overall, the students' responses in the interviews align with the findings of previous research probing student ideas on the purpose of history (Harris & Reynolds, 2014, 482; VanSledright, 1997, 535; Haydn & Harris, 2010, 247–248; Fink, 2004, 18; Virta, 2008, 133–134). That is, for the students the relevance of history education was less easy to articulate. Those few who did see a purpose for the subject had a similar take as the teacher. These students saw history as having exemplary power, as they suggested knowing history might help in avoiding some of the mistakes of the past.[80] However, the majority of the students could not explain the purpose of the school subject or offered a tautological argument suggesting history was something people should know about.[81] This was likely because while Ben considered history as a teacher of life, the focus of the lessons was strictly on the past and not on the connections between past, present and the future. Moreover, it is also possible their previous teacher(s) responsible for history education in elementary school had also focused on issues other than the relevance of the school subject, as most of the students were clearly 'ambushed' by the question, having not given much thought to it before the interview.

4.2.3 Temporal models as troublemakers

Throughout the school year, the enacted curriculum took the form of a chronology of events, where causes and consequences worked as a glue connecting the events into the form of a path. For the teacher, this linear notion of time was complemented by a cyclical notion of the repetitiveness of history, informing the purpose of the school subject. The combination of the cultural models provided an

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[79] For instance, on 27.10.2017 Ben told how no one expected the First World War to take four years and made a comparison to Finns' similarly misguided expectations before the Continuation War about how the Soviets would be quickly defeated. On 10.1.2018, Ben suggested the Patriotic People's Movement in the 1930s aimed to abolish democracy within the system through parliamentary procedures. He then compared it with some reservations to 'the current situation'. He left the parallel unspecified but was likely referring to the Finns Party (a right-wing populist party) strengthening their position in the 2016 parliamentary elections.

[80] Altogether, five students (of 22) noted history as a teacher of life. For example, in an interview on 14.12.2017 Elisabeth stated: 'Well, for one it can help us avoid the mistakes that has been done before, back then.' In an interview on 15.12.2017, Julia stated: 'Perhaps it is like, when you know what has happened in the past then you know better not to, like, make the same mistakes and you like understand the current situation better, how things work.'

[81] Seven students could not come up with a reason for studying history, while 10 students said something along the lines of 'it is probably good to know what has happened before' (quote from an interview with Oliver on 14.12.2017).

objective for teaching, where the linear development of history needed to be covered in full during history lessons. On one hand, it was necessary to approach history in chronological order, as that was the nature and order of history as perceived by the participants. On the other hand, there was an abundance of valuable lessons to be learned throughout history. Consequently, the two temporal notions coalesced, as the repetitive nature of history would only become apparent through linear treatment. History education should then present a full sequence of events leading up to the present, an ideal expressed by the teacher as a need to 'get through' certain content:

> *It's a question of time management as well, that I read the self-evaluations then and I assess them and read them, it's a load of work there. So I need to either trim the assignment packages (deep sigh) but I have this… there's just things we need to get through.*[82]

However, the objective of 'getting through' was in contradiction to the temporal conditions offered by school, with the central obstacle being the limited time allocated to history education. In the knowledge hierarchy of school subjects, the respect enjoyed by history is mediocre at best. This is reflected in the Distribution of Lesson Hours, as history education only begins in fourth or fifth grade (compared to religion, for example, which begins in the first grade) and is designated only a few lessons a week (compared to Finnish and math that are granted the majority of the schedule). Therefore, there are rather weak possibilities in getting through history, as long as the knowledge hierarchy remains as it is. This tension between the temporal structures of history and those of the school became painfully evident in February, as the class lost six history lessons due to communal events, namely the school's ice hockey tournament. In a previous interview, Ben had proclaimed to be a proponent of skill-based teaching without the need for 'content-jogging', that is, rushing through the chronology set in school textbooks.[83] With the changing circumstances, Ben suddenly discussed the avoidance of content-jogging as an unrealistic expectation coming from others:

> *After the lesson, I asked the teacher whether he might have time for an interview in the near future. Searching for his calendar, Ben starts talking about how the eighth-grade history course is just about to end and how he is bummed about 'once again' having too little time to address the post-war era. He is frustrated over how 'people talk about' how one should not practice content-jogging, that one should properly*

[82] Interview 26.3.2018.
[83] Interview, 9.11.2017: 'I am trying to get rid of the content-jogging, and I feel like I've managed to do that quite well. We go through what we can, and now there's going to be a lot of other stuff with the Christmas approaching which I probably don't even know about yet so. I don't like to do any exact plans on what we have time for and what we need to have time for. I think that we do proper work on the things we can, and now that were studying the methods and skills then we should do those properly with the themes we have.'

focus on the subject matter at hand. He expresses how he cannot understand how one could possibly 'manage through all the topics' like that. Ben feels guilt over not getting any further in terms of content matter but finds it too difficult to command the slower and weaker students to get their assignments ready on time. He grunts 'sure, we've tried to practise skills too, but I don't know if they've [the students] learned those either'. I attempt to comfort Ben by acknowledging the reality of having to make some hard choices about which content to teach and how other teachers probably struggle with it too. Ben concurs and tells of 'all the other teachers' who agonise and how there is always this 'rush to get through content.'[84]

Holstein and Gubrium (1995, 74) note how in interviews participants can switch position from comment to comment and respond to different questions and different situations from different perspectives. Here, Ben seems to have done just so. In the interviews that were more formal in nature, he may have presented a more idealistic stance, perhaps attempting to respond to my expectations. However, in this more spontaneous chatter taking place under stress due to the unexpected time pressures, a practical voice grounded not on the ideal but on the reality experienced appears. Strauss (2005) suggests people express their cultural positioning on public ideas in emotive ways, for instance by taking a defensive stance on presented ideals and expectations, a 'general' understanding of how things ought to be. If cultural models are typically latent, public ideas expressed in social discourses are explicit and aware of competing belief systems (Strauss, 2005, 203–204). In the conversation described above, skill-based teaching (i.e. the disciplinary approach) is considered the opponent and an ideal set by outsiders, whereas the teacher community is the underdog having to manage with unrealistic expectations. What seems to take place here is the coming together of a public idea and a cultural model. The disciplinary approach is explicitly noted as a challenger, but the need to get through history is left unscrutinised due to its status as an internalised cultural model. Therefore, the job as perceived by the teacher is not to choose between the two approaches but to manage both of them, to marry the newcomer to what nonetheless needs to be done.

It should be noted that getting through history was not a curricular demand, as assessment in the subject was focused on historical skills. Moreover, neither the 2004 nor the 2014 curriculum demand that the suggested contents be covered in whole or in a strict chronological order. Therefore, the ideal of 'getting through' shows the interaction between different cultural models informing history education—the two temporal models and the models discussed in the first subchapter, the idea of the existence of a single history presented in the school textbook. There was a specific historical narrative in need of a chronological approach to highlight the repetitiveness and thus the lessons of history. The need to execute a strict chronological walkthrough was likely promoted by the textbook but was

[84] Fieldnotes, 14.3.2018; for a discussion on Ben's conception of historical skills, see subchapter 6.1.

also a more broadly defining feature of the school subject, as the need to repeat and stick to a linear handling of history throughout different activities, such as assignments and exams, suggests.

However, the dilemma of getting through known history (whatever that is understood to involve in each educational setting) within the temporal frame assigned by the educational system is a familiar and old one, further testifying to its status as a shared model, even crossing national borders. As Cannadine et al. (2011) show in their research on the history of history education in England, discussions on history teaching throughout the 20th century have time and time again returned to the question of the possibility and sensibleness of attempting to rush through history (Cannadine et al., 2011, 27, 99). The impossibility of the endeavour became evident in Ben's classroom as well, as history came to a halt at the beginning of the Cold War, the point of the chronological walkthrough where the time offered by the school ran out. From the teacher's perspective, this was a recurring failure, as the number of lower secondary school history lessons was never enough for him to make it to the 'end' of history.

A glance at current knowledge on Finnish history teachers' conceptions of the objectives of history education gives reason to suspect there is a decent number of teachers who share the pressure of 'getting through' history. Surveys conducted within the past decade show a significant focus on historical content knowledge. For instance, Rautiainen et al. (2020) found that around half of the history teachers studied considered the command of the main lines of Finnish and world history as one of the most important objectives and that nearly all teachers focus assessment on the recall of content knowledge regardless of what they considered the main objectives of history education. Moreover, Rantala and Ouakrim-Soivio (2018, 12) found many teachers provide comments on content knowledge when asked about the essential objectives of history education, despite the National Core Curricula of 2004 and 2014 making a clear distinction between the two. A similar result was found in a background survey of a nationwide assessment of learning outcomes in history and social studies when teachers were asked to name the central learning objectives of both subjects. Around one third of the respondents either did not give an answer to the question regarding objectives or provided a list of historical content knowledge (Ouakrim-Soivio & Kuusela, 2012, 34).

Ben's concern over 'getting through' history is in alignment with Hargreaves' (1995, 95) notion of time being a fundamental framework through which teachers interpret their work and its possibilities and limitations. In school subjects such as history, where not only schools' temporal realities but also the temporal dimensions of the discipline itself need to be considered, time and temporality can become central benchmarks for assessing how one manages and succeeds as a teacher. Moreover, as Rautiainen et al. (2019) note, schools have sediments from different eras of history that manifest in daily routines that are repeated with very little thought designated to assessing their meaningfulness. While curricular reforms are often grounded on the expectation that such elements are reconsidered and possibly even tossed aside, Ben's outburst regarding

the impossibility of both 'getting through' while also teaching historical skills and stopping 'content-jogging' suggests the co-existence of different traditions of history teaching. Therefore, the perceived challenge comes less from reforming one's practices but from trying to incorporate the previous sediments into the new current of history education within the same, inflexible temporal frame designated to the school subject.

4.3 Expert historian as an ideal of competence: between two variations of a prototype

In *Building students' historical literacies* (2013, 27) Jeffery Nokes talks about a study with 30 fifth graders who were asked to describe the work of historians. The students reckoned historians likely peruse Wikipedia, watch history documentaries or listen to lectures. Nokes concluded that the students had no idea how historical research is conducted or how historical knowledge came into being. However, what the students did have was an idea, a stereotype, of the qualities of an expert historian. Stereotypes are usually understood as shared generalisations people make about members of groups other than their own (Rinehart, 1963, 137). Thus, they reflect common elements of experience that still involve variance, as individuals' experiences with different groups or issues tend to differ in how direct or intense they are (cf. Kronenfeld, 2008, 35). These oversimplified representations work as a tool for sense-making, as they help to reduce information overload and therefore save both time and energy in sorting out everyday situations. Therefore, they are a necessary device for working out explanations but also have their dangers in creating false images or misunderstandings (McGarty et al., 2002, 4–5; Jacob, 2017, 8).

The stereotype reflected by the students in Nokes' study referred to someone with encyclopaedic knowledge of historical events, people and phenomena. In this chapter, I suggest the students in Ben's classroom perceived historical expertise in a similar manner, that is, as the capability to provide accurate and often trivial information on any given past event with ease. The analysis is based on the third group of distinct propositions (alongside epistemology and time) implied in participants' discussions regarding history— the ways of knowing and learning history. During classroom events and in interviews, participants suggested history was about *remembering*, *sticking* historical facts *into the mind* and forming a *memory bank*. Based on such propositions, I reconstructed a cultural model informing competence and expertise in history. For students, the model used to reason about the school subject was a stereotype of a historian—someone that understands historians as living and breathing historical archives carrying a broad collection of specific historical information in their heads. In the classroom environment, the stereotype carried power in guiding the students in their assessments of appropriate learning methods or in judgements of themselves as learners.

While Ben's students held onto a stereotype, the teacher was informed by a slightly different variation of a similar prototype of historical expertise. To help the reader keep up with whose variant of the prototype is referred to in each moment, I will continue to discuss the prototype used by the students as a stereotype and will refer to the prototype applied by the teacher as an exemplar. Like stereotypes, exemplars are prototypes, simplifications providing examples of the best and the worst course of action in specific situations. Hence, they set ideals and expectations, and define what is to be considered 'normal' within different contexts (Shore, 1996, 64–65). The difference between the ideals assumed by the teacher and the students was the depth of purpose inherent in each model. The exemplar, constructed through years of academic training in the subject, involved ideas on the use and worth of a deep historical understanding. The stereotype the students' relied on, however, was a stripped-down version of this. It only acknowledged some superficial attributes deduced from representations of historians and historical knowledge in products of historical culture, like the 'talking heads' familiar from historical documentaries or the trivia output of Wikipedia articles.

In this chapter, I examine the use and consequences of these two cultural models of historical expertise in Ben's classroom. To begin, I look at how the stereotype of historical expertise was used to define the features of a good response to an assignment, working as an assessment tool used by both Ben and the students. Then I examine how the models informed the process of teaching and learning history, here called the construction of memory archives, and how students determined their learner identities in connection with this practice. Moreover, I argue that while the teacher's aims might have been inspired by the exemplar, from the point of view of the enacted curriculum his practices helped reproduce and reinforce the stereotype. Finally, I take a step out of the classroom to discuss the role of situated cognition in the broader production and reproduction of the cultural stereotype.

4.3.1 Quantity and specificity as tools of assessment

Whether students aimed for a higher grade or merely tried to get the work done, they invested in two attributes—the quantity and specificity of historical facts. This tendency to use the stereotype as a resource to orient action became most apparent in assignments where students were able to use the textbooks or some Internet sources, as they could access information that surpassed their memorisation abilities. Therefore, students could deliver the ideal, information-packed responses as suggested by the stereotype. For example, following is the full response from Samuel, Jasper and Joel regarding the question of how Joseph Stalin managed to rise to power:

> *Stalin was a born and raised Georgian and his native language was Georgian. He spoke Russian with a Georgian accent. His father was a shoemaker, who was quite successful, but later on had problems with alcoholism, which caused his family's' living standards to drop a great*

deal. Stalin experienced constant violence from his parents. He lived in the city of Gori in Georgia. He is known to have applied several times for a school for the sons of priests and bishops. In 1888 he got in to the spiritual school of Gori where he was top of his class for four years. From there he went to Tbilisi spiritual seminary, where he was told to read with more passion but it turned him into an atheist already in the first year. He had fierce debates with religious people. He got acquainted with Marxism, which is why he got expelled from the seminar in 1899. Stalin was a founder of the Tbilisi committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. He was its active supporter at first. Many of the committee members were imprisoned and deported. Stalin fled to the Batumi seaport, where he agitated workers to strikes and violent demonstrations. He was imprisoned for the first time in 1902. In 1903 he was deported to Siberia. He tried to escape but failed, but he only managed to escape in 1904 all the way to Tbilisi. He met Lenin for the first time in Tampere in 1905. He used a pseudonym there, as in Stockholm and London later in 1906-1907. The pseudonym was Ivanovitš. Stalin's first missions at Lenin's command was to figure out how to get food to cities. Stalin also led the Red Army troops near Tsaritsyn. In spring 1922 Stalin was nominated as the General Secretary of the Bolshevik party. A moment before Lenin's death in 1923 Stalin, Grigory Zinoviev and Lev Kamenev founded Politburo to stop Trotsky from ascending to the party leadership. After Lenin had died, the party held a meeting in 1924 and Stalin remained as the General Secretary and gained all the power to himself.[85]

The expectation the students had was that investing in both quantity and specificity indicated expertise. In other responses regarding the rise to power of different dictators, students mentioned bits of information such as 'Mussolini got excellent grades in pedagogy, languages and Italian literature'[86] or how Hitler was 'talented but lazy' and 'enjoyed drawing, painting and the opera'.[87] As mentioned, the stereotype of an expert historian was not only a resource for the high achievers, but also informed the reasoning of students whose goal was simply to get a passing grade. Therefore, the stereotype offered a strategy for completing assignments regardless of the quality of one's personal learning goals. Below is a response to a task in which students were to provide a description of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The students had three lessons and access to textbooks and the Internet to complete the assignment. The response by Oliver and Elsa reflects an ideal where the core of history is less about issues such as meaning or significance and more about the details—dates, names and some events.

[85] In addition, the response is a prime example of equating causes with the preceding events, see chapter 1.3.
[86] From the response provided by Leo, Aaron and Saul.
[87] From the response provided by Elisabeth, Heidi, Paula and Sara.

Beginning and end: Beginning March 8th 1917. End November 8th 1917.

Civil War: 1918-1920. The red army fought several Russian and foreign armies. Ended in Bolshevik victory 1920.

Consequences for Finland: Finland gained independence in December 1917. The tsar of Russia Nikolai II was replaced in the February revolution. Russification in Finland ended. Finland regained its autonomy, but there was unrest in the country. Finnish Civil War began.

Parties: Russian empire, Russian provisional government, Petrograd soviet, Bolsheviks, other revolutionaries

Commanders: Nikolai II, Georgi LVOV, Aleksander Kerenski. Vladimir Lenin, Lev Trotski, Lev Kamenev.

Independence of Finland: In December 1917, the Parliament received a declaration of independence to consider. After the Bolshevik Revolution Finland disengaged quickly. Finns realised that the turmoil in Russia made independence possible.

How it ended: Civil war began because of the riots.

How it began: The angry people started rioting on the streets of Petrograd (February). The people did not trust the tsar. People were poor. Only some knew how to read. People were angry.

Consequences: In February, power was passed to the provisional government. New government. Finland gained independence.

Using this ideal of specificity and quantity of historical facts as a tool of assessment was reflected in student reasoning in the classroom as well. The big question in terms of the written assignments was about the responses being 'enough' in either content or length. The students assessed their own and each other's competence in history based on the ideal of quantity, that is, the amounts of text they were able to produce.[88] Therefore, having 'enough' was also a source of uncertainty. In an interview, Maria and Julia mulled over the criteria of a good response. Because the stereotype encouraged quantity and therefore lengthy responses, only noting the 'most important point' came across as failure.

Maria: There was like a question about why there was a Finnish and a German soldier in the postcard, and we were like, well I don't know

[88] Fieldnotes, 10.11.2017: I can hear one of the girls commenting on some other student's work, sounding both amazed and upset: 'You've got crazy amounts of text!' (--) A group of boys keeps asking the teacher 'Is this enough?' Ben replies that a part of doing history is making the decision that this is enough, that now we have all we need. The teacher turns the question back to the boys, asking 'Well, what do you think, is it enough?'

(laughs) Germany was involved in it, the Civil War, but. I don't know, everyone else wrote like long responses and explanations.

Julia: Yeah, it's like what do we need there and what don't we. It's not clear at all, like how much you need to explain, what are all the things you need to put there. I don't know how to pick like what's important and what needs to be written, and if you only write the most important point, then it's a little short like you don't know if it's enough.[89]

Maria and Julia note one of the reasons the stereotype was so influential. As criteria for a good response in history or the elements of historical explanations were not discussed in history lessons, students needed something on which to ground their responses. Therefore, there was a demand for the stereotype of expertise in history, as it provided guidelines for action—the pursuit of quantity and specificity. Nevertheless, for some, like Maria and Julia, the stereotype caused confusion. Simply providing answers to questions seemed insufficient in history, as the responses needed to be lengthy as well. While the stereotype suggested quantity as a virtue, it provided little information about the relationship between the historical questions posed and the expected plethora of historical facts. Like archives, the stereotype of expert historians included the possession of fragmentary information rather than carefully constructed historical knowledge.

Overall, students' reasoning reflected a conception of learning history as the ability to exhibit it (cf. Barton & Levstik, 2004). Moreover, historical expertise was presented as a question of length and detail rather than of depth and meaning. While such a conception of history was most likely not what Ben aimed for,[90] his instruction and assessment practices fed into the stereotypical notion of historical expertise. Being educated in history and an enthusiastic consumer of historical non-fiction,[91] Ben himself had a grounded understanding of the meaning and role of historical facts in historical explanations, conceiving of them as more than disconnected trivia. However, there were several practices reinforcing the stereotype the students employed. Besides the nondisclosure of the elements of a solid historical explanation as suggested by Maria and Julia in the previous excerpt, there were more proactive measures encouraging investment in quantity and specificity. For instance, Ben would promote a focus on quantity in student work by urging students to provide as much information in their responses as possible:

Ben instructs the students: 'You should start from the textbook and then add things from Internet sources.' The mission is to "find as

[89] Interview, Maria & Julia 15.12.2017.
[90] A further discussion on this appears in the following subchapter.
[91] In our first interview, Ben accounted for reading historical non-fiction, historical novels, books about art and poetry among other things. He noted being an enthusiastic reader: 'I read several books alternately, I have about four or five books that I read, so I take a pile of books next to me, read one [book] for a while, then I might go and walk around a bit, and then I take the next one.'

> *many reasons as possible'. (--) The teacher tells the students who already finished reading the chapter to also 'Google it' because there might be something on the Internet that the authors of the textbooks 'didn't remember to add to the book'. (--) Ben now recommends the whole class to search 'First World War' or 'reasons for the First World War' on Google in case there was something the authors of the textbook 'didn't realise to include in the book or left out for some reason'.*[92]

Therefore, Ben set quantity as an ideal for the students to strive for. His assessment practices similarly reflected this ideal. As discussed in Chapter 4.1, the exam questions demanded detailed memorisation backed up by corresponding marking practices. While Ben often marked exams with mere points and a symbol indicating either a right or a wrong answer, there were occasions when he provided brief written feedback as well. For instance, Ben returned the written assignments on the Finnish Civil War filled with additions to content and requests to 'be more specific'.[93] Therefore, while the teacher perhaps leaned on a more developed idea of historical expertise, the actual practices taking place in the classroom supported the notions related to the stereotype.

Barton and Levstik (2004, 7–8) describe combinations of purpose and practice in history education with the concept of 'stance' and identify four different stances to teaching and learning history—identification stance, analytical stance, moral stance and exhibition stance. The stereotype discussed in this chapter bares much resemblance to the exhibition stance. The exhibition stance refers to the display of historical information as an educational goal in itself. Barton and Levstik note different variations of this stance, namely exhibition for personal fulfilment, exhibition as accountability and exhibition as service to others. The first one is often realised on occasions when someone in the classroom takes over the space by presenting a monologue on trivial historical information to show their ability in the subject. The second one refers to perceiving the ability to exhibit historical information as a sign of actually learning history, a form typically taking shape as content-driven exams or standardised testing. The last one can take a various forms, although in a classroom setting the most familiar form is

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[92] Fieldnotes, 26.10.2017.
[93] In addition, the summary feedback Ben wrote on the last page of each response sheet focussed on the specificity of the provided historical accounts. Besides reinforcing the stereotype, the assessments reflect *history as a fact* and present history as a single closed system, a big picture that students need to piece together. For instance, Vanessa and Emma received the following assessment: 'On average, the responses are adequate. The big picture has gaps in it, especially in terms of causes and events. Consequences are presented with better specificity. Quite a bit still needs to be specified, which refers to the technique used in reading and researching sources. Persistent examination needs to be practiced. Long-term focus still needs rehearsing, but it is getting better.' The responses by Jasper and Aaron also lacked specificity: 'The responses have potential for being really good, but then there are a few responses with gaps in them, especially the timeline assignment. The big picture is quite okay, but some sections need to be more specified. At times, there was some attempt in the groups' work, but then the focus was lost. In my opinion, it explains the gaps in the responses. Well, the group made a choice between diligent work and chatting with neighbours. There was potential for a better grade.'

oral presentations (Barton & Levstik, 2004, 111–114, 123–124). Based on the analysis here, events falling into the category of the exhibition stance (whether taking place in a classroom or elsewhere) are likely grounded on the stereotype of historical expertise discussed in this chapter, as the stereotype involves the ability to internalise and recall all known history down to the detail. As such, it informed the characteristics of someone most competent in history, therefore serving as a suitable guidepost for assessing performance. In Ben's classroom, both the students and the teacher used the stereotype to estimate the quality of students' work. Its use was most notable in student responses to assignments and exams, as they can be expected to reflect student perceptions of the criteria for a solid response.

4.3.2 Constructing memory archives

The participants' ideas about historical expertise influenced the overall purpose of history education. The key to being an expert in history was remembering as much historical information as possible. An expert historian does not constantly reach for their phone to check Wikipedia for facts but uses what Burke (2016, 54) describes as the oldest form of retrieval, one's memory. All participants discussed the role of memory in history education, with differing insights. Ben, leaning on an exemplar, a more developed notion of historical expertise, considered the applicability of historical memory in societal life. Historians can use their historical memories to summon a perspective, a framework for examining and debating societal phenomena. Students relying on the stereotype of historians as living archives of fragments of information focussed more on the challenges of storing those fragments. The connectivity between the fragments and their further use was elusive.

The teacher described the purpose of history education as developing a historical memory. Ben noted history as 'memory of the nation and mankind' and a 'memory bank'.[94] While math teachers could argue the relevance of their subject in exact concrete terms such as 'when you go to H&M you can use math to count the discounts',[95] Ben explained history as a memory and hoped students would still have such a memory once they grew up.[96] Moreover, he compared someone void of historical memory as an 'amnesiac (--) who lives in the moment and does not necessarily understand everything that is happening'.[97] In conjunction, he

[94] Interview, 26.3.2018.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.: 'I hope that (--) they would have this sort of a memory still, when they are adults.'
[97] Ibid.: In addition, Ben gave an almost identical account in the first interview (9.11.2017): 'Well I like to perceive it as, or I consider it like history is like a memory. That's how I've tried to explain it to students when they… because they do ask it every now and then, why we need to study this. And I've always compared it to math how I can't give them this exact thing like when you go to H&M you can count the discounts and all that with math. But that history is more of this memory thing, so that we would not do the same [mistakes] and that we would learn something from history and see that when all these revolutions and the like are happening, that they've happened before.'

also noted ideals of 'liberal education' and 'uomo universale' in both of which historical knowledge plays a significant part.[98]

While the purpose of history was in the ways it could be used to make sense of the contemporary, the activities in history lessons focussed on getting familiar with the information needed for such use. The lessons followed a script characterised from here on as the *construction of memory archives*. In the cultural models theory (or in anthropological and ethnographical studies in general), script refers to a group of activities typical for repetitive, ordinary activities that people do without having to ponder on them, as if the situations were scripted (Kronenfeldt, 2008, 68–69). As an example of the workings of a cultural script in an educational context, Hess and Azuma (1991, p. 6) examined general patterns of American and Japanese science education. They found the first to follow a script characterised by the scholars as 'quick and snappy' and the latter as 'sticky probing'.[99] In 'quick and snappy' American classrooms, lessons were divided into small sections and concepts to be quickly mastered and identified as correct terms, concepts or procedures, whereas in Japan teachers provided students with ostensibly small problems to be examined extensively from various perspectives.

The script of the observed history lessons was grounded on routine repetition of topic selection, retrieving, storing and confirming historical information. The construction of memory archives started by retrieving and selecting information from a textbook-determined topic, after which students preserved the information by writing it down on paper, quite often as straightforward copies from the original source. The last stage of constructing the memory archive was confirmation through testing, where the teacher made sure all the necessary information had been relocated in students' memories.[100] Even if students had the possibility to use other information sources for the written assignments, the exams necessitated acquainting oneself with the textbook chapters. It was a way to brush up the storing of information into one's memory but also a means for avoiding central pitfalls—possible errors and distortions—in the formation of a historical memory.

> *Ben: But I am deeply aware that history is being used to manipulation and memory can distort, so I'm not that wide-eyed. I've read some news lately how history is being used as a political tool and that's when you go to something wholly different than actual remembering.*

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[98] Interview, 26.3.2018.

[99] See also Shimizu (2011), who employed the study by Hess and Azuma for a further analysis of foundational cultural models informing the educational process of children in these countries. In the article, Shimizu argues the scripts are education-specific reflections of the ideals of interactional relativism and unilateral determinism inherent in respective societies.

[100] This goal was reflected by the testing itself but also by the instructions given to students for preparing for the exam: 'Ben emphasises how the makers of the textbook to have wanted to help students by bolding the most essential points. Therefore, students can rehearse by focusing only on those bolded lines. Ben recommends the students to take some breaks while reading for their brains to rest and process information.' (Fieldnotes, 23.11.2017).

(--) They [the students] become easy to manipulate [if they don't know history].[101]

The argument behind the script assumed that once the memory archives were constructed, the students would figure how to use this information storage in exemplary ways, similar to expert historians. While some students recognised history as having applicability for life in the present, most students struggled with making a connection between their lives and the information stored in the memory archives (see subchapter 4.2.2). These students engaged in a construction of a memory archive as informed by a stereotype rather than an exemplar of an expert historian. As a stereotype is an oversimplified list of qualities, it provides no information on the purposes of having a memory archive (other than if one wants to be a historian, then one must have such a memory). The exemplar is more developed in this sense, suggesting historical knowledge to offer the ability to participate in societal analysis. The stereotype, however, merely implies the existence of an information load stored in the minds of historians. Therefore, the students leaning on the stereotype focussed on challenges posed by the construction of the archive, while having little to say about the meaning and objectives of the process. Many described learning history as an act of getting particular fragments of history to 'stick' in their minds:

Sara: And then just reading the chapters, I think Forum [the school textbook] is really good or like it's so intelligible with the bolded words with the central points and then the 'remember' –note with all the main points. So, I like to just read, and that's how like… they stick in my mind.

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Anne: I probably learn best by listening, things stick in my mind the easiest if Ben just explains them, so maybe… that's how they stick in my mind the best.

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Aaron: Or then like after you've read it and then if someone quizzes you and if you like give a wrong answer, then it sticks to your mind, like then you remember it easier in the exam.

For these students, the objective of education equated with the process of getting something to stick in their minds. The students used the stereotype to assess not only their responses to assignments but themselves as learners of history. Stereotypes have been described as cognitive anchors that are used to make a new environment comprehensible and that help individuals to anchor themselves into a social landscape. Moreover, stereotypes help clarify one's identity and values, as they work as tools for identification, pinpointing similarities and

[101] Interview, 26.3.2018.

differences between groups and individuals (Rapport & Overing, 2007, 394). Here, the students defined their relationship to history in reference to the stereotype, forming their learner identities based on their ability to memorise detailed information. Some compared history to other school subjects where one could simply learn an equation or a grammatical rule and apply it to several different cases. However, history was more difficult due to the need to make detailed and particular information stick in the mind. For instance, Maria considered being 'way better' in math, where 'you just learn how to calculate some equation, and then you can calculate all of them', whereas in history there was a 'need to remember all the years, when things happened, all of this'.[102] Some students considered history easy because history was interesting to them. Interest or the lack of it was a key for success in history, as it made memorisation of detailed information either easy or impossible.[103] Others, like Linda, figured they were not good in history due to limited storage room: 'I can't help it, I just have too small brains to fit anything in them!'[104]

The analysis conducted here shows Ben and the students working from different frameworks. Ben, having constructed his conception of history and its purpose throughout years of academic training amongst other expert historians, thought the students should have the opportunity to develop a historical memory to have some perspective. However, the students tackled the curriculum with a partial image of such historical expertise, possibly scraped together from a variety of clues provided in encounters with products of historical culture, such as Wikipedia pages with an overabundance of details and trivia or the talking heads of history documentaries able to relate a wide array of knowledge by heart.

Moje (2008, 101) suggests students need to acquire an identity necessary for accessing the school subject to become a person able to learn, use and value the knowledge domain. On a similar note, Hirst (2007) discusses how students need to re-construct their identities to participate in the official scripts of learning in schools. Thus, learning history is about forming an identity of someone able to

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[102] Samuel and Saul also discussed the difficulty of history. Samuel stated: '[it is difficult] because you need to remember so many different things, but it's easier if you're interested in it, then it's easier to remember…'. Saul stated: 'Let's just say, you need to use your head in history, think about things and remember them. So it's not like in mother tongue where you learn one thing and then you know all the words that are in the same way so you can do them like with that same [one].' Laura and Irene offered a similar account. Laura said: 'If you compare it [history] to math, for example, then like there [in history] is so much more things. And they're like, you can't learn them if you're not interested at all.' Irene said: 'Yes and especially like all the dates and so, they're quite hard to remember.'

[103] Heidi and Sara discussed interest as a key method for learning.
Heidi: 'I think it's like easy [learning history].'
Sara: 'Yes.'
Heidi: 'Or maybe it's because we're interested in it. It would be more difficult if we weren't interested.'
Sara: 'Yes, if we like didn't attend classes or if we didn't listen at all during the lessons.'
Heidi: Right.
Sara: 'It would be quite hard.'

[104] Fieldnotes 9.3.2018.Students were working on the written assignment on the Second World War. Linda was getting frustrated over working on the assignment for hours without getting much of anything on the paper. She then deduced having 'small brains' as the reason for failing in history.

learn history. This identity construction takes place in social comparison, where the students assess their own capabilities compared to others managing the same tasks. Moreover, these self-schemas are formed based on one's previous experiences deriving from one's sociocultural and historical context, such as symbols provided in the media and popular culture (Markus & Nurius, 1986, 954–955). In Ben's class, the students modelled their behaviour in reference to a stereotypical notion of historical expertise, as this notion was the one available to them through the cultural clues discussed above. In addition, they evaluated their own performance in a double reflection with the performances of other students, as they not only compared their work to those of others but assessed the quality of others' work in reference to the stereotype (see pp. 106–107).

Brown et al. (1989) discuss cognition as situated and therefore place emphasis on the importance of the contextual elements in learning. They note how academic disciplines form their own subcultures that are bound together by shared beliefs central in understanding the activities taking place within these cultures. In schools, however, students are often required to engage in these disciplinary activities without the surrounding belief systems from which they originate (Brown et al., 1989, 33–34). Therefore, the students in Ben's class tried to access the discipline without knowledge of the practices, values or discourses of the community engaged in doing the discipline. Moreover, the teacher's practices—perhaps aiming for depth of knowledge as suggested by the exemplar—such as the demand for specificity in assignment responses were interpreted from the framework of the stereotype, prodding students to invest in quantity and trivia.

The so-called disciplinary approach in history education has been criticised for attempting to treat students as young historians without the necessary contextual conditions for knowledge formation, that is, the community of practitioners. For instance, Bain (2000) notes how a practice such as historical knowledge formation taken out of its academic context and imitated in classrooms might turn into a mechanistic repetition of certain activities and result in ritualistic understanding of source work, producing just another take on a 'novice'[105] conception of history. As a solution, Bain encourages teachers to create a culture suited to disciplinary thinking (Bain, 2000, 335). However, as my analysis here shows, doing history out of context is not only a problem for the disciplinary approach but the collective memory approach as well. Without having the experience of five-year university training and enculturation into the habits and beliefs of historians, the students created expectations and learner identities based on their own experiences, namely a cultural stereotype. To follow Bain's terminology, the construction of a memory that the teacher hoped would eventually help students gain perspective turned into a ritualistic imitation of expertise, the collection and exhibition of miscellaneous historical data. As VanSledright (2011, 27–28) notes, such a history education might cause students to assume simplified narratives that enforce xenophobic attitudes instead of cultivating a nuanced understanding of the shared past and the historically constructed nature of societies. Therefore,

[105] Referring to studies comparing novice and expert reasoning with historical sources used to map competence in history (e.g. Wineburg, 2001).

these results further testify to the need to consider students' preconceptions and the sociocultural context when organising education.

On a broader scale, situated cognition and its neglect in history education has significance for the production and reproduction of a naïve realist historical culture. The stereotype involves a focus on historical facts, such as dates and events, and is therefore not interested in meanings and questions of interpretation. Consequently, it interacts with a naïve realist notion of history. Those who do not have university training in history might develop a deeper understanding of history through other means, such as an interest in family history or national narratives. If the foundation of this development relies in the stereotype, it is likely that person does not pause to consider epistemological issues and conceives of both historical facts (such as dates and names) and historical interpretations as uncontested and corresponding with past reality.

Moreover, schools are not the only forum where the exemplar and the stereotype interact in a tense manner. Prime examples are the large-scale tests on historical facts that have been regularly given to students in the US ever since the First World War. The concept involves testing students' recall of historical names, dates and events. Typically, the results have been less than satisfactory, allowing those who conduct the tests to conclude that youngsters are historically oblivious, even when the tests mainly focus on mastering trivia. Therefore, these tests are usually followed by a concerned public discussion on the erosion of cultural memory (Wineburg, 2018, 11–15). While Finland does not have a similar tradition of testing, we still share analogous cultural practices, such as tabloids suggesting celebrities are uneducated because they fail to recall certain historical facts.

For the parties prompting these tests and showing concern over such memory, history bears a significance similar to what Ben articulated as its purpose. However, for those with less experience with history and historians, such tests and the worry over the unsatisfactory results work as symbols of the stereotype. When experts or other authorities are concerned over the remembrance of dates and names, they signal a specific ideal of historical competence. Whereas they themselves perceive a connection between the recall of historical facts and the ability to understand society or have perspective, not everyone in the audience will. Instead, students or their parents might only receive a message that competence in history is about memorising individual facts. Whether taking place in schools, public fora or in their interactions, as the example on testing described above, a problem arises from the undiscussed gap between the different frameworks participants employ in an attempt to reason about history. As the analysis of Ben's classroom practices shows, even the most well-intentioned attempts to acquaint students with the usefulness of amassing a historical perspective can end up supporting a wholly different conception of history.

5 NEGOTIATING VALUES: STUDENT PARTICIPATION OR TEACHER CONTROL?

In this chapter, I focus on the teacher's educational values, their interaction with the cultural models proposed in the previous chapter and the significance these values had in terms of the enacted curriculum. Based on interviews, I have grouped the values Ben discussed under the concept of participation. He discussed participation from multiple viewpoints and noted that student-centred teaching methods and student participation in knowledge formation, the significance of students' own experiences and the knowledge they possess and creating a pleasing learning environment for the students were all at the heart of his pedagogy. In general, participation refers to a basic human social need to live in connection with other people (cf. Arendt, 2017). It involves an ethical ideal where participants of a community have possibilities for experiencing togetherness and agency in the group and through the group in society and the world at large (cf. Kiilakoski, 2007; Männistö et al., 2015, 92). In terms of children, participation refers to the possibility of making sense of the world together with adults, including opportunities for taking responsibility, making decisions and taking independent initiative (Venninen & Leinonen, 2012; Kangas, 2016, 7). In the context of education, as implied in the examples discussed by Ben, values such as participation can take many forms, influencing all aspects of the enacted curriculum.

Assumedly grounding the enacted curriculum, the prescribed curriculum is both value-laden and value-ambiguous (cf. Törmä, 2003). For instance, the National Core Curriculum of 2004 explicitly states the underlying values of basic education, such as human rights, equality and democracy (EDUFI, 2004, 12). In a more implicit manner, curricula also imply a concept of humanity (*Menschenbild*). This concept has undergone change, as curricula have emphasised an individual rather than an essentialist notion from the 1970s onwards. While pre-1970s elementary school (*kansakoulu*) that predated the current system emphasised communality and socialisation, the birth of comprehensive education shifted the focus to fostering the skills and abilities of the individual. Simultaneously, a shift in the objectives of moral education occurred. Whereas the former emphasised the cultivation of individual virtues, the latter suggested ethical deliberation

ought to also concern the societal scale (Launonen, 2000, 302). However, as the objectives mentioned in the prescribed curriculum are expressed in general or even vague terms, teachers have significant autonomy in the interpretation and enactment of values (Törmä, 2003, 85).

Overall, teaching is always a question of values, as the literature on hidden curriculum shows. Hidden curriculum refers to established routines and practices that convey unstated norms, values and beliefs. From the roles assigned to students and the teacher to the structure of learning environments to the chosen learning materials or contents, all aspects of education mediate values (e.g. Karjalainen, 1996; Giroux, 1981, 286). The implicit nature of socialising students to certain values is well reflected in this research. For instance, Broady (1986, p. 160) notes how educational practices continue to reflect and idealise the lifestyle of the middle class, as the previous need for discipline and order has transformed into a growing need for space and resources, something middle- class children are accustomed to at home. On a similar note, Gatto and Slayback (1991/2017, 1–9) suggest that in addition to the official curriculum, schools educate children not to question their class position, to be intellectually dependant and to consider being under constant surveillance as the natural state of things. Therefore, hidden curriculum works like a subtext in the enacted curriculum, as values are conveyed both explicitly but also in subtle, implicit ways through everyday practices.

Like in our discussions with Ben, in the context of education participation has been examined from different, often intertwining viewpoints. First, it is considered necessary in terms of learning itself. Participation is seen as a question of school engagement, which refers to both behavioural and emotional participation and thus commitment to school activities (Fredricks et al., 2004; Skinner et al., 2009). School engagement is found to predict academic success, whereas disengagement can cause students to experience education as irrelevant and can lead to neglect of learning (Ladd & Dinella, 2009; Petersen & Millei, 2016). Therefore, in the framework of school engagement participation is discussed in terms of motivation. However, participation is also considered as a methodical question, a pathway for deep, authentic learning. For instance, the constructivist learning conception suggests that to learn students should participate in a knowledge formation process to construct their own meanings and knowledge (e.g. Leach & Zepke, 2011).

Another view of participation in education considers it as a more socially aware form of engagement, highlighting its role in securing and enforcing democratic societies. In this line of thought, schools are criticised for holding on to autocratic practices while attempting to educate students prepared to act in democratic societies (Hart, 1992). This take on participation is less interested in different strategies and techniques of teaching and learning. Instead, it stresses a more ontological view of engagement, questioning the purpose of education and schooling and the activities and hierarchies taking place in schools (MacMahon & Portelli, 2004; Barnett & Coate, 2005). There are roughly two lines of tradition running parallel in the discussions on this view of participation. The first consid-

ers schools as places for students to rehearse the practices of democracy. The second emphasises schools as parts of society and students as significant members of that society. Therefore, the activities taking place in schools are in themselves forms of active citizenship and not only mock versions of it (cf. Biesta, 2006a).

Educational values such as participation are historical constructs transmitted from one generation to another through various cultural tools and processes (cf. Nsamenang, 2012, 768). Therefore, it is necessary to note that the idea of student participation has been an ever-growing trend throughout Ben's teaching career. Globally, the issue of student participation gained political impetus when participation was deemed to be a crucial right in the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). The document stated that children ought to be considered competent subjects of our culture with the right to be heard and taken into account (Woodhead, 2006). However, the question of student participation has been a more enduring one. Ever since the Enlightenment, educational thinkers in movements such as reform pedagogy, freedom pedagogy and critical pedagogy have pressed the need to activate students and strengthen connections between school, society and youths' lives. In Finland, student participation attracted increasing attention after the Second World War, when educationalists such as Professor Matti Koskenniemi (1908–2001) proposed that schools involve students more thoroughly in teaching and learning processes, including the planning and assessment of practices (e.g. Rautiainen et al., 2017; Penttinen, 2007).

The values of participation and equity are also inherent features of the Finnish schooling system and the so-called Nordic education model. The current educational system that secures free basic education for all citizens was established gradually during the first half of the 1970s. Finland followed the example of Sweden and other Nordic countries where state-provided free education was considered important in reducing social differences, increasing social mobility in the population and striving for full employment (Imsen et al., 2017, 568; Antikainen, 2006, 230). Thus, the Nordic model was originally grounded on the egalitarian ideal of offering quality education to all children regardless of their individual abilities, backgrounds or place of residence. The underlying values of 'school for all' were thus social justice, participatory democracy, equal opportunity, cooperation and solidarity (Telhaug et al., 2006, 253; Blossing et al., 2014, 1).

While the ideal of participation is rooted in the Finnish educational system, the concept has been undergoing change. As Männistö et al. (2017) note, the national core curriculum of 1985 emphasised a collective definition of participation, where participation was discussed in relation to the nation. Throughout the past few decades, there has been a shift towards the individual and the global, as the 21st century curricula aim at educating free, autonomous individuals who take responsibility for themselves. Moreover, culture is considered as processual and changing, the diversity of Finnish cultural heritage is emphasised and cultural diversity is discussed as an advantage. In addition, the curricula also highlight some communal aspects of participation through the ideal of a learning community. However, the role of different social and structural aspects affecting students' possibilities to participate are left undiscussed (Männistö et al., 2017, 104–

107). These changes echo an observation made by Ahonen (2002), who noted a change in the use of the concept of equality from the 1980s onward. The ideal of equal educational opportunity has been replaced by the ideal of individual opportunity (Ahonen, 2002, 179–180).

Thus, the concept of participation covers a variety of phenomena defining the form and purpose of education. Similarly, as noted, in Ben's descriptions the idea of student participation appeared in various contexts. It was a central part of the teacher's conception of learning but also a broader educational value defining student–teacher relationships. Therefore, participation is of specific interest, as Ben noted its importance in education and presented participation as a central feature influencing his teaching practices. Moreover, the teacher's ideas about student participation were pivotal in shaping the enacted curriculum. While history education in Ben's lessons was grounded on what could be referred to as the collective memory approach, his choice of methods were not all that reliant on lecturing and taking notes that are often found in such classrooms. Instead, the students had a more active role in creating the single narrative of history. Still, there was also some contrast between the ideals expressed in interviews and the actual teaching practices that occurred in the classroom. Therefore, a closer examination of the role of student participation in the enacted curriculum and its interaction with the cultural models defining the school subject is worthwhile. I do this by focusing on the interaction between the different beliefs governing Ben's reasoning. Moreover, I look at the context dependency of these beliefs to understand their enactment.

5.1 Interpreting constructivism

I begin the examination of student participation as a central educational ideal influencing the enacted curriculum with Ben's definition of constructivist learning. Constructivism was something Ben considered to have grounded his teaching practices on from the early years of his career. The chapter discusses Ben's interpretation of constructivism and his ideas of ideal and undesirable models of teaching. In the context of education, constructivism refers to a conception of learning maintaining that individuals construct knowledge based on their existing beliefs and experiences. Therefore, students are active in creating their own learning and thus their own knowledge. Furthermore, constructivism emphasises the role of social and situational interaction in developing skills and knowledge. These basic principles of constructivism have consequences for the roles of students and teachers. Teachers work as facilitators and create learning environments where students engage in knowledge formation through activities such as data collection, generating and testing hypotheses and collaborating with others.

Consequently, the constructivist ideal of students' active role in processing information and knowledge formation has brought forth different student-centred learning approaches, such as inquiry-based and problem-based learning.

Moreover, developing metacognitive skills, such as goal-setting and monitoring and evaluating one's progress, is encouraged (Tennyson & Volk, 201 704; Schunk, 2012, 230–231; Korpisaari, 2004, 211). Therefore, studies examining teachers' implementation of constructivism have focused on elements such as presenting knowledge as uncertain, teachers sharing control with students, teachers considering the personal relevance of studied content for students, possibilities for students to voice criticism and students negotiating with one another over examined issues (e.g. Savasci & Berlin, 2012; Haney & McArthur, 2002). Student participation is thus an inherent requirement of the constructivist approach, as students are the ones forming knowledge. Next, I compare ideals and definitions Ben talked about in interviews about classroom practices and reflect these findings on the cultural models defining the school subject. In doing so, the analysis also suggests the range of limitations and possibilities for interpreting and realising constructivism in such history education.

5.1.1 'Constructivism' as a method of transmission

In the first interview, Ben implied he was already making use of some novel approaches introduced in the Finnish national core curriculum for basic education of 2014 with groups that were officially still following the previous curriculum. Namely, he was talking about constructivism. In Finland, constructivism is well established in the educational landscape. The national curricula have been founded on a cognitive–constructivist learning conception since the 1990s. In the field of history education, the discussion on emphasising student-centeredness and knowledge formation has continued since the 1970s (Veijola & Rautiainen, 2019, 21; Korpisaari, 2004, 211). Nevertheless, there are several explanations for Ben considering constructivism as a novelty in the curriculum. First, the term 'constructivism' as such is not mentioned in any of the curricula based on said learning concept. For instance, the 2004 national core curriculum does not name constructivism but describes learning as something that 'results from pupils' active and purposeful activity in which they process and interpret the material to be learned on the basis of their existing structure of knowledge' (p. 16). Moreover, the curriculum emphasises learning as individual, communal and situational knowledge construction that involves problem solving (EDUFI, 2004, 16).

Furthermore, Ben's own teacher training occurred in the 1980s and thus predated the 'constructivist turn' in Finland. Moreover, the transition from practice-oriented teacher training to research-based teacher training has been a slow process, particularly in subject teacher training. When academic teacher training began in 1979,[106] most of the faculty apart from professors and assistant professors

[106] In 1979, a master's degree became a necessary qualification for teachers, whereas before they received a certificate proving their competence. However, as Kansanen (2012) notes, the change was more radical for class teachers than for subject teachers. Before the reform, class teachers earned their diploma in separate teacher training programs that were independent of universities. Subject teachers instead were already university graduates, as they majored in their respective school subjects and earned the qualifications of either junior or senior lecturer (*lehtori*) with studies in education sciences and a period of practical training in teacher training schools. In this respect, teacher training for subject teachers resembled

did not have doctoral degrees. Therefore, the role of theoretical studies in teacher education remained marginal (Salminen & Säntti, 2017, 72). In addition, reforming class teacher training has received more focus compared to subject teacher training, where the so-called academisation only really began after the turn of the millennium and is still in process. Therefore, Ben's own studies occurred in a system where subject teacher training was in close relation to subject departments and was less connected to educational sciences. Thus, the focus of subject teacher training was on mastering content knowledge and subject didactics, leaving out discussions on general pedagogy (Puustinen, 2018, 54–55; Puustinen, 2012, 26; Rautiainen, 2012, 47–48).

Consequently, instead of formal schooling, Ben had come across the concept of constructivism through his own reading activities, possibly during his annual 'education theory June', a habit of catching up on literature about educational sciences every summer.[107] Through these readings, he had identified his own teaching approach for which he now had a name—constructivism. As different student-centred elements received special attention in the media reportage covering the latest core curriculum (e.g. Tiessalo, 2016; Aromaa, 2018), Ben discussed constructivism as both a curricular novelty and a core element of his pedagogical practices:

> *Ida: You said something about having taken up on some, like for example with this group, some new practices or … So what type of things do you mean by that?*
>
> *Ben: Well it's this constru-, I've been reading about constructivism lately. So maybe it is this, this constructing then, that they [the students] start making their own questions and one application or at least an attempt [gives a laugh] of abiding by this constructivist approach is that they build that picture themselves. So that, I don't like lecture all the time. I could just lecture from up there and have them make notes like we used to do in school back in the days. Or that's how I remember it…*
>
> *(--)*
>
> *Ben: It is something I am trying to apply during the old curriculum as well, so there would be like a nice transition. But I have been doing it for a long time, sort of without knowing it, before anyone was even talking about constructivism, I had these themes for groups to ponder on already in the 90s.*

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the current system. The greatest difference was a structural one. Before 1979, subject teachers did their teacher training after graduation, whereas in the current system the practical training and the studies in education sciences are integral parts of the university degree (Kansanen, 2012, 37–39; see also Puustinen, 2018, 12).

[107] Interview, 9.11.2017: 'I read stuff from educational sciences as well, especially in June I usually have an education theory June, when this [semester] ends then I read didactics and this type of books and stop at Midsummer's Eve.'

Ben attributed constructivism with three core features: 1) students building the picture themselves; 2) students setting questions themselves; and 3) group work. Therefore, Ben considered constructivism to involve students' active participation in knowledge formation happening in collaboration with others. Thus, the definition was in line with those proposed in both the academic literature and the core curricula since 1994. Ben also considered constructivism as an opposite to lecturing and taking notes. These are features often assigned to empiricism and behaviourism, which predated constructivism,[108] and are often juxtaposed with it due to distinct differences in how knowledge and the roles of children and teachers in education are perceived. Unlike constructivists, behaviourists consider children as mouldable targets of education to whom knowledge is transmitted by teachers (Korpisaari, 2004, 208–209; Pound, 2011, 89–90).

However, examining Ben's conception of constructivism in action shows constructivism to bear meanings that differ from the academic definitions. The teacher used the expressions 'building a picture' and 'setting questions' explicitly in his instructions to the class. On one occasion, he used both these expressions in different phases of the instructions for the written assignment. The class was introduced to a new topic, the Russian Revolution. The causes of the collapse of the Russian Empire and the 1917 Revolutions are among the core contents mentioned in the national core curriculum (EDUFI, 2004, 223). The assignment in question took place early in the history course and covered four lessons. Therefore, it was at a time before the teacher had attended the continuing education course on historical skills and IBL. The assignment had a three-part structure. First, the students were to set questions relating to the theme, after which they did information retrieval and finally 'built the picture'.

> *Ben begins the lesson by saying that as he has been the one talking and lecturing most of the time during the course, he now wanted to do something different. Instead of him telling the students about the Russian Revolution, the students would start imitating 'young historians'. After making sure the students all have an idea of what the concept of revolution means, they form groups of 2-3 persons and begin by 'setting the research questions'. Instantly, I hear some of the girls sitting next to me suggest 'which year did it happen' as their first question. Ben specifies his initial assignment: 'So think of questions through which you can form a general view of the revolution'.*
>
> *(--)*
>
> *[In the following lesson] Ben instructs the students to use a few more minutes to think of the research questions if needed. After finishing the first part of the assignment, they are supposed to start 'constructing the story' based on set questions. Ben instructs the students to*

[108] Besides behaviourism, Herbartianism was very influential in Finland from the 1880s to the 1950s. Its central difference to empirical learning theories was its moral content. For instance, history was an especially important school subject, as historical figures served as role models to inspire proper ideals (Korpisaari, 2004).

look for answers from Chapter 23 in the textbook. He recommends using the school textbooks available in the classroom, preferably both Forum 7 and Historian Tuulet 7. Students are also allowed to use their cell phones for information retrieval purposes. One of the students voices an issue: 'So I'm supposed to read the whole chapter?!'

(--)

Samuel notices the answers to part of their research questions could be found straight from the subtitles in the chapter. (--) [About 10 minutes later] Samuel is now reading Wikipedia aloud from his cell phone to Aaron, who goes on to write it down on their answer sheet.[109]

This excerpt shows the activity of setting research questions as a predetermined activity, where students were expected to come up with questions leading them to the correct answers. The activity of question setting is limited by creating a tight framework within which students must operate. First, the original assignment is complemented with the aim of getting an overview of the historical events. Therefore, the questions have a specific goal. They need to match and help fill in the details of the already known answer, the events of the Russian Revolution. Second, the next phase, 'constructing the story', was conducted by retrieving the needed details, preferably from school textbooks. With these limitations included in the assignment, the activity of knowledge construction translated into the pedagogy of picking (described in subchapter 4.1), as students needed to fill in the blanks of the event history of the Russian Revolution.

The classroom event described above is a fine example of the teacher negotiating novel approaches with the need to transmit a history. Like the guidelines of the curriculum, the teacher wished to activate students and get them to participate in the process. However, there was the concurrent duty to make sure the students received the story of the Russian Revolution as stated in the school textbook. This necessity was implied in Ben's definition of constructivism, 'building *that picture*', pointing towards a specific picture or a story that was to be constructed. The cultural models of the school subject did not allow knowledge construction as defined in the constructivist learning conception because such process may result in uncertainty and subjective knowledge.[110] Such a view contradicts the task of history education to provide historical truths without leaving any gaps in the story of history. Therefore, constructivism as understood by Ben was not an approach constituted on the learning conception known in academic

[109] Fieldnotes, 3.11.2017 and 6.11.2017.

[110] Some researchers consider constructivism not as a theory of learning but as an epistemology, as it holds that students construct their personal, subjective meanings and knowledge (see Schunk, 2012, 230–231). However, as Hyslop-Margison and Strobel (2007, 74–75) note, this does not necessarily equate with commitment to radical epistemic relativism. Instead, the role of evidence, justification and scrutiny is emphasised, and a conceptual difference between belief and knowledge is drawn.

theories but a method for the teacher to transmit knowledge while activating students.

Previous research suggests such a conception of constructivism might be quite common. For instance, in a study on history teachers' conceptions of inquiry based learning, one of the learning methods inspired by constructivism, Voet and DeWever (2016) found most teachers focus on mediating content knowledge while simultaneously favouring student-centred approaches. Thus, their conceptions of IBL were limited, involving mainly information retrieval or the mechanistic assessment of the trustworthiness of the information used. Only a couple of teachers identified other elements of IBL, such as problem solving, analysing information and forming arguments (Voet & DeWever, 2016, 65). Moreover, international studies give some indication that Finnish teachers' commitment to constructivism is only partial. As Leino et al. (2019, 25) deduce from the PISA results of 2018 measuring reading abilities, Finnish teachers seem to stress information retrieval over activities such as evaluating or interpreting information. While focusing on a more narrow area of the use of ICT in education, the results of the 2018 International Computer and Information Literacy Study (ICILS) found that Finnish teachers engage students in information retrieval much more often than in the analysis or evaluation of data (Fraillon et al., 2018, 211).

Yerrick et al. (1997) noted in a study mapping transformations in teachers' ideas about science education that instead of shifting away from previous beliefs, teachers assimilated new ideas about teaching into their existing views. Thus, these extant beliefs worked as filters for new information, allowing teachers to assume only aspects of new knowledge that fit their previous ideas (Yerrick et al., 1997, 154). This seems to apply to Ben as well. While sticking to ideas about history education adopted early on in his youth, Ben assimilated ideas on student activity and knowledge construction to fit the concept of transmitting a history. Therefore, the cultural models of the school subject functioned as filters for the later discoveries regarding constructivism, thus creating some limitations for its adoption.

5.1.2 Constructivism as a cultural exemplar of good teaching

While Ben discussed constructivism as a personal ideal for teaching, something he had grounded his practices on for decades, it seemed there was also a cultural exemplar at play. For Ben, constructivism was not only an approach that allowed him to exercise the values of equity and participation, but it also represented a culturally accepted model of good teaching. Like historical expertise discussed earlier in this study, Ben's descriptions of constructivism and ideal teaching practices involved prototypes of good and bad teaching, examples of the best and the undesirable qualities and practices a teacher could assume (cf. Shore, 1996, 64–65). These exemplars were defined primarily by the roles and relationship of the teacher and the students.

In Ben's descriptions of what he identified as constructivism, the approach was marked with positive attributes, such as communality and a safe, fun learning environment. Constructivism was an approach that allowed low hierarchies, something Ben considered an especially important element in teaching:[111]

> *Ben: I have strong faith in group work, I have emphasised… ever since the 80s and 90s, I've emphasised group works and then in transition phases we have a look at things with the whole group and… And then, it is quite important to me that there is this laid-back atmosphere in the classroom, so that it is not like… So that there is humour or like, lightness to the situations we are in. So that it is not that serious, or that I would be like dictating things and constantly forbidding everything.*

If we return to the interview excerpt on the definition of the constructivist approach, we see Ben provide a description of the opposite of constructivism: 'I could just lecture from up there and have them make notes like we used to do in school back in the day'. Here, constructivism is juxtaposed with what Ben later characterised as 'frontal teaching'. The difference between the alternatives was a matter of voice and position. For Ben, good teaching was something where students were visibly active participants in the learning process. 'Bad' teaching in turn silenced students and tied them to their desks. Moreover, the exemplars had consequences for the teacher as well. In bad teaching, Ben was similarly tied to his place, 'up there' at the front of the classroom, maintaining both authority and distance from the students.

Such a dichotomy between student-centred and teacher-centred approaches is a familiar one for those involved in education. For instance, in a summary of research on teachers' learning conceptions, Entwistle et al. (2000, 6) point out how they are often interpreted through two parallels, characterised as either being teacher-focused and content-oriented or student-focused and learning-oriented. As Barton and Levstik (2004) note, such discourse is not unfamiliar in the field of history education, as discussions revolve around dichotomies such as history or heritage and analytic history or collective memory. These alternatives are separated by questions relating to student participation and content-orientation, like the dichotomy suggested by Entwistle et al. (Barton & Levstik, 2004, 4–5).

If constructivism was marked with positive attributes, frontal teaching was outdated and something Ben felt pressured to avoid. In our last interview, Ben recounted his experiences from teacher training school in the 1980s. He described how he learned to teach in 'a very traditional style', as teacher candidates were 'trained to teach solely in this frontal… like in this very old-school style I had seen already when I was in school myself'. Later in the same interview, he noted how despite attempting to renew his teaching practices to a certain extent he was also 'more of a reformist' than a revolutionary in terms of change. He also suspected that expecting swift reforms in Finnish schools might be unrealistic: 'We

[111] For further discussion, see subchapter 5.2.

have these preconceptions that we assumed during teacher training in the 80s that are hellish to get rid of'.

While it was easy for Ben to show commitment to the constructivist approach, his relationship with the alternative was more complicated. The status of frontal teaching as a cultural exemplar of bad teaching was reflected in ambivalence towards the approach. For instance, later in the same interview when Ben discussed constructivism he admitted using frontal teaching when necessary. Moreover, it seemed as if Ben felt it important to justify the use of frontal teaching. Constructivism, however, was an ideal to which Ben aspired with all students:

> *Ben: There is still some frontal teaching, from the front of the class, because I believe some teacher-led practices are more or less necessary, especially when transitioning to new themes, the beginnings and the endings. But then here, like along the way I have this type of things we just did, that students more like build the picture themselves.*
>
> *Ida: Right.*
>
> *Ben: And it depends on the group a bit, some groups are more capable to do this self-directed work. But I am trying to teach it to all groups, at least somewhat.*
>
> *Ida: To work it in a little?*
>
> *Ben: Yes, to work it in, with more or less success, depending on the occasion.*

My interpretation of Ben feeling the need to justify frontal teaching first originated from a classroom event. During the very first history lesson that took place before any interviews with the teacher, Ben explained to the students that he would use 'teacher-led practices' from time to time but that emphasis would still be on 'student-centred assignments'.[112] As concepts such as 'teacher-led' or 'student-centred' are professional jargon used by practitioners and researchers in the field of education, the use of such language with students seemed out of context.[113] Therefore, my interpretation of the situation was that these words were directed partly at me, the newcomer/researcher in the room. Researchers tend to have an influence on the participants they study, which can result in participants attempting to react to the expectations they suppose the researcher has (e.g. Brewer, 2000, 65; Härkönen, 190–191). In this case, there seemed to be such an occurrence. Namely, Ben was expecting a person representing the university to consider student-centred methods as proper teaching, even though I had never

[112] Fieldnotes, 23.10.2017.
[113] As Strauss (2005) notes, jargon is often a sign of a cultural model at use, reflecting the ideas and ideals of a specific community. Understanding the meaning of such jargon also requires field-specific knowledge on discussions and expressions typical of said community.

talked about supporting any specific ideal of teaching. Thus, Ben was likely reacting to the cultural standing of both frontal and student-centred teaching. As Strauss (2005) notes, individuals' expressions can signify the cultural standing of a given model. While some ideas are common or are even taken for granted, others can be debatable or controversial. In these cases, an individual can use different strategies to express their own position on an idea. For instance, one might assert that one is committed to an idea but simultaneously downplay the level of that commitment, somewhat like what Ben does here by noting frontal teaching as perhaps undesirable but also unavoidable (Strauss, 2005, 232–234).

Therefore, Ben's expectation was grounded on the belief that constructivism was a cultural exemplar of good teaching, at least in the sub-culture of educational researchers and teacher trainers, which I represented. This expectation resonates with both curricular changes and the discourse on educational reforms. As previously noted, Finnish curricula in both basic education and upper secondary schools have been founded on cognitive–constructivist conception of learning since the 1990s, and the emphasis has grown stronger in each curriculum (see Männistö et al., 2017, 102–103). For instance, in a comparison between 1994 and 2003 curricula for upper secondary schools, Erss (2017, 211) observes how the frequency of the term 'teacher' is reduced by half, as the focus shifts from teachers to students and learning. Moreover, in an analysis on discourses concerning reforming history education in Finland, Veijola and Rautiainen (2019) note how the need to activate students has been a core issue since the 19th century, and the demands to activate students and have them participate in historical knowledge formation have amplified since the 1970s.

In a study examining Finnish pre-service teachers' ideas on media education, Mertala (2020) found them to have simplified notions about child-centeredness and child-initiated pedagogies. Like with Ben and constructivism, discussions on child-centred ideals were not prompted by the researcher but were spontaneously brought up by the teachers. Such approaches were considered desirable and self-evidently good. However, these teachers considered child-centred teaching an approach where teachers simply provided facilities for learning but otherwise did not get involved or mediate the learning process (Mertala, 2020, 32–33). Two phenomena connect the findings of Mertala to the ways Ben perceived constructivism. First, participants in both studies reflect discourses based on simplifications that are potentially misleading and thus problematic. As Mertala (2020, 36) notes, simplistic discourses and labels shift the focus away from teacher–student interaction and learning to needlessly emphasise the activities of only students or teachers. Moreover, such discourse neglects the more diverse academic discussions on the topic. For instance, Puustinen and Khawaja (2020, 7–8) show how teacher-led practices can be used to promote critical thinking and to unpack national narratives in history education. Moreover, Hyslop and Strobel (2007, 74) note how lecturing as a form of instruction can be a useful and necessary element even in a constructivist framework.

Second, the pre-service teachers' admiration of child-centred pedagogies and the ambivalent relationship with frontal teaching that Ben expressed suggest

the cultural standing of student-centeredness as the doxa in education. Simola (2008) uses the concepts of doxa[114] (Bourdieu, 1977, 168) and space of discourse[115] (*puheavaruus*; Alasuutari, 1996) to sketch changes in educational discourse in Finland from the 1980s to the 1990s. Doxa is the state of that which is considered self-evident, forming the limits for the space of discourse. Within it, there can be discourses that defend and to an extent question the doxa (Simola, 2008, 400). What is notable in Ben's case is that unlike frontal teaching, Ben does not attempt to justify the use of student-centred methods. Therefore, on the level of discourse, student-centeredness falls within the doxa, the self-evident and the good. As Ojakangas (1998, 292) notes, child-centeredness in education has been represented as progress, where the history of children is depicted as that of suppression, and the promise of the new pedagogics is that of emancipation. Therefore, admitting to rely on 'unorthodox' methods can be jarring, which the near-apologetic justifications provided by Ben reflect.

5.2 Conflicts in knowing

As the analysis of Ben's perception of constructivism shows, the approach was understood as a student-centred form of knowledge transmission. Therefore, there was a conflict in terms of epistemology. The idea of history as a single factual story presented in school textbooks did not fit the framework of constructivism, which emphasises the constructed nature of knowledge and thus its multiperspectivity and subjectivity. However, there was also another contradiction regarding knowledge and participation. In interviews, Ben extended the question of student participation to concern students' role as being his equals in terms of knowing. He suggested that in some topics, students' knowledgeability might even surpass that of the teacher.

While constructivism was discussed mainly as a question of student engagement and a best practice for learning, our conversations on students' knowing opened up a more profound perspective on participation and classroom hierarchies. Nevertheless, the assumed cultural models on historical knowledge were in direct conflict with these ideals, as already implied in the previous analyses. Next, I examine the role of students' knowledge in the classroom. I analyse classroom events where opportunities for student knowing and participation opened up and discuss the rootedness of Ben's conflicting beliefs on knowing. Moreover, I discuss the cultural preconditions for students as knowers in schools and the role of the perceived apoliticality of schools as an epistemological barrier to such participation.

[114] A space of the unquestioned and undiscussed.
[115] A space of discourse and of what is conceivable, thinkable.

5.2.1 Student participation in knowing – Knowledge hierarchies in the classroom

The relevance of students' experiences and the significance of the knowledge they already possess came up in two interview discussions when Ben spontaneously began describing the roots of his pedagogical thinking. In the first and the last interview, Ben noted Thomas Ziehe, a renowned sociologist of education, as a major influence on his educational thinking.[116] In the first interview, Ben briefly referred to the Finnish translations of two books by Ziehe as turning points in his pedagogical thinking. The books had made Ben 'question some old practices'.[117] In our last interview, Ben further discussed the influence of Ziehe. Through Ziehe's work, Ben had become more aware of school hierarchies and the opportunities inherent in considering students' pre-existing knowledge.

> *Ben: Thomas Ziehe was someone who like woke me up from these 1980s… things I had learned then, this very traditional style [of teaching]. [A teacher in our teacher training school] was in charge and we were trained to teach solely in this frontal… like in this very old-school style that I had seen already when I was in school myself. The difference was non-existent. And so, when I was at the school I worked at before coming here, I got excited about Thomas Ziehe who I thought had some good insights on like youths' status in general. And I read that book ... 'Miksi piiriin?' or what was it called, and then… I think the other one is from Vastapaino, a translated book.*[118]
>
> *Ida: Right.*
>
> *Ben: So his thoughts, they had a big influence on me back then. I was inspired by it and I thought that damn, that is exactly how it is! In general the idea that teachers does not necessarily… that there are things the teacher might know less about than the student, and that students' might have quite a bit of experience in some things.*[119] *And so a middleclass teacher like me, well, I actually have a working-class*

[116] This is interesting in the sense that, as Puuronen (2006, 153) notes, Ziehe has had a significant influence on both public and academic discussions regarding youth in Germany and the Nordic countries, except for Finland.
[117] Interview, 9.11.2017.
[118] The first book is an edited volume discussing Ziehe's work called 'Miksi piiriin?: Thomas Ziehe koulusta, nuorisosta ja itsestäänselvyyksien murenemisesta' (1992, in English: 'Why in a circle? Thomas Ziehe on schools, youth, and the crumbling of self-evidencies'). The second one is a Finnish translation from Ziehe's contribution in 'Plädoyer für ungewöhnliches Lernen' (Ziehe & Stubenrauch, 1982) that was published as a separate book in 1991 by a Finnish book publisher called Vastapaino, referred here by the teacher.
[119] In 'New Youth and unusual learning processes', Ziehe questions the idea that adults are more competent or knowledgeable simply due to being more experienced. For instance, Ziehe argues that the experiences adults have bear little relevance in preparing youth for their lives in the present and the future, as those experiences have taken place in different times, in the past. Moreover, Ziehe notes how adults have smaller 'territories' as they prefer spending time at home, while youngsters have a richer environment as they live outside in the public world. (Ziehe, 1991, 42–44.)

background, which still has an effect on me, or so my wife thinks. But so… I have never really adjusted into this middleclass way of thinking, coming from this working-class family it feels quite alien to me. So these kind of things have influenced my views on education in general.

Such recognition of students' prior knowledge and beliefs about history is considered essential for learning history. For instance, VanSledright and Brophy (1992) found students create historical narratives by combining information learned from school instruction with elements they came across in television series or literature. The results of *Youth and History*, a comparative study on youths' historical consciousness conducted in 1991 in 25 European countries found Finnish students consider the stories told by family members as especially reliable accounts of the past (Ahonen, 1998, 11–12). Hence, the history that students encounter in their everyday lives influences what they learn during history lessons. Moreover, conceptions of history assumed from historical culture tend to sit tight. For instance, Moller (2012) discovered it is difficult to alter views on history if the original information comes from the experiences and memories of a family member.

However, as Ben suggests in the interview, the question of students' knowing in history goes beyond learning outcomes. It touches upon the question of youths' participation in the historical narratives discussed in history lessons and thus student participation in history itself. Researchers suggest that if history instruction is detached from students' experiences, it becomes meaningless or incomprehensible to them (Barton 2012, 103; Ahonen, 2002, 66; Seixas, 2017b, 598, 602–603; Körber, 2015, 23). This issue has been discussed particularly from the viewpoint of national identities. After the Second World War, the tradition of history teaching as a means of socialising students to their national identities was questioned internationally. Particularly in Europe, globalisation and increased immigration have called attention to how history education could serve a more heterogeneous demographic (Phillips, 2012, 12–13; Körber & Meyer-Hamme, 2015, 89).

The grand narratives of nation state histories were criticised for creating ethnocentric attitudes hostile towards other groups (Lowenthal, 1996, 122, 128; Berger, 2012, 34–35). For instance, Carretero et al. (2012, 2–3) argues how teaching based on the formation of national identities values the dominant social group while neglecting other viewpoints 'unfit' for the grand narrative. In accordance, some studies indicate students with immigrant backgrounds feel indifferent about history, as they do not find points of identification in the contents discussed in school (Grever, 2012, 84–85; Harris & Reynolds, 2017). However, as Létourneau (2017) argues, history education cannot ignore national histories, as nation states not only have a past but an ongoing present. Moreover, they continue to serve as significant frameworks for identification, whether discussed in history lessons or not (Létourneau, 2017, 240; see also Berger, 2012, 42–43).

In the context of Finnish schooling, Ben's ideas on the extent of student participation were quite radical. As Simola (2005, 466) notes, on average, Finnish

teachers tend to be both politically and pedagogically conservative (see also Räihä, 2006). However, Ben's insight regarding the student–teacher relationship as a reflection of teachers' class background questions the traditional structures of schooling that aim to protect and control knowledge (cf. Apple, 2004, 12–14; Wexler, 1976). Nevertheless, while the students had choices regarding their use of time and the sources of knowledge they employed, their ability to participate as knowledgeable equals was more restricted. As previously noted, in written assignments the students could put forth their best effort in a restricted area of knowledge in which the teacher already possessed expertise. The educational institution determined the themes, contents and even perspectives discussed during history lessons. Overall, there was little room for the students' existing knowledge and encounters with history in out-of-school contexts in the classroom. During my field period, the need to cover the textbook narrative blocked student knowing in two ways. The first was through the exclusion of students' experiences, and the second was by deeming students' observations that conflicted with the studied historical narrative to be somewhat outside the point.

Moreover, despite the aspirations to teach history to provide perspective on the present, there was a strict focus on the past in Ben's classroom (see subchapter 4.2.2). This conflict between different ideals became most apparent in early December, around the time of Finnish Independence Day. Finland celebrates its Independence Day on December 6th, a day set aside to commemorate events in 1917 when Russian rule ended and the Finnish senate declared independence. Therefore, my field period took place during a celebratory year, as Finland had achieved a full century of independence. Throughout 2017 there were events celebrating and commemorating the history of the nation. The 'Finland 100' festivities were culturally all-consuming and reached their peak in December. While the class was discussing Finnish independence and the events surrounding December 6th 1917 just before the actual Independence Day celebrations, in Ben's classroom the focus was solely on the past. The only mention of the celebratory year was when a day after Independence Day some of the students discussed a congratulatory text message the Finnish Government sent to all Finnish citizens.[120] Moreover, the same distinction between history and students' experiences was repeated in relation to how the Finnish Civil War of 1918 was discussed in the classroom. While there was wide media coverage and public discussion on the happenings and consequences of the war for Finnish society in January 2018, Ben never made the connection between the topics discussed in school and those being discussed outside it.

Interviews with students further revealed the depth of disconnect between history as a school subject and the history present in the students' lives outside school. It was apparent that the students interacted with history in a myriad of ways inaccessible through classroom observation. For instance, Oliver came to the interview holding an edition of Väinö Linna's novel *The Unknown Soldier*

[120] Fieldnotes, 7.12.2017.

(1954) and stated that history was his hobby.[121] *The Unknown Soldier* and Linna's fiction trilogy *Under the North Star* (1952–1962), also mentioned by Oliver, are renowned for their influence on the Finnish collective memory concerning the war history of the 20th century (Torsti, 2011, 316–317). In her study on the historical consciousness of Finnish youth, Ahonen (1998, 129) found that their historical identification was intertwined with the ethos of the national project introduced in the movie renditions of *The Unknown Soldier*. In a slightly more recent study, Hakkari (2005) found students no longer identified with said movies or books. However, as the novel was turned into a movie for the third time in 2017, it has perhaps regained significance with the younger population. At least the students in Ben's classroom discussed it during recess, as the movie had recently premiered.[122]

Other students had similar connections to products of historical culture. For instance, Sara showed me a picture of a children's book on Finnish history and noted how it had evoked an interest in history when she got it as a present from her grandparents when she was younger. Moreover, several students used their free time playing video games with storylines connected to the world wars.[123] However, students' interests in history was not limited to the consumption of such products. Some students had family connections outside Finland and discussed having an interest in their family histories and the histories of these countries. Jesse was curious about so-called alternative history and thought about how things could have unravelled if history had taken a different turn.[124]

Whereas the interviews revealed encounters with and interest in history, the cultural models defining the school subject Ben used to reason about the enacted curriculum left no room for discussing these experiences. Instead, there was a division between History and history, the canonised history studied in school and the rest. The students expressed a clear sense of the contents belonging to History. I asked the students to bring to the interview something that they associated with history. These items often included pictures relating to wars and old maps. Most found it difficult to name how history was present in their personal lives but identified things such as nations' borders or politics and the current form of governance as being historically shaped.[125] These considerations reflected the contents dealt with in the classroom, the focus being on nation state

[121] Interview, 14.2.2017: 'History is sort of my hobby. I read books and I draw pictures of like all these old things (--) [I've read] this one (referring to *The Unknown Soldier*) and *Under the North Star* and some foreign books as well.'

[122] Fieldnotes, 8.12.2017: 'During the recess between classes some of the students discuss the latest movie version of *The Unknown Soldier* and ask each other if anyone has seen it. They reckon it must be the most brutal and violent of the three movie renditions, as its age limit is as high as 16, unlike the two previous ones.'

[123] Jasper, Aaron, Samuel and Saul mentioned playing such games.

[124] Interview, 15.12.2017: '[I'm curious about] what Finland would have been if we still had Karelia, how it would be different, and like, would something be different if Turku was still the capital city of Finland and so forth.'

[125] For instance, Saul could not mention anything from his personal life but noted 'countries borders' and 'the government, how it has changed a bit' as the presence of history. Paula similarly struggled with the first part but considered 'Finnish politics' as a place of history in the present. Joel thought history could be seen 'in all the countries and such'.

politics and the event history of the wars and other political tumult under examination.[126]

The theme of national history continued in the imagery available on the classroom walls in the form of official portraits of Finnish presidents and maps of Finland and the municipality in which the school was situated. Shore (1996, 59–60) considers visual image models, such as recognised art, as one form of distributing and reproducing cultural knowledge. Borrowing a concept used by Billig (1995, 38), these portraits serve as 'flags', banal reminders of nationhood and national identity that operate mindlessly rather than mindfully, as they are hardly noticed as they constitute an almost natural part of the everyday environment. Of course, such imagery can be a useful resource for all different orientations of teaching history, depending on how they are employed. For instance, there can be classroom discussions and questioning about the messages they possibly convey. However, in the studied classroom, the portraits and maps had a mainly ornamental role, corroborating the textbook narrative on the key elements and figures able to participate in History.

The visual cues together with the contents covered in history lessons suggest a narrative implying the priority of the nation and its great historical figures. Wertsch (2004) talks about narratives as schematic templates, abstract, sketch-like models that are used to inform reasoning, thus resonating with the cultural models theory. Narratives as cultural models give information about sacred myths and origin stories, often working as frameworks for creating a sense of in-groups and out-groups (Wertsch, 2004, 56–57; Shore, 1996, 56–59). While history education as a promoter of national identities is a vital and long-rooted tradition of teaching, I hesitate to interpret that Ben used such a model to reason about teaching practices and objectives. Instead, it seemed like the priority of the nation was a by-product of relying on the cultural models of institutional trust and the different temporal models discussed in the previous chapter. For instance, none of Ben's arguments on the significance of history stressed the importance of knowing national history but referred to events such as the civil war in Syria. Moreover, Ben suggested there might be a need to update the subject matter contents mentioned in the national curriculum:

> *Actually, when I first looked at the contents of the new curriculum, I noticed they had not changed much of anything. I would have hoped for a more thematic take. (--) It was a bit of a surprise for me because I thought that since everyone was talking about how this new curriculum would change everything... But the people working on the history curriculum had been quite conservative in that sense.*[127]

Therefore, Ben was relatively dispassionate about having specific content mentioned in the curriculum. However, the conflict between relying on institutional knowledge and treasuring student insight was apparent. There was one classroom event in particular when the different beliefs concerning knowledge

[126] See Appendix 7 for an overview of the course content.
[127] Interview, 26.3.2018.

were directly at odds. This was when Saul challenged the school textbook by claiming that 'history is written by winners', a notion originating from a discussion with his father. The teacher seemed visibly pleased by the observation, which further shows the unquestioned nature of the discussed content was not primarily due to a need to inspire patriotism. Ben concurred with Saul and contradicted much of his own teaching by pointing out that history can be written from several viewpoints and that often the one in the textbook is the dominant one in each culture. He followed this statement by giving an example from Poland in which the government had ordered Poland's involvement in the Holocaust to be rewritten in the history textbooks. He also noted how many governments are interested in intervening in the writing of history.[128] Even though Saul's original comment was made in relation to the textbooks at hand, the teacher shifted the focus of the conversation to Poland. Moreover, after this brief exchange, the students needed to refocus on the written assignment.[129] Therefore, while Ben recognised Saul's claims as noteworthy and accurate, there was also a conception of the trustworthiness of *Finnish* school textbooks and a need to prioritise this institutionally verified knowledge.

Overall, classroom activities prioritising the knowledge of the institution over student knowing suggested a notable conflict between the different beliefs the teacher had about knowing. The ideals expressed in interviews stressed values different from the ones Ben's teaching practices embodied. However, as previous research shows, this is not an unprecedented phenomenon. For instance, McNeil (1986) found history teachers to have very similar teaching practices regardless of their political views and the ideas they wanted to convey through history education. Moreover, teachers even relied on teaching practices that exemplified values they personally resented, such as strict institutional control (McNeil, 1986, 181–182, 186).

This contradiction between Ben's ideals and practices suggests the different cultural standings of the cultural models used. The duty Ben felt to follow the textbook and transmit certain content knowledge to the students had the status of the unquestioned and internalised, therefore surpassing the need for student participation, which consequently remained only at an abstract level. As already suggested in the previous chapter and by the studies showing Finnish teachers' partial reliance on constructivism, teachers likely aim to solve such conflicts by realising aspects of student participation that fit the model of knowledge transmission. Therefore, in terms of student knowledge, Ben had not found a way to incorporate the ideal into the practices of history education the way he did with constructivism. However, what he did do was chat with students about things they happened to have in mind that might have been irrelevant in terms of history education but were perhaps important to the students themselves. This was possibly one form of working around the problem of combining the cultural models defining history with the ideal of student participation. While it did not fully realise the ideal regarding student knowledge, it allowed the students to be

[128] Fieldnotes, 9.2.2018.
[129] Ibid.

heard within the framework of the collective memory approach to history education.

5.2.2 Cultural model of schools' apoliticality as an epistemic barrier to participation

As Quinn and Holland (1987, 8) note, cultural models that people employ are not always easily categorised as either conscious or subconscious. While the classroom observations indicated a gap between ideals and practices in the case of student knowing, it was also evident the teacher was somewhat aware of the gap. In our discussion on the preliminary results of my study almost a year after exiting the field, Ben demonstrated support for bringing his ideals more concretely to the level of practice. During our conversation, Ben considered he should 'have more faith in [his] students'.[130] He also recognised the contents of history textbooks being only one possible selection of topics and viewpoints, leaving many stories of the past untold. Shore (1996) suggests that such ambivalence can result from a situation where alternate cultural models are in conflict. A community can have cultural values and norms that contradict one another, but as they often are applied in distinct contexts the contradicting models are seldom in direct conflict. However, there can be situations in which these cultural models meet head on (Shore, 1996, 288–289; see also Kronenfeld, 2008, 89).

I suggest that such conflict explains why Ben could not extend ideals of student participation to historical knowledge. Participation and equity are values that define the educational system, with free education for all and no streaming. Therefore, there is cultural support for an educator to, for instance, treat all students fairly or attempt to provide them the necessary help to manage their studies. As the previous analysis shows, these were things Ben aspired to. However, in the context of historical knowledge and the contents history education ought to concern, the ideal of participation conflicted with other cultural models. As previously discussed, institutional trust allowed the class to treat school history as trustworthy and given. Nevertheless, there was another cultural element working as a counterpart to institutional trust, feeding into it but also creating a significant epistemic barrier to questioning knowledge discussed in schools. Here, I refer to the assumed apoliticality of schools and the knowledge they mediate.

Räisänen (2011) describes the historical and culturally shared ideal of a teacher in Finland as someone unbiased and therefore suspicious of all things political. Therefore, teachers have traditionally avoided making public statements on political issues (Räisänen, 2011, 442). Such a stance is a phenomenon noted internationally. Besides avoiding political life, teachers embody the myth of curricular objectivity by maintaining that abiding by the official curriculum allows them to remain neutral (Dunn et al., 2019, 464). However, the entire schooling process is fundamentally political. After all, formal education is organ-

[130] Research diary, 5.2.2019.

ised and controlled by governments. Moreover, questions on the principles defining the educational system, objectives of schooling or the criteria for school success are the results of debate and compromise. Therefore, education is political not just at the level of the system but also at the level of classrooms and school experience as a whole. However, this contingent nature of affairs is invisible when education policies or curricula are translated into everyday practices of school life, where they are considered ordinary and natural (cf. Apple, 2003, 1; Beyer & Apple, 1998, 4–5; Giroux, 1981).

There are several interconnected historical reasons why the knowledge transmitted by schools is considered neutral and unproblematic. One key factor is the entanglement of state and schools mentioned above. Historically speaking, the task of teachers has been to make the status quo seem natural and desirable. Since the establishment of common schools in the 1860s, the teaching profession has been committed to the state and its socio-political aspirations (e.g. Lindén, 2010, 79; Valtonen, 2013, 164). For instance, after the Civil War the educational system was considered key in reconstructing a sense of community among citizens. Teachers were perceived as morally sound model citizens whose task was to promote the ideology and values of the nation state (cf. Rantala, 2001; Vuorikoski & Räisänen, 2010). Being the implementers of national education policies, teachers' loyalty to state ideologies was assured through different forms of control. For instance, Rantala (2001, 167) suggests that while teachers often identified themselves with the builders of the nation during the first decades of Finland's independence, they may have also tried to follow the general political ethos directed by school inspectors. Moreover, recruitment practices, teacher education and more recently the assessment and measurement of the outcomes of teacher work have been used to retain the desired political attitude (Rantala, 2001, 166; Fornaciari & Männistö, 2017, 355; Valtonen, 2013, 164).

Another historical trajectory relating to the notion of schools' apoliticality is that of the academisation of the teaching profession. Alongside the founding of the comprehensive school in the early 1970s, professionalisation of the occupation accelerated. A theoretical knowledge base grounded on educational sciences overthrew the previous practice-oriented knowhow, as having a master's degree became a necessary qualification (Valtonen, 2013, 178–179). This allowed teachers to be perceived as university-trained specialists who offer their scientific and thus neutral academic expertise for the use of the educational system. Simultaneously, the relationship with the state became even stronger, as teachers were to abide by the national curriculum (Vuorikoski & Räisänen, 2010, 65–69; Furuhagen et al., 2019). Säntti et al. (2018, 17) suggest that in reality, academisation has been slow and the change has been more of a rhetorical one. However, the image of research-based teacher education resulting in the most educated teachers in the world has been influential in creating institutional trust and assuring school knowledge as reliable and scientific.

Yet another historical development significant in solidifying the notion of schools' apoliticality relates to changes in the political atmosphere in Finland during the 1960s and 1970s. Following international movements, the era was

characterised by the rise of far-left activism, resulting in some political turmoil and marked confrontation between the opposites on the political spectrum. What is notable here is that schools became a focal arena of these political battles, as leftist student organisations demanded school democracy. Like in Sweden and other Nordic countries, the demands resulted in the introduction of school councils where students could discuss and influence the day-to-day practices of schooling together with teachers. As these councils created a forum for the already vocal leftist activists, the National Board of Education was criticised over politicising schools (Suutarinen, 2008; Holmén, 2018).

Furthermore, history and social studies education in particular gained some dubious publicity in the polarised circumstances. First, student organisations questioned the state of history and social studies education for indoctrinating youth into the political status quo. Second, a curriculum development experiment implemented by the University of Tampere resulted in a heated debate on the politicisation of history education as the so-called Pirkkala handout caught the attention of the political right. The handout was the outline of a small teaching experiment for fifth graders introducing a Marxist interpretation of history (e.g. Holmén, 2018; Suutarinen, 2008; Virta, 1998). Virta (1998, 58) notes that in the history of Finnish history education, the school subject has never again received as much public attention as it did during the heyday of school democracy. As youth radicalism eased towards the end of the 1970s and school councils were discontinued, the political culture turned towards the idealisation of consensus and downplaying political differences. In a study on the remembrance of 1970s radical leftism, Hyvärinen (1994, 13) notes an ensuing reversal, as many of those who affiliated with student organisations or the radical left denied, downplayed or made excuses for their connections to the movement, while others rushed to judge them. Moreover, as van den Berg and Löfström (2011) suggest, one of the characteristics of public debate in Finland since the political tumult of the 1960s and 1970s has been a depoliticising way of speaking, where ideological differences are de-emphasised, and politics are seen as the neutral management of affairs conducted by office holders.

Overall, both the perceived neutrality of academic knowledge the teachers portray and the historical developments described above have entrenched apoliticality as a distinct feature of Finnish school culture. As Fornaciari and Männistö (2015) note, this ideal has reproductive power, as teacher education continues to attract conservative applicants who show an unquestioning stance towards extant culture and education policies and who are thus interested in preserving the status quo. Moreover, teacher education continues to focus on mastering suitable teaching methods and the subject matter to be taught, as the role of sociology, philosophy or policy-oriented research in education are overpowered by psychologically oriented perspectives. Therefore, there might be inadequate support in teacher training for critical reflection on the relationship between teacher work and societal phenomena (Fornaciari & Männistö, 2015, 80; see also Simola, 2008, 412; Räihä, 2006, 220).

Studies touching on teachers' insights on the societal underpinnings of their work suggest the element of apoliticality continues to exist as a cultural model defining the teaching profession. For instance, Fornaciari and Männistö (2017) found that most teachers consider the objective of their work to socialise students into the dominant culture rather than to advance a reflexive relationship. Like Ben, teachers in Finland seem to consider themselves as consumers and transmitters of knowledge rather than as active constructors of ideas, habits and values (cf. Laplante, 1997). For instance, in a study on class teachers' ideas on the relevance of history, understanding the past to understand the future and learning 'the big picture' were considered the most important aspects in history teaching, while educating for active citizenship was mentioned by only 13% of participants (Tallavaara & Rautiainen, 2020, 233).

Moreover, the 1999 international study on civic education by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) showed that Finnish teachers stand apart as having a strong focus on information transmission and the least interest in developing values (Suutarinen, 2000, 107). However, in the IEA civic studies of 2009 and 2016 teachers pointed out the need to teach critical thinking as the main objective of civic education (Suoninen et al., 2010, 16; Mehtäläinen et al., 2017, 16). Yet, even if teachers' focus may have shifted, it is not reflected in student responses; from decade to decade, students in Finland shine in terms of their civic knowledgeability but fall into the group of those most disinterested in civic participation.[131]

Overall, there is strong cultural support for treating knowledge passed along by schools as politically neutral. Moreover, in an era that has brought notions of fake news and post-truth into everyday discourse, there might even be a pronounced need to promote the apoliticality and trustworthiness of school knowledge. As this institutional knowledge is considered all-around academic, it seems like the perfect antidote for populist claims or conspiracy theories. Thus, the cultural model of apoliticality of school knowledge is bolstered by many elements—the historical trajectories discussed above, school resources such as textbooks portraying knowledge as uncontested, and finally the political demand invoked by things such as 'fake news' and the sheer quantity of (dubious) information available. Therefore, resorting to such a cultural model when arranging knowledge hierarchies in the classroom seems understandable. Moreover, as Scott et al. (2006) suggest, an authoritative approach to knowledge is usually necessary even in a classroom where there is an aim to have students participate as knowers, as the teacher can discuss, enrichen ands question their everyday perspectives. However, as the analysis conducted here suggests, a too solid cultural standing of the model of schools' apoliticality can also create an epistemological barrier to student participation. Deeming school knowledge as unparalleled can cause significant friction in attempts to take students' knowledge seriously.

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[131] Although, as Männistö et al. (2017) state, it is also possible that such surveys do not recognise or acknowledge all forms of youths' societal activity and participation, as they are more focused on traditional means, such as voting.

6 QUESTIONING THE CURRICULUM: PRESCRIBED NEOLIBERALISM?

In this chapter, I examine aspects of the prescribed curriculum that Ben found uncomfortable. When discussing some of my preliminary observations in January and in December after leaving the field, Ben noted how he knowingly attempted to combine elements from 'old' and 'new' approaches, referring to his right to exercise teacher autonomy and interpret the official curriculum according to his best judgement. To rephrase, there were aspects in the curriculum he was ready to incorporate into his teaching but also elements he rejected. While maintaining that he endorsed the teaching of historical thinking, Ben had some reservations from the very beginning. As the field period continued, Ben became increasingly open about voicing criticism of the history curriculum based on the disciplinary approach. Therefore, the analysis here focuses on the reception of the prescribed curriculum, paying special attention to elements Ben felt cautious about and was not eager to implement.

In many countries, the contents of the history curriculum have aroused heated debates among teachers, politicians and historians. Peterson (2016, 863) groups these debates into the categories of 'history in crisis' and 'history in danger' depending on the focal issue of each debate. 'History in crisis' refers to controversies concerning the purpose, content and form of history education. These debates have often been characterised as history wars. The quarrels have typically involved those who support the collective memory approach stressing the role of history in building national identities and those who support the disciplinary approach stressing the interpretative nature of history and its significance in fostering critical and reflexive thinking (Taylor & Guyver, 2012, xii). These debates have taken place around the globe (e.g. Parkes, 2007; Éthier & Lefrancois, 2012; Gonzales, 2012; Siebörger, 2012), including in countries neighbouring Finland, such as Estonia (Potapenko, 2010) and Sweden (Samuelson, 2017).

However, in Finland there has been little public discussion on history education, despite the evident changes in the curricula during the past decades (e.g. Veijola, 2016a). When history as a school subject has received public attention, it has concerned its diminishing role in the curriculum (e.g. Mansikka, 2017), thus

falling into the category of 'history in danger'. Even history teachers themselves have greeted the new curriculum with relief. Surveys show there is contentment regarding the set objectives and complaints mainly regarding the clarity of assessment criteria and the amount of content knowledge to be covered (Rantala & Ouakrim-Soivio, 2018; Pönni, 2013). However, previous research indicates that like the teacher in the present study, a number of teachers still advocate the collective memory approach (e.g. Rantala et al., 2020). This gives reason to suspect some conflict in how teachers perceive the disciplinary approach.

At the beginning of the field period, Ben's criticism of the curriculum was reminiscent of the 'history in danger' argument, except here the threat of the diminishing role of history stemmed from inside the subject. Ben believed that too much focus on 'historical skills', as he referred to the objectives related to disciplinary thinking, would result in history education void of history itself. However, as the criticism became more vocal and diverse, it was evident there was a significant conflict of values at play concerning questions beyond the scope of history education. From the teacher's perspective, the introduction of the new core curriculum implied a shift in power whereby the grassroots agents—teachers and students—were the underdogs. The criticism took form in discourses reflecting the teacher's conception of the curriculum, described here as neoliberal. While the teacher himself did not use the term neoliberalism, I have chosen to use it to characterise the common denominator in the voiced criticism touching upon consequences that neoliberal ideas are criticised as having for education—student inequality, teacher accountability and handing over educational decision making to global economic powers.

The concept of neoliberalisation in the context of education is used to characterise the primacy of a free market economy in creating educational aims and policies. Since the 1980s, educational reforms around the globe have promoted market-driven ideas involving freedom of choice, competitiveness, accountability, standardisation and privatisation (Apple, 2000; Blossing et al., 2014b, 235–237; Robertson, 2012, 591; Dovemark et al., 2018). As Apple (2000, 238) notes, neoliberalism is a combination of a belief in the free market and a commitment to a regulatory state that enables the production of evidence that assure efficient performance. This is why it incorporates ideas that are seemingly contradictory, such as freedom of choice and standardisation.

The reasons for the breakthrough of market-driven ideas in the sphere of education have to do with changes in labour markets. Throughout the 20th century, the shift from an industrial economy to an information economy has created new skill demands, as an increasing number of occupations involve the production, distribution and consumption of information (Griffin et al., 2012, 1–2). Therefore, education is considered the key to the economic competitiveness of each country (Harris & Ormond, 2018; Harris et al., 2020). These developments have motivated a technical–instrumentalist view on curricular reforms, treating curriculum as a tool for supporting economic growth (Moore & Young, 2009, 17).

Transnational organisations in trade and finance, most notably the European Union and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

(OECD), are regarded as having a central role in furthering these aims. They have influenced education policies in various countries through so-called soft governance. As they do not have direct administrative power, they use peer pressure. Introducing peer reviews of educational systems and international testing, such as PISA, these organisations have become major players in the field of education. Based on the information provided by these assessments and rankings of countries, international standards and best practices are suggested to policymakers to make use of in evidence-based education reforms (Blossing et al., 2014a, 8–9; Biesta, 2006b, 170; Akiba, 2013, xxii–xxiv).

Moore and Young (2009) suggest one of the core aims of proponents of the technical–instrumentalist view on education is to foster students' trainability and flexibility, attributes considered necessary in a knowledge-based economy. The grounds for such goals lie in the conception of work life as constantly changing, thus requiring people to have the ability to conform to rapidly shifting conditions. The technical–instrumental view has resulted in curricular reforms emphasising different cross-disciplinary objectives and studies focusing on the application of knowledge (Moore & Young, 2009, 17–18). For instance, OECD has promoted the development of generic competences, conceptualised as 21st century skills and competences, as a focal aim of educational reforms, and the ideals of learning to learn and lifelong learning are now at the heart of many curricula (OECD, 2001; Ananiadou & Claro, 2009, 12).

In the Finnish national core curriculum for basic education, generic competences were first presented in the 2004 framework as cross-curricular themes (EDUFI, 2004, 36–41; Oinonen et al., 2018, 138–139) and were reconceptualised in the 2014 framework as transversal competences, including competences such as learning to learn, information and communication technology (ICT), and working life competence (EDUFI, 2014, 21–25). As such, they follow conceptualisations of 21st century skills and competences defined in the European Reference Framework for Key Competences 2007 report based on the European Union Lifelong Learning program (EU, 2007; Valli et al., 2014, 117). The definition offered in the report and other literature on 21st century skills consists of skills and competences[132] that relate to critical thinking and problem solving, collaborative forms of work, the growing role of ICT in work life and aspects of social and personal responsibility (EU, 2007, 3; see also Binkley et al., 2012, 18–19; Valli et al., 2014, 119–120). While arguments for the practice of 21st skills and competences include notions of active citizenship and societal participation, the viewpoint of work life is often pervasive (e.g. Ananiadou & Claro, 2009, 5; Griffin et al., 2012, 1–3).

While the Finnish national core curriculum for basic education of 2014 continues to emphasise the importance of a broad education, equity and social justice, it also includes some aspects that entail neoliberal tenets. As Tervasmäki (2016) suggests, the ideals of self-directedness, lifelong learning and education as the accumulation of human capital involve a hidden curriculum where students

[132] The EU report differentiates competences from skills so that competence means the ability to apply skills (and knowledge and knowhow). Therefore, competence is a broader concept that can comprises several skills (see Gordon et al., 2009, p. 37).

are to become individuals responsible for moulding and controlling themselves according to the demands of work life (Tervasmäki, 2016, 96–99). This resonates with the findings of Kinnari (2020), who identifies a significant change in the concept of lifelong learning, as he traces its development and different 'generations' from the 1960s to the present. While the original aims were grounded on promoting equality and social justice, its current form, which Kinnari calls 'the generation of entrepreneurship', focuses on the individual, extending to transformation of their attitudes and persona (Kinnari, 2020, 126–128). Biesta (2006) suggests the problem with this perceived need for flexibility inherent in lifelong learning lies in the ideal of the ability to adapt to any change, regardless of the quality of the change. The rhetoric and policies surrounding these concepts also imply that an individual's success or misfortune in life is tied solely to their willingness to commit to the effort of lifelong learning, turning lifelong learning from a right to a duty (Biesta, 2006b, 175).

In Finland, the neoliberal influence has so far been rather modest (cf. Ahonen, 2014, 77–78). In the national core curriculum, participation and communality continue to overpower the technical–instrumental views on learning (Saari et al., 2017, 99–100). However, the tension between the influence of business life in education policies and the values of participation and equity grounding Ben's educational thinking was central in how he perceived the latest core curriculum and its disciplinary objectives. In this chapter, I discuss three points of concern Ben had regarding the introduction and implementation of the curriculum promoting a disciplinary approach to history. Two of these concerns related to students' right to knowledge. In addition, there was a concern regarding the diminishing role of teacher autonomy that resulted from the disciplinary approach and its detailed demands. As Ben's criticisms reflecting neoliberal developments in the sphere of education did not take place in a vacuum, I will also ponder on the role of contextual factors in the reception of the latest curriculum.

6.1 Historical skills as a threat to students' right to knowledge

When asked about the central objectives of history education, Ben's first response was 'historical skills'. This was something he had mentioned the first time we met in February 2017. At the time, he said historical skills were something he wanted to focus on in the future, while 'content-jogging'[133] was something he wanted to avoid. 'Historical skills' is a common pet name for the disciplinary approach in history, deriving from the concepts of historical thinking skills and historical literacy[134] mentioned in the 2014 Finnish national core curriculum (Rantala & Ouakrim-Soivio, 2018, 7). Due to the conceptual diversity of the history curriculum, 'historical skills' can be interpreted as a rather broad concept

[133] In Finnish: 'Sisältöhölkkä', occasionally 'sisältöjumppa'. For a more comprehensive discussion on the meaning of content-jogging, see chapter 4.2.
[134] Historical literacy translates as 'historian teksti*taidot*' in Finnish, with 'taito' (and its plural 'taidot') being the Finnish equivalent of 'skill'.

covering both second-order conceptual ideas and procedural knowledge (see VanSledright & Limón, 2006, 547).

Despite the aspiration to teach historical skills, Ben also had some reservations. The criticism of the disciplinary approach to history education concerned students' right to knowledge. At the very beginning of the field period, the criticism centred on neglecting historical content knowledge and the insufficiency of limiting history education to the practise of skills. Ben was worried whether students would learn any history in skill-based education. However, as the field period continued and Ben attended some continuing education on the topic, the focus of concern shifted. A new doubt arose over the difficulty of mastering historical skills, a problem that would eventually result in student inequality. These two criticisms of the disciplinary approach were interrelated through the worry over students' right to knowledge, first by not having access to it and second by not having the demanded abilities to understand it. Next, I explore these criticisms and reflect them vis-à-vis the prescribed curriculum, curriculum reform and the adopted cultural models discussed in previous chapters.

6.1.1 Just skills? – The business life curriculum

The first criticism Ben had concerning teaching historical thinking skills involved the idea of history being 'in danger' (Peterson, 2016). Ben's worries about historical skills seemed to concern a familiar dichotomy of having to choose between teaching skills or content. In the past few decades, the central issue in developing history education in Finland has concerned striking a proper balance between values, facts and skills (Virta & Yli-Panula, 2012, 193). The criticism Ben had about teaching historical skills at the beginning of my field period was reminiscent of these discussions, as he was worried about the imbalance between teaching historical skills and historical content knowledge. Starting with the very first interview, Ben expressed some concern over the curriculum placing too much emphasis on teaching skills. When I asked him what he considered the central objectives of history education, he noted the importance of skills but was also hesitant regarding their influence on learning historical content knowledge:

> *Ben: Historical skills. Source criticism and such, how to find information. And then, oh well. I do still want to stress the meaning of content knowledge as well, so that people would have some kind of a compass, a map of what and when some things happened. Skills and… content knowledge.*
>
> *Ida: Hand in hand?*
>
> *Ben: I do think they go hand in hand.*

When taking a closer look at Ben's account of historical skills, it became increasingly evident the focal issue Ben had with the curriculum was in fact the dispute over whether education should focus on distinct disciplines or cross-disciplinary skills. While speaking of historical skills, the definitions Ben associated

with them did not include disciplinary elements but a combination of generic competences. Thus, the dichotomous notion of skills and content was grounded at least partly on this conceptual confusion. In accordance, when Ben discussed the problems of teaching historical skills, his criticism was in fact addressed towards the emphasis on generic competences. As we discussed the difference between the 2004 and 2014 frameworks later in the interview, Ben revisited the dichotomy. He expressed some anguish over not being able to let go of teaching content knowledge. He considered education focusing on 'just… [--]… skills' inadequate. Moreover, he brought the concept of 'learning-to-learn skills' into the discussion.

> *Ben: ... Because they are trying to shift the point of view, that we need to train the skills and the learning-to-learn skills and then the contents are like… a bit secondary, they are like tools for learning the skills. And it is quite difficult for me, I'm still struggling with it. The contents still have meaning for me, and I have always loved history and I want the students to know something about Russian Revolution and the sort. So I can't just have us practice like, information retrieval skills and like, having the information itself as a secondary goal. However, it might be that society has some other needs… (Gives a grim laugh)*
>
> *(--)*
>
> *Ben: Yes, so that's the most pivotal change [between the 2004 and 2014 curricula] and it feels a bit... I catch myself constantly thinking, like… They [skills and content] should be more like equal.*

When examining Ben's definitions of historical skills here and beyond the first interview, it is clear the skills Ben attributed as 'historical' did not include the disciplinary skills mentioned in the curriculum. In the first interview, Ben mentioned source criticism (*lähdekritiikki*),[135] information retrieval skills and learning-to-learn skills. Moreover, Ben gave an additional definition of the concept of historical skills in the very first history lessons as he explained the concept to students. He mentioned historical skills as the main objective of instruction, whereas historical content knowledge was more of an instrument for learning different historical skills, such as 'information retrieval skills, the ability to work in groups and so forth'.[136]

[135] Source criticism in the Finnish context is and is not a historical skill. In the sphere of historical research, *lähdekritiikki* resembles Wineburg's (1991) concept of sourcing, used to assess the fruitfulness of historical sources for research purposes. However, in the context of education at large, *lähdekritiikki* is typically used as a general concept to describe a critical stance towards the reliability of any given source of information. For instance, the only explicit mention of the concept in the Finnish National Core Curriculum of 2014 can be found under cross-disciplinary skills. Therefore, the history curriculum does not recognise the concept as such but instead stresses the abilities to read, assess and interpret historical sources and information.
[136] Fieldnotes, 23.10.2017.

Instead of the history section of the prescribed curriculum, all the skills Ben mentioned can be found in the explication of the so-called transversal competences in the 2014 core curriculum (EDUFI, 2014, 21–26). The general section of the framework introduced a list of seven transversal competences: 1) thinking and learning to learn, 2) cultural competence, interaction and expression, 3) taking care of oneself and managing daily life, 4) multiliteracy, 5) ICT competence, 6) working life competence and entrepreneurship and 7) participation, involvement and building a sustainable future. Of the skills Ben mentioned, learning to learn is listed as one of the core competences, group work is listed under 'Working life competence and entrepreneurship', source criticism in listed under 'ICT competence' and information retrieval skills are listed under 'Multiliteracy'.

While Ben's concern about historical skills at this point rested on conceptual confusion, it is worth noting that the question of the balance between skills and content knowledge is nevertheless an enduring debate in the field of history education. Researchers have warned about detaching individual sources and micro-level historical cases from the large-scale contexts and processes in which they are embedded. For instance, Harris and Ormond (2018, 569) suggest that too strict a focus on disciplinary skills can damage students' understanding of broader historical processes and the big picture (see also Ormond, 2016, 616; Shemilt, 2000, 85; Lee, 2017, 56; Seixas, 2006). Moreover, Lowenthal (2000, 69–70) is wary about letting go of canonised history and warns about the possible consequences of public debate regarding both the past and the present if people no longer have any shared conception of the past or of the events or phenomena considered significant in history.

To address the problem, researchers have stressed the interwoven nature of historical skills and historical content knowledge. Even expert historians are unable to contextualise historical sources without some base knowledge of historical events and phenomena (Reisman, 2015, 32). As Wineburg shows in the essay *What did George think?* (2018), contextual knowledge is the key to understanding primary sources.[137] Wineburg describes a study comparing the historical reading abilities of highly educated individuals from different fields to those of actual historians. The results show that non-historians interpret George Washington's Thanksgiving Proclamation from 1789 in an almost opposite way compared to historians, who had sufficient context knowledge and understanding of 18th century linguistic codes (Wineburg, 2018, 95–97; see also Wineburg & Gottlieb, 2011; Gottlieb & Wineburg, 2012). In congruence with these findings, Lévesque (2008, 27) argues that content knowledge is the basis for more evolved thinking on the questions of how historical knowledge is constructed and what it means. This is why contextualisation is considered an important element in different frameworks aiming to conceptualise the disciplinary modes of knowledge production and the expertise of historians (e.g. Wineburg, 1991, 76; Seixas, 2017, 599; Baron,

[137] However, Nokes (2013, 13) notes that there have also been studies in which content knowledge has played a less significant role. For instance, Wineburg (1998) found historians to be capable of analysing historical texts outside their own expertise. Of course, one might also argue that historians might still have a slightly more comprehensive understanding of history beyond their specific area of expertise compared to non-historians.

2012, 838–840). Moreover, Cuban (2016) claims the whole dichotomy between skills and content knowledge is a false construct and suggests looking at the phenomenon as more of a continuum. Such an approach would better recognise how lessons grounded on the collective memory approach can at times urge students to engage in analysis or how even the most skill-focused lesson can still be 'chock-full of content' (Cuban, 2016, 186).

Thus, the debate on skills and content knowledge among history educators involves similar issues of gaining a sufficient historical perspective to access and operate in the societal sphere as those mentioned by Ben, although the view on the benefits and nature of the disciplinary approach is different. Moreover, in the public domain criticism of the approach has frequently surfaced alongside a more general criticism of the abolishment of history education as the transmission of a national collective memory. Attempts to reform history education in alignment with the disciplinary approach has often resulted in so-called history wars, heated debates on the purpose of history education (Taylor & Guyver, 2012, xi–xii). However, criticism of such reforms has often arisen from right-wing conservative groups opposing the disciplinary approach to history education due to its perceived neglect of content knowledge and overemphasis of skills and concepts. This worry over content has had strong political undertones, as it has been presented alongside a concern over emphasising multiculturalism at the expense of the national canon. Critics have made allegations that such history lessons have no value for students, as they do not help in constructing a meaningful national identity and creating social cohesion (e.g. Phillips, 2012, 14–15).

Therefore, these so-called history wars have taken place between liberals advocating the disciplinary approach grounded on multiperspectivity and disciplinary thinking and conservatives aiming to protect traditional values and a collective memory through history education (Barton, 2012, 194).[138] Therefore, they are debates about the purpose of education and the worldview schools should promote. However, while Ben was worried over the loss of content, the criticism he expressed regarding teaching historical skills had little to do with the debates over national identities. Still, the problem he had was political and value-driven. His argument against the skill-based history curriculum was not that of a conservative but of an educator eager to inspire students to think critically and question the political status quo. Ultimately, Ben perceived the disciplinary approach to history to lead students to become historically ignorant and thus politically oblivious. However, as noted, due to the conceptual confusion this criticism is better examined in reference to discussions relating to the emphasis of generic and not disciplinary skills and competences.

The generic or transversal competences Ben was discussing were already defined in the 2004 core curriculum as 'cross-curricular themes'[139] (EDUFI, 2004,

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[138] However, Barton (2012, 188) also suggests the characterisation of these debates as 'history wars' is misleading because the debates have mainly taken place at the level of political rhetoric or academic quarrelling, whereas their impact on classrooms and the practices of history education have been rather modest.

[139] These include Growth as a person, Cultural identity and internationalism, Media skills and communication, Participatory citizenship and entrepreneurship, Responsibility for the

36–41). These competences are the Finnish equivalent of the 21st century skills suggested by OECD (Krokfors, 2017, 150–151). Their introduction in the curriculum relates to international shifts in education policies, where the key idea driving the policies is the concept of a knowledge economy. A knowledge economy rests on the assumption that the role of knowledge in economic growth will increase significantly in the future (OECD, 2001, 100; Biesta, 2006b, 176). This assumption has direct consequences for schooling. As innovations become the key to economic success, education functions as capital that enhances economic competitiveness. To live up to these expectations, education systems need to find ways to respond to the needs of the knowledge economy. Therefore, schools are expected to focus on knowledge and abilities and thus the production of human capital that secures economic benefits for individuals and communities (Harris & Ormond, 2018, 1–2; Robertson, 2005, 152).

Robertson (2005, 166) notes that while the existence of such a knowledge economy is in itself a controversial issue, the policies driven by the notion are very real. Internationally, the work life-inspired policies have materialised in curricula through the introduction of different generic skills and competences, often conceptualised as 21st century skills. These include abilities such as critical thinking, problem solving, learning to learn, communication, collaboration and ICT (e.g. Binkley et al., 2012, 18–19). Thus, Finnish curricula have followed these international trends with the introduction of cross-curricular, generic skills and competences (Krokfors, 2017, 250). The reasoning behind the focus on generic skills as a solution to securing economic growth is that they foster thinking that surpasses traditional disciplinary boundaries. This again is expected to help students cope with the complex and continually changing realities of citizenship and work life (Oinonen et al., 2018, 139).

The move away from the disciplinary-based curricula has also been criticised. For instance, Young and Muller (2010, 18–19) question the emphasis on generic skills, as they prevent students from recognising different forms of knowledge and thought and thus promote a view according to which all information and knowledge can be examined from a single perspective through the same lenses. Without the epistemic structures, the concepts and principles of each discipline that create meaning from information, knowledge turns into incoherent data (see also McPhail & Rata, 2016, 60). However, the current solution in the Finnish national core curriculum for basic education of 2014 is not to abandon academic disciplines but to find connections between generic and disciplinary skills. The idea seems to be in practicing cross-curricular competences within individual school subjects in ways that are sensitive to the nature of the discipline in question, thus leaving distinct disciplines a significant role. For instance, the history section of the 2014 framework leaves it up to local-level actors to decide how cross-curricular objectives are taken into consideration in student assessment, as they are mentioned in the list of objectives but excluded from assessment criteria (EDUFI, 2014, 447, 449).

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environment, Well-being and a sustainable future, Safety and traffic and Technology and the individual. All these themes include objectives and core contents for students to master.

Overall, Ben's criticism of the curriculum based on the disciplinary approach reflected suspicion regarding the rationale behind the change of emphasis. As Ben noted in the interview, leaving students devoid of historical (or any other) knowledge might serve 'the needs of the society'. This was likely a reference to the education policies of the time, determined to find solutions to increase national economic competitiveness (see Tervasmäki & Tomperi, 2018).[140] To better grasp the alternative to and consequences of the business life-driven curriculum, we discussed the purpose of learning history in the first place. While Ben noted how 'one does not die due to a lack of history education',[141] he also considered learning historical content knowledge a central element of becoming an aware citizen. In our last interview, we talked about the possible consequences of insufficient historical knowledge. Ben regarded history as a central aspect of broad education and as serving the purpose of providing some perspective so that students would not 'run after all sorts of populists like some herd of cows'.[142] He was worried about students becoming 'easy to manipulate', as without history they would have 'one of their navigation tools in poor condition'.[143]

As Counsell (2012, 56) notes, the term 'skill' can be problematic when applied to both disciplinary and cross-curricular understandings and processes, as it begins to lack meaning. In Ben's case, it is evident that the catch-all use of the term in the curriculum caused confusion and muddied rather than clarified the purpose and objectives of teaching and learning. However, as the analysis conducted here suggests, the question behind Ben's suspicion towards historical skills was greater than mere puzzlement over terminology. Apple (2004) suggests that the trend of framing the contents of the curriculum as different forms of skills signals the growing influence of the belief system of advanced industrial economies. Hence, the skill-based curricula can be interpreted as a reflection of a technical–instrumentalist view of education, where 'scientific' solutions are expected to assure effective and value-neutral processes of learning. Borrowing the processes and rhetoric of sciences is therefore assumed to provide technical control and certainty, thus in fact treating sciences themselves as mere technology and ignoring the ambiguities and uncertainties underlying the actual scientific process (Apple, 2004, 7, 102–103). Apple notes this 'systems management' approach to curriculum is an updated descendant of the Tyler Rationale, which has been widely used as an instrument for curriculum planning. The Tyler Rationale was first envisaged in the 1950s, giving a similar promise of efficacy and control through the division of learning into a controlled process where the curriculum dictates clear objectives and criteria for its assessment, and the role of the teacher is to help students achieve these goals and assess the outcomes of the process (Apple, 2004, 105).

In the criticism of systems management in education, Apple also grapples with the hidden curriculum of such an approach: 'By learning how to work for

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[140] For further discussion on how Ben perceived contemporary education policies and 'the needs of the society', see subchapter 6.3.
[141] Interview, 26.3.2018.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.

others' preordained goals using others' preselected behaviors, students also learn to function in an increasingly corporate and bureaucratised society in which the adult roles one is to play are already sedimented into the social fabric' (2004, 111). Such a technical–instrumentalist view of education is the view of the economic powers, where the focus of education is on generic skills that foster trainability and flexibility in students (Moore & Young, 2009, 17–18). A similar concern was apparent in Ben's ideas about the disciplinary approach. From his perspective, the skill-based curriculum reflects the needs of 'the society' with an emphasis on producing skilled but consequently ignorant workers who would be easily manipulated to serve the needs of whoever wished to exert power over them.

Therefore, the question of the balance between skills was ultimately a question regarding the shortsightedness of education dictated solely by economic interests. For him, the skill-based curriculum seemed to offer a different kind of society and a different set of values that contradicted the previous educational values of participation and the acknowledgment of the intrinsic value of knowledge, in which he himself believed. Nevertheless, it is also noteworthy that the role of the conceptual confusion behind the rejection of the disciplinary approach was not insignificant, as it inspired this interpretation of the approach as a reflection of neoliberal influence. As Bernhard (2017) noted in the context of Austrian history education, suspicion of the disciplinary approach in history was in fact similarly a result of antipathy toward the competence orientation of the curriculum at large. This antipathy in turn resulted from the perception that the competence orientation was prescribed by authorities higher up in the hierarchy after teachers had 'failed' to generate better PISA results (Bernhard, 2017, 6–7). As Ben is hardly the only history teacher in Finland who has difficulty understanding the history curriculum (see Rantala & Ouakrim-Soivio, 2018, 14), a closer examination of Finnish teachers' conceptual understanding and their connections to beliefs regarding the values and purposes of history education might offer new insights into the difficulties in implementing the disciplinary approach on a broader scale.

6.1.2 Only for the gifted – the (too) academic curriculum

During the course of the field period, Ben's conception of historical literacy started to change. This was a result of becoming more familiar with the concepts of historical thinking skills and historical literacy through some continuing education and independent reading. Both his definitions of historical skills and actual classroom practices implied he had partially reconceptualised historical skills as abilities necessary for source work. While Ben continued to associate some generic skills as disciplinary ones, the novel aspects of the concept brought up a novel concern. Like the previous criticism, it concerned students' rights to access and receive knowledge. This time, the problem touched upon a new aspect of educational equality. Along with the transformations in the conceptual understanding of historical thinking, Ben began to consider historical skills as 'too uni-

versity-like' and thus challenging for most eighth graders. Therefore, the objective of teaching historical skills turned into a possible source of inequality in terms of students' access to education.

As mentioned, in the continuing education course Ben had become more aware of the role of analysing, comparing and interpreting primary sources in the disciplinary approach to history education. In the second interview with Ben, he mentioned information retrieval, source criticism and the ability to find relevant information from texts as central historical skills. Moreover, he noted the importance of being able to read, assess and analyse pictures.[144] The change was also reflected on the level of teaching practices. Ben gave students assignments where he expected them to pay attention to the reliability of sources. For instance, at the end of January during a recess before a history lesson the teacher was placing question sheets on the students' desks. He said attending the continuing education course inspired him to take 'baby steps' in teaching historical literacy. The students were about to watch a documentary on Hitler's Germany, and as part of the assignment they needed to 'evaluate the documentary film as a historical source' and consider whether its depiction of Nazi Germany and Hitler was 'believable/reliable'. The students were also asked to justify their answers.[145]

Although Ben experimented with the newly adopted aspects of historical skills, he was also sceptical of the approach. In our second interview in January, Ben criticised the skill-based history curriculum. This criticism was based on two ideas—first, the notion of the curriculum as being on a 'university level' and second, the students being 'concrete' thinkers, incapable of abstract thinking. The characterisation of university-like curriculum first emerged in the second interview in mid-January, when Ben pointed how 'we cannot do things like they do at the university level … but we are trying to study some basics of source criticism, with more or less success, depending a lot on the student'.[146].Moreover, he emphasised the academic nature of the curriculum by noting how the curriculum was 'incomprehensible', how he suspected whether even 'the lot at the university' understand everything written in it and how it would be 'nice if it were written in a manner that would allow even students to understand it'.[147] In our conversation after the interview, he repeated the notion of students being 'only eighth graders' and how it should be remembered that they attend a lower secondary school and 'not a university'.[148]

As Oinonen et al. (2018, 151–152) found in their study on teachers' ideas regarding the latest core curriculum, Ben was not alone in these ideas. About one third of teachers were concerned about whether the demands of the curriculum would suit all students. Moreover, some history teachers in the study by Rantala and Ouakrim-Soivio (2018) had criticised the curriculum as being too academic.

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[144] 'And then of course, in addition to texts, there are nowadays these other skills like the ability to read pictures and like the ability to assess and analyse those pictures and compare, compare the sources and so.' (Interview, 22.1.2018.)
[145] Fieldnotes, 26.1.2018.
[146] Interview, 22.1.2018.
[147] Interviews, 9.11.2017 and 22.1.2018.
[148] Fieldnotes, 22.1.2018.

Moreover, such criticisms regarding the discipline are not limited to Finnish teachers but have been noted internationally (e.g. Cunnah, 2012, 113; Lowenthal, 2000, 66–67). Previous research is inconclusive on whether the disciplinary approach is suitable for students of all ages and backgrounds (Rantala & van den Berg, 2015, 72). However, research also suggests the approach has great advantages compared to transmission-based practices, as long as appropriate learning strategies are employed. Several comparative studies show that students engaging in practices that promote disciplinary thinking tend to outperform their peers in both their historical thinking skills and in mastering content knowledge and reading comprehension (Reisman, 2012, p. 112; Booth, 1994, p. 64; Shemilt, 1983, 15). Research based on teaching experiments promoting historical literacy show students with diverse abilities and backgrounds have developed in terms of considering historical context and perspective and in the interpretation and use of primary sources (Monte-Sano, 2011a, 237–238; De la Paz, 2005, 151–153; Rantala & Khawaja, 2018, 10; Vänttinen, 2009, 235–238). With proper guidance, students have been shown to comprehend the interpretative nature of historical knowledge, engage in critical analysis of primary sources and historical artefacts and form grounded interpretations themselves (Bain, 2005; Bain, 2006; Monte-Sano, 2011a, 261). Moreover, Barton and Levstik (1996) show how even the youngest of elementary students have already developed ideas about history and an emerging understanding of historical time.

However, research also suggests that progression in historical thinking is far from linear, and students in the same age group may have drastically varying levels of understanding. In addition, an individual student may progress in some areas of historical thinking quite rapidly, while other areas may take significantly more effort and time (Lee & Ashby, 2000, 213–214; Rantala & Khawaja, 2018, 10–12). Therefore, the task of teaching (and learning) historical thinking is indeed a challenging one. Studies have found history teachers with different levels of experience struggle with creating learning situations that promote historical thinking (Huijgen et al., 2017, 116; Monte-Sano, 2011b, 270). Such studies suggest a list of demands for teachers willing to engage in the disciplinary approach. There is a need to have historical content knowledge but even more so an understanding of the process of how historical knowledge comes into being (Wilson & McDiarmid, 1996, 298). In addition, teachers need to have knowledge of how to make the aforementioned accessible and significant for students (Bain & Mirel, 2006; Shulman, 1986,. 9–10). That is, they need to acquire information about their students' preconceptions, disciplinary knowledge and ideas or skills students find difficult (Monte-Sano & Cochran, 2009, 102). Moreover, they need to have a wide repertoire of teaching approaches and learning resources for successful differentiation that meets the range of student needs (Cunnah, 2012, 116–117).

The criticism Ben voiced only increased towards the end of the field period. Its culmination was in relation to an experiment on teaching historical literacy. Ben hoped to get a real-life example of how to teach historical literacy and asked me to plan a lesson for him to execute. Together with my dissertation supervisor

Anna Veijola, we designed a Cold War-themed experiment that took place during the last history lessons of the year, just before the class had their final exam. The first part involved an adaptation of a document-based task used in several previous studies examining Finnish students' historical literacy (Veijola & Rantala, 2018; Rantala & Veijola, 2016; Veijola, 2016b; Paldanius, 2020, 2019, 2018; Manninen & Vesterinen, 2017).[149] In it, students were to study two documents and think about what could be learned about who started the Cold War. For the second part of the experiment, the students conducted interviews regarding memories and experiences of the Cold War period. In the lesson, they were to present their interviews in small groups or pairs and classify them based on whether they concerned the Eastern or the Western block or possibly some other aspect. Then they were to discuss the sort of conceptions of East and West that took shape based on the recollections. In addition, the task involved thinking about the ways the interviewees' backgrounds possibly influenced their memories and discussing the nature of oral testimonies as historical sources and the possibilities and limitations such sources have. Again, after finishing the task the whole group was to engage in a classroom discussion on said matters.

When conducting the teaching experiment, Ben's ideas about the 'university-like' nature of historical skills were reflected in practice. During a classroom discussion, Ben introduced the questions on the nature of oral testimonies by doubting whether they were appropriate for the students, as he noted how it may be 'too difficult' for the students 'to say anything about it' before letting students share their thoughts on the matter.[150] McNeil (1986) calls such a manoeuvre defensive simplification. This refers to a situation where a teacher introduces a new topic or poses a question by noting that it is likely going to be too difficult for the students to understand. McNeil interpreted the practice as a means for the teacher to gain control of the classroom by persuading the students to co-operate without the need to commit to studying (McNeil, 1986, 174–175).

However, instead of aiming to control the students, Ben rather seemed to use defensive simplification as means to defend his own practice, to signal that he was on the students' side and against the 'university-like' questions. From my perspective, it seemed like Ben approached the teaching experiment as a way to

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[149] Because we only had about 45 minutes for the task, I chose two of the original four documents used in these studies—an excerpt from Winston Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech and an excerpt from Joseph Stalin's response to it published in *Pravda*. These documents had already been modified (=simplified) for the purposes of the original studies. The students had received some basic information on the Cold War three weeks beforehand, and at the beginning of the lesson for the first part of the experiment, the teacher was to provide some further context knowledge. For the source work, the students had additional support materials, including instructions for assessing and analysing contemporary sources. After finishing the task, the group was to have a classroom discussion to ponder the results.

[150] The students ended up having some great insights on the use of such recollections as historical sources. For instance, Aaron noted how the age of the interviewee influenced how they remembered things, as things may seem different from the perspectives of children and adults, and how people could also intentionally leave out bits of information when reminiscing. Elisabeth pointed out how adults may not share every bit of information with children and how people might remember incorrectly or be otherwise misinformed. Paula noted that while such sources might not be factually accurate, they can still inform us about peoples' attitudes or experiences.

prove to me and thus other academics the problematic nature of the disciplinary approach for students. Thus, defensive simplification was a way to draw a line between his practice and the practice suggested by academics (like me) who he had come to consider somewhat removed from the realities of the classroom. A similar drawing-of-a-line took place when Ben demanded the students do the document-based task silently and individually. The only other time the classroom had been as silent was during exams. It was as if Ben wished to make a clear distinction between the ongoing lessons and his own student-centred approach.

The interpretation of historical skills as overtly academic also surfaced in our last interview when I discussed the teaching experiment with Ben. The experience had only reinforced his concerns. He was worried whether some or even the majority of the students were ready to study historical skills:

> *Ben: I find I am starting to have a sort of resistance to some of these things. I want to hold on to the story form of history. I don't want to sacrifice it for that we start to study history in this very university-like manner in basic education. It's this, I would not call it a fear, but this…*
>
> *Ida: Concern?*
>
> *Ben: Concern that… For example in this group that you are observing, there are like these university-level people who are bound to find themselves in universities in a few years. And then, there are these students who can barely read.*
>
> *(--)*
>
> *Ben: But the sources seemed to be a little, the Churchill and the Stalin, they seemed to cause some [problems] for the students who already struggle with reading so they could not really understand them. I think that is the issue with the method, if we use these sources with some speech from Churchill… I mean you and me, we can understand it, but a student who does not have a lot of background information and this politician talks then, like how do you differentiate instruction. I think this is the challenge with this new history instruction, which is undoubtedly going to go in the direction of analysing these motives and such. So how do you take these so-called weak students into consideration, who already struggle with reading.*
>
> *Ida: Right.*
>
> *Ben: And the worse their reading abilities are, and if their study skills are lost, then the more difficult it is to point out these things. These students are in a very concrete level in average [--] there are a lot of those who are in a concrete level, who I need to give very simple explanations to, and who can get something out of studying the events. But this deeper analysis, pondering intentions, it is much harder for*

this group. And it is not a small group. After all, they are just eighth graders.

Overall, the teaching experiment and the way Ben described the experience revealed an interesting interplay between two different approaches to history education. While the materials and tasks were designed to engage students in historical reasoning through the examination of primary sources, it was evident Ben relied on what he knew and applied the model of transmitting a history in attempting these new approaches. The most apparent sign of relying on the more familiar model was when Ben forgot to give instructions and share the support materials for the source work. After the students had already begun reading the documents, I reminded the teacher about the support materials, after which he shared them with the students. However, at this point the students barely even noted the aids, as the teacher put them on their desks while they were already working. In addition, Ben also instructed the students to focus strictly on the documents and disregard other information.[151]

Thus, instead of guiding students in their work, Ben tried to teach historical skills through transmission, the way he was accustomed to do with content knowledge. In a study on history education in primary schooling, Knight (1991, 134) noted how teaching practices were often grounded on exposing students to chunks of content and rested on an expectation that such exposure would result in learning (see also Counsell, 2012, 55). In Ben's case, the attempt to teach skills by transmission translated into a similar practice where Ben tried to expose students to historical skills. The first occasion when this attempt became evident was when Ben tried to take baby steps in teaching historical literacy through questions on the reliability of the documentary on Nazi Germany. Like in the teaching experiment, the students were given a task where they needed to assess and analyse information without being given instructions on how to do so. Moreover, in a conversation after our final interview Ben discussed the last course exam for which the students were allowed to use textbooks or their smartphones for information retrieval. He was surprised the students struggled so much with information retrieval 'even though we've tried to practice it in the lessons quite a bit'.[152] As the class had not at any point discussed how to retrieve information or what to consider when doing it, it was apparent that Ben did not separate the practice of information retrieval from training on how to do it.

The criticism of historical skills being 'university-like' resonates with previous research on history teachers' ideas about historical thinking. For instance, Van Hover and Yeager (2004, 14) found history teachers consider student competence a central barrier to implementing historical inquiry. Moreover, in their review article on cognitive research concerning teaching and learning in history and geography education, VanSledright and Limón (2006, 560) note how history

[151] Fieldnotes, 14.3.2018: 'Just look at the speeches, don't think of anything else.' 'You may know some other information as well, but just focus on the speeches.'
[152] He also noted this during the interview, saying that 'even though they could use all kinds of source materials in the exam, they could use their textbooks and their phones, I still noticed that I need to teach information retrieval even more than before'.

teachers often believe students should first master historical narratives before attempting historical inquiry, thus considering the disciplinary approach unsuitable for younger students. Such ideas about students' abilities are not limited to history teachers but are also familiar to teachers in general. For instance, in a review article on school ethnographies, McAninch (2004, 92, 98) notes how many teachers hold stereotypic ideas about students, resulting in instructional activities with few opportunities for analytic or critical thinking. Moreover, McDiarmid (1990) found that pre-service teachers held onto their initial belief that young children could not comprehend complicated ideas even after experiencing situations that contradicted these beliefs.

Therefore, teachers' ideas about students and their abilities influence the enacted curriculum. However, it is worth noting that in Ben's case the idea of history education as a transmission of a history was involved in the production of beliefs about students being 'too concrete' thinkers and a history curriculum that was 'too university-like'. Leaning on transmission-based pedagogy did not give enough support to the students to grasp the assignment, thus assuring their less-than-ideal performance on the tasks. Therefore, it is difficult to pinpoint if there was a hierarchy between these beliefs, whether the belief in 'too concrete' students was primary and thus determined Ben's pedagogical choices or whether the adoption of transmission-based pedagogy had originally created the belief of students being 'too concrete' thinkers. After all, such a view of students could have been formed early in Ben's career, as the attempt to cultivate learning through exposure assured little support not just for learning disciplinary skills but historical content knowledge as well. Therefore, it is necessary to also consider the part Finnish teacher training has played in the birth of such notion about students. As teacher training was for a long time based on guiding teacher candidates to transmit information to students (as described by Ben when discussing his experiences from teacher training school), teachers have been offered few tools for supporting students in processing and adopting that information.

Moreover, Ben's interpretation of the curriculum as 'university-like' reflects an enduring tension between the roles of theory and practice in education. Historically, teacher training in Finland remained practice-oriented long after it became university-based in the late 1970s. Säntti et al. (2018, 17) even suggest that the academisation of teacher training has been more a rhetorical alteration than a real one. Moreover, Puustinen (2012, 26) notes how the significance of theoretical studies has only reached the relevance previously ascribed to practice-oriented studies since the turn of the millennium. While the actual shift towards research-based teacher training has been slow, the rhetorical emphasis on the relevance of theoretical studies shows that the model of an ideal teacher in universities has been that of an academically oriented 'teacher as a researcher' (see Puustinen, 2018, p. 15; Krokfors et al., 2009a, 2009b). However, studies mapping the views of teachers show that members of the profession continue to stress the practical side of the occupation. For instance, Rautopuro et al. (2011, p. 325) found that theoretical competence was not considered an advantage when competing

for teacher positions. Furthermore, studies have shown that both teacher candidates and practicing teachers feel their university training does not correspond to the needs of work life (e.g. Murtonen et al., 2008; Puustinen et al., 2018; Blomberg, 2008, 206–207). Moreover, analyses by Kemppinen (2006), Räihä (2006) and Veijola (2013) suggest that the academic tribal culture of teacher trainees considers intellectuality and interest in theoretical studies as vices and not virtues for a teacher.

This gap between theory and practice is likely even more pronounced with subject teachers. Puustinen (2018, 54–55) notes how subject teacher training has received far less attention and investment compared to class teacher education, despite the fact that subject teachers outnumber class teachers. Virta et al. (1998; 2001) suggest how during their studies, subject teachers tend to identify with the subjects they major in and as a result are more likely to disdain educational sciences. Veijola (2013, 237–238) studied the pedagogical thinking of pre-service history teachers and found some of them reject ideas suggested in teacher training. On a similar note, Krzywacki (2009, 165) found that pre-service mathematics teachers did not adopt expertise in education sciences or the idea of the 'teacher as a researcher' as part of their teacher identity. Therefore, Ben's ideas regarding the university-like curriculum and how it failed to offer a sufficient framework for teaching students in real life did not come from nowhere but from within this tradition of teachers experiencing a gap between ideas promoted by specialists and their own work as practicing teachers.

Moreover, recent rhetoric around education may have inspired the growing suspicion of teachers towards other actors in the field of education. As Puustinen (2018) notes, Finnish success in PISA tests has generally been attributed to excellent teacher training or school administration, while teachers have received less appreciation. This belittlement of teachers' work serves the needs of teacher education, as it justifies the existence of teacher training as an academic endeavour (Puustinen, 2018, 51). Furthermore, recent education policies have painted a picture of schools and their pedagogies as outdated and stagnant to justify the need for reforms lobbied for by the business world and the perceived necessity to boost economic competitiveness. Therefore, policy texts have resorted to contradicting claims about Finnish schools simultaneously being the best in the world while also desperately lagging behind (Säntti & Saari, 2021; Saari & Säntti, 2018). Säntti (2007) even argues that when Finnish teachers do get praise, it is often to get them on board with the desired reforms. Therefore, in light of these tensions between theory and practice, academia and schools and specialists and teachers, it is no wonder Ben approached the disciplinary objectives innovated within the academic world with scepticism.

6.2 A threat to teacher autonomy – the binding curriculum

Ben's concerns about the curriculum based on the disciplinary approach were not limited to him seeing it as threatening student access to knowledge and hence

critical citizenship. Ben also saw it as limiting teacher autonomy. Ben discussed the nature of the latest curriculum that he considered 'more binding' in our first interview.[153] We discussed the issue further in our second interview when I asked Ben what he considered the key differences between the 2004 and 2014 core curricula. Ben repeated notions regarding the binding nature of the curriculum and equated the introduction of skills with goal orientation:

> *Ben: But then there are these objectives, these overlapping objectives in this new curriculum. I think there are these broad and nested objectives.(--) And there is more of this goal setting and I think that is like the biggest difference. I mean there are objectives in this old one, but it is like very, like mentioned with a sentence or two. But here we have these tables…*
>
> *Ida: Right (gives a laugh)*
>
> *Ben: (Gives a laugh) these complex, multi-layered tables that we need to tie to one another.*
>
> *(--)*
>
> *Ben: So basically this new curriculum deepens this [old one] so it is not like… They've specified some things that in the 2004 curriculum are only briefly mentioned, but here [in the new curriculum] they have like a table chart or some detailed description of it. (--) When this came, this 2004 curriculum, I mean it obviously obligates teachers as well, but here [in the new curriculum] it is like more firmly stated that, and we've been led to understand that this is more binding, even if the teacher has a methodical autonomy and so forth, but still.*

Therefore, Ben had interpreted the more detailed descriptions of objectives in the 2014 curriculum as a loss of teacher autonomy, an attempt to force teachers to follow the curriculum more closely. Ben linked the changes to the need to shift the focus of education from subject matter content to skills and competences.[154] Therefore, from his perspective the aspiration to shift the point of view from teaching content knowledge to teaching skills resulted in a core curriculum that he considered more binding than previous curricula.

The Finnish curricula of the past few decades have been described as hybrids of two curricular traditions, the German Lehrplan and the Anglo-Saxon Curriculum. These traditions interpret the extent and role of teacher autonomy differently. Since the 1930s, Finnish curriculum design has been greatly influ-

[153] Interview, 9.11.2017: 'The new curriculum is somehow more binding, at least that's how I've interpreted it, that people really need to start paying attention. Because they are trying to turn the perspective around so that we need to practice skills and learning-to-learn skills, and the contents are secondary, like tools for learning the skills.'
[154] Ibid.

enced by German didactics. Therefore, the role of the curriculum has been in explicating the academic disciplines and the subject matter to be taught, pressing the context specificity of learning and hence providing teachers a great deal of autonomy in implementing the curriculum (Saari et al., 2017, 76). However, from the 1950s onward there has been a growing interest in designing the curriculum along the lines of the Anglo-Saxon tradition, committing teachers to a shared value base and conceptions of knowledge and learning. In this tradition, the curriculum defines the whole learning process from objectives to teaching methods and assessment (Autio, 2017, 31–32). The move towards this tradition is apparent in the 21st century curricula for basic education. For instance, the 2004 framework introduced national criteria for assessment for the first time (Vitikka et al., 2012, 85). In addition, the latest curriculum defines objectives and assessment in greater detail than the previous curricula. The significance of the general section is emphasised, as each subject-specific objective is linked with the cross-curricular objectives mentioned in the general section, and there are suggestions concerning the methods and learning environments suitable for each subject.[155]

Moreover, some researchers consider the move towards the Anglo-Saxon tradition as a reflection of the neoliberal tendency. Based on the Tyler Rationale, the curriculum tradition pursues maximisation of efficacy and control in the learning process through the specification of measurable objectives and the means for achieving and evaluating these learning outcomes. Therefore, it has been argued to promote accountability and as such is considered a central tool for neoliberal education policies (Komulainen & Rajakaltio, 2017, 224–225; Autio, 2017, 31–32, 38). The role of accountability has also increased through national testing. However, there is no comprehensive national testing system for all students. Instead, testing is based on sampling, and its purpose is to reach a conclusion about national learning outcomes (Vitikka et al., 2012, 85). Therefore, it is not used for assessing individual schools or teachers (Kauko et al., 2020). In the subject of history, the first and thus far only national test on learning outcomes was conducted in 2011 (see Ouakrim-Soivio & Kuusela, 2012).

Despite these changes, Finnish teachers continue to enjoy considerable autonomy in terms of interpreting and implementing the national framework, as teachers can choose teaching methods, teaching materials and assessment methods rather freely (Toom & Husu, 2012, 43). This autonomy is further confirmed by a lack of standardised testing and the absence of inspection of teaching materials or classroom activities (Vitikka, 2012, 85). While the curriculum has narrowed the autonomy of individual teachers, it still recognises collective autonomy in the ideal of a learning community, thus emphasising the collective pedagogical leadership of schools (Komulainen & Rajakaltio, 2017, 230–231; see also Erss, 2017). Moreover, Finnish teachers prepare the local-level curricula, which are based on the national framework (Krokfors, 2017, 248).

[155] For instance, in history the suggested learning environments and methods include inquiry-based learning methods and subjecting products of historical culture to critical analysis (EDUFI, 2014, 448).

However, as noted, for Ben the curricular changes described above were unwelcome. The curriculum based on the disciplinary approach had transformed teaching from a profession to work where teachers simply perform pre-determined routines (cf. Darling-Hammond et al., 1983) and turned learning into an act where efficient performance had become the centre of education, overshadowing its original purposes. The binding nature of the curriculum was apparent in Ben's descriptions of his work, where the defining feature was absence of agency. It seemed as if Ben had no choice but to commission large written assignments and constant self-evaluations. The curricular reform determined a new pace:

> *Ben: When we used to have more of this teacher-led teaching, we had less after hours work as well. Now that we have to mark these large written assignments, it eats up a lot of spare time.*[156]

> *Ben: The complexity and the overlapping of the objectives, the cross-curricular and the subject-specific, we are going to drown in this… Or I'm afraid we are going to drown in this, both teachers and students are exhausted with the amount of the continuous self-evaluations and there are these objectives, and objectives' objectives, and objectives' objectives' objectives. They've sort of built this complex scheme with charts that makes us lose sight of what really matters.*[157]

Ben's descriptions and criticisms of the skill-based curriculum revolved around increasing accountability and standardisation. From his perspective, the educational reform was carried out by interfering with teacher autonomy by introducing complex and specific objectives and assessment criteria. Ben's stance towards such a procedure was sceptical, as he noted when discussing the assessment section of the 2014 curriculum: 'The criteria for assessment are more specified in this [the 2014 curriculum]. One of the reasons for this is probably that as final grades tend to vary from school to school[158] and blah blah blah, so now they think that if they set these complicated objectives then those differences will disappear or at least diminish.'[159]

As Akiba (2013) argues, school reforms are influenced by both local and global contexts. Therefore, a curricular reform can simultaneously involve a global trend such as accountability through standardisation and local features such as broad teacher autonomy (Akiba, 2013, xxxvi). Therefore, the reception of

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[156] Interview, 9.11.2017; The overbearing workload was an issue Ben discussed in several occasions. For instance, in the first interview Ben returned to the issue by noting that 'these methodical changes have led to increased work, as I have to do more and more marking at home'. In our last interview, he revealed how assessments took a lot of free time and how he had gotten 'a little feedback from my wife that I should cut my working hours'.
[157] Interview, 26.3.2018.
[158] By this, Ben refers to findings regarding how assessment criteria differed from school to school, causing students with similar ability levels to achieve notably different grades depending on their place of residence (e.g. Julin & Rautopuro, 2016). This has been considered problematic, as students apply to secondary school based on their final diploma from basic education.
[159] Interview, 22.1.2018.

a curricular reform is contingent on how these different features are realised and considered. In Finland, there are two interwoven cultural models based on which Finnish teachers perceive their work and its status—autonomy and professionalism. Teachers have broad autonomy, which rests on them being well-educated professionals in their field. Therefore, accountability in Finland has rested on said professionalism. The quality of education is guaranteed by ensuring teacher competence with rigorous preparation in teacher training (see Darling-Hammond, 2011). As Erss (2018) showed in a study on upper secondary school teachers' views on curricular autonomy and agency, Finnish teachers have embraced professional accountability. Compared to teachers in Estonia and Germany, teachers in Finland consider accountability measures and control over their work unnecessary due to their high professionalism. The studied teachers perceived that they were worthy of broad autonomy, as their professionalism assured that they would act responsibly. Moreover, while being upper secondary school teachers and thus bound by matriculation exams (the only standardised test in the Finnish educational system), they still felt they had great possibilities for exercising autonomy in the classroom (Erss, 2018, 247, 250–251).

The changes in teacher autonomy Ben saw taking place can be described as a change from professional accountability to bureaucratic accountability. Darling-Hammond (2011) defines bureaucratic accountability as a hierarchical form of organisation management. Thus, policies are made at a governmental level and handed to administrators who formulate them into rules and procedures such as the curriculum, which teachers are then to follow and perform. Whereas in a system based on professional accountability regulation measures centre on providing the best possible teachers through procedures such as selection and certification, in bureaucratic accountability those measures are focused on regulating teaching by controlling the prescribed curriculum and learning materials and assuring efficacy with testing. As Darling-Hammond notes, the problem with such a solution in education is that effective teaching is not routine, students are not passive and many important educational objectives are not easily translated into measurable objects (Darling-Hammond, 2011, 125–126).

It is noteworthy that Ben's experience of the implementation of the latest curriculum involved school-level procedures that may further explain the interpretation of the reform as an increase in control and bureaucracy. A fine example are the students' self-evaluations Ben complained about in the interview excerpt (see above). The self-evaluations were school-wide forms all students and teachers had to fill in after each course. Students were to give themselves a grade on a scale from 4 to 10 in two categories, competence in the school subject and competence in studying skills. After students had completed their evaluations, teachers filled in their own assessments on students' abilities in the same categories. Moreover, with the seventh graders already following the latest curriculum, Ben was using a modified assessment form where students first set their own (numeral) objective for each new topic and later filled in their assessment[160] of how

[160] Again, on a scale from 4 to 10.

well they thought they had achieved those goals. This form was as per advice from the municipal committee working on the local curriculum.[161]

Both the 21st century national core curricula emphasise the need to develop students' self-evaluation abilities. The curricula state that students ought to be guided to observe their learning and progress. Teachers should help students to understand the objectives of learning and to find best practices for achieving them. For instance, students should learn to recognise their strengths (EDUFI, 2014, 51; 2004, 262). However, at Ben's school the school-level implementation of self-evaluations was grounded on a more bureaucratic logic. Teachers and students filled out forms for the sake of producing paperwork, as assessing one's performance numerically without much detail on what exactly is under assessment provides little help in terms of becoming aware of one's learning process. For instance, 'competence in the school subject' includes a variety of things, unless of course interpreted as competence in recall of subject matter. The self-assessments Ben did with seventh graders were apparently an evolved version of the document filled in by eighth graders, as students were at least familiar with the objectives they were trying to achieve. Still, the assessments were numerical and, apparently, in the spirit of the latest core curriculum,[162] done more often than with eighth graders, likely influencing the concern Ben voiced in the interview.

In fact, a great deal of Ben's work can be characterised as completing masses of paperwork in the form of assessments. During the approximately five-month observation period, just this one group of eighth graders produced four large written assignments, four large exams, one oral presentation, a few smaller written assignments and two self-evaluations. While this interpretation was at least partially a shared, communal construct as suggested by the school-wide self-evaluation forms the eighth graders had to fill, it is useful to also consider what we know about Ben's perceptions regarding assessment. As these assignments and exams mainly focused on assessing content recall, one could assume that less would suffice to show student mastery of said practice.

However, this is what Ben had interpreted that the curriculum referred to when promoting assessments conducted during the learning process instead of

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161 Interview, 22.1.2018: 'I asked about this in autumn from these curriculum-people that how we are supposed to do this thing. And I did it so that when I introduce a topic I give students the [skill-] objectives that are like a [municipality]-wide thing. And then we familiarise ourselves with the objectives with students and they can set their own [grade-]objective there [in the form]. (--) And then as we are done with the topic, whatever it is that we do, a presentation or something, then they fill in their assessment on how they felt they achieved their goals. (--) And then I fill in my own assessment in the same form, with a coloured circle.'

162 In an e-mail on 11.3.2020 in which I asked for some details about the self-evaluation procedures, Ben wrote: 'I use these charts in history (and social studies) for self-evaluation of different thematic entities'. The charts he mentioned referred to the local criteria of assessment in history. The thematic entities referred to the likes he had with the eighth graders, topics on which students prepared some written or oral assignment and had an exam afterwards. Therefore, after the introduction of the 2014 curriculum, he was probably making students do several self-evaluations during one course, as they were conducted in connection with each thematic entity within the course, instead of doing one at the end of each course.

just at the end of the process. In everyday teacher talk, this so-called formative assessment (see EDUFI, 2004, 260; 2014, 30) is often discussed as 'constant assessment', which Ben also talked of in the interview excerpt quoted previously. Therefore, reasoning from the perceived need to transmit a history and focus on testing recall, Ben had interpreted formative assessment as a need for constant *summative* assessment. On some occasions, Ben also assessed students' commitment to the assignments,[163] but mostly assessments focused on memorisation or otherwise getting the historical stories straight. Coming from such an understanding of assessment, formative assessment meant constant testing rather than feedback that guides students' learning processes as suggested in the prescribed curriculum.

Therefore, it is less surprising that Ben's perception of the curricular reform was that it introduced a bureaucratic form of accountability through the constant production of evidence on learning and assessment. Coming from the framework of the collective memory approach, competence in the school subject was easy for students to evaluate, as they could circle the grade closest to those received for the several exams and assignments testing memorisation they had already completed. While I was not thoroughly familiar with the procedures enacted with groups following the 2014 curriculum, at least for the eighth graders the self-evaluations did not suggest a great need for reflection. Therefore, the purpose of such evaluative procedures were unclear, which Ben had also recognised as he himself questioned the rationality of the self-evaluations and even his own assessment practices. As the seventh graders and presumably all groups after them were doing even more self-evaluations on top of these assignments, it was no wonder Ben was concerned about both teachers and students 'drowning' in work. The key in these descriptions regarding the practices were that they were something Ben perceived the curriculum reform forced onto the school community. Therefore, it seemed that Ben experienced that he was no longer an autonomous actor but rather someone simply following (mindless) directions.

Although partly caused by attempts to understand the curriculum from a framework of education different from the one suggested by the prescribed curriculum, Ben's experiences resonate with observations made by scholars analysing the development of national core curricula. Simola (2015) suggests that the national curricula of the past few decades have been strongly goal-rational, compared to the previous value-rational curricula. This means that instead of all educational activity being directed to foster certain values, there has been a new emphasis on students' learning outcomes[164] The role of the so-called Tyler Ra-

[163] For instance, for the written assignments on the Finnish Civil War he gave students written feedback, such as 'the group had problems with long-term concentration; at times things went well, but every now and then chatting with other groups stole the attention from your own work' or 'I could see the group really tried and made an effort to find information for all the questions'.
[164] For instance, the 2004 curriculum notes in its assessment criteria that after attending history education, 'the pupils will know how to/be able to…' do the listed things, such as read and interpret various sources (p. 223).

tionale has been strengthened in the construction of the curriculum. The curriculum dictates clear objectives and criteria for its assessment, and the role of the teacher is to help students achieve these goals and assess the outcomes of the process. Simola also suggests that this shift towards conceiving goal rationalism as a valid form of executing an educational reform has leaned on decontextualisation, ignoring the different institutional, historical and cultural frameworks that guide education[165] (Simola, 2015, 10–12).

Moreover, unlike the previous ones, assessment in the 21st century curricula has been criteria-based. This has been, as noted by Ben, in order to decrease national differences in the criteria used to assess students, as they apply for secondary education with their final diploma from basic education. (cf. Kumpulainen & Lankinen, 2012.) Therefore, along with the curriculum reform, a great focus has been assigned to assessment and assessment criteria, especially as surveys regarding the previous curriculum suggested teachers wished for clarification in the matter (cf. Rantala & Ouakrim-Soivio, 2018). For instance, the municipality this study took place in had created an additional criteria chart to help teachers assess disciplinary abilities in history. Moreover, after my field period, the Finnish National Agency for Education published specified assessment criteria for all school grades, as the curriculum only suggested those for the numerical grade 8[166] (EDUFI, 2020). As Simola (2015) suggests, such goal orientation and the bureaucratic form of accountability can be seen as different sides of the same coin. Therefore, there is a valid argument to be made that these changes in the curricula have been made at the expense of teacher autonomy.

Despite the developments in curriculum planning described above, the status of teacher autonomy in the curriculum is not quite as simple a question. As Pinar (2004) notes, curriculum ought to be perceived as a complicated conversation. It is a multi-layered, historical and cultural construction involving a variety of voices (Pinar, 2004, 186; see also Sitomaniemi-San, 2017, 137). For instance, even if we ignore questions of whether the history curriculum represents the German Lehrplan or the Anglo-Saxon Curriculum and look at it from the more narrow perspective of the sort of tradition of history education it leans on, we can see elements from German, North American and British traditions (see Veijola, 2016a). However, as Pinar suggests, teachers who are only provided with the end products of the curriculum process do not get to see the compromises behind the policy text (Pinar, 2004). While in Finland teachers construct the local-level curricula, as noted in Chapter 2, most teachers still do not participate in the process. Therefore, the observation by Pinar applies to many Finnish teachers, including Ben. Therefore, from his perspective, the different voices represented in the curriculum seemed to originate from a single source. Therefore, as the history curriculum based on the disciplinary approach, the broader shift to goal orientation

[165] On a similar note, Darling-Hammond (2011) notes that the problem with such goal-rationalism lies in that it assumes effective teaching as routine, students as passive and questions of practice simple, predictable and standardisable.
[166] Grade 8 stands for good performance in the school subject.

and the decrease in teacher autonomy were introduced concurrently, they seemed to be inseparable parts of the same reform.

Internationally, however, the relationship between the disciplinary approach and accountability would seem to be the opposite. Instead, it has been the collective memory approach to history that has coincided with an increase in (bureaucratic) accountability measures (cf. Samuelsson, 2017, 40–41). As the approach presents history education as the memorisation of historical facts, it offers standardisable objectives and learning outcomes that are easy to measure. Thus, such an approach to history education combined with accountability measures provides a simple way to control what kind of histories are taught in schools (VanSledright, 2011, 17). Therefore, while the 20th century Finnish curricula for basic education have limited teacher autonomy by increasing goal orientation, it is also possible to interpret the history curriculum from an opposite perspective. Compared to the collective memory approach, the disciplinary approach enables multiple perspectives and promotes the use of a variety of historical sources, allowing more room for an individual teacher to make decisions regarding both content and methods. Nonetheless, for Ben it was the disciplinary approach that limited teacher autonomy and was a manifestation of neoliberal education policies, as it was introduced in the form of tightening control over assessment and thus teachers' work.

6.3 Debates over education policies as an interpretive framework

As noted, Ben's overall assessment of the novelties of the latest curriculum was rather grim. Central in Ben's interpretation of the curriculum was that these educational reforms not only posed a threat to some of his core educational values but were also initiated by agents outside schools who are unfamiliar with the realities of teachers' work. This was evident in the discussion regarding historical skills as being 'university-like' or skills being in the interests of 'the society'. Therefore, it seemed that from Ben's perspective, the introduction of the disciplinary approach and the way its implementation was handled by diminishing teacher autonomy represented a kind of attack on the teaching profession, as the reform was not promoted by teachers but rather by other actors in the field of education.

As the analysis throughout this study suggests, the enacted curriculum and interpretations of the prescribed curriculum took place in an interaction with the cultural and historical context of schooling. As the chapter discusses the role of different actors in schooling, the central context here is the conception of teaching as a profession and the extent of teachers' expertise. As noted earlier, Finnish teachers often perceive their profession in terms of autonomy and professionalism. In Finland, the professionalisation of teaching was connected to its academisation in the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. Valtonen, 2013). This process allowed university-trained teachers to distance themselves from less qualified practitioners,

such as substitute teachers (Säntti, 2007, 402–403). Thus, through professionalisation, teachers were allowed to become experts in their specific fields (Säntti, 2007, 404; Burke, 2016, 31). Of course, despite having a trade union to protect group interests, the status of the teaching profession is still contingent on state policies and academic training typically provided by non-practitioners. Nevertheless, the status of the profession suggests that teachers are the primary experts in the practice of educating students.

As the timeline described above suggests, Ben belonged to a generation of teachers who had already achieved the status of a profession. In the following analysis, I take a closer look at Ben's relationship with other actors in the field of education and at how Ben defined his profession and the stance towards the curriculum in reference to them. Thus, the subchapter also examines the situatedness of interpreting the prescribed curriculum, as this interpretive work was influenced by the teacher's relationship to contemporary policies and discourses relating to education.

6.3.1 The dubious roots of the skill-based curriculum

The first occasion on which Ben referred to what he considered dubious motivations promoted by actors outside schools underlying the curricular change was in the interview excerpt in reference to studying historical skills (see subchapter 6.1.1). In it, Ben implied a criticism of 'society' and its needs influencing curricular change, as the focus on teaching 'just [….] skills' might in his words be in the interests of 'society'. While being rather ambiguous about which societal actors he was referring to, he seemed to imply that the core values grounding Finnish society had perhaps changed since the beginning of his career to a direction where the intrinsic value of knowledge and broad education was questioned, while economic competitiveness was all the rage. In another interview, he explicitly mentioned such political needs underlying contemporary educational trends, in this case digitalisation and the need to teach students how to code: 'There are political needs, 'digitalize Finland', everyone must code now because they code in Estonia so we must code too and learn it [too] and so forth'. Thus, he also identified a suggested need to keep up with other countries and hence the educational need to school citizens to be able to match the international competition. Moreover, Ben criticised a current reform targeted at upper secondary schools dismissing a broad education in favour of the need to get students into tertiary education and work life as quickly as possible.[167]

[167] Interview 26.3.2018: 'I'm sad to see that this broad education is not fashionable anymore. But that's something I will not give up on, people need to become educated. And history is a part of broad education, even though the term [broad education] seems to be a little… As they are turning upper secondary schools into these 'tubes' and so forth.' By a tube (= putkilukio) Ben likely referred to an attempt to accelerate the shift from upper secondary schools to tertiary education by stressing the role of matriculation examination results when applying for higher education. Previously, the metaphor of a 'tube' has been used to describe master's degrees and attempts to limit the years spent in competing the degree. As to why Ben considered the 'tube' as a loss for broad education, the reform emphasised

Research analysing education policies and discourse in the 21st century has found Finland follows international trends in that the interest and influence of business life in determining the purpose and forms of schooling has increased since the 1990s. For instance, Simola (2008) suggests that while previously educational discourse was defined by bureaucratic control, technocracy and the ideal of equity, from the late 1980s onwards these have been replaced by ideals of market control, managerialism and an ethos of excellence. Similar notions have been identified in more recent studies focusing on the rhetoric of educational policy texts. These texts indicate the urgent need to reform outdated, subject-based schooling to better suit the needs of future work life and thus serve as a cure for the issue of national economic competitiveness (Saari & Säntti, 2018, 446; Saari et al., 2021, 8–9). As Saari and Säntti (2018, 443) note, intense use of ICT is promoted, as digitalisation is considered a key ingredient in fostering economic productivity.

Overall, Dovemark et al. (2018, 9) note how Finland has been comparatively cautious in adopting features such as privatisation and marketisation in the educational system. However, Finland has been both praised and criticised for being a 'model student' regarding the OECD and its market-based policies. This reputation is a result of treating the organisations' recommendations based on PISA and IEA testing results as obligations (Saari & Säntti, 2018; Kosunen & Hansen, 2018, 726–727). However, Ahonen (2014, 89) points out that Finland has not yielded to some of the recommendations the EU has proposed, such as starting school at a younger age and investing more in gifted students. Nevertheless, the form and course of education policies are of interest to many societal actors, including the business world. In addition to government and its ministries, policy texts are produced by institutions such as the teachers' union (OAJ), think tanks and various foundations. All these reflect the views of a variety of actors, such as government officials, interest group members, academics and even ICT companies (e.g. Säntti et al., 2021, 5–6; Saari & Säntti, 2018, 445).

To better grasp the significance these developments had for Ben's interpretations regarding the curriculum reform, it is necessary to pay particular attention to the education policies implemented during the field period. As it happens, the government led by the Centre Party and Prime Minister Juha Sipilä had introduced large reforms at all levels of the educational system. As Tervasmäki and Tomperi (2018) point out, the defining feature of these policies was the combination of imposing significant cuts to the funding of the educational system while simultaneously attempting to execute comprehensive reforms at all levels. These reforms included the 'digital leap', referring to the digitalisation and modernisation of pedagogies and learning environments and forming stronger ties between schools and economic life. The implementation of the reforms happened through

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achievements in mathematics and natural sciences compared to subjects such as philosophy and social studies. Moreover, an additional reference point was likely a ministry-initiated experiment conducted on 28 schools that allowed students more flexibility in choosing which subjects to study. The experiment was criticised for making it possible for students to go through upper secondary school without completing a single course in some subjects, including history.

channelling resources to short-term projects and experiments while continuing to 'rationalise the school net', meaning that schools in smaller municipalities were being closed, resulting in bigger schools in nearby cities and a decreased need for teachers.[168] The core motivator for these policies was to improve national competitiveness. As Tervasmäki and Tomperi note, teachers greeted the reforms of Sipilä's government with concern about deficient funds, a growing workload and increasing inequality between regions (Tervasmäki & Tomperi, 2018, 167–169; see also Ahonen, 2014, 79).

During the field period, public discussion on education policies was animated. For instance, debates regarding reforms targeted at upper secondary schools were at their peak in November 2017 when I had just started attending Ben's history lessons.[169] Besides discussions on government policies, another strand of criticism regarding inequality in education surfaced during my time in the classroom. This criticism focused on some of the broad educational principles expressed in the general section of the curriculum. One of the most passionate disputes concerned the role of self-directedness and in its wake the inquiry-based and phenomenon-based learning approaches. The debate first flared up in February, when Professor Emerita Liisa Keltikangas-Järvinen, expert in personality research, gave an interview to the Finnish public broadcasting company YLE, raising concerns over the concept of self-directedness being introduced in the core curriculum (Aromaa, 2018). A central worry in the debate that followed concerned inequality between students capable of self-directed work and those lacking such abilities. Ben brought up the interview in a discussion after a lesson, asking for my thoughts about it. He told me his wife had watched the interview on television and recommended it to Ben. I responded honestly, saying that to me the professor's claims regarding self-directed learning and its role in the curriculum seemed a little curious. Among other things, Keltikangas-Järvinen, not a specialist in learning or education, had interpreted the curriculum as obligating students to cope without the help of teachers. Ben then replied by concurring and pointing out how 'we are not supposed to do quite university-level stuff yet in lower secondary schools'.[170]

[168] As Ahonen (2014, 86) suggests, this has been an ongoing and accelerating trend in Finland for the past few decades. For instance, in 2010 basic schools were closed at the rate of 100 a year based solely on cost-efficiency.
[169] For example, *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS), the largest subscription newspaper in Finland, released several critical pieces regarding both the reform of upper secondary schooling and the education policies of Sipilä's government at large. For instance, on 11.11.2017 they published a comment on their editorial page written by Jari Salminen, a university lecturer from the University of Helsinki, with the title 'Finnish basic education has drifted into a state of disarray during the past few years, threatening students' legal rights' [Suomalainen peruskoulu on ajautunut muutamassa vuodessa sekavaan tilaan, joka vaarantaa oppilaiden oikeusturvan]. A few days later (14.11), *HS* published an article about the new ranking tool for matriculation examinations that determined how many points a certain grade in each subject would give students when applying for tertiary education. The focus of the article was an interview with senior researcher Tuukka Tomperi, who had taken issue with the ranking tool and its consequences for broad education in a Facebook post (see Mansikka, 2017).
[170] Fieldnotes, 9.2.2018.

Thus, the public discussion regarding schools and education at the time focused on the influence the different reforms had on students' equality and in terms of upper secondary schools on students' right to knowledge and a broad education. Therefore, it is likely that Ben's criticisms regarding the latest curriculum reflected these discussions. As even the biggest media outlets, such as YLE, treated aspects such as the constructivist learning conception as novelties of the curriculum (Tiessalo, 2016), in the public discourse the latest curriculum appeared to involve a bigger reform than it actually did. Thus, in a situation where education and schooling was in fact a target of constant reform, the curriculum was a symbol of the same change and ended up being interpreted by Ben within this space of discourse defined by market orientation, budget cuts and increasing inequality as neoliberal. The overall interpretation Ben had of the prescribed curriculum thus resulted from interaction between the cultural models regarding history education, Ben's educational values and the general experience of a negative course of conditions grounded on educational policies, their implementation and the debates described above.

6.3.2 Defending and defining the profession

Ben's interpretation of the prescribed curriculum was prompted by the education policies of the time. However, a key aspect was not only that the curriculum included unfit ideas but also the experience that all these ideas came from outside the teaching profession. As noted earlier, Ben described the implementation of the curricular reform as being top-down, where changes were forced on teachers and students. He perceived teachers as being targets and not agents in the reforms. Moreover, all these ideas originated from groups that from his viewpoint did not understand the realities of teaching and working in schools. Therefore, Ben considered the new curriculum to place too much emphasis on the voices of business life or academics, while disregarding teachers as mere implementers of the demanded changes.

During his career, Ben had experienced the height of teacher autonomy. His entrance into the field of education coincided with the decentralisation of power in education in the late 1980s, as central management was quickly dismantled and local education authorities were given the power to make decisions about finances and staffing in schools. As Simola et al. (2017, 51–52) note, all traditional forms of teacher control except for teacher education were also abolished.[171] The first curricular reform in Ben's career was abandoning the concept of a national curriculum and replacing it with municipal curricula based on a national framework (Tirri & Kuusisto, 2013, 87). As it happens, the 1994 framework allowed schools a significant amount of freedom in forming the local-level curriculum compared to any curricula before or after it (Vitikka, 2009, 70; Rokka, 2011, 32). Therefore, in terms of curricula, the trend after the first few years of Ben's career

[171] However, as Simola et al. also note, this decentralisation was enacted in the hopes of a more effective and thus economically productive schooling system. Vitikka (2009) describes these policies as the 'neoliberal sprint' of the 1990s (p. 70).

was one of re-centralisation. Compared to the 1994 framework, the 21st century curricula increasingly reflected the voices of people others than teachers. As school culture and accountability in Finland has rested on teacher professionalism and the belief in highly educated, autonomous teachers as the ideal way to organise education, the constant educational reforms and a national framework that diminished local-level decision making questioned this tradition of teacher professionalism and the so-called culture of trust.

When discussing the curriculum and the changing school world, Ben was constantly drawing some territorial lines between his profession and those of others, with others referring to parties interested in influencing schools and education. Therefore, he was also defining the knowledge possessed by actual practitioners that the reformists were unable to see from their outside perspective. Most often, these definitions took the form of different kinds of defences. This was perhaps unsurprising, as they literally served the purpose of defending the teaching profession as Ben had come to know it. Most typical of these was a form of nostalgia. For instance, Ben would note how no one cared for books anymore, how a broad education was no longer fashionable or how nowadays in school there was less time for actual school subjects as different extra-curricular happenings and social events were taking more time.[172] These observations depicted two worlds, the old and precious one where knowledge still mattered and the new and flexible one where it was ideal to choose ICT over books and to value skills over content. By exaggerating the differences between then and now, Ben also took a stance in terms of the outside-imposed school reforms and their undesirable consequences.

It is, however, important to note that despite these escapist longings for the past, Ben's teacher identity was more that of someone interested in improving and developing their teaching rather than someone stubbornly clinging to the past. For instance, there was the pride in using progressive methods, as indicated in the claim of having applied a constructivist approach 'before anyone was even talking about it'.[173] He was also genuinely interested in teaching historical skills, as long as he could balance them with historical content knowledge. Bearing in mind Ben's definitions of historical skills, it was evident he had already incorporated skills into his everyday teaching practices with a heavy emphasis on information retrieval and group work. When Ben described his motivations for ac-

[172] Interview, 9.11.2017: 'There are books in the back [of the classroom], I think it's a pity that students don't know how to read them anymore, they don't use them to look for information'; Interview, 26.3.2018: 'I'm sad to see broad education is not in fashion anymore'; 'I'm still a little bummed about how rushed it [the end of the course] was, we lost lessons to all these other things than history, along the way. There were these surprises like oh okay, we are going to go watch some ice hockey instead. But this is what it is like in basic education, and what it is going to be, more and more. And it has its good aspects, they are important too, but sometimes I'd like to defend my own discipline, that history is important too.'
[173] See subchapter 5.1.1.

cepting a researcher in his classroom, there was a wish to get new ideas to develop as a teacher: 'I have this strong urge to reform, I don't want to get stuck. I want to keep up with what is happening in the field of history education.'[174]

This forward-looking teacher identity eventually led Ben to emphasise the difference between his profession and mine, between teachers and researchers. As the analysis on 'too university-like' historical skills shows, business life was not the only external party aiming to intrude into education. As suggested, while teachers are university-trained, there has been an enduring tension between theory and practice, with many teachers still considering them as inescapably incompatible (e.g. Räihä, 2006). During the spring semester and after the field period, the significance of my researcher status became more prominent and problematic in our interactions. Concurrent with the discourse on 'too university-like' historical skills, Ben started to make humorous comments regarding the researcher profession. For instance, he would end e-mails with witty remarks such as 'have a great spring in your researcher's chamber as well'.[175] He would also make comments about what loose schedules researchers have. For example, when I asked if he could send me a compilation of students' grades from different assignments and exams, he promised to bring a copy of such a list and suggested that I could then write a more specified version[176] of it, as 'you researchers have time to spare'.[177]

These comments reflected the changing nature of our researcher–participant relationship. With the growing awareness of his previous conception of historical skills being somewhat off-course compared to the conceptualisation suggested in the continuing education course, Ben had become more concerned about the results of my research. He even expressed this worry in our final interview.[178] From his perspective, I as a researcher and thus a representative of academia would likely agree with the 'university-like' objectives of the history curriculum. Therefore, he possibly wanted to emphasise how researchers could not understand the reality of classroom life and the pressures and challenges of working as a subject teacher in a lower secondary school. From his perspective, the work of a researcher was autonomous and pressure-free and thus notably different from the work of a teacher. This resulted in a perception of researchers being out of touch with the school world. Due to this gap, researchers were also unable to fathom the variety of needs and problems eighth graders have. Therefore, Ben defended his profession by providing me with these small reminders of the burden of my inevitable outsider point of view.

The teacher identity grounded on progressivism also caused ambivalence, as Ben was faced with reforms he was unwilling to take on. This was apparent from the very beginning of the field period before my academic presence had turned into a perceived threat to Ben's views on history education. Wishing to

[174] Interview, 26.3.2018.
[175] E-mail, 17.4.2018.
[176] By this, Ben meant that I could make a chart with details of each assignment.
[177] E-mail, 8.5.2018.
[178] 'I've found myself thinking the role of… whether this [his teaching] is going to be an example of something old, outdated, something to strive away from, in your dissertation.'

maintain an impression of being open to change, Ben often voiced criticism of the curriculum by relocating the source of the criticism outside himself:

> *So that's… But it is a process and I believe and I have decided that I am not going to moan about the new curriculum as so many seem to be doing out there, out of fear or anxiety or whichever motive. So I'm trying to approach it with a positive mind-set, that this is what it is and… I think I still have enough career left to see the next curriculum, and possibly even the one after that (gives a laugh).*[179]

It is also noteworthy that through such relocation, Ben was reaching for support from the rest of the teacher community. Such reliance on and use of the perceived public opinion of teachers is especially interesting, as otherwise Ben's work was characterised by individualism and loneliness rather than collaboration with colleagues. In interviews, he noted how he was on respectful terms with the other history teachers at his school but that they also stayed out of each other's way when it came to questions of pedagogy and teaching history.[180] Such solitude of subject teachers is a previously noted phenomenon (e.g. Sahlberg, 2015). Childs et al. (2012) even suggest that the organisation of history as a school subject may further promote such individualism. For instance, natural sciences teachers have to take on several subjects and therefore cannot always focus on their own strengths, driving them to seek help from their colleagues. In history, however, teachers in countries such as Finland, where most history teachers have majored in history during their studies, end up teaching mainly within their subject specialty. However, such a culture also means that teachers can be quite alone in handling curriculum reforms. This was the case with Ben. Moreover, this individualism likely heightened the need to protect his teacher identity and to defend the profession in relation to mine, as the culture of solitude seemingly positioned Ben as being solely responsible for his practices.

Overall, Ben's depictions of the role of teachers in the reforms, his drawing of territorial lines to defend the profession and the struggles he had with his teacher identity reflect the wavering status of the teacher profession. Säntti (2007) argues that while the status of the profession has always been somewhat unclear due to its connectedness to the state, the technical–rationalist developments in education have resulted in further de-professionalisation of the teaching profession. As teachers' work has become more standardised through the introduction of goal orientation and the increasing focus on learning outcomes and their evaluation, teachers have become less able to regulate their own work. However, de-professionalisation is also apparent in the fragmentation of teachers' work. The

[179] There were also other similar situations where the teacher relocated the source of critique. For instance, 30.11.2017 after attending a compulsory in-service training day, he noted in a conversation after class to have 'tried to keep a positive outlook although quite a few other teachers kept moaning about those things'.

[180] Interview, 9.11.2017: 'We have somewhat different approaches to teaching, so we don't really have that much collegial collaboration. (--) We respect each other and like don't get involved with that [each other's teaching]. But it's a pity that we just haven't really got on to do the kind of collaboration that I see other subjects engaging in.'

market-based education policies have expanded the territory of teacher work with increases in tasks such as planning, management and evaluation. In Säntti's study, this was reflected in teachers' depictions of their work as that of not only a teacher but as that of a psychologist, police officer, social worker and so forth (Säntti, 2007, 451–452, 457). While Ben did not use other professions to describe the expansion of professional territory, his comments on 'drowning' in evaluation work reflects the same experience.

As the analysis in this chapter shows, Ben's conception of the latest curriculum reflects a conflict of values. The problems caused by the reforms seemed to be a result of a tension between the new market orientation and the features Ben considered central to the teaching profession—the appreciation of equity, participation and the intrinsic value of a broad education. There seemed to be a clash between how Ben as a teacher understood the purpose of his profession and how it was understood by those behind the educational reforms. Lindén (2010) traces such fundamental shifts in the purpose of teachers' work, which have significant consequences for self-perception of the profession. Whereas in the late 19th century and early 20th century, teaching was grounded on cultivating a state-mandated common morality, the current trend emphasising individualism and freedom of choice does not offer a similar shared framework for teachers to lean on. While previously the nature of teaching was determined by vocational calling, the standardisation of teacher work and its detachment from a shared value base has estranged teachers from their profession (Lindén, 2010, 163–165). This shift in the purpose of teaching from a calling-based occupation to being implementers of assigned tasks can cause a crisis for professional identity, as many teachers, including Ben, continue to define the significance of their work in terms of ethics, care and a calling (e.g. Fornaciari, 2019; Hannus, 2007, 405; Säntti, 2007, 405).

In addition to the struggle over values, the need to defend the profession was also related to the question of knowing in the taught subject. This was evident when our roles started to transform during the field period. Ben likely felt that his status as the expert in the field was questioned, as he began to consider me in the role of an advisor in terms of the disciplinary approach. However, it was not only this somewhat uncomfortable shift in roles that Ben considered to threaten his profession. His interpretation of historical skills as generic ones and the issue of the significance and role of content knowledge related to students' right to knowledge but also to expertise in teaching history. As subject teachers' professionalism is grounded on a combination of expertise in the academic subject and knowledge about how to teach it, from Ben's perspective the introduction of the disciplinary approach in the curriculum questioned this professionalism. Drawing on Bernstein (2000), Young (2008) notes how the current trend emphasising the generic is detrimental to the existence of teaching as a profession (Young, 2008, 151–152, 156). By generic, Bernstein refers to the promotion of abilities that are considered transversal, such as critical thinking, learning to learn, teamwork skills and the like. As Bernstein suggests, these abilities are grounded on a new concept of work and life, where the individual needs to strive for trainability and flexibility to assure their employability throughout life (Bernstein,

2000, 59). Therefore, a focus on such generic abilities can be understood as a threat to professional subject teachers, as it abolishes the need for individual school subjects and the distinct expertise of those who teach them.

Overall, Ben's reactions regarding the latest curriculum and the disciplinary approach reflect the nature of schooling as a nexus (cf. Halonen et al., 2015) where the needs and voices of a variety of actors intersect. Thus, the work of a teacher is a balancing act in a riptide of different demands, including those of the teacher himself. As the analysis shows, the profession of a subject teacher and the interpretation of the prescribed curriculum are enacted in reference to the field of education at large, including not only practitioners, principals and students' parents but also policies and policy makers, lobbyists and other individuals interested in participating in the public debate and of course teacher trainers and other academics.

In Ben's case, the role of this frame of reference became even more visible due to my presence and the challenge it seemed to pose for Ben. However, it also made evident the complex nature of the issues present in a teacher's work, as Ben aimed to grasp a novel approach to history education with meagre resources, while struggling with his teacher identity and the need to operate in a field where values contradicting the previous ideals of equity and broad education were gaining a stronger foothold. As Lanas and Hautala (2015, 50–51) note, whenever teachers adopt new practices or ideas, transformations are typically constructed by themselves and are not handed down by outsiders or those higher upper in the hierarchy. Therefore, it is no wonder Ben resorted more to defending than reconsidering his practices, as he clearly perceived the disciplinary approach and the new curriculum as a forced innovation constructed by those unfamiliar with classroom realities.

7 CONCLUSIONS

I began this study with the question of why history matters. As the observations and analysis of the researched classroom suggests, this question has ushered the transformation of Finnish history curricula that has occurred during the past few decades. More importantly, it has also grounded the enacted curriculum and the decisions and interpretations made by the teacher. It was the guiding idea behind the chosen classroom activities. Although at times the relationship between these activities and the expected outcomes was somewhat unclear, the response to this question still served as a justification for the daily routines of history education. Moreover, the conception of the purpose and significance of history education offered a framework for interpreting the then ongoing curriculum reform, thus influencing its reception and enactment.

In this research, I have explored the composition of and the reasoning behind the enacted history curriculum at a time of educational reform. The aim was to determine the core practices and ideas grounding the enacted curriculum, the relationship between the enacted and the prescribed curriculum and the influence of contextual and situational conditions on the enacted curriculum. Using ethnographic data, I have examined these questions from three different viewpoints that can also be understood as interpretive frameworks that guided the teacher's reasoning regarding the enacted and prescribed curricula. These include 1) a conception of history as a school subject, 2) educational values and 3) education policies of the time. As the analysis throughout the research shows, questions regarding the core ideas and the influence of conditions were inseparably interconnected, as beliefs about the school subject, teaching and learning were inspired and supported by historically and culturally constructed notions regarding the schooling system and educating the youth. However, at times, the frameworks were at odds with one another. Thus, it became evident they were hierarchically organised, as the teacher faced situations in which he had to negotiate between different frameworks.

In Chapter 4, I presented the first and most salient framework, the conception of history as a school subject, which further testified the resilience of the col-

lective memory approach to history education found in previous research concerning Finland and on other countries engaged in the lengthy process of reforming history education. Thus, the teaching and learning practices employed in the classroom signal the purpose of history education in preserving memories of the past. This past of course is not just any past but a past selected, mediated and reinterpreted by new generations through remembrance and oblivion to provide and assure social cohesion within a(n) (imagined) community, such as a nation. In practice, history as a school subject meant transmitting a specific historical narrative to students, whose task was to keep that narrative in their minds in the form of memory archives from which to draw upon for historical perspective when encountering seemingly novel events and phenomena. Therefore, most classroom activities related to the school subject were driven by the aspiration to acquire and record the correct version of the past. Moreover, this approach to history education gained support from the surrounding historical culture reflected in school textbooks and other learning materials used in the classroom.

The second framework used for reasoning about the enacted curriculum related to educational values, namely the centrality of student participation the teacher emphasised as the core of his practices. However, it was equally evident that the extent of student participation was filtered through and limited by the framework defining the conception of history as a school subject. As a result, the teacher interpreted constructivism as a student-centred method for transmitting a history. Instead of listening to lectures, students had to find the correct version of history themselves from the school textbook or 'Internet sources', as the teacher called them. Furthermore, the consequences of the interaction between the two frameworks were even greater for student participation in terms of knowing, as the necessity to come up with a specific historical account hindered the possibility of considering students' extant knowledge of history. As a compromise, the teacher invested in creating a comfortable learning environment and chatted with students about their everyday lives and experiences unrelated to history.

However, when interpreting the prescribed curriculum, the role of the teacher's educational values was significant. As he reasoned about the official curriculum in reference to other concurrent educational reforms and discourses surrounding them, questions about values were imperative for the reception and enactment of the curriculum. Essentially, the teacher perceived these other reforms as promoting the needs of business life and a technical–rational view on education, thus superseding previously esteemed values of equity, participation and broad education. While these neoliberal influences are inherent in some aspects of the prescribed curriculum, the teacher extended the interpretation to also consider features that are typically considered to oppose or contest such tendencies, including the disciplinary approach advocating a more critical take on history education. The analysis also showed how the conception of history as a school subject and the focality of transmission in teaching history further supported the interpretation of the prescribed curriculum described above. The teacher suspected the disciplinary approach of causing inequality due to being

too difficult for some students, a view familiar from several previous studies on history teachers. As he attempted to grasp the approach using the framework of teaching as transmission, the result was an attempt to 'transmit' disciplinary skills without actually rehearsing them with students, consequently confirming his own preoccupations.

Regarding the question on the relationship between the prescribed and enacted curricula, it is clear the objectives of history education stated in the national core curriculum had little influence on the teaching practices of the teacher. Of course, the teacher had adopted some elements mentioned in the national core curriculum. These included the use of ICT in information retrieval assignments, the self-evaluation sheets filled in by students and the abundance of assessment in general. Moreover, the attempts to use student-centred learning methods find support in the core curriculum. However, the greatest impact the prescribed curriculum seemed to have was on how the teacher experienced his own work and the status of the teaching profession. He perceived the latest core curriculum to have caused a significant increase in both his and students' workloads. Furthermore, he felt the appreciation of the previously strong teacher autonomy was threatened due to the need to shift the whole purpose of schooling from acquiring a broad education to developing abilities that will be useful in future work life. These experiences of having a limited capacity to define ones' work and profession resulted in rejection of the official curriculum, including the disciplinary approach, which he perceived as the root of the problems.

Subsequently, the prescribed curriculum had little influence on the conception of history introduced in the classroom. In fact, while the chosen practices were largely determined by the adopted conception of history, it also seemed the teacher did not perceive the classroom as a place where such conceptions were constructed and reinterpreted. Instead, these practices were so habitual that they seemed to be beyond reflection for the teacher. Moreover, while the major change in history curricula in the past few decades has mainly focused on the nature and purpose of history, this was not a perspective brought up by the teacher when discussing the contents or the problems of the prescribed curriculum. In accordance, questions related to the purpose and significance of history education were not a defining factor for the formation of the enacted curriculum, as these aspects were never explicitly discussed in the classroom with students.

In somewhat similar a manner, the teacher did not ponder on how the chosen classroom practices related to the purpose and significance of history education, which in interviews he connected with achieving a historical perspective that allowed critical citizenship and thus societal participation. In light of this, it is interesting that the key issue the teacher had with the prescribed curriculum was namely about the question on the very purpose of history education. The teacher was saddened over what he saw as the loss of broad education, the intrinsic value of content knowledge and the rich perspective on societal life. He perceived the zeitgeist as promoting education whereby all school subjects needed to prove their usefulness from the viewpoint of the nation's economic competitiveness. Even if the question on the significance of the school subject was

not at the front and centre of everyday school activities, it was crucial for the reception of the prescribed curriculum. As noted in previous research on implementing the disciplinary approach in Finland and as further testified in the analysis conducted here, the cultural transition from the collective memory approach to the disciplinary one is still underway. As there continues to be little cultural support and resources for grasping the ins and outs of the disciplinary approach, there is almost too much room for interpretation. If the very core questions underlying the change are not addressed and thus remain unclear, it forces teachers to 'fill in the gaps' with information that may distort the view. Of course, even if teachers had sufficient knowledge regarding the reform, it would not necessarily lead to its acceptance. However, it would make reflection on the direction teachers wish to take more informed.

The teacher in this study 'filled in the gaps' and connected the purpose of the transformation towards the disciplinary approach with neoliberal tendencies suggested by other education policies and public discourse. This suggests that the manner of execution of such reforms is vital for their success. While the disciplinary approach has been justified as a way towards participation, critical citizenship and social justice, in the case of Finland it might be that the primacy of *what* and *how* questions has overshadowed the more important question of *why* the approach matters. As noted, the latest national core curriculum has paid great attention to identifying different historical thinking skills in table charts pinpointing the objectives and assessment criteria. However, connections to third-order concepts (cf. Jarhall, 2020) identifying meaning for the school subject are much less clear. Moreover, the increased emphasis on assessment may have led to a backwards approach to grasping the transformation in history education. As the focus has been on defining the learning process and outcomes, questions on the significance of the school subject have perhaps been overshadowed. Therefore, while the ideals of the disciplinary approach may contest neoliberal developments, its execution has taken place within the technical–rational view on education. Therefore, it is no wonder that teachers approaching the subject from the point of view stressing the importance of broad education and the intrinsic value of knowledge find such a utility-driven perspective alienating.

In accordance, the teacher of this study felt that the current disciplinary trend in history has forgotten the very essence of history education, causing a distraction from focusing on what really matters. For the teacher, this essence of history was in the command of content knowledge, as it could be useful in interpreting world events. This perception of the disciplinary approach threatening the significance of knowledge reflects how conceptualising disciplinary knowledge as 'skills' in the reform has led the debate around history education down somewhat misleading paths, where 'skills' and 'knowledge' are discussed in dichotomous terms. As discussed, this dichotomy is not an invention of the teacher studied here but rather a familiar and broadly assumed perception regarding the disciplinary approach. For instance, the Chairman of the Board of the Association for Teachers of History and Social Studies suggests in an editorial in *Kleio* (4/2021), a magazine published by the association, that if history education

focuses solely on teaching skills, it is possible that it loses its character as an independent discipline and that it is likely better to seek balance between skills and (content) knowledge (see Kitunen, 2021). Overall, the discussion on historical 'skills' seems to suggest they are something that can be rehearsed independently from content knowledge or that focusing on skills hinders the formation of an overall understanding of past events, the so-called big picture. While it also tends to be a little unclear what is meant by 'skills' on each occasion, their practice is considered to take away from learning the essential, historical knowledge.

However, as Chapman (2021), for instance, shows, the disciplinary approach *is* about teaching knowledge. Here, knowledge is understood not just as a body of knowledge but also as knowledge of the form and the use of history—how history comes into being, what limitations it entails and how it is used in the society (see also Kitson, 2021). Moreover, *all* these different dimensions of historical knowledge are essential in developing a comprehensive overall understanding of the past and the ability to reconstruct public representations of the past and to analyse current issues, changes and continuations in society (see van Boxtel & van Drie, 2018). Therefore, the dividing line does not run between knowledge and skills but rather runs between the different approaches to historical content knowledge. As Chapman (2021), following Young and Muller (2010), proposes, there are three approaches to content knowledge evident in educational debates. The first, most enduring one is conceiving of disciplines as fixed bodies of knowledge treated as given. This approach is often discussed in the context of history as the collective memory approach. The second approach considers content knowledge instrumental, an aid for rehearsing general skills, thus resonating with the policies emphasising cross-curricular abilities discussed in Chapter 6. In contrast, the third one, the disciplinary approach, takes content knowledge seriously. However, it also recognises that the contents discussed in school are a product of (ideological) selection and aims to empower students by providing epistemic access to each discipline.

While the Finnish core curriculum for basic education promotes such an approach, it also seems that this might not be the general understanding of the prescribed curriculum among teachers. Reforming history education by making explicit the academic concepts of historical literacy, historical thinking skills and historical consciousness that ground the curriculum and making a chart of each ability that students are expected to master has not led to the desired results. If we look at what is known about Finnish history teachers based on this and other studies, the reservations teachers have regarding the prescribed curriculum seem understandable. First, teachers value the command of content knowledge (e.g. Rautiainen et al., 2019; Rantala et al., 2020). Therefore, proposing content knowledge and skills as separate entities and presenting a list of skills instead of reconceptualising knowledge as a composition of different dimensions may have been a mistake. As a result, teachers aim to seek a balance between skills and content knowledge rather than approaching content knowledge from a new perspective.

Second, some studies suggest Finnish teachers approach assessment in a holistic manner, which is reflected in a difficulty in identifying the different attributes that influence the overall assessment (e.g. Paldanius et al., 2021), somewhat resonating with the practices of the teacher in this study. While being able to specify one's assessment practices seems necessary, introducing an intricate table chart where objectives are chopped into individual skills to be assessed might be an uncomfortable fit. Moreover, as van Boxtel and van Drie (2018) note, in practice these different modes of thinking tend to merge when students reason about history. Luff (2016) points out that assessing each ability in isolation may even distort the discipline and therefore suggests that to foster the comprehensive, well-rounded thinking envisaged in the previous paragraph, the focus of the assessment should also be the quality of the overall response or understanding (see also Kitson, 2021). In fact, such a practice of following the progression in individual skills bears some resemblance to the assessment practices of the teacher studied here; there seems to remain a gap between assessing the bits and pieces of learning history and the actual purpose of the school subject. Therefore, while the table charts of the prescribed curriculum have likely caused many teachers to pay attention to the reform, it is questionable whether they have helped teachers to fathom its goals.

Finally, the execution of the curriculum reform has perhaps failed to recognise the significance of autonomy for teachers' professional identity and the enduring tension between researchers and practitioners and theory and practice. Introducing several new concepts (historical literacy, etc.) was possibly intended to increase clarity and help teachers commit to the disciplinary approach. However, as this study and many others imply, the contents of these concepts have been somewhat unclear to teachers. Therefore, the curriculum feels not just 'too university-like' for the students to grasp but also too academic for teachers to experience ownership of the policy text. Instead of working as a key text for teachers to lean on, a curriculum text filled with unfamiliar concepts derived from academic debate might only emphasise the nature of the prescribed curriculum as an emblem of the tension between theory and practice. While teachers define their profession through their expertise in the realities of schooling, the praxis, the prescribed curriculum represents the theoretical and the ideal. The increased use of academic jargon in the policy text only underlines its distance from the classroom and gives all the more reason for the practice-oriented teacher to consider it as unrealistic wool-gathering.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the transition from the collective memory approach to the disciplinary approach in Finland has generally been greeted not with passion but with a lukewarm reaction. Unlike in many other countries, meddling with the conception of history sketched in history curricula has inspired little debate among the public or even history teachers. This might have to do with the broad teacher autonomy that allows teachers to exercise their profession freely, even to the extent of choosing to go in the opposite direction compared to prescribed curricula on some aspects. It is somewhat telling that the teacher in this study perceived the reform of history education to have happened in the

latest core curriculum, thus having missed the fact that the two previous curricula supported the disciplinary approach. Moreover, his experience of the reform being handed down to previously autonomous history teachers implies that involving them in the transformation process has been less than ideal. As other research on Finnish history teachers similarly suggest the resilience of the collective memory approach, it is worth considering whether there has been enough debate on the matter (also something for historians of history education to explore). While engaging in full-blown history wars may not be all that fruitful, some more extensive discussion among history teachers might help re-raise the issue of significance to the centre of history education and clarify the arguments for each approach.

The lack of debate may also reflect the cultural structure within which teachers exercise their profession. As noted, the work of a subject teacher has been characterised as lonely and isolated. This isolation is often discussed in reference to possibilities or willingness to engage with colleagues working at the same school. However, it is also imperative to broaden the scope of this examination to the institutions where teacher education and teaching takes place. In Finland, these institutions, such as history departments, departments of teacher education, teacher training schools, the Finnish National Agency for Education or even the Association for Teachers of History and Social Studies, all tend to be very autonomous actors and somewhat isolated from one another. For instance, a study by Veijola (2013) showed how Finnish pre-service history teachers felt there was a strong contradiction between ideas expressed by the teacher educator at the university and the supervising teachers at the teacher training school. Thus, there seems to be insufficient opportunities for sharing, debating and developing teaching in co-operation. As a result, the tribalism typical of academic disciplines might also take place within the discipline if different actors and institutions have little interaction and relate to each other with caution or even suspicion, somewhat like the teacher in this study.

In fact, in light of this research it seems paramount that fostering trust between the actors in these institutions and in the field of education at large be given special attention in the future. After all, the mistrust regarding the intentions and abilities of agents other than teachers was central in creating a perception of the curricular reform as a dubious enterprise in the case of the teacher studied here. While maintaining a critical distance from the likes of market forces is likely a healthy thing to do, the suspicion between researchers, other academics and practicing teachers is a less fruitful state of affairs. This is not to say teachers should give in and trust any suggested reform. Instead, it is to say such reforms and their implementation should happen in co-operation and include dialogue. After all, best practices in history education are unlikely to come about solely outside a classroom, and in accordance teachers are likely to benefit from different perspectives research may be able to provide. Therefore, a situation where even the different actors involved in teacher training do not necessarily collaborate is untenable. A possible starting point for creating better dialogue between these institutions and actors could be in research that focuses on their interaction

and the possible frictions and in action research aims to find forms of engagement that endure over the span of a single research or development project.

Moreover, it is worth considering the consequences the educational policies and educational discourse of the past decade has had on this trust. As noted, the Finnish education system has faced some major reforms in recent years. Moreover, there have been attempts to develop schools through constant short-lived projects with similarly short-lived results. In educational discourse, Finnish schools have been described as lagging behind in their use of ICT and the applied pedagogies (e.g. Saari & Säntti, 2018; Saari et al., 2021; Tervasmäki & Tomperi, 2018). Therefore, there has been an increase in demands to reform for schools and teachers. Somewhat in accordance, in recent years we have witnessed a growing number of reports on teachers experiencing exhaustion and burnout (e.g. Golnick & Ilves, 2019; Saloviita & Pakarinen, 2021). In this discourse, universities and researchers have often been positioned on the side of those with higher expectations of schools. After all, they serve as sources for new theories, pinpoint aspects in need of developing and find best practices. Moreover, as the teacher here sensed and implied, I myself have participated in this, as the HisLit project of which this study is a part aimed to develop pedagogy that would support the mastery of disciplinary literacy. Nevertheless, while the tense relationship between practitioners and researchers is not a novel phenomenon, the overall circumstance in which schools are a target of endless demands has likely bolstered some of the already existing barriers between the two.

Therefore, curriculum and other educational reforms ought to be mindful of the cultural conditions in which they are realised. As noted above, at least in Finland, the process of curriculum design could include such cultural mindfulness and consider the knowledge on (history) teachers that research has to offer. Moreover, the process could be further democratised, at least to better help teachers participate. After all, the voices of the handful of people who currently prepare the frameworks for each discipline are likely to dominate the final versions of the curriculum (cf. Säily et al., 2020). In addition, the possibilities for interpreting the framework locally are often underused (cf. Palsa & Mertala, 2019, 2020). It is also worth considering the actual extent of such possibilities if the core curriculum is already quite detailed. A framework design based on the Curriculum-tradition may be a challenging choice to fit together with a process where local-level contextualisations are expected. Nevertheless, to engage teachers in the process of implementing the prescribed curriculum, the text should reflect the identity, the will and the desires of the teacher profession.

Overall, the ethnographic approach used in this study provided further insight into why the transition from the collective memory approach to the disciplinary approach has been a slow process. While previous studies have noted the role of teachers' own school experiences, the lack of cultural support and resources, teachers' beliefs regarding epistemological questions in history, the role of values and their interplay with other beliefs concerning (history) education and educational policies have been somewhat under the radar. Without the extended time spent in the classroom and the prolonged interaction with the

teacher, including the tensions and troubles that occurred throughout the field period, the friction regarding the prescribed curriculum and the nature of the conceptual confusion would have remained unclear if not completely out of scope.

Of course, there were still issues for which I wished to have had more time in the field to decipher and discuss. A school-year worth of history lessons is, after all, a short time not just for the teacher and students to engage with history but also for the researcher to complete a study. This is especially true, as many of the problems raised by the teacher regarding the prescribed curriculum only started to appear in the last months of the field period, and from the perspective of data saturation I was left wanting more. For instance, why did the teacher never refer to the definitions of historical skills provided in the prescribed curriculum, even in an interview for which he had been advised to prepare for by reading the history sections of the two latest core curricula? Moreover, a closer exploration of how the teacher understood the contents of different metahistorical or procedural concepts could have enrichened the study.

Fortunately, one of the central roles of ethnographic research in the division of labour of different research approaches is to create openings for new lines of inquiry. This study suggests that interpreting and enacting the curriculum is influenced by situational factors, the interaction of historical developments of different durations and the ongoing public discourse. As noted, many phenomena central in this study, such as neoliberalism in education and the introduction of the disciplinary approach, are also international developments. However, as educational and political systems diverge in many respects, such developments are also realised in different forms and degrees in different countries. Moreover, the status of history education varies notably. In some countries, it receives great attention from politicians and the public at large, whereas in others like Finland it inspires much less passion. Therefore, comparative studies on teachers from different educational and political contexts, reading and interpreting the prescribed curricula could provide interesting insights into understanding and accepting the curriculum, the influence of contextual conditions on its reception and perceptions regarding the significance and purpose of history.

Of course, the study at hand also implies something could be done on the level of the individual teacher. As noted, the teacher studied here had difficulties in explicating the purpose of learning the discipline, and there was some distance between the chosen practices and the expected results. Therefore, developing aids (and allocating resources) for reflecting on one's ideas about history, the sort of values inherent in them and how they are realised through the chosen teaching practices would be useful for all history teachers regardless of the context. The ability to reflect might be useful from the perspective of implementing a specific approach to history but more importantly to place the focus on the essentials. As the vast majority of academic and professional discourse has reflected concern over the implementation of the disciplinary approach, it is good to keep in mind the nature of history education as a dynamic enterprise open to discussion. After

all, placing too strong a focus on the what and the how of the disciplinary approach without addressing and reconsidering *the why* of it runs the risk of the approach becoming just another model of teaching conducted in routine repetition beyond reflection.

YHTEENVETO (SUMMARY)

Tämä väitöskirja käsittelee toteutunutta historian opetussuunnitelmaa, sitä kuinka opettaja muuttaa virallisen opetussuunnitelman käytännön opetustyöksi. Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan toteutuneen opetussuunnitelman perustana olevia käsityksiä ja uskomuksia, toteutuneen ja kirjoitetun opetussuunnitelman välistä suhdetta sekä konteksti- ja tilannesidonnaisten tekijöiden vaikutusta toteutuneeseen opetussuunnitelmaan. Aineisto kerättiin etnografisesti, osallistumalla yhden yläkoulun kahdeksannen luokan historian oppitunneille. Aineisto koostuu yhteensä 62 historian oppitunnin aikana kirjoitetusta havaintopäiväkirjasta, historianopettajan kanssa tehdyistä haastatteluista, oppimateriaaleista sekä koulutyön aikana syntyneestä tekstiaineistosta, jota kertyi yhteensä neljän kurssikokeen, neljän laajemman tekstimuotoisen kurssityön sekä viiden pienemmän oppimistehtävän verran. Koska toteutunut opetussuunnitelma muotoutuu opettajan ja oppilaiden välisessä vuorovaikutussuhteessa, haastattelin myös kaikki oppilaat 2–3 hengen pienryhmissä.

Aineisto kerättiin lukuvuonna 2017–2018, jolloin se ajoittui tuoreimman, vuoden 2014 kansallisen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman käyttöönottovaiheeseen. Historianopetuksen tavoitteet ovat olleet viime vuosikymmeninä niin kansallisesti kuin kansainvälisestikin muutoksessa. Suomessa on kansainvälisiä trendejä mukaillen tarjottu kansallisen identiteetin rakentamisen ja kollektiivisen muistin välittämisen tilalle tiedonalalähtöistä, historiallisen ajattelun taitoja painottavaa opetusperinnettä. Keskeistä muutoksessa on ollut tarve osallistaa oppilaita historian tiedonmuodostukseen sekä mahdollistaa aiempaa moninaisemmat identiteetit. Erityisesti 2000-luvun opetussuunnitelmat ovat painottaneet tiedonalalähtöisyyttä, ja tuoreimmassa opetussuunnitelmassa painotus on entisestään vahvistunut, kun oppiaineen arviointikriteerejä tarkennettiin. Vaikka tutkimuksen kohteena ollut luokka noudatti edelleen aiempaa, vuoden 2004 opetussuunnitelmaa, oli opetussuunnitelmauudistus keskeisesti läsnä opettajan kanssa käydyissä keskusteluissa. Näin tutkimus valottaa myös opettajan näkemyksiä historianopetuksen muutospyrkimyksistä sekä hänen suhdettaan näihin kahteen eri opetussuunnitelmaan.

Aineiston analyysi perustuu kulttuuristen mallien teoriaan. Kulttuuristen mallien kautta tarkasteltiin sitä merkitysten rakentamisen prosessia, jossa historian opetus ja oppiminen tapahtuvat. Historianopetukseen kiinnittyvät kulttuuriset mallit toimivat resurssina esimerkiksi historiatiedon luonteen ja merkityksen sekä historian osaamisen ja sen oppimisen tapojen jäsentämiselle. Näin luokkahuone näyttäytyi myös tietyn jaetun historiakulttuurin tuottamisen, toisintamisen ja uudelleentulkinnan paikkana. Kulttuuristen mallien teorian avulla analysoitiin toteutuneen opetussuunnitelman taustalla olevia jaettuja käsityksiä. Analyysin perusteella rekonstruoitiin kolme tulkintakehystä, joiden pohjalta toteutunut opetussuunnitelma ja kirjoitetun opetussuunnitelman tulkinta tapahtuivat. Näitä ovat käsitys koulun historianopetuksesta kollektiivisen muistin vä-

littämisenä, käsitys oppilaiden osallisuudesta keskeisenä koulutuksellisena arvona sekä käsitys viimeaikaisten koulutuspolitiikoiden uusliberaalista luonteesta.

Ensimmäinen tulkintakehys sisältää siis käsityksiä, jotka määrittävät historian oppiaineen luonnetta ja merkitystä. Näistä keskeisimpänä oli episteeminen uskomus, että historiankirjoitus ja siten myös koulun oppikirjat heijastavat menneisyyttä sellaisena kuin se on. Tutkitun luokan opetus rakentui ajatukselle siitä, että historiasta on olemassa yksi oikea versio, joka esitetään oppikirjoissa. Oppitunneilla jaetun tiedon luotettavuus taas perustui kouluinstituution yhteiskunnassa nauttimalle luottamukselle, jolloin opettajan ja oppikirjojen välittämää tietoa voitiin pitää kyseenalaistamattomasti totuudellisena. Lisäksi historiallista tietoa määrittivät kaksi aikakäsitystä: käsitys historiasta sekä lineaarisesti että syklisesti etenevänä. Oppitunneilla historian sisältöjä käytiin läpi kronologisessa järjestyksessä, mutta oppiaineen merkitys rakentui käsitykselle historian toistuvuudesta. Näin historian suuren tarinan hallinta tarjosi eväät esimerkiksi menneisyyden virheiden toistamisen estämiselle. Historianopetuksessa oli siis kyse tietyn historian narratiivin välittämisestä oppilaille, joiden tehtävänä oli painaa tuo narratiivi mieleensä. Tätä tehtävää heijastivat paitsi opettajan opetuskäytänteet myös esimerkiksi käytössä olleet oppikirjat.

Toisena tulkintakehyksenä sekä toteutuneeseen että viralliseen opetussuunnitelmaan toimi käsitys oppilaiden osallisuuden tärkeydestä. Siinä missä luokkahuoneen historiakäsitys noudatteli kollektiivisen muistin välittämisen traditiota, opetusmenetelmävalinnat heijastelivat pyrkimystä aktivoida ja osallistaa oppilaita oppimisprosessiin. Nämä pyrkimykset kuitenkin siivilöityivät historian oppiainetta määrittävien kulttuuristen mallien läpi, jolloin opettaja tulkitsi esimerkiksi konstruktivismin oppilaskeskeiseksi tavaksi välittää historian suuri kertomus. Oppilaiden tehtävänä oli itse etsiä ja poimia oppikirjoista tai internetlähteistä oikeat vastaukset esitettyihin historian oppisisältöjä käsitteleviin kysymyksiin. Paikoin oppiainetta määrittelevät kulttuuriset mallit myös estivät osallisuuteen liittyvien ideaalien toteuttamisen. Opettajan haastatteluissa esittämä pyrkimys huomioida oppilaat tasavertaisina historian tietäjinä kilpistyi koettuun velvollisuuteen käydä läpi oppikirjojen sisällöt. Toteutunut opetussuunnitelma heijastelikin kahta suomalaista peruskoulua määrittävää keskeistä kulttuurista ideaalia: peruskoulun rakentumista tasa-arvolle ja osallisuudelle sekä näkemystä koulujen esittämän tiedon epäpoliittisuudesta. Ensimmäinen ideaali näkyi pyrkimyksessä aktivoida oppilaita ja luoda miellyttävä ilmapiiri luokkahuoneeseen. Toinen ideaali taas loi perusteen kiinnittää opetus oppikirjojen neutraaleiksi koettuihin sisältöihin.

Kolmas tulkintakehys, käsitys 2000-luvun koulutuspolitiikoiden uusliberaaleista pyrkimyksistä, oli keskeinen tekijä virallisesta opetussuunnitelmasta tehdyissä tulkinnoissa. Vuorovaikutuksessa tämän ja edellä kuvattujen tulkintakehysten kanssa tutkittu opettaja oli muodostanut tuoreimmasta opetussuunnitelmasta tulkinnan, jossa niin historian tiedonalalähtöisyys ja niin sanotut historian taidot kuin tarkennetut arviointikriteeritkin asettuivat osaksi pyrkimystä

tuoda elinkeinoelämän tarpeet opetuksen keskiöön. Tulkinnassa tiedonalalähtöinen opetus asettui uhkaksi oppilaiden pääsylle historian sisältötietoon ja sitä kautta myös kriittiseen kansalaisuuteen. Opettaja katsoi historian taitoihin keskittymisen olevan ehkä yhteiskunnallisten tarpeiden mukaista, mutta halusi pitää kiinni myös sisältöjen opiskelusta. Tarkennetut arviointikriteerit opettaja tulkitsi tavaksi sitouttaa opettajat keskittymään taitojen opettamiseen.

Opetussuunnitelmatulkinnan taustalla olivat sekä koulutuspoliittiset uudistukset ja niistä käyty julkinen keskustelu että historian tiedonalalähtöisen opetuksen vieraus. Aineistonkeruu ajoittui koulutuspoliittisesti voimakkaaseen uudistusvaiheeseen, jossa kaikki koulutusasteet olivat muutoksessa. Opetussuunnitelmauudistusten ohella panostettiin esimerkiksi koulutuksen digitalisointiin, koulutilojen modernisointiin, koulutuksen ja yrityselämän yhteyksien lisäämiseen sekä lukio-opintojen sisällölliseen joustavoittamiseen. Tyypillistä uudistuksissa oli lyhytkestoisten kehittämishankkeiden rahoittaminen ja toisaalta yhtäaikaiset laajat koulutusleikkaukset. Niin tuoretta opetussuunnitelmaa kuin muitakin uudistuksia kritisoitiin voimakkaasti julkisessa keskustelussa. Tähän diskurssikenttään asettui siis myös historian tiedonalalähtöisyyden ja historian taitojen aiempaa vahvempi korostaminen opetussuunnitelmassa.

Aineistossa esiin nousseeseen historian taitojen kritiikkiin liittyi kuitenkin myös käsitteellisiä epäselvyyksiä, jotka koskivat etenkin historian sisältötiedon merkitystä uudistuksessa. Kenttäjakson alussa esitetyt määritelmät historian taidoista osoittivat näiden sekoittuneen opetussuunnitelman yleisosassa kuvattuihin laaja-alaisiin tavoitteisiin. Näin historian taito-opetuksen tavoitteiksi näytti asettuvan esimerkiksi ryhmätyötaidot ja yleinen lähdekritiikki. Kenttäjakson aikana tutkittava opettaja kuitenkin perehtyi enemmän historian tiedonalalähtöiseen opetukseen, jolloin myös käsitys historian taidoista muuttui. Opettaja alkoi hahmottaa taidot erityisesti lähteiden kriittiseen tarkasteluun liittyväksi osaamiseksi. Samalla kritiikki muutti muotoaan, kun opettaja huolestui taito-opetuksen olevan liian haastavaa erityisesti heikoimmille oppilaille. Havainnot opettajan pyrkimyksistä opettaa näitä taitoja kuitenkin osoittivat opettajan tulkitsevan tiedonalalähtöisyyttä tiedonvälitykseen perustuneen historianopetuksen näkökulmasta. Tässä kehikossa taitoja pyrittiin opettamaan ”altistamalla” oppilaat taidoille samalla tavoin kuin tiedonvälityksessä heitä ”altistettiin” sisältötiedolle. Toisin sanoen oppilailta edellytettiin kykyä lähteiden kriittiseen tulkintaan ilman vaadittavaa ohjeistusta ja tukea.

Tutkimus vahvistaa aiemmissa tutkimuksissa tehdyn havainnon, että kollektiivisen muistin välittämiseen perustuvalla historianopetuksella on edelleen vankka jalansija suomalaisissa luokkahuoneissa. Mikäli tiedonalalähtöisen historianopetuksen toivotaan toteutuvan myös käytännön tasolla, on tarve paremmille resursseille, täydennyskoulutukselle ja asianmukaisille oppimateriaaleille edelleen suuri. Lisäksi tutkimus antaa syytä epäillä, että opetussuunnitelmauudistusta tehdessä ei ole välttämättä tunnistettu tai tunnustettu joitain keskeisiä kulttuurisia reunaehtoja. 2000-luvun opetussuunnitelmaperusteet ovat siirtyneet enenevästi oppisisältöjen kuvaukseen keskittyvästä *Lehrplan*-mallista koko oppimisprosessia määrittävään *Curriculum*-traditioon, mistä juontuvat myös tässä

tutkimuksessa tarkastellun opettajan esiin nostamat tarkennetut arviointikriteerit. Suomessa opettajan professiota on kuitenkin leimallisesti määrittänyt sen kansainvälisesti vertaillen merkittävä autonomisuus ja opetussuunnitelmatyötä taas pyrkimys demokraattisuuteen ja opettajien osallistamiseen. Nykyisten opetussuunnitelmaperusteiden melko yksityiskohtaisetkin kuvaukset opetuksen tavoitteista ja arvioinnista ovat haasteellinen yhdistelmä opettajien toimijuutta ja koulutuksen kontekstisidonnaisuutta korostavan koulutuskulttuurin kanssa.

Historian opetussuunnitelmauudistukseen liittyvänä ongelmallisena piirteenä voidaan pitää tämänkin tutkimuksen aineistossa näkyvää dikotomista erottelua sisältötietoihin ja historian ajattelutaitoihin, mikä on mahdollisesti hämärtänyt sisältötiedon roolia tiedonalalähtöisessä opetuksessa. Aiemmissa kyselytutkimuksissa on todettu, että historianopettajat näkevät historianopetuksen merkitykseksi etenkin yleissivistyksen kartuttamisen ja historian suurten linjojen hallinnan. Tähän nähden tiedoista erillisinä näyttäytyvien taitojen painottaminen herättää ymmärrettävästi epäilyksiä opettajakunnassa. Askeleena eteenpäin voisi olla historian taitojen käsitteellistäminen uudelleen historiallisen tiedon eri ulottuvuuksiksi, joita olisivat siis sisältötiedon ohella tieto ja ymmärrys siitä, kuinka tuota sisältötietoa muodostetaan ja kuinka sitä käytetään yhteiskunnassa. Näin historianopetuksen muutospyrkimysten tarkoitus saattaisi myös avautua helpommin.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Objectives and assessment criteria in grades 7-9 as presented in the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2004.

(pp. 222)

OBJECTIVES

The pupils will learn to

- obtain and use historical information
- use a variety of sources, compare them, and form their own justified opinions based on those sources
- understand that historical information can be interpreted in different ways
- explain the purposes and effects of human activity
- assess future alternatives, using information on historical change as an aid.

(pp. 223)

FINAL-ASSESSMENT CRITERIA FOR A GRADE OF 8

Acuiring information about the past

The pupils will

- know how to distinguish between factors that explain a matter and secondary factors
- be able to read and interpret various sources.

Understanding historical phenomena

The pupils will

- be able to place the events being studied into their temporal contexts, and thus into chronological order
- know how to explain why, in some sphere of life, people once acted differently from how they act now
- know how to present reasons for, and consequences of, historical events.

Applying historical knowledge

The pupils will

- be able to answer questions about the past by using the information they have obtained from different sources, including information they have acquired by using modern technology
- be able to formulate their own justified opinions about, and evaluate, events and phenomena.

APPENDIX 2

Objectives and assessment criteria in grades 7-9 as presented in the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014

(pp. 447)

Objectives of instruction in history in grades 7-9

Objectives of instruction	Content areas related to the objectives	Transversal competence
Significance, values, and attitudes		
O1 to strenghten the pupil's interest in history as a field of knowledge and as a subject that builds his or her identity	C1-C6	T1-T7
Acquiring information about the past		
O2 to activate the pupil to acquire historical information from diverse age-appropriate sources and to evaluate their reliability	C1-C6	T1-T5
O3 to help the pupil understand that historical information can be interpreted in different ways	C1-C6	T1, T2 T4
Understanding historical phenomena		
O4 to strengthen the pupil's ability to understand historical time and the related concepts	O1-O6	T1, T2, T3
O5 to guide the pupil in understanding factors that have influenced human actions and devision-making in different historical situations	C1-C6	T1-T4, T6, T7
O6 to help the pupil to consider different reasons for historical events and phenomena	C1-C6	T1, T2, T4
O7 to guide the pupil to analyse historical change and continuity	C1-C6	T1, T2, T4
Applying historical knowledge		
O8 to encourage the pupil to make interpretations	C1-C6	T1, T2, T4
O9 to guide the pupil to explain the intentions of human activity	C1-C6	T1-T4, T7
O10 to guide the pupil to explain why historical information can be interpreted and used differently in different situations and to critically evaluate the reliability of interpretations	C1-C6	T1, T2, T4, T5
O11 to guide the pupil in developing his or her competence in using a variety of sources, comparing them, and forming his or her own justified interpretation based on those sources	C1-C6	T1, T2, T4, T5

O12 to guide the pupil to evaluate alternative futures based on his or her knowledge of history	C1-C6	T1-T7

(pp. 449)

Final assessment criteria for good knowledge and skills in history (numerical grade 8) at the conclusion of the syllabus

Objectives of instruction	Content areas	Assessment targets in the subject	Knowledge and skills for the grade 8
Significance, values, and attitudes			
O1 to strengthen the pupil's interest in history as a field of knowledge and as a subject that builds his or her identity	C1-C6		Not used as a principle for grade formulation. The pupil is guided in reflecting on his or her experiences as a part of self-assessment.
Acquiring information about the past			
O2 to activate the pupil to acquire historical information from diverse age-appropriate sources and to evaluate their reliability	C1-C6	Acquiring historical information	The pupil is able to search for information from different historical sources of information and detects differences in their reliability.
O3 to help the pupil understand that historical information can be interpreted in different ways	C1-C6	Interpreting sources	The pupil is able to read and interpret different sources.
Understanding historical phenomena			
O4 to strengthen the pupil's ability to understand historical time and the related concepts	C1-C6	Understanding chronology	The pupil is able to place the studied topics into their temporal contexts and thus in a chronological order.
O5 to guide the pupil in understanding factors that have influenced human actions and decision-making in different historical situations	C1-C6	Historical empathy	The pupil is able to put himself or herself in the position of a person of the past and to describe the motivations of his or her actions.
O6 to help the pupil to consider different reasons for historical events and phenomena	C1-C6	Understanding causal relationships in history	The pupil is able to separate factors explaining historical events or phenomena from less important factors.

O7 to guide the pupil to analyse historical change and continuity	C1-C6	Understanding change and continuity	The pupil is able to explain why in some spheres of life, people once acted differently than people act today and in other spheres in a similar way.
Applying historical knowledge			
O8 to encourage the pupil to make interpretations	C1-C6	Interpreting history	The pupil knows how to form his or her own justified interpretation is able to form justified interpretations of historical events. [sic]
O9 to guide the pupil to explain the intentions of human activity	C1-C6	Explaining human activity	The pupil is able to describe the intentions of human activity.
O10 to guide the pupil to explain why historical information can be interpreted and used differently in different situations and to critically evaluate the reliability of interpretations	C1-C6	Explaining and evaluating historical interpretations	The pupil is able to evaluate the reliability of interpretations of historical events or phenomena.
O11 to guide the pupil in developing his or her competence in using a variety of sources, comparing them, and forming his or her own justified interpretation based on those sources	C1-C6	Producing historical knowledge	The pupil is able to answer questions about the past by using information he or she has obtained from different sources.
O12 to guide the pupil to evaluate alternative futures based on his or her knowledge of history	C1-C6	Knowledge of history [sic, the finnish version is ”historiatietoisuus”, historical consciousness]	The pupil is able to describe how interpretations of the past are used to justify choices made for the future.

APPENDIX 3

Outline of student interviews

Discussion about the artefact brought to the interview by the student. What does the word 'history' bring to mind?

- Everyday encounters with history- Where does one see/encounter history?
- The presence of history in general - Where is history present/visible in society?
- Personal interests regarding history - Is there something you find especially interesting in history?
- How do you spend your free time? Hobbies?

Discussion about the latest exam. What did you think of it? Which questions did you consider especially easy/difficult? How typical of a history exam was it?

- Relationship with the school subject of history (Do you like it, find it meaningful, easy/difficult?)
- What do you like about school history education? What is good about it? What don't you like? Is there something you would like it to include (more)?
- The significance of learning history (Why do you think history is taught in schools?)
- What are the best ways to learn history?

APPENDIX 4

Outline of teacher interview (1)

Education, work history
- Education (why history, when, where, which subjects you studied)
- Career (what has it included, where have you worked and when)
- Changes in teaching/the profession during the career

Ideas about teaching
- The purpose of history education
- The most important objectives of history education; how to achieve them
- Planning lessons/courses (the process, materials)
- Assessment (criteria, practices, points of emphasis, challenges)

The official curriculum
- Relationship to prescribed curricula, their significance for the daily work (core curriculum, local level)
- The central changes between the 2004 and 2014 curricula
- The influence of the curriculum reform (influences for eighth graders; what you do differently with seventh graders)

Support (material, collegial, etc.)
- The biggest challenges of teaching (history)
- What kind of support is available? What kind of support do you use? What would you like to have more support with?
- Networks: activity in Association for teachers of history and social studies in Finland, other fora?
- Consumption of history and historical research in free time

The school, the class
- Description of the school. Specialities?
- Description of the class (student participants): backgrounds, abilities, challenges

Hopes for the research period - Why participate?

APPENDIX 5

Outline of teacher interview (2)

Definition of ‘historical skills’; details

Comparison between 2004 and 2014 core curricula, differences and similarities (printed copies available in the interview)

Further explanation of the perception of the 2014 core curriculum as ‘binding’ (notion put forward in the first interview)

(Further discussion on) assessment (forms, points of emphasis); contents and forms of self-evaluations

APPENDIX 6

Outline of teacher interview (3)

Personal relationship to history; how you became interested in history, what excites you about it

(Further discussion) on the role of history as a "memory"

(Further discussion) on the definition of, role of, and changes in teacher autonomy

What do you think/hope students learn in your history lessons? What might be the consequences if they do not learn these things?

(Further discussion) on concerns regarding school reforms/the latest core curriculum

(Further discussion) on assessment; specifics on what is assessed in written assignments, exams

Thoughts about the teaching experiment

Thoughts about the research period and participating in the study

APPENDIX 7

Course schedule: Lesson topics and assignments

23.10.2017 = General introduction to 8th grade history; short introduction to IWW
26.10.2017 = Causes of WW1 (drawing a mind map)
27.10.2017 (2 h) = Causes of WW1 (walkthrough of the mind map task); a movie clip from *All Quiet on the Western Front* (drawing a mind map about the daily life of soldiers)
2.11.2017 = What made WW1 a modern war? (Drawing a mind map); the end of WW1 (assignments from the textbook)
3.11.2017 (2 h) = The end and consequences of WW1 (walkthrough of responses to textbook assignments, notes); a video clip on peace negotiations of WW1; Russian Revolution (instructions to the first graded written assignment)
6.11.2017 = Working on the assignment on the Russian Revolution
9.11.2017 = Working on the assignment on the Russian Revolution
10.11.2017 (2 h) = Working on the assignment on the Russian Revolution; documentary on the life of Vladimir Lenin (worksheet assignment)
13.11.2017 = The consequences of the Russian Revolution and the birth of the Soviet Union (notes from PowerPoint presentation)
16.11.2017 = (Lesson by a substitute teacher) Recap of events preceding WW1 (reading textbook chapters and doing textbook assignments)
17.11.2017 (2 h) = (Lesson by a substitute teacher) Continuing to recap events preceding WW1; (a substitute teacher) designing and drawing a new official flag for Finland
20.11.2017 = Finland and Russia in the year 2017 (constructing a timeline)
23.11.2017 = Finland and Russia in the year 2017 (a walkthrough of made timelines); prepping for the first exam (recap of the textbook chapters)
24.11.2017 (2 h) = Exam on WW1
27.11.2017 = The Finnish Civil War (interpreting a picture, making notes from the board)
30.11.2017 = Walkthrough of exam (WW1) assignments
1.12.2017 (2 h) = The whole school participates in a theme day dedicated to showcasing interdisciplinary student projects on the topic "Finland 100"
7.12.2017 = The Finnish Civil War (the second graded written assignment)
8.12.2017 (2 h) = Working on the assignment on the Finnish Civil War; watching a clip from the movie *Under the North Star*
11.12.2017 = Working on the assignment on the Finnish Civil War
14.12.2017 = Student interviews (others continue familiarising themselves with the Finnish Civil War)
15.12.2017 (2 h) = Student interviews (others continue familiarising themselves with the Finnish Civil War)
18.12.2017 = Exam on the Finnish Civil War
CHRISTMAS BREAK

10.1.2018 (2 h) = Differences between democracy and dictatorship; democracy under siege in Finland (notes from the board); Finland in the 1920s and 1930s (working on oral presentations)
12.1.2018 (2 h) = A recap of differences between democracy and dictatorship; European democracies and dictatorships after the WW1 (colouring both on a map)
17.1.2018 (2 h) = The last student interviews; working on oral presentations on Finland in the 1920s and 1930s
19.1.2018 (2 h) = (Lesson by a substitute teacher) Textbook assignments on the Great Depression; a clip from Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times*
26.1.2018 (2 h) = A walkthrough of textbook assignments on the Great Depression; a documentary film on Hitler's Germany (a worksheet task)
31.1.2018 (2 h) = Oral presentations on Finland in the 1920s and 1930s
2.2.2018 (2 h) = Oral presentations on Finland in the 1920s and 1930s; 1930s European dictators (the third graded written assignment)
7.2.2018 (2 h) = 1930s European dictators (the third graded written assignment)
9.2.2018 (2 h) = Exam on European dictatorships and the interwar period; working on the written assignment on 1930s European dictators
16.2.2018 (2 h) = Working on the written assignment on 1930s European dictators
23.2.2018 (2 h) = WW2 (the fourth graded written assignment)
7.3.2018 (2 h) = Working on the written assignment on WW2
9.3.2018 (2 h) = Working on the written assignment on WW2
14.3.2018 (2 h) = The Cold War teaching experiment
16.3.2018 (2 h) = Concluding the Cold War teaching experiment; exam on WW2