

**KATRIN KELLO**

The functions and contexts  
of general education history teaching:  
social and professional representations  
in Estonia and Latvia



DISSERTATIONES DE MEDIIS ET COMMUNICATIONIBUS  
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Institute of Social Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences and Education, University of Tartu, Estonia

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## LIST OF ORIGINAL PAPERS

This dissertation is based on the following original papers, which will be referred to in the text by their respective Roman numerals.

- I. Katrin Kello, Halliki Harro-Loit (2014) How should the past be treated in Estonian schools? Constructions of history teaching in an Estonian teachers' newspaper. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 45 (3), 397–421.
- II. Katrin Kello (2010) Milleks koolis ajalootunnid? Aine eesmärgid õpetaja taotluste peeglis [Why teach history at school? The aims of history teaching as reflected in teachers' intentions]. *Haridus [Education: Journal for Estonian Educational Publications]* 4, peer reviewed special issue, 31–38.
- III. Katrin Kello, Anu Masso (2012) The Spatial Foci of History Teaching. Individual Views of Estonian History Teachers. *Spaces and Flows: An International Journal of Urban & ExtraUrban Studies* 2 (4), 31–48.
- IV. Katrin Kello (forthcoming) Sensitive and Controversial Issues in the Classroom: Teaching History in a Divided Society. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*.
- V. Katrin Kello, Halliki Harro-Loit (2012) Recognising dilemmas in history teaching – a tool for increasing teacher's autonomy. In J. Mikk, M. Veisson and P. Luik (eds) *Lifelong Learning and Teacher Development. Estonian Studies in Education* 4 (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang Verlag), 113–129.

### Contribution to Co-Authored Papers

As the author of this dissertation, I contributed to the three co-authored papers above as follows:

**Paper I:** I designed the study and analysed the newspaper articles. I wrote the paper with support and contributions from my supervisor.

**Paper III:** I designed and conducted the interviews and chose specific interview sections for further analysis in the particular paper. In designing the analysis, analysing the chosen sections and writing up the paper both authors' contributions were equal.

**Paper V:** I designed, conducted and analysed the interviews and chose specific interview sections for further interpretation in the particular paper. In designing the analysis, interpreting the chosen sections and writing up the paper both authors' contributions were equal.

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# I. INTRODUCTION

## I.1. General introduction and research focus

In order to understand themselves and the world, people tell stories (e.g. Bruner 2003, László 2008, Wertsch 1997, 2002). Such stories manifest “[t]he centrality of narrativity for human consciousness” (Wertsch 1997, 11) and range from narratives about individuals to fully-fledged histories of nations or the whole of humanity. Thus, narratives are cultural tools that serve to *contain* cultural memory, to guarantee the coherence of different events, and to (re-)create both individual and collective identities (Tamm 2008, Wertsch 1997, 2002). For example, the most powerful Estonian narrative of this kind can be called “The Great Battle for Freedom” (Tamm 2008). This long story of Estonians’ struggle for liberty is preceded by the age of ‘ancient freedom’ and starts with the struggle against 13th-century German-Danish conquerors. The conquest is followed by several uprisings during the ‘700-year night of slavery’ under German landlords, War of Independence from 1918 to 1920, and resistance to the Soviet and German Occupations from 1940 onwards (ibid.). Currently, the story concludes with the re-establishment of independence in 1991 and joining the EU in 2004.<sup>1</sup> Viewing all these events from the same perspective and creating connections between them happens in different locations, such as popular overviews of the Estonian past, festive speeches and individual images of ‘Estonian history’ among many lay people. It is one of many ‘great narratives’ that shape whole worldviews – people use them as interpretive lenses through which to view even realms that have no obvious connection to the past, be it current economic relations or aesthetic preferences (cf. Rösen 1994, 1997a). In fact, narrative has been seen as the matter that constructs a nation or any other community in the first place. Nations in particular have been viewed as ‘narrative communities’ (Tamm 2008, 502), and sharing a common past as one of the most important criteria defining them, given that it provides them a seemingly stable essence (identity) and hence legitimacy by allowing the nation “to be imagined as continuous” (ibid., cf. e.g. Smith 2002, 2010, 2011). Regardless of whether nations are seen as long-term creations or modern constructs, stories, images and their artistic recreations are what enables “a sense of national identity shared by many members of the national community” and that makes the nation appear as natural (Smith 2011, 248–249). Each and every member of a community need not share the same images and narrative schemes, or subjectively agree with them. Rather, there are *dominant* images among certain groups and collectives, of which most group members are aware – even if they don’t agree, and some of which are used by those in power

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<sup>1</sup> Tamm focuses on how the ‘Great Battle for Freedom’ template was shaped and utilised in inter-war Estonia and hence shows how the template was constructed as a long struggle against Germans. The present constructions of resisting Soviet Union neatly fit into this template, too.

as tools of identity politics (cf. also Ahonen 1997, 2001, Moscovici 1988, Tamm 2013).

School history teaching is one important transmitter of founding myths and stories of origins: about how *we* appeared, and how *our* way of life came into being. Therefore, even seemingly ‘objective’ or ‘cold’ narratives like ‘clay tablets to Internet’ contribute to our identity, as they are part of a teleological continuity that ends up with us, here and now (Rüsen 2004). School history teaching is also an often-used tool to justify the ruling minorities’ deeds and legitimise the present power constellation (Borries 2009). In fact, it is a truism that “[h]istory education was one of the pillars in the foundation of modern nations” (Carretero and Bermudez 2012, 634). Both the rise of academic history and history teaching were related to the growth of nation states and “history entered the school curricula of European states with very specific purposes” (Wilschut 2010, 693). From its beginnings in Europe and other Western countries in the 19th century, and later in other nation states, history teaching has served political, nation-building interests (e.g. Carretero 2011, Symcox and Wilschut 2009a, Wilschut 2010).

Thus, in various countries and on most continents, history teaching has mainly and predominantly been designed and perceived as an identity-building subject. Apart from this, however, history teaching has always had another, more intellectual and general education oriented purpose. To pay both ends the attention they deserve, Carretero and Bermudez (2012) distinguish them as the ‘romantic’ and the ‘enlightened’ functions or views of history teaching. Both views take their names from their intellectual roots in the 18th and 19th century and embrace a variety of more particular concepts and practices of history teaching. They have carried and accompanied the subject from its modern beginnings in the 19th century.<sup>2</sup> While ‘romantic’ history teaching celebrates and legitimises a certain order and ideology, the ‘enlightened’ approach has manifested itself both in a state-compliant way (as it mainly did up until the 1960s and 70s) as well as in a critical way, contesting national myths and challenging celebratory narratives (Carretero and Bermudez 2012, 636). In the first case, the ‘enlightened’ aims were rather compatible with ‘romantic’ ones – the same knowledge that was meant to *inform* and *educate* students, also functioned as “social glue”, usually forming some national identity (Seixas 2000). In contrast, since 1960s and 1970s, ‘romantic’ and ‘enlightened’ approaches have been drifting ever more apart. ‘Enlightened’ approaches have advocated for attention to the *complexity* of historical developments by

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<sup>2</sup> Other authors make similar distinctions, for example designating them ‘heritage’ or ‘(collective) memory’ versus ‘(academic) history’ oriented history teaching, as in the distinction of ‘heritage’ and ‘history’ by David Lowenthal (e.g. Makriyianni 2011). The reason I prefer the labels and definitions by Carretero and Bermudez is that they enable one to write with less verbal entanglement about how academic history may have different kinds of relations with all models of history teaching – within the ‘romantic’ as well as in the ‘enlightened’ range.

recognising divergent experiences and perspectives, and challenging inherited myths and narratives (Carretero and Bermudez 2012, 636). Additionally, voices that support a more global focus in history teaching refer to moral and ethical considerations such as equality and the need to enhance the ability for dialogue (e.g. Hansen, Burdick-Shepherd, Cammarano and Obelleiro 2009, Rösen 2004), as well as the weakening of the nation state in the face of globalisation (e.g. Popp 2002). Newer approaches in history teaching also reflect more general education trends, such as those deriving from constructivism in education psychology (Wilschut 2010, Carretero and Bermudez 2012, Wineburg 2001a). In fact, in some countries, for example Belgium, a national canon seems to have “evaporated” from history curricula, and “narrative as such has disappeared from the textbooks” (Wils 2009, 23).

Still, the distance between academic and school history has grown over the past century (Carretero and Bermudez 2012, Wilschut 2010): while Western developments in academic history put historical scholarship at an ever greater distance from national focus, the self-evident focus of most history teaching is still on the country or nation where the teaching takes place – even in case of the more critical kind of ‘enlightened’ goals. Indeed, this is a focus that most people would expect from history teaching (e.g. Nakou and Barca 2010). In part, this focus stems from the original nation-building tradition of history teaching: the most detailed picture is painted of one’s own nation and secondly about regions that are most relevant to this centre (cf. e.g. Oswalt 2006). Another factor that contributes to the persistence of such ethnocentric focusing is the old principle that all teaching should start from what is more familiar – and spatially closer – to most students (cf. e.g. Gies 2004, 116–117).

Additionally, the picture of ‘global trends’ in history teaching is complicated by the fact that the same developments which enhanced the critical and multiperspective approach towards the past – immigration, pluralisation and weakening of the nation state – have also provoked a new and increasing demand for national identity focused history teaching since the 1980s and 1990s (Symcox and Wilschut 2009a, Wilschut 2010, cf. e.g. Nakou and Barca 2010). For example, irrespective of their nationality, conservative nationalists believe that “the renewal of the nation depends on re-establishing a shared historical narrative and on enacting the values that this narrative embodies. Such reaffirmation of national unity is deemed fundamental in the face of external threats, as well as internal threats such as the challenges brought by ethnic and linguistic pluralism” (Carretero and Bermudez 2012, 640, see e.g. Vahtre 2004). From this perspective, a constructivist epistemology can easily be perceived as dangerous and destructive.

As a result of the diversity of existing understandings and expectations, history educators are facing conflicting demands from different stakeholders, based on different social, political, education and academic aims and worldviews. Because of the social identity relevance of history teaching, expectations from different social groups of the subject’s content are often just

too clear to be regarded as secondary to a ‘scientific truth’ (cf. e.g. Carretero 2011, Foster and Crawford 2006, Nakou and Barca 2010). These expectations reach curricula to different extents – sometimes national curricula are directly shaped by political, often nationalist, interests, whereas at other times and places they are written by academic experts (see e.g. Nakou and Barca 2010, Perikleos and Shemilt 2011b, Symcox and Wilschut 2009b, Wilschut 2010, cf. e.g. Pandel 2005). Consequently, curricula and textbooks mix social and political expectations of history teaching with outcomes of academic practices (e.g. László and Ehmann 2012) and reactions to social controversies (e.g. Christophe 2013), carrying influences from all these sides in different combinations (e.g. Foster and Crawford 2006).

External expectations reach the history classroom via different channels besides textbooks and curricula: students, their parents, media, communities, superiors and politicians (see e.g. Bekerman and Zembylas 2012, Cotton 2006, Fransson and Grannäs 2013, Hargreaves 1994, Hess 2009, Magendzo and Toledo 2009, Miller-Lane, Denton and May 2006, Zembylas and Kambani 2012). It follows that history teaching can be looked at as located between different fields: education, society, politics, academic research. These fields, inherently heterogeneous themselves, reflect different ways of making sense about the past, and different interests and objectives of using the past. Education institutions like curricula, textbooks, schools, and as the last and most decisive instance, each individual history teacher, choose from among a diversity of motivations, decision grounds, and ideological and practical positions. There is no unequivocal answer to the question of which are the most relevant contexts and factors with regard to history teaching – in democratic societies, they compete with each other, are contested socially and perceived differently by each individual teacher. Thus, even within the limits that are introduced by policy makers and other education institutions, there is still an action, decision and interpretation space available for each individual teacher.

The curriculum alone is not a sufficient landmark for the orientation of teachers, textbook authors and other educators because, as with any text, it needs interpretation based on some external framework. Even if the national curriculum has legal force, it is not usual for it to be thoroughly law-like. Neither are lawyers normally there to help users read it. Often, in order to gain a broader acceptance, it is either rather generic, or it contains ‘something for everybody’ (e.g. Simpson and Halse 2006), presuming that the teacher or textbook author makes his or her own choices and sets his or her own emphases. Additionally, a particular consensus of certain interest groups, as reflected in a curriculum, may not seem the most wise or legitimate for each individual educator. It can collide with either the educator’s own or another relevant group’s (or groups’) convictions, which may be perceived as at least as important as those represented in the curriculum – or which may simply be more pressing in the daily teaching practice. In addition, from a quite practical point of view the teachers need to choose foci and decide on time allocations

*here and now*. There are different traditions with regard to how much freedom teachers and other educators possess – or are expected to possess – in making such decisions. These traditions are related to different – culture- and stakeholder-position-dependent – conceptions of teacher professionalism, autonomy, discretion, and creativity (see e.g. Evetts 2009, Gerrard and Farrell forthcoming, Hargreaves 2000, Kelchtermans 2009, Loogma 2013, Sahlberg 2011, Tenorth 2006, Wermke and Hösfält 2014, Westbury, Hopmann and Riquarts 2000). According to Euridyce (2008), even among European countries there is a remarkable diversity of how much teaching content is determined by the national curriculum and external assessments, who participate in designing these, and to what extent textbooks are to be approved by authorities. However, almost everywhere in Europe, teachers are granted autonomy to decide which instruction methods to use (*ibid.*), which alone presupposes quite a lot of curriculum interpretation.

To summarise, there are rather different school subjects taught under the name ‘history’ in the world. On one level, what defines history teaching as a socially constructed phenomenon is what teachers and students do in particular classrooms: what textbooks they use, what methods they use, how much they stay in the classroom as opposed to going on trips and so forth. There are different aims, contents and methods of history teaching. For example, Austrian students learn more about Austrian history than German students. Pedagogical traditions differ in terms of what instruction methods are used, and in many countries history teaching moved, over the course of the 20th century, towards activating and involving students more. The functions that are attributed to the subject can also differ greatly. For example, teachers in Northern Ireland are known to avoid student identity related topics more than their US peers. I will return to such differences in Section 2.1. On another level, the differences come from the broader cultural, social and political contexts of these aims and activities. For example, comparing Estonian and Latvian history teaching during the Soviet period and today, we can easily see that the social and political context are inseparable from the school subject. I will elaborate on this in Section 1.2.

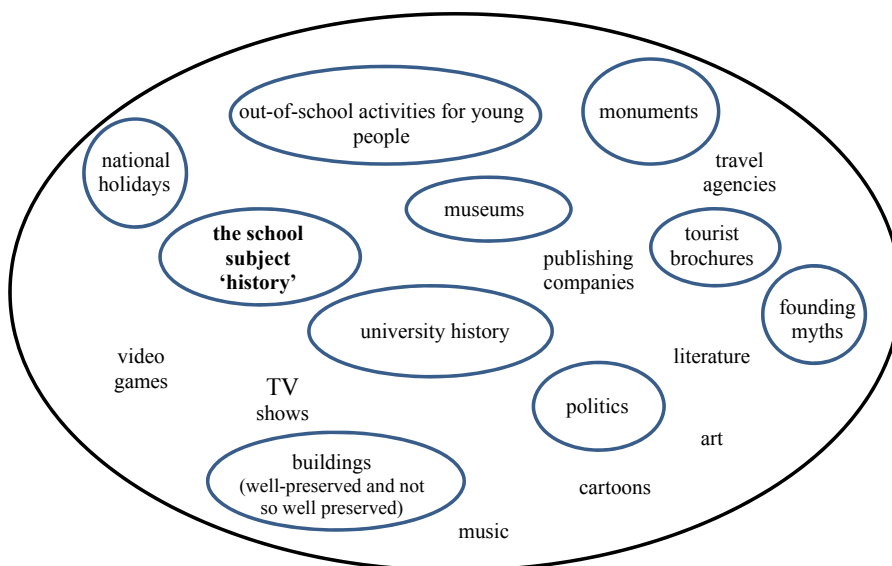
In this dissertation I view the school subject ‘history’ and its teachers as located between different kinds of contexts that reflect different ways of making sense of the past, and different interests and objectives of utilising the past. Based on earlier research, curricular materials and media analysis, I study the range of representations and ideologies of history teaching in Estonia and Latvia. Based on individual interviews, I study how history teachers position themselves when facing the different values, demands and expectations that result from the diverse contexts of their subject. Since comparison, i.e. noticing differences, is what enables the researcher to ‘see’ in the first place, juxtaposing data from several locations should help me to conceive all of it, and its characteristic details, better.

The dissertation expands on the existing, rather scarce research (see below, Section 2.3) that puts at its centre the history teacher, located between different

fields, actors and interests and facing different values, demands and expectations. On the one hand, the novelty of the present approach lies in the general perspective. Viewing history teacher positions within their broader social and discursive contexts is not totally new, but it is in no way an established field of research. On the other hand, the novelty of the present approach is in the particular empirical location of the study: Estonia and Latvia. In both countries, history teacher's perplexities, due to the complicated contexts of their work, have been acknowledged in passing (e.g. Golubeva 2010, Onken 2010, Kirss 2010, Kirss and Vihalemm 2008, Lauristin, Kaal, Kirss, Kriger et al. 2011). However, I am aware of no previous study the focus of which would be comparable to the present one. In fact, such focus seems to be new for the East European contexts in general.

## 1.2. History teaching in history cultures – Estonian and Latvian contexts

A heuristic concept that helps to consider the broader cultural, social and political context of the things happening in the classroom labelled 'history teaching', is 'history culture'. The concept, coined by Jörn Rüsen (1994), highlights the interconnectedness of most diverse practices that are somehow related to the past in a society – from product marketing to academic research and teaching history at school. This allows us to conceive the simultaneity of all these practices and products, along with their different aims, functions, and criteria of quality and validity (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Some components of a history culture

People, including teachers, pupils, historians, and politicians, synthesise images from very different sources, and embed new images in existing frameworks. So, they build their knowledge based on different sources – images from Asterix and Obelix easily mix with things learnt at school or seen in ‘serious’ TV productions.<sup>3</sup> The aesthetic and political dimensions of a history culture are as important as the cognitive, i.e. academic knowledge related, dimensions. Any phenomenon in a history culture should be viewed with regard to all these three dimensions, considering their different relations and combinations (Rüsen 1997a). The aesthetic dimension refers to the ways in which the past can be imagined against the backdrop of present experience, and in which terms it is attractive regarding contemporary “action and suffering” (Rüsen 1997a, 39). The political dimension, in turn, derives from the fact that

any form of power needs the consent of those affected, and historical memory plays an important role in this. Political power always presents itself in historically pregnant symbols; it needs history to root and secure its organised power relations within those affected. /–/ This is not to say that history culture is a politically blind servant of power (*politisch blind dem Willen zur Macht folgt*), on the contrary, it is located at the centre of power (*zum “Auge der Macht” gehört*), specifically, as it binds the effectiveness of power to the consent of the affected. /–/ In this respect, a sizable part of the political culture follows specific rules of historical memory and must be addressed and understood as history culture. (Rüsen 1997a, 39, my translation)

All three dimensions relate, in various ways, to different modes of making sense of the past. Conceiving narration as the primary form of historical explanation, Rüsen distinguishes four ideal ‘narrative types’ as different modes of sense-making (*Erzähltypen, modi der historischen Sinnbildung*). He stresses that these types never come in pure forms, but the distinction offers a tool to analyse how the past is both presented and made sense of in different parts of a history culture (Rüsen 1997b, 2001). First there is the ‘traditional’ modus that explains how things are now by means of a story that doesn’t distinguish between the past and today: time is eternalised. It says that things are a certain way, and they should remain so. The second, ‘exemplary’, way of sense-making is reflected in the famous cliché *historia magistra vitae*, and in the belief that we should study history in order to learn from past mistakes, or look for role models in the past. This type of telling also eternalises time by looking for timeless rules. The third, ‘critical’, modus is opposed to the two previous: it purposely questions established patterns and rules. It unmaskes the constructedness of dominant stories of the first and second type by offering a counter-construction. Academic examples of this modus are counter-histories as cultivated by Marxism or feminism. This modus shows, by means of history, that things don’t have to

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<sup>3</sup> Thus, Rüsen conceptualises ‘history culture’ in a way that embraces, as one part of it, also what other authors call ‘memory culture’ (Rüsen 1997a, cf. Bjerg, Lenz and Thorstensen 2011).

stay as they have been. The fourth, ‘genetic’ type, in turn attempts to be unpolitical – that is, to show as objectively as possible how things have changed and developed over time by approaching the past reflexively and in a multiperspective way. Change is an interesting object of study in its own right, with no clear political agenda. This type has been the academic ideal since the nineteenth century, with the exception of academic schools that belong to the previous type. On the level of intellectual discourse, the fourth type has prevailed – but only *prevailed* – ever since. The two former types are politically crucial, and much utilised; they are also strongly present in everyday life. The latter two ways enter the ‘social scene’ from various kinds of academic writing. Which of these types dominate, characterises the particular society and its politics – i.e. its particular history culture. It is easy to see how the types of sensemaking are reflected in different approaches to history teaching. History teaching is usually a mixture of all the types, even if the ‘enlightened’ ideal would be that academic ways should dominate.

The present dissertation deals with history teaching in two interesting history cultures. Estonia and Latvia exemplify many of the above described developments in the history of history teaching, with the exception that a critically understood ‘enlightened’ approach entered the stage in 1990 as an import from Western Europe. Up to WWII, these Baltic countries followed general Western trends. In pre-WWII Estonia and Latvia, nation-centred principles in history teaching, according to which the aim of history teaching was to enhance national feelings and patriotism, were applied (cf. e.g. Tamm 2008). Soviet history teaching combined, according to the presented distinction, a ‘traditional’ combination of ‘romantic’ and ‘enlightened’ goals (cf. Ahonen 1992, 1997, A. Raudsepp 2005, Carretero 2011, Symcox and Wilschut 2009a). From the ‘romantic’ perspective, history teachers were expected to transmit a similarly pre-defined set of values as before WWII, just that the survival and battles of ‘working people’ replaced those of Estonian/Latvian people, and national values were replaced by Soviet ‘communist’ values (cf. e.g. Ahonen 1992, 1997, Palamets 1966, 1968, 1971a, 1971b, 1973, A. Raudsepp 2005). From the ‘enlightened’ perspective, history teaching was expected to educate pupils and to enhance their analytical thinking, ability to see causal connections, and other skills like summation and narration (*ibid.*).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, history teaching became embedded in the nation’s generic aspiration to reassert “a historical community through disclosing its story of the past as seen from the perspective of nation-building” (Ahonen 1997, 54–55). Thus, the ‘romantic’ approach more or less dominated in Estonian history courses.<sup>4</sup> In the case of ‘world history’, the narrative was Euro-centric. During the 1990s, this trend was combined with increasing

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<sup>4</sup> Teachers could and can choose between more or less academic or patriotic presentations of national history that dominate in the textbooks, but the central narrative is still there at least in the Estonian history textbooks (cf. Ahonen 2001, Pääbo 2010).



influences from the history teaching communities of Western Europe both in Estonia and Latvia. Two organisations were of particular significance, the European Association of History Educators (*Euroclio*), and the Council of Europe, which both disseminated ideas about multiperspective and constructivist history teaching by learning and teaching materials, teacher training, national curricula, and national final examinations. At the level of practical history teaching, the European Association of History Educators *Euroclio*, the Council of Europe, and the British Council, have disseminated ideas of multiperspectivity and constructivism through instruction materials, teachers' in-service training, national curricula and national final examinations (e.g. Oja 2004, Klišāns 2011). Of course, these influences have also been filtered through local interpretations and according to individual teacher's understandings of what was possible and appropriate (cf. Ahonen 2001, Stevick 2007). Thus currently, several 'layers' of discourse on history teaching are apparent in Estonia and Latvia.

Greater differences between Estonian and Latvian contexts are to be found in the broader political and economic fields: 'memory politics' and economic crisis of 2008 have been more intense in Latvia. That is to say, it seems that re-independent Estonia *westernised* (or *northernised*) faster both symbolically and materially (e.g. Norkus 2007, Lauristin 2011). Already since the beginning of the transition period Estonia's 'role models' came both from the past (pre-war Estonia) and the contemporary West (particularly Finland and other Nordic countries), whereas in Latvian symbolic coping, the pre-war model seems to have been more dominant. Additionally – albeit more internationally known examples of memory politics (the 'War of Monuments', Brüggemann and Kasekamp 2008) come from Estonia (cf. e.g. the special issues of the *Journal of Baltic Studies* 2008, 4 and 2010, 3) – Latvia's tense political constellation (manifesting itself, for example, in lower level of trust to politicians, e.g. Solska 2011) and Latvian politics being more 'ethnicised' (e.g. Cheskin 2013) have more vehemently supported utilisation of the past as a political tool (cf. e.g. Onken 2007). A related difference with regard to history teaching has been that unlike in Estonia, in Latvia school history teaching has been the object of several parties' election campaigns, has been debated even at the level of Parliament and has thus received media attention for over a decade (e.g. Klišāns 2011). Referring to an alleged lack of factual knowledge among pupils, nationalist politicians have supported mandating Latvian history as a separate subject, apart from European and world history. History teachers have been divided on the issue, but their representatives in the Latvian History Teachers' Association have supported maintenance of an undivided subject called History, enabling a more integrated teaching of Latvian and world history. Nevertheless, in 2010, the Latvian government mandated that world and Latvian history should be taught as separate subjects, and assigned more teaching time to the latter (Latvian Government 2010, 2011).

Thus, although both Estonian and Latvian societies are notoriously past-obsessed, ‘mnemonically divided’ and post-Soviet, in Latvia, nationalist forces seem to have generally been more explicit with their expectation that Latvian patriotism be enhanced in schools. In some respects, the past seems also to be generally more acute in Latvian political culture. But still, in both countries, historical conflicts are perceived as providing the clearest social division lines, leading to them being utilised to legitimate both the more evident language-based and more implicit socio-economic divides in society (e.g. Ehala 2009, Kaprāns and Zelče 2011, Kus, Liu and Ward 2013). Since historical memory has a prominent position in majorities’ identity, and another part of both countries’ identity is the worry about the country’s small size and survival or extinction, both *opposing* the ‘right’ interpretations of key events and *not knowing* the national history ‘correctly’ are associated with a threat to the identity and even statehood in widespread discourses. Accordingly, a part of the Estonian and Latvian public suspect that the ‘Russian schools’ teach ‘incorrect’ or even hostile ‘Russian’ interpretations to their pupils (e.g. Golubeva 2010, Kus 2011). At the same time, previous research in Estonia has found that history teachers of Russian-speaking pupils perceive their task as smoothing sharp edges and enhancing pupils’ understanding of the existence of different conceptions and positions and the absence of one absolute truth (e.g. Lauristin, Kaal, Kirss, Kriger et al. 2011, 67). Probably their colleagues in Latvia perceive a similar task.<sup>5</sup>

More generally, post-authoritarian and neoliberal facets of Estonian and Latvian post-Soviet situation have influenced education at all levels (e.g. Heidmets, Kangro, Ruus, Matulionis et al. 2011, Kesküla, Loogma, Kolka and Sau-Ek 2012, Loogma 2013, Loogma, Kesküla and Roosipõld 2010). According to Heidmets et al. (2011, 96–98), three subsequent trends in Estonian education politics can be distinguished: (1) from late 1980s to mid-90s when “the emphasis was on liberalizing the whole system and on weakening governmental control over educational affairs”; (2) a step-by-step ‘return of the state’ since the late 1990s, marked by an enhanced legal framework and other centralised regulation; and (3) ‘networking with Europe’ and its emerging common education space, manifested in increased participation in various international programmes and evaluations. Changes have involved pedagogical approaches and relations between teachers and pupils, school organisation culture, the national curriculum and education policies. The transformations – or at least transformations expected by the state – have been especially weighty in Estonian and Latvian Russian-language schools, where many teachers have been forced to struggle for their state language skills and an ever growing

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<sup>5</sup> One former study includes comparison of Estonian and Latvian Russian-speaking teachers’ perceptions of how the national past is treated in history textbooks and how it should be presented to the students (Golubeva 2010, Golubeva, Powell, Kazimzade and Nedelcu 2009). However, the sample includes teachers of different subjects rather than history teachers alone.

number of teachers have started to teach in another language due to the schools' transition to state language as the means of instruction (e.g. Kiilo 2013, Masso and Kello 2010, Masso, Kello and Djačkova 2010).

On the one hand, teachers have been expected to participate in determining the content of their subjects (national curricula) both individually as experts in curriculum work groups as well as collectively via teacher unions and subject teachers' councils. Their autonomy in interpreting the national curriculum (determining instruction methods and deciding on which topics and skills to focus more and on which less) is often underlined from the official side. In fact, public education officials have repeatedly substantiated scarcity of teacher support materials with the materials' potential to restrict teacher creativity in teaching. On the other hand, Loogma (2013) points out that several studies show Estonian teachers' discontent with their work, low professional self-confidence and feeling that their social position has deteriorated.

Thus, depending on their education, social, personal and even ethnic backgrounds, there are teachers who experience an increase in pedagogical and ideological freedom since the late 1980s, as well as those who see most changes as tiring and saddening; teachers who strongly perceive a democratisation in their work, and those who rather feel that one dominant ideology was just replaced by another (Golubeva 2010, Kesküla et al. 2012, Masso and Kello 2010). At the time of conducting interviews for the present dissertation, national curricula did give considerable interpretation space to teachers. National final examinations and other external assessments, however, were a quite substantial factor in restricting teacher creativity and feelings of autonomy.<sup>6</sup> Similar findings are presented by Kesküla et al. (2012). Based on interviews with 24 Estonian teachers, they distinguish seven positions within curriculum changes since the early 1990s: embracing new norms enthusiastically; acceptance of following new norms as the teacher's task; adapting the new curriculum; not noticing changes in requirements; continuing teaching in the teacher's own way due to own strong pedagogical convictions; refusing to change due to a view that curriculum demands are impossible or unfounded; and refusing to change due to moral objections (finding for example national final examinations or excessive curricular demands unethical with regard to students' interests). Among other things, the authors note a contradiction between curriculum and national final examinations that reduce teacher autonomy: "we can witness a hegemonic change where the power shifts from teachers to other groups, like parents and bureaucrats" (ibid., 372). The existence of different teacher groups is also shown by research that has focused on appropriation of 'new' philosophies (understandings about learning, e.g. Lepik, Elvisto, Oder and Talts 2013) and instructional approaches (student-centred, constructivist, computer-based, etc., as opposed to 'traditional', e.g. Loogma, Ruus, Talts and Poom-

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<sup>6</sup> As opposed to Latvia, there are no longer any *national* final examinations in History in Estonia, but at the time of my research they were still in full flow.

Valickis 2009). Of course, the reasons for the relatively slow appropriation of 'new' approaches, as noted by these studies, indicate not only, and not necessarily, a lack of skill or willingness and understanding. Any pedagogical innovation, to be successful and sustainable, needs to be part of a broader 'reculturing' of the school and teaching community as a whole (Hargreaves 1994). Apart from this, a lack of 'space' and something that could be called 'political self-confidence' are equally relevant factors (I discuss some aspects of these in papers IV and V).

## **2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND DISSERTATION OUTLINE**

This dissertation has resulted from an interplay of several research and knowledge traditions. On the one hand, the questions that formed my point of departure, could not have been possible without my own interdisciplinary background and work experience. Specifically, my twofold background in academic history on one hand, and curriculum research and development, on the other, brought to my attention discrepancies between historiographic ideals and epistemologies, and social, political and pedagogical demands and limitations. On the other hand, the research questions themselves bear on different disciplines and cannot be answered within a single disciplinary tradition: an interdisciplinary approach was a necessary precondition to the research process. Conceiving history teaching as a socio-cultural and political phenomenon, and interpreting history teachers' and other groups' understandings of history teaching, presupposes using knowledge from social psychology, communication studies, sociology and political science (processes of social representation and social memory), pedagogy and pedagogical psychology (processes of teaching and learning); history didactics (what is worthwhile and what is possible when teaching and learning about the past and history); academic history and other past-related scholarship. Doing the research in social sciences, and choosing Social Representation Theory to act as my conceptual umbrella, helped me to conceptualise better the interconnections within and between these fields: processes of knowledge and communication in society.

Thus, centrally, this dissertation is informed by three broad areas of earlier research: essence and contents of history teaching; social representation and positioning as interrelated processes within individuals, groups and the society; and research on what I call teacher's subjective action space. Subsequently I give a brief overview of these three theoretical frameworks: different approaches to aims and ways of history teaching, as distinguished by previous research (2.1); Social Representation Theory, and identities, representing and positioning as understood in the light of the framework (2.2); teacher representations of their work as manifestation of their subjective action space (2.3). I conclude the section by outlining the dissertation's research questions and structure (2.4).

### **2.1. Understandings of history teaching**

When introducing this cover article I outlined some general tendencies in historical development of Western and Estonian and Latvian history teaching. In what follows, I present some further distinctions and point out how they are reflected in Estonian and Latvian national history curricula. I structure my presentation according to the distinction of 'romantic' and 'enlightened' approaches to history teaching, as proposed by Carretero and Bermudez (2012).

## 'Romantic' approaches

Generally speaking, the 'romantic' approach aims to socialise students into a particular community of memory, values and identity. It is the oldest, most traditional and concurrently most resilient conception of history teaching, and has, unlike the 'enlightened' approach, preserved a similar meaning over time. According to the 'romantic' approach, history teaching is expected to function as a vehicle of socialising pupils into a larger group, usually at the national level. It is expected to contribute to the preservation and legitimisation of the existing order and dominant discourses. Carretero and Bermudez (2012, 635) distinguish three main characteristics of this approach, based on research into history education and school textbooks in different countries: instilling in future citizens a positive assessment of their own social group's (both local and national) past, present, and future; a positive assessment of the country's political evolution; and identification with past events and characters and national heroes. According to Carretero and Bermudez, this typically happens by means of topic selection – focusing on common origins and groups with which pupils are expected to identify, and thus by developing imagined communities around which such loyalties could form –, glorifying the county's past, and providing historic models of civic virtue (Carretero and Bermudez 2012, 635, referring to Barton and Levstik 2008, 358–361).

History teaching can fulfil this function more or less explicitly. Teachers and pupils can be more or less aware of this function, as its manifestations can range from explicit enhancement of nationalism (learning patriotic lessons from the past) to a more hidden perpetuation of values and evaluations inherent in an ethno-national narrative, as it can appear as the self-evident interpretive framework.

In the Soviet era, one part of the goal of history teaching was explicitly 'romantic', as developing communist values was among the subjects main and explicit aims (e.g. Ahonen 1992, A. Raudsepp 2005, Palamets 1968, 1973, Symcox and Wilschut 2010). Indeed, schooling in general was expected to be explicitly ideological (e.g. Pilve 2010). Since the 1990s, the 'romantic' approach has been mentioned only fleetingly in the Estonian national curriculum. The reason for this was the Western European, liberal orientation of curriculum authors, perhaps combined with some Soviet-era-induced aversion of too many ideological wordings. The curricula clearly avoided mentioning *Estonian* patriotism and even *Estonian* identity explicitly (cf. Ahonen 1992): the most explicit romantic goals in the history curriculum are worded with reference to the students *own* community rather than any particular (e.g. Estonian national) community. One of history teaching's aims is said to be that "the student /–/ shall define him or herself as a member of his or her nation[ality]", and that the student's "national and cultural identity, tolerance and positive attitude towards values of democracy" is mentioned (Estonian Government 2002, 2010a, 2010, my translation). Another sentence is a bit more specific, but Estonian ethnocentrism is still avoided: "the student /–/ shall learn

to relate him/herself with his/her place of origin, Estonia, Europe, and the world” (ibid., my translation). Such wordings create an “illusion of consensus” (Simpson and Halse 2006) – they can be agreed with from both multicultural as well as ethnic-nationalist positions. On the one hand, the curriculum could be presented to the West as promoting tolerance and multiperspectivity. On the other hand, in the curricular support materials ethnic and nationalist positions were found more explicitly (e.g. in Õispuu 2002). ‘Romantic’ goals also appear to be guiding some textbook authors and publishers.<sup>7</sup>

In Latvia, former history curricula seem to have followed similar trends. For example, the curricula for ‘Latvian and world history’ from 2006 states rather cautiously that history teaching should enhance students’ understanding of “family, place of origin, [and] Latvia as significant values in their own and other people’s lives” and “the development of a European identity and support the growth of a responsible and tolerant member of the democratic society of European Union” (Latvian Government 2006, my translation). However, since in Latvia school history teaching has long been the object of ‘high politics’ and in the end both parliament and government mandated ‘Latvian history’ as a separate subject in order to ensure that students had ‘sufficient’ knowledge of the national past (Latvian Government 2010, 2011), direct political influences are visible in the curricula. Thus, the current Latvian lower secondary history curriculum mandates that additionally, Latvian history teaching should “enhance the sense of patriotism and of belonging to the Latvian state” (Latvian Government 2010, 2011, my translation).

### ‘Enlightened’ approaches

Among the ‘enlightened’ approaches there are more diverse understandings of how history teaching could best educate future citizens: from simply providing knowledge that could help them orientate themselves in current affairs, to providing the experience of critical reflection and becoming accustomed to uncertainty, ambivalence and change. As I mentioned above, the traditional, knowledge-centred ‘enlightened’ aims were rather compatible with ‘romantic’ ones (Carretero and Bermudez 2012) – the same knowledge that was meant to *inform* and *educate* students, also functioned as “social glue” (Seixas 2000). And if the selection was ethnocentric, it functioned as a national-identity-forming glue. Thus, particularly in case of national history, there is a thin line

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<sup>7</sup> In the Estonian broader public, a well-known example of a textbook that carries a ‘romantic’ model of history teaching is a 5th grade Estonian history textbook by Laar and colleagues (Laar, Tilk and Hergauk 1997, Hergauk, Laar and Tilk 2002, 2007). In the late 1990s and early 2000s, this textbook was portrayed as controversial in the Estonian general media due to an allegedly biased depiction of the Estonian transition period in the 1990s. The textbook’s ‘romantic’ structure itself was not the subject of controversy. According to a survey among 100 history teachers in the mid-2000s (Möttus 2005), this textbook was the most frequently used, with 39 of the surveyed teachers using it in grade 5.

between ‘enlightened’ informing and ‘romantic’ indoctrination in the case of such teaching. In contrast, since the 1960s and 1970s, ‘enlightened’ approaches have stressed the *complexity* of historical developments, recognising “divergent experiences and multiple perspectives, contested national myths, scrutinized the darker episodes of the national past, and challenged the celebratory narratives” (Carretero and Bermudez 2012, 636). According to Carretero and Bermudez (2012, 635–636), contemporary ‘enlightened’ goals include understanding the past in a complex manner by means of mastering some conceptual categories that derive from the discipline of history, understanding complex historical multicausality and the distinct characteristics of issues and problems because of them situated in different eras, relating the past with the present and the future, and approaching the methodology used by historians.

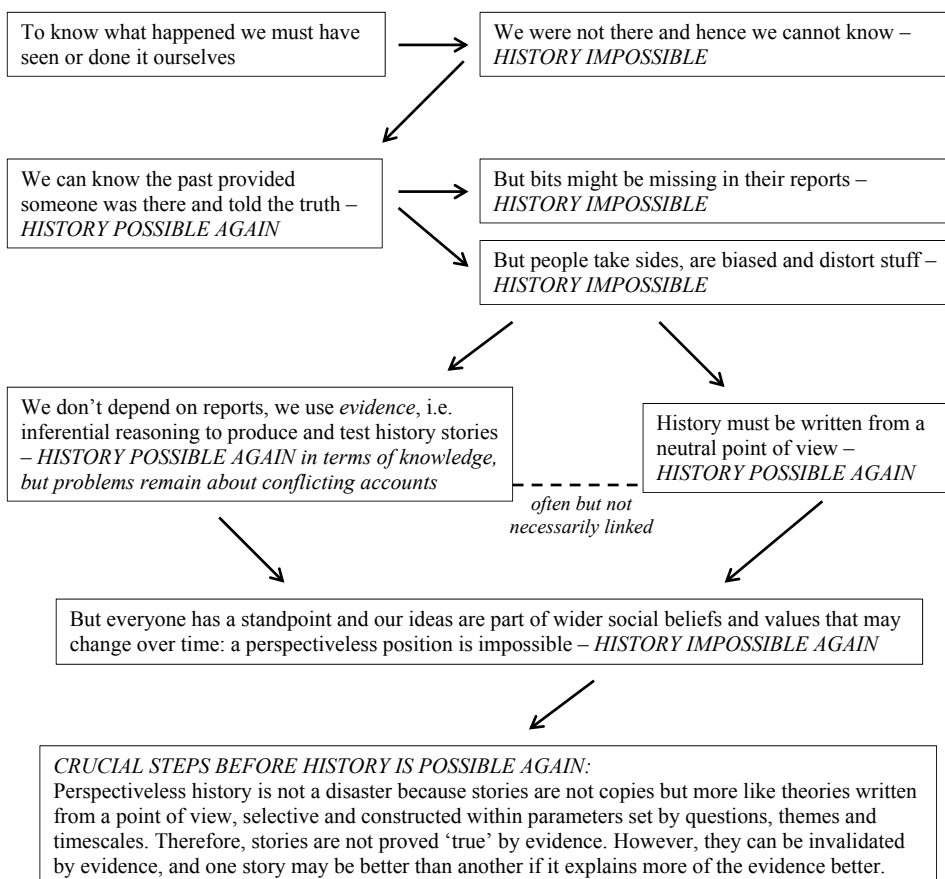
How much weight is given to the latter goal, approaching the methodology used by historians, and how this goal is interpreted, seems to be the greatest distinguishing factor between different ‘schools’ of ‘enlightened’ approaches. Models that value the discipline’s concepts and procedures as central to history teaching and explicitly centre on teaching these concepts and procedures to students are usually called either ‘disciplinary’ or ‘historical thinking’ approaches to history teaching. According to these approaches, the procedures and reflexivity that have developed within Western academic history are achievements of Western culture that should be taught and learnt at school in as ‘intellectually honest’ a way as possible (e.g. Pandel 1999, Shemilt 1983, cf. Bruner 1960, Hirst 1974). By engaging the pupils in the discipline’s modes of inquiry, the attempt is to provide them with the tools of history, such as ways of evaluating the validity of an account, in order to enable critical assessment of various accounts of the past. It is also common to the disciplinary approaches that the curriculum is built around abstract concepts and methods, rather than on concrete events or topics – the latter may even be left to the teacher’s discretion (cf. e.g. Wilschut 2010).

There have been various manifestations of disciplinary approaches within different traditions of history teaching. Internationally, the most promoted and cited disciplinary model comes from England (cf. Barton 2009, see e.g. Ashby and Edwards 2010, Lee 1994, 2001, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2011, Lee and Ashby 2000, Lee and Shemilt 2003, 2004, 2009, 2011, Shemilt 1983, 2000). The model was founded by an English Schools Council (a promoter of innovative instruction approaches) project in 1972. The distinctive characteristic of the model has been, up to today, teaching history as a ‘form of knowledge’ (Hirst 1974). This is based on the conviction that “pupils will only be able to make appropriate sense of the past to the extent that they understand the logic, methods, and perspectives peculiar to the discipline” (Shemilt 1983). At the centre of the model is a distinction of ‘substantive’ (e.g. ‘king’, ‘revolution’) and ‘procedural’ or ‘second-order’ concepts (e.g. ‘evidence’, ‘accounts’, ‘causes’, ‘consequences’) as making up the content that students should learn (Martin 2012, Wilschut 2010, cf. Bruner 1960). Empirically, representatives of



this approach have attempted to describe the development of pupils ideas by means of research-based progression models of exactly these ‘second-order’ concepts (e.g. Lee 2005a, Lee and Ashby 2000, Lee and Shemilt 2003, 2004, 2009, 2011, Chapman 2011). These models focus on how one fundamental idea builds upon another, rather than on an age-related common rate of development.

For example, Lee and Shemilt (2003, 2004) offer a scheme for how children’s epistemological ideas might develop (Figure 2).



**Figure 2.** Schematic model of development of epistemological ideas as proposed by Lee and Shemilt (based on Lee and Shemilt 2004, 27–30)

First there is probably the assumption that past is ‘given and fixed’ like when a window is broken:

The question for the child (and mum too) is simply whether or not she tells it like it was. /-/ Because mother and child are working with shared assumptions about what matters in the past, the past can become a touchstone for telling the truth; once it has happened, it cannot be changed, and there can be only one true account of it (Lee and Shemilt 2003, 14).

Such an assumption is related to the idea that there could be only one story about the past, like a copy of the things that happened in the (one) way they did. An event happened in one certain way, and there can be just one true story about it. If you know what happened, you know the story. Competing stories can be equally correct but say ‘the same thing’ in different ways. This however, is a “historically defeatist” idea, as it makes history impossible when we have several substantially conflicting accounts and do not know which one of them is the true one. However, history becomes “possible again” as soon as we have tools to compare and evaluate the accounts (Lee and Shemilt 2004). As soon as we can “ask questions of sources that they were not intended to answer”, we see “that historians can operate successfully without being dependent on reports” (Lee and Shemilt 2003, 15).

Such focus of interest is based on the assumption that students’ “understanding of the past and mastery of disciplinary procedures are interlocked. The latter are meaningless in isolation from the substantive problems they have been developed to address and resolve; and confidence, meaning and significance cannot be attributed to the content of the past without the disciplinary tools designed for these purposes” (Perikleos and Shemilt 2011a, 18). Combined with other influences (e.g. Bruner 1960; see e.g. Martin 2012, McCully and Waldron 2013, Seixas 2001, Symcox and Wilschut 2009a, Wilschut 2010, Wilson 2001, Wineburg 2001a) this approach has been influential in the UK (including, to some extent, the national curricula) and in many other Western countries. For example, in the US, Canada, Australia and Netherlands, disciplinary approaches similar to the British have resulted in slightly different elaborations of what exactly are the disciplinary aspects that should be taught in school history teaching (e.g. Clark 2009, Lévesque 2008, Martin 2012, Osborne 2003, Parkes 2007, Seixas 2010, Simpson and Halse 2006, van Drie and van Boxtel 2009, Wilschut 2010, Wineburg 2001b, see also for example Carretero, Asensio and Rodríguez-Moneo 2012, Nakou and Barca 2010, Stearns, Seixas and Wineburg 2000, Symcox and Wilschut 2009b).<sup>8</sup> These elaborations have reached curricula and practice to different extents, often remaining proposals by concrete teacher trainers (*ibid.*).

In German-speaking countries, disciplinary approaches have had slightly different conceptual roots. Not surprisingly, they are more based on the German history didactics tradition that focuses on historical consciousness as a general cultural, social and psychological phenomenon (e.g. Borries 2000, 2007, Hasberg 2005, Körber and Schreiber 2006, cf. Lee 2004, Wilschut 2010). An elaborate example of such a disciplinary approach is the Germany-based international FUER Geschichtsbewusstsein project (e.g. Körber, Schreiber and Schöner 2007, Krammer 2003, Schreiber, Körber, Borries, Krammer et al.

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<sup>8</sup> The directions and interrelations of influences have of course been much more complex than the present review can include.

2006).<sup>9</sup> Similarly to the British projects, this one too derived from the assumption that history teaching should do something no other school subject is capable of: provide students with a conscious relationship with both the past and history, and the ability to use this relationship to orient themselves better within the present and future. However, the present-relatedness of any historical interest seems to be more stressed in this approach: history (as opposed to the past itself) can only result from a historical question that is “always tied to the present of the one who creates the historical narration” (FUER Geschichtsbewusstsein).<sup>10</sup> Lay and academic ways of relating to the past differ in degrees of reflexivity and elaboration, but are neither clearly separate nor opposed to each other (Rüsen 2003). In contrast, the British approach sees lay and academic ways of relating to the past as categorically different, even opposed, and answers negatively to the question whether academic and lay interests may be fused when asking questions about the past (Barton 2009).

This might be the reason why in the German history didactics tradition there seems to be more attention to the present history culture, i.e. the world beyond both the academy and the history classroom (e.g. Pandel 2005, FUER Geschichtsbewusstsein, cf. Lee 2004) – even if the attention does not mean that it has had many practical effects (see e.g. Pandel 2005). The attention, or the potential for such attention, derives from the recognition that history teaching should critically analyse those representations of the past that are there in our present culture, but differ from academic representations either in terms of process or product. In the real world, there is a much broader range of representations of the past than the sources and accounts used within the disciplinary study. ‘Historians’ history’ is just one of several ways to deal with the past. Students need explicit help and methods when dealing with the diverse ways in which the past functions in present-day society.

The “(hi)stories” told in the media of public historical culture /–/, in history-lessons or in historiography are of differing plausibility, feasibility and supportability /–/. Not only their “validity” but also their potential for orientation can differ considerably. That is the reason why the ability to analyze already-existing “(hi)stories” is of high relevance for everyday life. (FUER Geschichtsbewusstsein)

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<sup>9</sup> According to the project’s web page, the translation could be *Focusing on fostering and development of a reflected and historical consciousness* (<http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/GGF/Didaktik/Projekt/English%20version/englishindex.html>). The full German title was “Förderung und Entwicklung von reflektiertem und (selbst-)reflexivem Geschichtsbewusstsein”. The official duration of the project was 2003 to 2006, but related activities lasted from 2001 to 2008 and relevant ideas are still being developed further.

<sup>10</sup> Of course, there are also alternative elaborations of ‘historical thinking’, ‘historical consciousness’ and disciplinary approaches in German-speaking countries (e.g. Gautschi, Hodel and Utz 2009, Pandel 2005).

Of course, there are also the English-speaking educators who stress the need to explicitly focus on the present history culture within school history teaching (e.g. Seixas 2000, Shemilt 2011).

However, the questions remain as to how to find time to focus on the present variety of representations – particularly as all the other purposes of history teaching cannot be dismissed easily and need their time and place. For the time being, focusing on the present range of representations and interests does not seem to have gained much ground in any actual tradition of practical teaching outside of concrete projects (e.g. FUEP). Rather, history educators are proposing this approach as one possible alternative.

Still, there seems to be the fundamental agreement among history educators that at least some attention to contemporary history culture would be desirable, if possible. What divides them much more fundamentally is the question of whether and in what sense history teaching should pursue ‘intrinsic’ versus ‘extrinsic’ purposes (cf. e.g. Barton 2009, Barton and Levstik 2008, Carretero and Bermudez 2012, Mijndhardt 2009, Stearns 2010). Particularly the British defenders of the disciplinary model are vehement proponents of a clear distancing of history teaching from current moral, social and political *goals* – learning historical thinking should not be instrumentalised for the sake of some present, potentially partisan and transient interests (e.g. Ashby and Edwards 2010, Lee 2010, 2011, Lee and Shemilt 2007). It is more important that the students learn what kind of knowledge history is (ibid.). Hence, this position also opposes the expectation that history should “fill in the background” to current affairs, if this ‘filling in’ is understood in a prescriptive way (Ashby and Edwards 2010, 40). Defenders of the position that history teaching should be intellectually ‘pure’ and follow intrinsic aims are well aware that emphasising history teaching’s contribution to citizenship education would help to justify its place in the curriculum. In fact, they don’t oppose stressing that history teaching contributes to citizenship in terms of enhancing student thinking and knowledge. But they fear presentism in interpretation and content selection, particularly if ‘citizenship’ is understood in a ‘romantic’ way as defined above (e.g. Lee and Shemilt 2007). Peter Lee, for example, often stresses that disciplinary history does not provide clear lessons, neither in terms of what to do, nor in terms of what is moral – in fact, it may just as well contribute to moral relativism (e.g. Lee 2010). Neither does it necessarily enhance social coherence or optimistic, activist life orientation, i.e. things often expected from citizenship teaching. But it has its share in raising informed, critical, independently thinking citizens who do not take their world as taken for granted and who don’t expect it to continue being the way they know it.

History education may be a necessary condition for democracy to function successfully, and conversely, without democracy, it may be difficult for history to carry on. But students must be free to argue what they can and come to conclusions they will, subject to judgments of validity and truth: anything else is both unhistorical and undemocratic. (Lee 2010, xv)

Denis Shemilt (2011) explains this difference by means of distinguishing ‘history teaching for social *engineering*’ from ‘history teaching for social *education*’. In the first case, “specific lessons from the past are taught with the intention of shaping students’ attitudes and behaviours in the lived present” (ibid., 70). In the second case, “students are taught both *about* and *how* to learn (and not learn) *from* the past without prescription of or limitation on *what* lessons are learned” (ibid.). Thus, in the second case, the social dimension resides in attempting to provide the students with “knowledge and tools necessary to engineer collective solutions to *unforeseen* challenges” (my italics). This can be done, for example, by offering them knowledge of the human past as a whole, rather than selected, socially or politically convenient or ‘useful’ topics, and, as the disciplinary approaches pursue, by “developing understanding of the criteria used to distinguish between what we are and are not entitled to say about the past, and to determine the several degrees of confidence attaching to admissible statements of varying kinds” (ibid., 87).

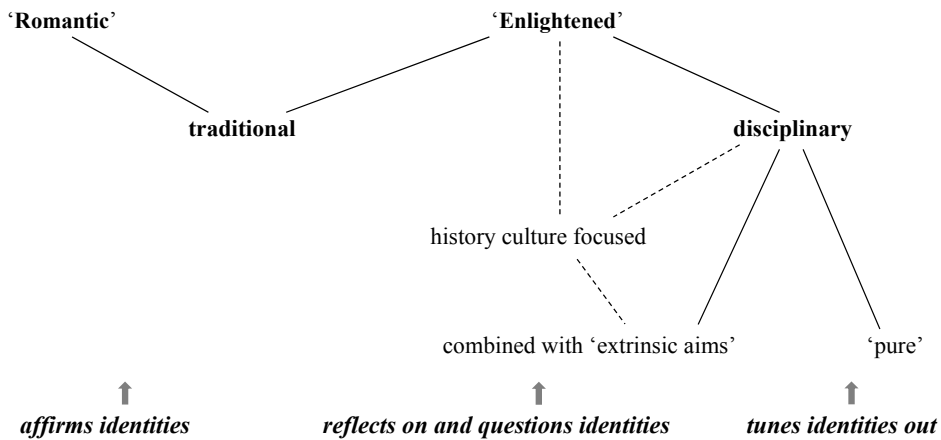
To some extent, the argument is specific to an intra-UK debate, referring to the somewhat shaky position of history teaching in their curriculum and the danger that history teaching might be reduced to part of ‘citizenship [education]’. However, more or less explicitly, the debate of ‘intrinsic’ and ‘extrinsic’ purposes is relevant for all history teaching – indeed, for academic history research as well (cf. Carretero and Bermudez 2012).

While within the British education scene opponents of Peter Lee and his colleagues’ argument attempt to make history teaching follow ‘romantic’ purposes, there are also some intra-education counter-arguments to a too ‘pure’ disciplinarity. One of them also comes from the UK, but is based on Northern Irish students’ thinking and identities. Barton, McCully and their colleagues, especially, point to deficiencies of a totally disciplinary history teaching that distances itself from the present realities (Barton 2009, 2012, Barton and Levstik 2008, Barton and McCully 2005a, 2005b, McCully 2010, McCully and Waldron 2013, Reilly and McCully 2011). Northern Irish history teaching is famous for its neutrality with regard to contentious contemporary issues. Some teachers are even known to attempt to avoid them as much as possible (Kitson and McCully 2005). Perhaps due to this, Northern Irish students do not always relate what they have learnt at school to their personal identity-based positions. Students from both communities are aware of the *existence* of an academic, neutral and balanced approach to the past that is different from their own (e.g. Barton 2012, Barton and McCully 2005a, 2005b, Reilly and McCully 2011). However, school history teaching neither challenges their existing in-group narratives nor provides an alternative to the divided identifications: “schools are so concerned not to challenge diverse identifications that they fail to provide – or even to enable – the kind of shared identity that might contribute to overcoming the region’s conflict” (Barton 2012, 99).

Whether history educators consider current social identities to be relevant to the curriculum or not, students certainly do, and we ignore their perspectives at our peril. Students are not going to give up using history for a sense of identity simply because they do not encounter such approaches in school; rather, they will rely on more restricted and potentially divisive sources and dismiss school history as meaningless. (Barton 2009, 275)

Therefore, Barton (2009, 275) proposes that history educators should rather attempt to make the subject more relevant to students by not eschewing touching upon their identities, but instead striving “to develop identities that are complex, diverse and inclusive – rather than simple, monolithic, and exclusive”.

Thus, as a preliminary summation, the different approaches to history teaching considered thus far could be mapped as follows (Figure 3a). The continuous lines and bold terms refer to the main divisions among the approaches.



**Figure 3a.** Divisions and connections between approaches to history teaching described thus far

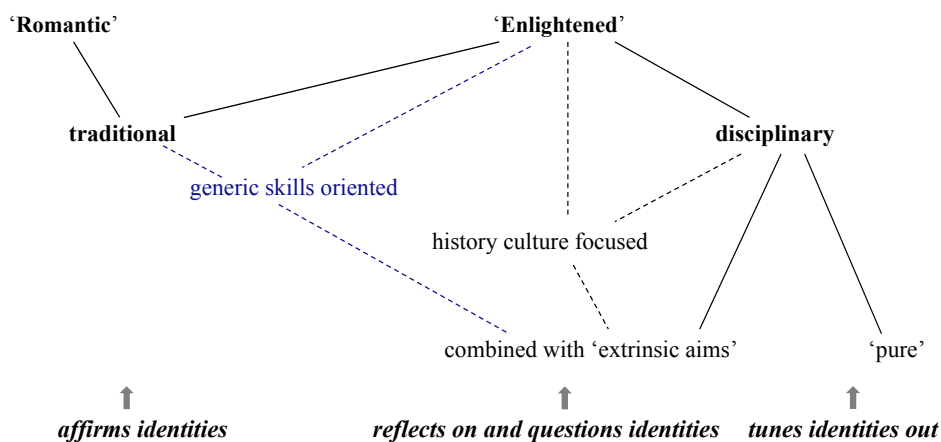
One name often used for certain approaches in history teaching is ‘multiperspective history teaching’. Depending on the meaning given to the term, it can be compatible with different disciplinary as well as ‘enlightened traditional’ ways of history teaching. That is to say, ‘multiperspective’ teaching may have meanings that range from a teacher telling about different perspectives (i.e. ‘enlightened traditional history teaching’) to rigorously disciplinary work with original sources (cf. Stradling 2001, 2003). In addition, the levels of multiperspectivity can be understood in different ways – either more traditionally, as different nations’ viewpoints, or more broadly as including perspectives from different life-worlds; different social classes and professions; different (sub)cultural, religious, and sexual or gender identities, different generations and age groups, etc., as well as different paradigms of historical research (social, cultural, environmental, economic, etc., history) (cf. also Borries 2009).

However, the landscape is still more complicated. Yet another division exists between those history educators who stress the specific nature of historical concepts and methods (they, again, come from the ‘disciplinary schools’), and those who view history teaching as providing merely a specific, culturally important content that can be used to develop various *generic* areas of the students’ development: from generic analytical competences and functional literacy to empathy and collaboration skills. The defenders of the ‘intrinsic’ purposes of history teaching also oppose seeing history teaching as such a tool, viewing it as a reduction of the subject’s potential and warning about confusing disciplinary skills and concepts with generic or ‘learning skills’ (e.g. Ashby and Edwards 2010, Lee 2010, 2011, Pandel 1999). Ashby and Edwards (2010) note that both history teachers, when talking about their subject sloppily, and those who want to make their subject more appealing to politicians and the general public, make this meaning shift. Such meaning shift is related to focusing on practical ‘doing history’ that has resulted “in a gradual shift of attention away from *understanding of knowledge*, towards *skills* and *activities* history” (Ashby and Edwards 2010, 39). In fact, in Estonia too, source based, critical and analytical approaches to history teaching, originally derived from British disciplinary approaches (cf. Husbands, Kitson and Pendry 2003, Stradling 2001, 2003, Wilschut 2010) and imported by *Euroclio* and other western history education organisations, are rather represented as oriented to developing the students’ generic skills and functional literacy (paper I). Thus, the disciplinary foundation seems to have reached the discourses on history teaching less. New approaches have been anchored to the previously better-known, generic skills enhancing functions of the subject that were already promoted during the Soviet period (e.g. Palamets 1966, 1968). However, according to Ashby and Edwards (2010, 35–36), it cannot be assumed that even concepts like ‘evidence’, and reflection on them, are transferable – the way of using the concept in history is not necessarily the same as in science or in other fields. Using disciplinary concepts and methods is not the same as drilling ‘skills’:

/-/ understanding and deploying a conceptual apparatus is not like learning to /-/ use a word processing program on a computer. Skills are improved by practice; understanding demands reflexion and reflexivity. Learning history, like learning science or mathematics, is not a matter of practicing skills, but of learning to handle new concepts and think in different ways; in short to live in a transformed world. /-/ It is not necessary to learn history to acquire generic skills, and acquiring generic skills is not equivalent to learning history. (Lee 2010, xiii)

In essence, the debate is about separability of *content*, on the one hand, and methods for learning the content, on the other. While curricula often see them as separate, or distinguish curricular aims as set by authorities and instruction methods as subject to teacher discretion, defenders of disciplinary approaches maintain that ‘instruction methods’ cannot be seen as a pick-and-mix assortment for delivery of some separate content: rather, they are an inherent content, too.

On the other hand however, why not see supporting generic skills as *one among several* contributions of history teaching to student development. The problem is rather that emphasising this aspect leads to neglecting others. Thus, to complete the scheme, a more complete mapping of the approaches to history teaching would be as follows (Figure 3b).



**Figure 3b.** Main divisions and connections between approaches to history teaching (addition as compared to Figure 3a in blue)

It is perhaps worth mentioning that when reading the scheme, the opposition between 'traditional' and other approaches should not be seen as an opposition between 'traditional' and 'constructivist' pedagogies (this opposition is often referred to in general educational literature). Although development of disciplinary approaches in history teaching coincided with development of constructivist methods in general pedagogy, and disciplinary history teaching does presume constructivist and interactive instruction, 'romantic' and other 'traditional' aims of history teaching don't preclude them either: they can be pursued by both 'traditional' and 'constructivist' ways of instruction.

In Estonia and Latvia during the Soviet era, the 'enlightened' aims of history teaching were manifested via the generally informational function of history teaching, as well as the facets of history teaching that encourage thought and other generic skills (e.g. Palamets 1966, 1968, 1971a, 1971b, 1973). During the 1990s, more constructivist influences were added, both with regard to student learning and historical knowledge. Such understandings are expressed in statements declaring that learners are creators of their own images of the past who need to be introduced to "different concepts of history as well, without imposing any of them", and who should be directed "towards understanding that there are always different versions of interpreted historical events; towards working with different historical sources, commenting on and evaluating them; participating in discussion, substantiating their opinions", etc. (Estonian



Government 1996, my translation). Thus, at least formally, ‘enlightened’ aims take most space in both Estonian and Latvian history curricula.

### **My position**

Above, I mentioned my twofold background in academic history on one hand, and curriculum research and development, on the other. Whereas in curriculum work, promoting a position was necessary (e.g. Luisk and Kello 2006), during preparation for this dissertation I have internalised an agnostic position: I have no clear position on which approaches to history teaching might have the best consequences in practice. There are good arguments for many of the existing approaches. To be sure, I dislike ‘closed’, narrow and nationalist approaches; I agree that “[o]penness is a systematic need for history in a rapidly changing and radically multicultural world” (Borries and Baeck 1998, 162), and most of the ‘enlightened’ approaches are for me more congenial and interesting than ‘romantic’ ones. However, I am not sure that all ‘romanticism’ should be expelled from history lessons. Possibly, at some ages students need them, and there are meanings and manifestations of ‘patriotism’ that are not incompatible with the openness and solidarity that are needed in the modern pluralising societies and globalising world.

## **2.2. Representing and positioning**

In this section I give an overview of aspects of the Social Representation Theory as the theoretical ‘meta-framework’ of the dissertation. This framework has guided me in several aspects. Most important has been that it has enabled me to conceptualise connections between kinds and levels of my data and knowledge on a broader, societal level: contextualise individual positions such as within newspaper articles and interviews, and interconnect piecemeal findings with knowledge from other sources.

In the following sections, I give an overview of some of the framework’s central concepts and considerations. I stress aspects that have been helpful in my studies, and discuss representing and positioning as empirical processes studied in my dissertation.

### **Social Representation Theory**

Often, research in social sciences focuses on one of the two loci of meaning making: either on the individual mind, or on socio-cultural process (Branco 2012, Carretero and Bermudez 2012, Eckensberger 2012, Giddens 1984, Valsiner 2012, Zielke 2006). Social Representation Theory (e.g. Bauer and Gaskell 1999, 2008, Duveen 2007, Elcherth, Doise and Reicher 2011,

Marková 2012, Moscovici 1988, 2001, 2008/1976, M. Raudsepp 2005, Sammut, Andreouli, Gaskell and Valsiner forthcoming, Voelklein and Howarth 2005, Wagner and Hayes 2005) is located at the intersection of the two foci, attempting to interconnect them. As the name suggests, its central concept is ‘social representation’, which I will define shortly. However, the framework is about more than just ‘social representation’. Rather, Social Representation Theory is a socio-cultural constructivist *framework* dealing with various social psychological and sociological phenomena such as identities, positioning, discourse, causality of behaviour, etc., at various – individual, in-group, and societal – levels. Apart from ‘social representations’, the framework provides tools to study ‘individual’, ‘institutional’, ‘scientific’ or ‘politically designed’ representations, too – acknowledging their social and cultural characteristics, but not necessarily calling them ‘social representations’ in the strict sense. Originally proposed by Serge Moscovici in the 1960s, but developed into a much broader epistemological and conceptual framework over time, the framework has a number of sub-schools, diverse empirical foci, and various methodological manifestations.<sup>11</sup>

### ‘Representation’ in plural and singular

There are two meanings of ‘social representation’ within Social Representation Theory. Precisely the togetherness of these two meanings, as originating from the term’s meanings in French, makes the concept flexible and helpful in conceptualising social reality.

According to one way of defining ‘social representation’, it is an underlying, ‘dynamically stable’ organisation of meanings, images, values, and practices, expressed in empirical data, like talking and other activities, and to be (re)constructed by the researcher (Moscovici 1973, Duveen 2001a, Wagner forthcoming). Such systems or patterns are interconnected with more general world perceptions and epistemologies, and they are concurrently preconditions of communication (i.e. images and concepts used within it), as well as dynamic, permanently emerging ‘products’ of communication (images and concepts produced or modified by communication). As their most manifest form of ‘existence’ is *within* interaction, it is “better to imagine them *across* minds, resembling a canopy being woven by people’s concerted talk and actions”, instead of imagining them *within* people’s minds (Wagner, Duveen, Farr, Jovchelovitch et al. 1999, 96; italics in original). Otherwise one should rather talk about *individual* representations.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The theory’s original form, as proposed by Moscovici, has been called one of the two pillars of a ‘European social psychology’, along with Tajfel’s Social Identity Theory (Elcheroth, Doise and Reicher 2011, 735).

<sup>12</sup> Social Representation Theory enables the study of individual representations, e.g. as interacting with social representations, but it is useful to keep in mind the definitional distinction (cf. below).

The elaboration processes within interaction can take place either within a more or less closed group (e.g. Levin-Rozalis, Bar-On and Hartaf 2003) or on a societal, public and mediated level (e.g. Wagner and Kronberger 2001). Communication is made possible by the participants' expectation that their communication partners are aware of a certain range of representations (as underlying ideas, images, etc.), even if they don't agree with all of them (Moscovici 2008; Wagner 1994a, 1995, Wagner and Hayes 2005). Indeed, particularly in case of controversial issues, people's representations *include* "knowledge of the adversary's belief" (Wagner 2012, 1045, cf. e.g. Sen and Wagner 2005). "Social representations do not mean that everybody has the same opinion but that the organization of individual knowledge is influenced by common principles that are shared by people in the same culture" (Andreouli and Chrysochoou forthcoming).

In such sense of symbolic resources, the term 'social representation' is often used in *plural*. In this sense, for example 'social representations *of*, or *related to*, or *directed at*, something' are often studied: social representations *of* (or *related to*) a past event, *of* (or *related to*) teaching, *of* (or *related to*) a natural catastrophe, etc. Representations are imagined as 'behind' or 'beneath' individual actions, opinions or statements, or as resulting from this communicative action. For example, a certain statement about a past event can be seen as an *expression* of a certain broader social representation of that event. In this sense, the 'same' representation can be studied as expressed at different levels of abstraction and in different domains: from conversations between concrete people at concrete locations such as the dinner table, to the totality of such processes – an imagined totality that includes all articles, actions and conversations that make up a social representation as 'structuring structure' behind them. Of course, seeing it this way presupposes that the researcher has some preconception of the possible broader, *social* representation, as well as the theoretical lens that makes him or her *see* the individual statements as part of the broader social canopy (cf. Wagner 2011, Wagner et al. 1999, 96).

The second meaning of 'representation' is "more closely conveyed in English by social *representing*" (Duveen 2007, 545; my italics). It refers to the *process* of elaborating, (re)creating, enacting and/or expressing. Thus, when this meaning is referred to, *singular* is the more appropriate grammatical form.

Social representation as *representing* is a process of constant co-construction and transformation of social reality. This crucially distinguishes social representation(s) from, for example, social schemata:

Schemata as well as representations involve cognitive structures which orient an individual in his or her world. However, schema theory is mute about the social origins of schemata /-/. Furthermore, schemata are conceived as *representations of reality*, similar to a picturing process in people's minds, whereas social representations are conceived as *negotiated constructs of social groups*. Therefore the latter are out there in the talk and action constituting the social world of the community. (Wagner et al. 1999, 121; italics in original).

## Representation(s) as collective elaboration(s) in modern societies

As meaning systems, social representations render a group's, community's, society's or culture's world. Thus, on the one hand, the social representation process negotiates a wide range "of culturally constructed objects with a long-term history, and their modern equivalents", for example sex roles or anomalies like illness and madness (Wagner 1994b, 200, 203). On the other hand, lay conceptions of recent scientific discoveries as well as shorter term social and political structures and events can be studied *as* social representations (ibid., 201–205). They too can be studied both as meaning structures and as processes or practices.

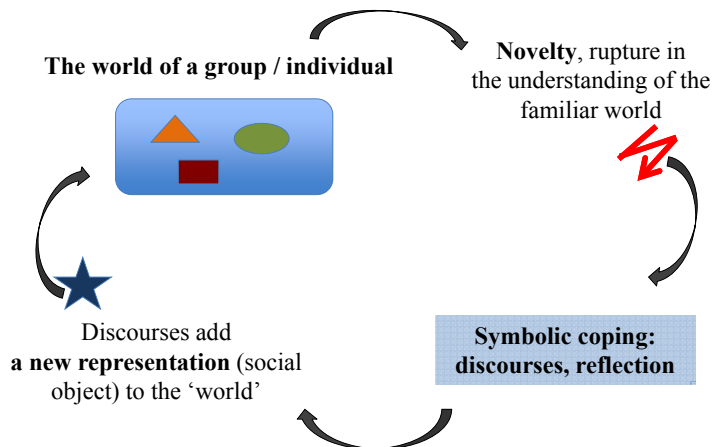
Moscovici originally (2008/1976) studied large-scale groups such as Catholics and communists from various social strata in French society, using representative numbers, by means of interviews and questionnaires. However, elaboration processes in smaller and closed groups have also been studied a great deal. For example, Jodelet (1991) used an ethnographic approach to study how foster-care families of psychiatric patients constructed madness; Lloyd and Duveen (1992) observed classrooms with young children to study the development of gender identities as social representations; Levin-Rozalis, Bar-On and Hartaf (2003) used interviews and questionnaires to study the emergence of new social representations of domestic violence among men who stayed in a closed hostel for intensive therapy (for examples and discussion of different methods, see also Wagner et al. 1999).

According to some proponents of Social Representation Theory, 'social representation' should designate only those kinds of meaning systems that result from *collective elaboration and negotiation* (Wagner 1994b, 2012, cf. Wagner and Hayes 2005): "Social representation as process can occur only in groups and societies in which social discourse includes communication of both shared and divergent points of view on many topics" (Wagner 1994b, 206). Thus, strictly, social representation can be seen as a specifically modern phenomenon, presupposing a certain openness in inter-individual communication as well as mass-media communication (ibid.). In this sense, social representations differ from Durkheim's more stable and tradition-based 'collective representations'. Representations that relate to long-term cultural objects (like sex roles or anomalies like illness and madness) are '*social* representations' insofar as they have been socially negotiated – more or less explicitly – in today's world.

For example, the contents of social memory (i.e. social representations about the past) that differentiate the mnemonic communities from which the Estonian and Latvian teachers and students come from, and from which the social and political expectations to history teaching derive, are social representations in this strict sense (cf. Liu and Hilton 2005). These social representations about certain aspects of the past are influenced by academic and political discourses, as well as other components of the local history cultures, and elaborated socially on broad scales. 'History teaching' can be seen as socially represented at two levels. On one level, history teaching functions as a professional social

representation, elaborated within a group of teachers and other educators, sharing similar information sources and communication channels (newspaper, websites, teaching aids, and people like civil servants and in-service educators), as well as experiences of direct communication (through training, conferences, seminars, county subject councils and the like). At another level, among the broader public, history teaching is socially represented by being discussed in the public media – either explicitly (e.g., “what history is taught in Estonian and Russian schools?”, “do Latvian students know enough facts about the Latvian past?”) or as part of other concerns (e.g., ‘how do our Russians interpret our history?’). To anticipate my findings (paper I), the most widespread and intractable image of history teaching among the broader public could be named “history is an identity building and collective memory preserving subject”. Whereas “history imparts knowledge and trains generic skills” could be the title of *one* of the ways in which history teaching is socially represented among Estonian teachers.

In today’s world, the constant socio-genesis of new representations (e.g. Moscovici 1973, 2008), and the ‘symbolic coping’ with the new (Wagner 1998, Wagner et al. 1999) are ever more important. This refers to the process of creating new ‘social representations in plural’ from an interaction between the hitherto unknown and the pre-existing world of representations (Figure 4).



**Figure 4.** The process of social representation (based on Wagner et al. 1999)

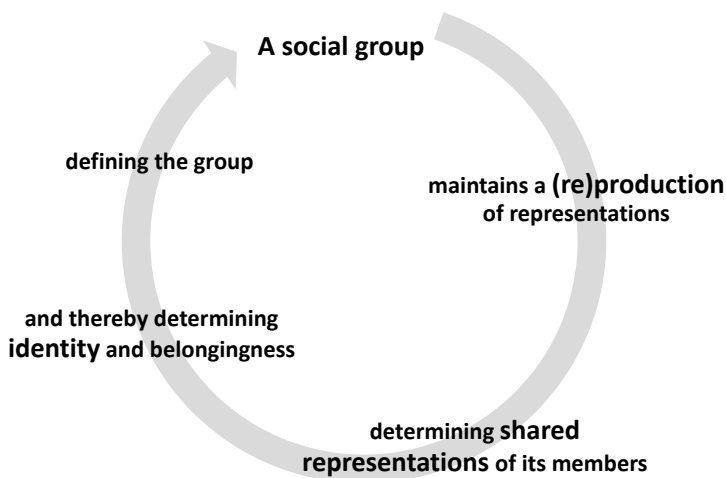
A ‘novelty’ can be for example a new disease like AIDS or avian influenza (e.g. Joffe 1995, Gilles, Bangerter, Clémence, Green et al. 2013); an innovation with a similarly large-scale impact and risk perception, like GMO (e.g. Gaskell and Bauer 2001); a sudden political change like the disintegration or emergence of a state (e.g. Elcheroth, Doise and Reicher 2011); or a more gradual demographic process like migration movements that change the meaning of nationhood (e.g. Andreouli and Chrysochoou forthcoming). For a particular group such as

teachers, for instance an educational reform or a change of professional status may be such a novelty that demands as intensive symbolic coping as any other change in the symbolic order of the world.

The scale of the novelty can vary both chronologically and spatially. But what is common is that during the coping and elaboration process, the ‘novelty’ needs to be anchored to and contextualised among what pre-exists in the social world, so that its representation, thus modified, can become a more or less integral part of the world (Wagner 1998). Unlike daily re-enacting and modifying of existing representations that largely happens via routine behaviours, coping and elaboration processes are first and foremost *discursive*, i.e. work with meanings by verbal and iconic means.

### Identities and positions

Beliefs and positions that are part of social representations are often related to the respective group’s identity. This is because taking a position towards the things in the world integrates with social identity, and in fact, taking a position means enacting one’s identity (e.g. Breakwell 2001, Duveen 2007, Kronberger and Wagner 2007; Wagner and Hayes 2005, cf. van Langenhove and Harré 1999). A group’s members are aware of belonging to a group, characterised by a structure of social positions, worldviews, and social representations (Figure 5), and often cherish the interrelatedness of these aspects.



**Figure 5.** The circularity of group identity and social representations (based on Wagner and Hayes 2005, 312)

Thus, a great part of what an individual thinks and says, and how s/he acts, refers to his or her social identity, and vice versa. For example, Kronberger and Wagner (2007) report how focus group participants re-created and modified

their representations of cross-species gene transfer and human reproductive cloning in discussions: emergence of new representations seemed to necessitate restructuring of existing identities. Thus, thinking about biotechnology “in terms of being a father or mother, for example, determines what is thinkable and communicable, but at the same time, the new technology and its emerging potential change our understanding of what it *means* to be a parent” (ibid., 178). “Our membership in social groups constrains the ways in which we come to understand an object, and conversely, by positioning oneself with regard to an object and by the style we communicate about it, we ascertain our belonging to a particular group of people, and simultaneously distance ourselves from others”. Confronting alternative representations by other groups (of objects carrying the same names), just as facing ‘novelties’ (e.g. new technologies), “can cast doubt on long-held assumptions on our fundamental categories of self-understanding, and consequently can represent a threat to taken-for-granted identities” (ibid., cf. Kronberger 2008).

That is to say, group and identity building works in two directions: representing identity and social position permanently interacts with perceived representations by others, and the perceptions of others’ representations can either relativise or strengthen one’s own pre-existing understandings (cf. Andreouli and Howarth 2013, Howarth 2002, M. Raudsepp 2011, Sen and Wagner 2005, Tajfel 1978, Wagner and Hayes 2005, Wagner, Sen, Permanadeli and Howarth 2012). Various *re*-interpretations when receiving new ideas, a frequent phenomenon in the field of education, and the difficulty of changing existing views and positions, may not only be for conceptual reasons – i.e. because of the anchoring or decoding difficulties of new ideas – but also because of value and identity conflicts, i.e. because of the associated affect and emotion. The existing representations may have a ‘hot core’ related to identity. Of course, a cognitive element may be added to the affect and emotion as explanation or justification and indication of meta-level awareness (Wagner 1994b, 209). To take an example from this dissertation, for many history teachers, the conviction that local or national past should be the starting point of history teaching can be viewed as one such ‘hot core’ of their representation of history teaching (paper III). To cite another example, the ‘hot core’ of ethnic Estonians’ social representation about Estonian past can be described as ‘the great battle for freedom’ (Tamm 2008) to which I referred at the beginning of the present article’s introduction. At the beginning of 2013, a book on the Estonian medieval era was published, attempting an up-to-date overview based on academic research and including just a small nuance from the perspective of the authors – using the term ‘North-East European Crusade’ instead of ‘Ancient Freedom Fight’ (Kala, Kaljundi, Kreem, Leimus et al. 2012). The authors received harsh criticism from some of the general public and were even called traitors who sold their people. The ‘popular protest’ showed how painful and inherently unacceptable the renaming of one of the constitutive parts of ‘the great battle for freedom’ was for many people.

When conceptualising individuals' or groups' positions it is therefore important to take note of the interrelations of different positions in creating the social worlds (e.g. Moscovici 2008/1976, 8–10, Wagner 1998, Wagner and Hayes 2005). For example, Andreouli and Chrysochoou (forthcoming) discuss how 'nationhood' is mutually constructed by various key actors: "the lay general public (that is composed of various social groups that may have different interests), the state (which demarcates the national boundaries through immigration and citizenship legislation, for example), as well as the migrants (who may also have different projects and claims to national identity depending on where they come from, their legal status etc.)". These actors pursue different projects and have thus diverse versions of the world – but the versions "overlap at points constructing nationhood as a complex and multifaceted object". At the same time, power asymmetries of course determine how influential their projects and perspectives are (ibid.).

As mentioned above, such processes are concurrently discursive and embodied, i.e. they consist of both symbolic meaning systems and visible, overt actions/practices. Conceiving an interconnectedness of symbolic resources (images, ideas) and overt/embodied practices as pertaining to the same whole, is very helpful for school subjects. It enables us to view the subject as representation(s), consisting of many interrelated images, meanings and practices at different levels, 'carried' and enacted by different groups at different locations. On the one hand, there are teachers from various generations, backgrounds, and/or located differently on the social, political and 'mnemonic landscapes'. On the other hand, there are various 'lay people': students, their families, teachers of other subjects. There are also academic scholars, politicians, journalists and many other professionals who can be more or less 'lay' with regard to history teaching, as compared to teachers. To what extent their representation of history teaching is embodied and 'material' versus *merely* imagined and discursive differs from group to group and from individual to individual. But it is a specific of a school subject (as opposed to, for instance, hunting or alpine skiing) that for all social groups, at least some 'bodily' memories from one's own schooldays are part of its representation.

In fact, communication difficulties relating to history teaching often seem to derive from the fact that for many people, the main source of the representation of history teaching are their own school memories. Others, mainly curriculum professionals, know various history didactical conceptions. History teachers represent a third type, an every-day hands-on-practice kind of 'proximity' to the subject. Thus, the underlying representations include essentially different *components* for different groups, and these differences can be seen as products of varied *kinds* of experience with the phenomenon, e.g. history teaching. Such implicit differences are however difficult to make explicit in discussions. Either one's own representations are so self-evident that people don't even come to the idea that they could differ from person to person. Or else, their central



components may be too identity-related and emotional to be questioned or endangered by a discussion.

### Social representation and social memory

In literature, social representations of the past are often termed ‘social’ or ‘collective memory’. Sometimes, what one school or researcher calls ‘social memory’ is synonymous with what others call ‘collective memory’. At other times, ‘collective memory’ is seen as a broader phenomenon that also encompasses official and/or academic history (cf. e.g. Bjerg, Lenz and Thorstensen 2011), or focuses on the more stable and broadly shared aspects of what is remembered (cf. e.g. László 2008, Olick and Robbins 1998). I prefer the term ‘social memory’ as it refers more explicitly to the dynamism of memory as a social and communicative process. It stresses social memory’s concurrent stability and dynamism. On the one hand, social memory is inherent in a group’s worldview and identity, shapes the group members’ perception of both past and present, and cannot at its core be easily changed by new information (e.g. Misztal 2003, Wertsch 2002). At the same time, it is recreated and re-interpreted in on-going communication processes, and at least parts of it may be inherently polemic and dialogic.

Cf. the distinction between social and collective representations by Moscovici (2008) and the discussion of social representations’ versus collective memory approaches by László (2008, 159–161). According to László

Halbwachs’ collective memory and Moscovici’s social representations can be translated into each other. Both concepts have been worked out on Durkheim’s lead, explicitly contrasted to Durkheim’s collective representation concept (Durkheim 1947 [1893]). Whereas collective representations, as social facts, were instrumental for Durkheim in detaching sociology from psychology, both Halbwachs and Moscovici try to conceptualise the interplay between social and psychological phenomena. This psychological leaning is reflected in coining the term ‘memory’ instead of representation by Halbwachs, and ‘social’ representation instead of both collective (sociological) and individual (cognitive) representations by Moscovici. (László 2008, 159)

László stresses that both Moscovici and Halbwachs emphasise the concreteness and ‘image-centeredness’ of memory/representation, and the fact that memories or representations are constructed around a central pattern – an image, figurative nucleus or a narrative (ibid., 159–160). An important difference, however, is that whereas Halbwachs’ ‘collective memory’ encompasses “the whole past of the group, /–/ Moscovici’s social representations are clearly directed toward the ‘new’ phenomena, that is the present life of the group” (ibid., 160), i.e. toward their dynamic dependence on contemporary concerns. Attention to process of social representation also highlights the polemic nature of representation (Moscovici 1988), which is more helpful if the focus of study is the current

diversity of and interactions among various components of a history culture (cf. Liu and Hilton 2005).<sup>13</sup> For example,

Characteristically, there is consensus in very different ethnic groups as to what can and should be told of the history of a group, which events and persons are important from the point of view of a nation's history /-/. /-/ At the same time, the meaning of each event, their relevance for the present and the future may be viewed differently by various social groups, and the construction of national identity often takes place in the crossfire of debates. The social representation of events is largely determined by group interests and knowledge about a particular event. (László 2008, 165)

### Data and reconstruction: studying situated (re)production of 'dynamically stable units beneath'

In many ways, I find *language* a helpful analogy when thinking about the ways in which, and levels at which, social representation and positioning happen, and also how researchers reconstruct them. The researcher may *assume* the existence of an idiolect on the individual level – and certainly s/he *uses* individual, situated utterances to reconstruct a language, but the *object* or *target* of her or his reconstruction is rather at the level of a group. Similarly, a piece of data in social scientific interviews – e.g. in an interview or newspaper article – can be seen as a *situated* reflection or manifestation of a *social* representation. The latter needs to be (*re*)constructed by the researcher.

From an individual's perspective, the situated positioning that takes place in any writing, conversation or interview, is always a social and *partly* situation-specific event. The situated discourse/representations that the individual produces combine rather stable (elements of) representations that have developed over the whole lifetime with more malleable ones that are currently in the process of formation, with situation-specific expressions. This is because on the one hand, each individual is pre-positioned socially – the repertoire of positions that one can choose from, while remaining understood and being taken seriously, is limited (Duveen 2001b, de Rosa 2003, Psaltis 2010, Wagner and Hayes 2005, cf. e.g. Giddens 1984, van Langenhove and Harré 1999). This being pre-positioned starts from birth in terms of status, belonging and gender (Duveen 2001b) and continues, with increasing amounts of the subject's participation and possibly resistance, over a lifetime:

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<sup>13</sup> After Halbwachs, the next most groundbreaking distinction of the term 'collective memory' is probably the one by Jan Assmann (1992). Assmann divides 'collective memory' into 'cultural memory' and 'communicative memory'. As László (2008, 161) notes, Halbwachs is more interested in the first, whereas Moscovici is more interested in the second.

A person is positioned first by others as a social subject of a category and then internalises an identity to become an independent agent in the field of identity by projecting expectations of identity on others and resisting him/herself being positioned by others (Psaltis 2012, 84)

/-/ discourses reflect the points of view nourished by previously spoken discourses, re-elaborated in connection to a personal, social and collective memory of wider range and in terms of semantic contexts activated by the imaginative capacities. Thus come into play both the articulation between *relational micro-contexts* and *socio-cultural macro-context*, and the role of the *social and collective memory* as well as that of *imagination*. (de Rosa 2003, 90)

On the other hand, as any position taking is a situated action, different contexts evoke – and produce – different positions and representations in the same person (Wagner 1998, forthcoming). Which representations are thus (re)produced in an article or interview depend on the interviewee’s interpretation of the situation and the reader or interviewer (cf. van Langenhove and Harré 1999), for example on what knowledge the author or interviewee thinks we already share about the topic. As I mentioned above, any positioning and self-representation is influenced by how an individual perceives others’ representations of him- or herself. People inevitably react to assumed representations by others – e.g. to perceived expectations towards ‘teachers’ and ‘history teachers’ – as well as to own assumptions of which positions are appropriate. More or less implicitly, they argue with assumed out-group representations, but also their assumptions about the interviewer’s belonging and positions (‘a researcher’, ‘an ethnic Estonian’, ‘a female student’). This is true at the abstract, reconstructed level of ‘social representations’ as well as within an article writing or interview situation. For example, for a teacher, such ‘others’ could be the students, their parents, the *society* or *media*, but also the interviewer.

Narrative accounts revealing one’s self-understanding are moments of *interactive sense-making*. Because the issue at stake is not a neutral statement, but one’s self and the moral choices and emotions it encompasses, the narrative accounts always entail an aspect of *negotiation* (seeking recognition or acknowledgement). (Kelchtermans 2009, 263)

Accordingly, when depicting themselves at work, history teachers position themselves at different levels: within the situation represented (e.g. within the history classroom they are describing) as well as within the interview situation, i.e. towards the interviewer. Additionally, in both cases, they position themselves towards the relevant contexts – of classroom teaching (e.g. towards the curriculum, education politics, parental expectation) and of the interview (e.g. towards ‘the PhD students’, ‘the academy’, ‘the Estonians’, etc.).

They are telling us that they wish things to change in one way or another. They are looking for approval, or hope that the answer will give them some intellectual or personal satisfaction. /-/ given a different interviewer or different

circumstances, their message would be different. Such variations are not indicative of a lack of authenticity on the part of the individual, or of a Machiavellian attitude intended to mask a 'real' opinion. The normal process of interaction is all that is involved, emphasizing one or other aspect of the problem under discussion, or deciding which code is appropriate to the fleeting relationship established for the time it takes to complete the questionnaire. It is this process which mobilises and gives meaning to the representations in the flux of relations between groups and individuals. (Moscovici 2008, 8)

To reiterate, the transcription of an interview reflects perceptions and negotiations that took place during the interview, what the situation reminded the participant of, and how s/he located him or herself on the social, ethno-linguistic and political landscapes. On the latter level, their 'objective' position (i.e. the one they couldn't 'think away', cf. Berger and Luckmann 1991/1966) is intertwined with how they *imagine* it, i.e. how they perceive the contextual landscape as a whole, and what relevance they attribute to different actors and factors in it (van Langenhove and Harré 1999, Marková, Linell, Grossen and Salazar Orvig 2007, Morant 2006, Moscovici 1988, de Rosa 2003, cf. Kelchtermans 2009).

In the present dissertation, I use the lens of Social Representation Theory to conceptualise connections of understandings and images within my data (articles and interviews) as well as between my empirical findings and my other-sources-based knowledge about their social, political, education and academic contexts. Most practically, Social Representation Theory helps me to conceptualise interconnections between individual representations in newspaper articles and teacher interviews. For example, the framework enables me to connect the teachers' individual positions both mutually (between teachers) and with representations of other groups, as reflected in the *Teachers' Newspaper* articles.

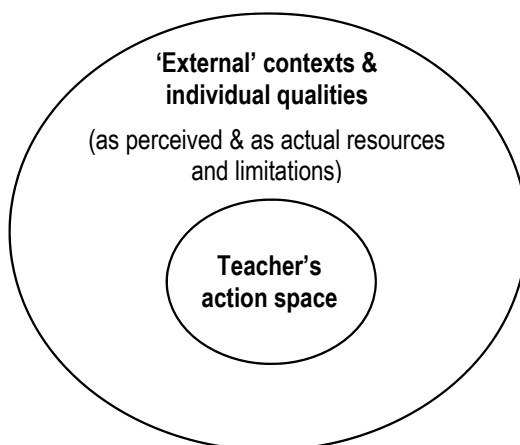
The positions and representations that I reconstruct in my studies refer to social representation(s) as defined above, *as well as* to 'individual', 'institutional', 'scientific' and 'politically designed representation(s)' – the latter 'existing' in a 'world' filled with social representations, interacting with them, and perceived within interpretive frameworks shaped by them.

In addition to terms deriving from Social Representation Theory, I use 'discourse' and 'representation' in everyday meanings in my dissertation papers and elsewhere in this cover article. According to the simplest dictionary meaning, 'discourse' is situated talk, speech or writing, and 'representing' is a situated way of (*re*)*presenting something*. This could also be called the 'surface meaning' of the terms 'discourse' and 'representation'. For example, at this level, if a teacher mentioned many source-based activities when talking about her or his teaching, I would say that in this interview (i.e. in this situated instance of discourse) she represented history teaching as a source-based, disciplinary school subject. On another, more abstract, *re-constructed* and

*imaginary* level, ‘discourse’ designates the imaginary collection of all talk on a particular topic (Wagner and Hayes 2005, 219). Situated instances of discourse can thus be seen as specific exemplars of this more generic level.

### 2.3. History teaching as the teacher’s action space

In most of the dissertation (papers II to V) I focus on teachers’ representations of history teaching. In part, I study history teaching as reflected in teachers’ education aims and values (papers II and III). Centrally however (papers III to V), I am interested in how teachers represent their action space and its determinants: I view teaching history as composed of action choices that the teacher perceives as available to them (Figure 6).



**Figure 6.** History teaching as the teacher’s action space

This is an imagined space, delimited by perceived and actual external contexts and individual teacher’s resources, i.e. fusing ‘subjective’ and ‘objective’ facts (in the sense of Berger and Luckmann 1991/1966). That is to say, in most of my papers I more or less explicitly study the teacher’s action space as an imagined landscape that reflects the individual’s perceptions and interpretations of both their personal resources and the broader contexts of their work (see also below Figure 7) and that necessarily differs from teacher to teacher. Teacher’s personal backgrounds, skills and comfort zones are important factors that determine each teacher’s action space. Even in similar *external* limitations, each individual teacher is under some pressure to act and decide *individually*. Within the same legal limitations and socio-cultural contexts, there can be more or less freedom or ‘manoeuvring space’ depending on how each teacher perceives his or her contexts, as well as on his or her actual position in terms of his or her resources and environments. For example, a teacher may perceive the whole context as that authoritarian or perceive him- or herself as that uncertain, that

following the textbook page by page may seem the only possible option, regardless of what the curriculum says; whereas his or her colleague may notice the liberal expectations and feel so self-confident that the textbook seems just one of the many possible sources that the whole culture of history offers. At the same time, there are social, i.e. 'objective' limitations to the actual and perceived 'manoeuvring space' (cf. Berger and Luckmann 1991/1966). For example, there are 'objective' differences between what statements can be expressed without a relatively great probability of negative consequences by an ethnic Estonian/Latvian versus an ethnic Russian teacher with regard to sensitive and controversial topics in the Estonian or Latvian past, or about the Estonian or Latvian state.

Teachers' personal and situated interpretations of their historical, socio-political, economic, curricular, etc., contexts have been of growing interest in education research over the past decades. My study aligns with research that focuses on teachers' experiences and conceptions as co-constructed by various factors: students, parents and local community; institutional education frameworks such as school and colleagues, curriculum and exams; state and other broader socio-political contexts; substantial knowledge, scholarship and epistemological understandings. Interacting with each other and often creating tensions, teacher's perceptions of the external factors influence teacher identities, wellbeing and sense of agency (e.g. Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop 2004, Coldron and Smith 1999, Day 2011, Day, Kington, Stobart and Sammons 2006, Hargreaves 1994, Kelchtermans 2009, 2011, Lasky 2005, Soini, Pyhältö and Pietarinen 2010, Søreide 2006, van den Berg 2002).

Kelchtermans (2009), for example, studies teachers professional self-understanding and their 'subjective educational theory' as components of their 'personal interpretative framework' that teachers develop throughout their careers, based on their "reflective and meaningful interactions" with their "social, cultural and structural working conditions" (p. 257). This individual interpretative framework "operates as a lens through which teachers look at their job, give meaning to it and act in it" (ibid., 260). Also their education convictions are idiosyncratic and based on personal experience of their teaching:

Formal knowledge (for example from the curriculum of teacher education programmes or in-service training) only takes root in the subjective educational theory if (student) teachers have experienced that 'it works for them' or 'is true for their practice'. The same applies to the beliefs e.g. suggestions or rules of thumb inherited from more experienced colleagues. The epistemological status of the subjective educational theory is that its content 'holds true' for the teacher involved. Whether or to what extent this claim of truth is justified beyond one's own situation is not the teacher's immediate concern. (Kelchtermans 2009, 264)

Such arguments in education research are in line with research on individual positioning, identities and interpretation. In practice, each individual's representations (images, understandings, convictions) combine pieces of various theories and conceptions. Additionally, teachers are practitioners who, in

contrast to academics, face the need to *act as well as possible*, rather than to solve theoretical dilemmas or eventual inconsistencies. Ambivalence and inconsistencies are part of their daily practice, but they cannot allow themselves to be paralysed by them; they need to ‘muddle through’ (Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane et al. 1988, 46, cf. Cunningham 2009).

Teachers /-/ have to accomplish the practical task of teaching, which requires getting the job done through whatever conceptions and methods work best, under practical constraints /-/. /-/ Teachers’ ideological conceptions tend not to be so neatly packaged and consistent as those posited by theorists of educational ideology; similarly, the practice of classroom teaching tends not to be a straightforward realization of some such coherent position. (Billig et al. 1988, 46)

At the same time, the teacher’s job is characterised by personal commitment and vulnerability. According to Kelchtermans (2009), this derives exactly from their necessity to act and thus take a moral stance, as teaching is a moral enterprise: “Teaching implies taking a stance, choosing for a particular set of values and norms (goals) and engaging in their pursuit” (ibid., 265). In addition to the inherently value-dependent nature of teaching, Kelchtermans names three practical aspects that constitute the teacher’s fundamental vulnerability: the fact that their working conditions (regulations, quality control systems, policy demands) are “to a large extent imposed on them”; the realisation that teacher influence on student learning is limited to the extent of sometimes being invisible; and the fundamental lack of firm ground that they could base their decisions on (ibid., 265–266).

Even when the justification for teachers’ decisions can be explicitly stated, with reference to a certain idea (argument) of good education in general and good education for this student here and now, that judgement and decision can always be challenged or questioned. And still, it is this capacity to judge, to act and to take responsibility for one’s actions which constitutes a key part of teachers’ professionalism. (Kelchtermans 2009, 265–266)

This is what makes teachers’ work inherently dilemmatic.

In line with such considerations, my dissertation more specifically aligns with research (e.g. Fransson and Grannäs 2013, Hargreaves 1994, Kelchtermans 2009, Lampert 1985, Van Kan, Ponte and Verloop 2013, Wegner and Nückles 2012) that views teachers as always located in a ‘dilemmatic space’ because they are situated between such contradictory conceptions, between external accountability demands and their personal ethics. These studies see exactly the ability to navigate between contradictory demands and expectations without hoping to find the one best solution, as an important part of teacher professionalism. There is no hope that one day teacher dilemmas could be solved by scholarship and teaching aids. At least potentially, there are several equal options as to how to act in their work (ibid.).

Former studies accord in stressing that teachers' situation is particularly complicated and sensitive in case they need to navigate their own, their students' and possibly also others' (e.g. parents') values, expectations and emotions in the case of controversial or identity related issues. Therefore, most of the studies that focus on what I call *history* teachers' action spaces, have been conducted in deeply divided countries like Northern Ireland (e.g. Kitson and McCully 2005), Cyprus (e.g. Bekerman and Zembylas 2012, Psaltis, Lytras, Costache and Fischer 2011, Zembylas and Kambani 2012), Israel (e.g. Bekerman and Zembylas 2012), and Chile (Magendzo and Toledo 2009); an example on West European immigration society is provided by Klein (2010). These studies illustrate the challenges to dealing with issues that are bound to teachers', students', parents' and broader social groups' emotions, values and identities and that often include moral dilemmas.

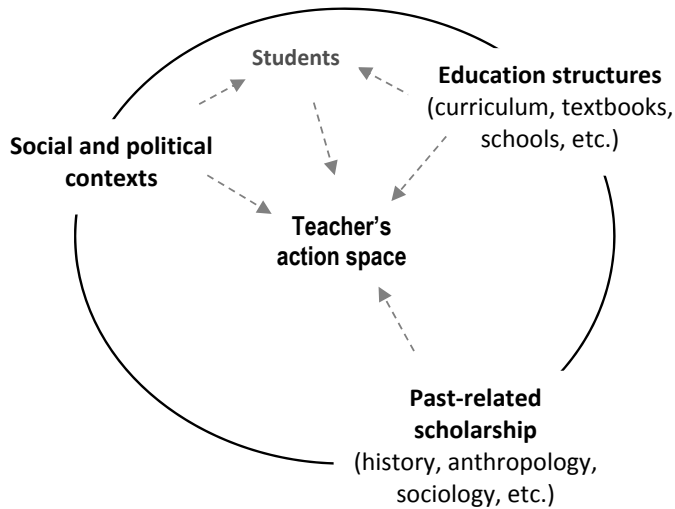
Although I referred to several studies in the previous paragraph, history teachers' context perceptions and action spaces have found surprisingly little attention thus far (cf. Bekerman and Zembylas 2012, Christophe 2012, McCully 2006, Psaltis, Lytras, Costache and Fischer 2011, Zembylas and Kambani 2012). For example, there is more literature on dealing with controversial issues from the social studies and civics teacher's perspectives than from the history teacher's (paper IV). The comparatively scarcer attention to *history* teachers may have been caused by a hidden assumption that history teachers represent either the 'academy' or 'the state' or 'the curriculum' in their work, rather than personal interpretations that synthesise some or several of the mentioned sources with their own social memories. Teacher's personal influence is probably more obvious in the case of socially and politically controversial issues in social studies, as there are no such apparently clear 'authorities' like 'academic history' for history teaching. However, even only the existence of the different reference institutions indicates that history teachers also need to take positions between their different 'clients' and loyalties (cf. Fransson and Grannäs 2013). As Onken (2010, 287) puts it from the political science perspective, history teachers are "an interesting 'double' memory actor". On the one hand, they carry social memories deriving from contexts they come from. "But as public school history teachers, they belong to a much more specific and narrower professional group close to the processes of political memory construction" (ibid.).<sup>14</sup>

In setting out to explore these questions in the present dissertation, I consider three main contextual dimensions – socio-political, academic and education – as the most relevant components of teacher action space (Figure 7).

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<sup>14</sup> In a similar line, Christophe (2012, 2) calls history teachers "a hitherto barely studied interface between cultural and communicative memory". She also adds the level of individual biography to this "double identity" of history teachers (ibid., 4–5): "History teachers are always two things at once: intermediaries between the state and society, and a theoretically most exciting interface between individual and collective memory" (ibid., 5, my translation).





**Figure 7.** Contextual dimensions of the history teacher’s action space

The scheme above entails an empirical distinction of relevant ‘external’ contexts from the perspective of history teaching. The three main dimensions seem to be rather obvious from the perspective of history teaching. For example, Wilschut (2010, 717) similarly distinguishes “politics and society; pedagogical and psychological considerations; and academic history itself” as the three factors that influence history curricula. However, I find it helpful to replace ‘academic history’ with a broader ‘past-related scholarship’, as the research about past that influences the content of history teaching – and to which history teachers refer – comes from other research departments apart from ‘history’ in the narrow sense.<sup>15</sup> Additionally, as the scheme depicts *teachers’* action space, ‘students’ too are an important factor that ‘imports external context’ into the space – they mediate both the socio-political contexts (e.g. inputs from parents and media) and other areas of the education contexts (e.g. convictions and habits learnt in other school subjects) into the history classroom. Teachers’ positions towards the different kinds of contexts include their own positions on the social, mnemonic and political landscape, as well as their conceptions of those fields’ influences on their students and classrooms.

Of course, the distinction of the contextual dimensions in Figure 7 is analytical, since in reality, each of the three contextual fields merges influences from the two others. As I noted above, curricula and textbooks merge socio-political influences with considerations from pedagogical psychology and with inputs from academic research about the past; social and political re-

<sup>15</sup> For other school subjects, for example where ‘economy’ or ‘technology’ might be of more relevance than ‘society’ as a whole, possibly a different division might be more useful. In addition, as the scheme is intended for a particular study design. It leaves out, for example, *levels* (school, community, county, state) that could be of interest in other designs.

presentations of the past receive inputs from both school and academy; whereas academic scholars are obviously also influenced by beliefs and experiences from their primary and secondary socialisation. A merit of the scheme is that it shows the interconnectedness of the fields, and absence of a stable hierarchy between them. If hierarchies appear, they are dynamic constellations, changing in time and space and perceived differently by different actors.

## **2.4. Dissertation outline: research questions and individual papers**

The central questions of this dissertation are:

1. What is the range of representations and ideologies of history teaching in Estonia, both in general public and in professional discourse?
2. How do history teachers represent their subject and what positions do they take in the face of different values, demands and expectations?

Thus, the dissertation has two foci:

- understandings of history teaching in general, and their social, ideological, political, etc., contexts and backgrounds;
- history teachers' representations as located among and relating to those different understandings and contexts.

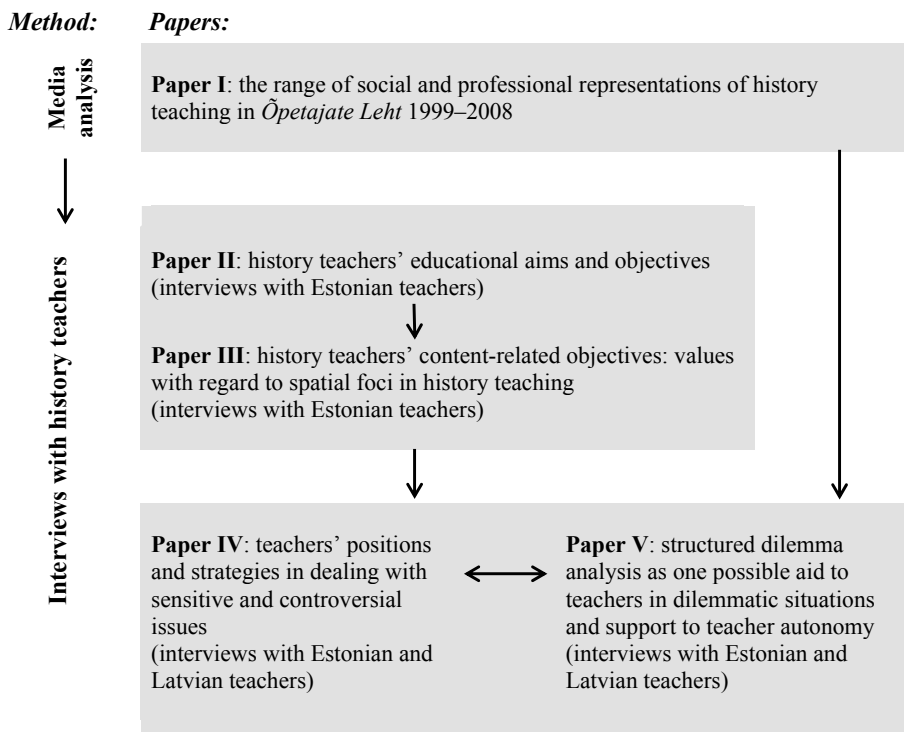
To study the first aspect, I have acquainted myself with various understandings of the aims, functions, content and methods of history teaching (see above, Section 2.1), with Estonian and Latvian curricula (see *ibid.*), and analysed representations of history teaching in the only all-Estonian teachers' weekly newspaper *Õpetajate Leht*, an 'interface' between the broader public and narrower professional spheres and discussions, between 1999 and 2008 (**paper I**).

To study the second aspect, I conducted 53 individual, exploratory, semi-structured interviews with history teachers in Estonia and Latvia. Based on what appeared as interesting similarities and differences in the interviews, I analysed the interviews (partly with co-authors Halliki Harro-Loit and Anu Masso) from the following perspectives:

- teachers' stated aims when teaching history (**paper II**)
- teacher positions towards geographical foci of history teaching (whether Estonia, Europe, or the world), and perceptions of their students' changing life-worlds (**paper III**)
- teachers' positions and strategies to dealing with sensitive and controversial issues, and how these positions relate to teachers' context perceptions (**paper IV**)

- different ways to represent teacher dilemmas and professional autonomy when dealing with sensitive and controversial issues, and how teachers reflect on their possible loyalty conflicts (**paper V**)

Figure 8 shows the interrelations of the papers that make up the dissertation.



**Figure 8.** Dissertation structure

**Paper I**, written together with Halliki Harro-Loit, aims to gain an overview of the range of representations and ideologies of history teaching in Estonia. We analyse different understandings of the aims, functions and essences of history teaching, based on their reflections in the only all-Estonian teachers’ weekly newspaper between 1999 and 2008. We consider the newspaper an interface between public and professional spheres and discourses, and analyse how ideologies of history teaching appear in this semi-professional public forum. First, we distinguish different thematic groups of the articles and outline broad relations between the article type and how history teaching could be represented in it. Subsequently, we analyse how (1) students’ and authors’ actual or desired identities and (2) fundamentally different approaches to history teaching are represented in the articles. We discuss relations between broader social representations, more specific expert representations, author backgrounds and

positions, journalistic limitations (article types, choices made by the editorial board), and resulting representations of history teaching in the weekly.

In the process of working on my dissertation, paper I provided input to the other papers in two ways. Firstly, I chose statements from the newspaper's articles that reflected different approaches to history teaching, to be used in teacher interviews. Secondly, this study provided a context to the interview study, especially to papers IV and V, by facilitating the interpretation of teachers' perceptions of different contexts and factors of history teaching. It encouraged me to explore further the diversity of expectations of history teaching. As *The Teachers' Newspaper* is the main public and periodical forum to publish news and discussions related to school subjects, it enables insights into the range of conceptions in Estonia more broadly, reflecting those few representations of history teaching to be found in the Estonian public space, while also reflecting professional communication that concerns the subject (teachers and public servants who deal with the subject rarely express their ideas on the subject in the mass media).

**Papers II to V** focus on the *history teacher*, as located at the meeting point of such different perceptions, expectations, and fears; whereby II and III provide a context for IV and V. I study history teachers' positions in facing demands and discourses from different contexts of their work. I view the teachers' positions as reflecting their need to navigate between societal and cultural meanings, trends and identities: different perspectives on the past, and different legitimacies attributed to them, different discourses and representations of education generally and history teaching particularly, different contexts of teaching.

More specifically, **papers II and III** centre on history teacher's aims and values in approaching their subject, based on interviews with qualitative samples of Estonian history teachers. In **paper II**, I analyse 26 interviews with Estonian history teachers, focusing on their intentions when teaching history. The aim is to gain insights into the teachers' personal aims, based both on what they considered appropriate to declare as their central aims at the beginning of the interview, as well as what aims, and what limitations to declared aims, appeared more implicitly in the course of the interview. **Paper III**, written together with Anu Masso, also focuses on the teachers' personal aims and objectives, but by looking more specifically at the ways they rationalise various spatial foci of history teaching, as well as their perceptions of the influences of today's media environment on the subject. Thus, we analyse 36 interviews with Estonian history teachers, looking at two things: (1) what spatial focus of history teaching did the interviewees see as desirable and which rationales did they use in justifying it; (2) how they perceived the widening and diversifying media environment of their students, and to what degree they perceived it as supporting or hindering the aims of history teachers. We discuss the findings from the perspective of how the individually constructed realities of the teachers' life-worlds interrelate with how they perceived both how well-

founded the spatial foci of the current curriculum and the life-worlds of their students were. We also discuss the necessity of the teacher's ability to critically 'translate' different life-worlds in their teaching.

**Papers IV and V** focus more specifically on challenges related to history teaching's placed-ness between different contexts and factors, including the broader social and political ones, based on interviews with both Estonian and Latvian history teachers. These papers are based on the assumption that among other things, teachers' pedagogical positions are related to how they position themselves towards different 'fields' and 'worlds', 'clients' and expectations. In **paper IV**, I distinguish five teacher positions on dealing with sensitive and controversial issues and discuss the complexity and multi-layered nature of the challenges that shape teachers' choices and ways of coping with the various demands they perceive. In **paper V**, written together with Halliki Harro-Loit, we analyse teachers' representation of their professional autonomy and possible dilemmas when dealing with sensitive and controversial issues, as reflected in four interviews, chosen from among the whole sample to illustrate different ways in which history teachers represent their dilemmas, loyalties, autonomy, and action spaces. Based on the analysis, we propose a method that could be used in teacher education to enhance teachers' ability to reflect on their education dilemmas and action spaces. Thus, **paper V** can be seen as providing one possible remedy to problems brought forward in **paper IV**.

### 3. METHODS

Consistent with my theoretical positions, the methods of my studies are designed to bring out the range and diversity of existing positions on history teaching. Because of the poorly explored research field, all my papers are characterised by their qualitative and open – exploratory – approach. This enables me to find a broader range and more details in the diversity than a more structured and theoretically pre-defined approach would have.

The papers of my dissertation are based on two bodies of empirical data: ten decades of *Teachers' Newspaper* articles, and 53 interviews with Estonian and Latvian history teachers. In the following sections, I outline each of the data corpuses and the methods of gathering and analysing them.

#### 3.1. Newspaper study

##### Calibrating corpus criteria

Obviously, the study depends on the content and style of articles that are present in the weekly. Because of the innovative research interest there could be no predefined scheme for choosing or analysing the newspaper articles except for my generic interest in the aims and functions of history teaching. Thus, we defined the corpus criteria inductively, over several rounds of getting to know the spectrum of the weekly's articles.

I started the corpus selection by reviewing all articles dealing with history, history teaching and history teachers from 1999 to 2008. After ascertaining that the search results within the digital archive of the *Teachers' Newspaper* were incomplete, I looked through all the weekly's issues manually, paying attention to article titles (words referring to 'history', 'memory', 'identity'), authors (e.g., historians), special issues on history and social studies, and rubrics (e.g. "For the subject teacher"). If any of these pointed to possibly relevant content, I read the article. During this process, clearer criteria for corpus construction emerged, enabling articles that had no direct relation to history teaching (e.g. general interest pieces on school history and other past events) to be eliminated. Thus, in the final corpus we included 167 articles that address history teachers more or less explicitly (e.g. by reporting on the activities of history teachers or by announcing student competitions that are normally supervised by history teachers), and/or that explicitly mention history teaching either as their main focus or en passant. Dates, authors and titles of the articles are presented in Appendix 1. An analytical overview of the thematic foci of the articles is presented in Table 1 in paper I.

## Analysis

The qualitative content analysis started with inductive selecting, coding, grouping of articles on two bases: (1) their topics/foci and author groups (so as to elucidate the role of factors specific to journalistic discourse in constructing an ‘aggregate representation’ of history teaching in the Teachers’ Newspaper), (2) functions of history teaching and approaches to the subject’s aims. I used my background knowledge of different possible approaches to describe the range of understandings reflected in the weekly’s articles. Thus, the description and analysis proceeded inductively, but keeping in mind different possible approaches to history teaching (as described above in Section 2.1).

### 3.2. Interview study

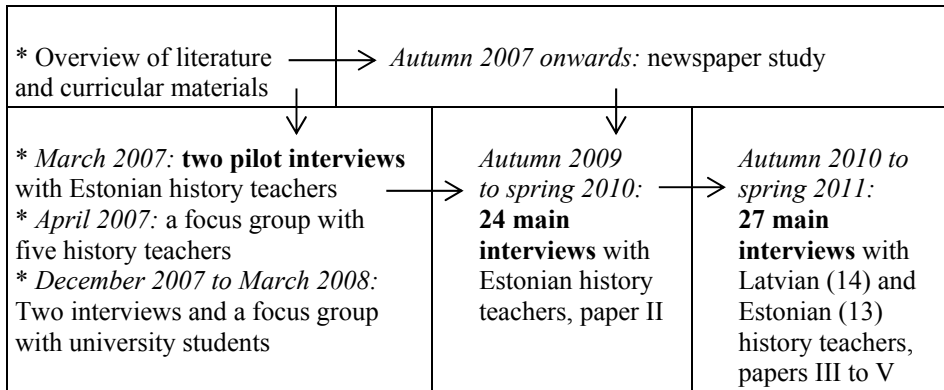
#### Calibrating the interviewing method

Before conducting my interviews, I had no way of being sure which particular aspects of history teaching would prove most interesting and fruitful to focus on in-depth. Thus, just like building the article corpus, the interviews had to be exploratory and elicit understandings of history teaching as broadly and openly as possible.

To arrive at my eventual interview schedule (see Appendix 2 and the next section below), I used three kinds of try-outs: two individual pilot interviews with history teachers, a focus group with five history teachers, and three interviews (an individual interview, a pair interview and a focus group) with university students (Figure 9). Literature and curricular overview<sup>16</sup> and newspaper analysis contributed to the second part of the interview (statements presented to interviewees for commenting).

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<sup>16</sup> Apart from reading background literature as reflected in the sections above, one field of the preliminary phase of my research was becoming acquainted with Estonian and Latvian curricula, materials of national final examinations and manuals for history teachers (e.g. EAS 2000, 2004, Haridusministeerium 1997, Oja 2001, Sepp and Peet 2002, Stradling 2005a, 2005b) in order to acquaint myself with the legal, ideological and practical confines. I also acquainted myself with the historical backdrop to current history teaching (e.g. Ahonen 1992, 1997, 2001, Kivimäe 1999, Kivimäe and Kivimäe 2001, Oja 2004, Palamets 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1973, 1976, Piirimäe 1991, A. Raudsepp 2005).



**Figure 9.** Overview of calibrating the interview method. The interviews used in my dissertation study are written in bold

The schedule of the 51 main interviews is based on the analysis of the two pilot interviews and the focus groups. The two pilot interviews with history teachers were in-depth interviews, about 2.5 hours each, trying out a range of questions on different aspects of history teaching and the teacher’s views. I asked about becoming a teacher; what they valued about being a history teacher; the personal meanings of the past for them; what methods they used and how they prepared their lessons, etc. First and foremost, the pilot interviews contributed to the decision to focus more on the interviewee’s aims and attempts as history teacher, and on their generic representations of history teaching and its contexts, rather than on more practical aspects like teaching methods and preparing the lessons. The focus groups and interviews with students, in turn, encouraged me to use pre-selected statements about history teaching as a fruitful elicitation aid, as well as to prefer individual interviews as data collection instrument.

### The main interview schedule

I conducted the main interviews in two phases: 24 interviews in Estonia from autumn 2009 to spring 2010; and 27 interviews in Estonia and Latvia from autumn 2010 to spring 2011. By and large, I used the same interview schedule, with some modifications as characteristic to qualitative interviews. The question guide is presented in Appendix 2.

The question guide was designed to be open and exploratory in order to elicit as multifaceted a representation of history teaching as possible. It focuses, from various perspectives, on the interviewee’s conceptions of history teaching and its contexts: aims and ideals in teaching, didactical approaches to history teaching, dealing with the past within the present, and the like. The opening question of most interviews asked the interviewee to describe two to three of her or his main goals as a teacher. The spontaneously described intentions were followed by a semi-structured conversation in which I enquired about the



interviewee's vision of the subject, students and her or himself as a teacher (see Appendix 2). As normal in in-depth interviews, the questions that I asked partly varied and were not explored to the same depth in all interviews. The interviews focused on questions such as how the interviewee's aims had changed over time, how could the aims be described by her/his students, how had students changed over time, whether and how the interviewee turned the students' attention to the diverse ways in which the past is being represented in today's society and media. Over time, as interviewees brought new aspects to my attention, I added them to my question guide (see Appendix 2).

Most interviewees had time for a second part in which I asked them to comment on 22 anonymous and rephrased statements on history teaching chosen during the analysis of the *Õpetajate Leht* articles for paper I (see Appendix 2). I had chosen the statements so that each of the following aspects would be covered: (1) aims, functions and possibilities of history teaching (including traditional, disciplinary, generic skills and history-culture-focused approaches as distinguished above in Section 2.1; knowledge, values, identities, student interests and various ideological positions); (2) teacher's own epistemological positions and position on the memory-political landscape as well as representation of their students within the history culture. These were open incentives for comments rather than attitude statements, as many of them were intentionally ambivalent and often quite long. The aim was that each interviewee could read it in his or her own way, picking up aspects of his or her own choice. Using the statements enabled me to obtain a fuller picture of the interviewees' representations of the subject rather than focusing on aspects of history teaching predefined in the question guide. The statements had in fact a provocative effect and thanks to being able to argue with article authors instead of the interviewer, the interviewees were evidently freer in expressing their positions. Especially in the case of sensitive topics, the statements offered the teachers more choice (as compared to the interviewer's questions) over what and how to talk about.

Additionally, from autumn 2010, if there was still time during the interview, I asked the interviewees to comment on metaphors about teachers' work, adapted from Alger (2009).<sup>17</sup> I took the metaphors up in order to try out how they would help the interviewees to express their pedagogical and subject related positions. In practice, the metaphors did prove helpful in some cases, but were not as fruitful as the 22 substantial statements on history teaching.

Valeria Jakobson and Katri Aivare helped me prepare the Russian and Latvian question guides and statement sets.

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<sup>17</sup> I thank Katrin Poom-Valickis (Tallinn University) for making me aware of Alger's article.

## Participants

In selecting the participants, the aim was to make up a ‘diversity sample’ (Jansen 2010), i.e. a possibly heterogeneous sample in terms of both individual and social-contextual characteristics of the interviewees. My reasoning was that a sufficient diversity of various teacher characteristics would be achieved if I included as disparate a set of schools and locations as possible, and interviewed as many teachers from each school as possible. An additional attempt was to include a sufficient number of Russian-speaking teachers at least in the Estonian sample in order to ensure the diversity of the ethnolinguistic and social contexts of history teaching. Thus, schools from five ethnically and socially contrasting regions were included: (1) two mainly Russian-speaking northeast Estonian towns; (2) Tartu; (3) different locations in the mainly Estonian-speaking south Estonia; (4) two mainly Latvian-speaking north Latvian towns; (5) the Latvia’s socially and ethnically mixed capital city Riga. Thus, the diversity of the sample was increased by diversity at three levels: diversity of locations, diversity of schools within a location (either town or a region), and often, individual diversity of history teachers within a school.

To contact the participants I usually phoned a school secretary or head teacher, told him or her about my study and expressed my wish to interview as many history teachers from the school as there were available at the times I was able to be present. Thus, most interviews were arranged either by the school’s secretary or headmaster, or, if the school gave out phone numbers, by myself. Sometimes, I approached a teacher directly at school, and some contacts were made by e-mail. All schools were willing to help and also almost all individual teachers agreed to be interviewed, with a few exceptions explaining their refusal with lack of time. Additionally, three teachers were my previous acquaintances<sup>18</sup> and three contacts came through museum and archive pedagogues who helped me to arrange interviews with teachers who came to their institution with their students. Table 1 describes the sample from the perspective of country, native language, and school location.

**Table 1.** The diversity of the participants (N=53)

<i>State and language</i> <sup>19</sup>		<i>Location of the school(s)</i>	
		Northeast Estonia	14
Estonia, Estonian	25	Tartu	10
Estonia, Russian	14	Other South Estonia	15
Latvia, Latvian	12	North Latvia	8
Latvia, Russian	2	Riga	6

<sup>18</sup> The two pilot interviewees and one of the main interviewees.

<sup>19</sup> ‘Language’ indicates the main language of the interviewee’s students here. As all interviewees of mainly Russian-speaking students were themselves Russian-speakers, it also indicates the interviewee’s own main language.

In fact, the selection strategy resulted in quite a range of teacher characteristics. The sample included teachers from various generations, from a young teacher who had taught for only 2.5 months as part of her pre-service education, to an elderly teacher due to retire the following year, and a recently retired teacher present at the school on the day of the interview. There were teachers who taught only or mainly ethnic Estonian students as well as those who taught only Russian-speakers, as well as teachers who worked in very mixed environments. Many of the teachers taught (or had taught) history at all grades in which history teaching is in the curriculum (i.e. from Grade 5 in Estonia and Grade 6 in Latvia to Grade 12 in both countries). However, there were also teachers who had taught only at either lower or upper secondary level, as well as some who had taught history to only fifth and sixth graders. There were 40 female and 13 male teachers in the sample.

At the time of the interviews, the 53 teachers taught history in altogether 34 schools (four teachers concurrently in two schools) in 12 towns or villages. Since most of the schools were unselective medium-size or large town schools where several history teachers worked, the sample included teachers with various backgrounds, teaching experiences, and student populations. In addition, some basic schools (offering only lower secondary education) as well as schools with only upper secondary level ('gymnasiums', 'secondary schools' as well as professional schools) were included. Thus, the school selection, too, ranged from highly selective upper secondaries, attended by academically the most able students, to evening schools and vocational schools with some amount of general education subject teaching.<sup>20</sup> Of the 39 Estonian teachers, 25 taught mainly Estonian-speaking students either in South Estonia (21) or in a Northeast Estonian town (4), while 14 taught mainly Russian-speaking students either in a Northeast Estonian town (10), in Tartu (3) or in a small South-Estonian town (1). Of the 14 Latvian teachers, 12 taught mainly Latvian-speaking students either in North Latvia (7) or Riga (5) and two taught mainly Russian-speaking students – one in North Latvia and one in Riga. The two Latvian Russians, and a few of my Russian-speaking interviewees in Estonia, had already started teaching in the state language.

As for their education, most had been educated as historians or history teachers either in a university or a pedagogical institute, i.e. had some kind of history-related tertiary education. About a fourth of the interviewees' main preparation had not been related to history – most in this group had started as primary teachers or teachers of other subjects, but also completely different first professions such as police and gardening were represented. Almost all teachers with 'other' training had attended or were attending specific courses on history

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<sup>20</sup> In addition to regular town schools, the sample also included two Estonian teachers from small village basic schools (i.e. teaching 11- to 16-year-olds), a vocational school (three Estonian teachers), three evening schools (i.e. adult secondary schools, two Estonian and one Latvian teacher), and two highly selective upper secondaries (one Estonian and one Latvian teacher).

teaching. Most teachers also taught social studies besides history. Some teachers also taught other subjects, such as biology, philosophy or Estonian as well as history, and some were primary school teachers with permission to teach history.

The number of interviews considered in different papers are presented in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Teacher samples in different papers

	<b>Total</b>	<b>from Estonia</b>	<b>from Latvia</b>
<b>Paper II</b>	26	26	–
<b>Paper III</b>	36	36	–
<b>Paper IV</b>	53	39	14
<b>Paper V</b>	4 / 53	3 / 39	1 / 14

Which interviews are considered in which paper depends either on the timing of analysis, as in case of paper II, or on substantial reasons, as in papers III, IV and V. I consider the pilot interviews in those papers (II and IV) where teachers' aims (as in paper II) or generic representations of history teaching (as in paper IV) are relevant. In paper III we consider those Estonian interviews where the two foci of the study were talked about. For paper V, we have chosen four contrasting cases that expressed a dilemmatic position, and concurrently contrasted with the other cases. Latvian interviews are included in papers IV and V, which deal with teachers' challenges and dilemmas in the face of various social and political demands and expectations.

### Procedure and limitations

I conducted the main interviews either in Estonian, Russian or Latvian depending on which language was most convenient for the interviewee. With one exception, the teachers preferred to be interviewed in their native language.<sup>21</sup> The interviews were generally 45 to 90 minutes long, with extremes ranging from 30 minutes to over 2.5 hours. All interviews took place privately, usually with only the interviewee and me in one of the classrooms at the school where the interviewee worked. Exceptions were other convenient places such as a university lecture room, a quiet corner in a staffroom, and a café near the school.

With the exception of the two pilot interviews and two cases in which the interviewee was so eager to talk that she started to describe her work without any introduction or questions from the interviewer, all interviews were preceded

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<sup>21</sup> The exception was one of the teachers who worked in a predominantly Estonian-speaking environment (she was teaching history in Russian, but another subject in Estonian to her students).

by an introduction on the study's purposes (understanding the diversity of notions of history teaching, and the relevant communication processes) and confidentiality rules (not mentioning the interviewees' names and schools when presenting the findings, using pseudonyms, excluding all details that could enable recognition of the participant). I explained the open and exploratory nature of my study when introducing the interviews, and stressed my neutrality and lack of preference for any particular approach to history teaching. I stressed that although my earlier work had been related to curriculum development, as a researcher I had no clear preference towards one or another approach to history teaching (cf. above, Section 2.1), being interested in the diversity of understandings and situations as well as in teachers' action choices and even possible dilemmas regarding diversity. I said that I derived from the understanding that an interview is always situational, and that in another situation, in another day, or in another mood the same interviewee would probably answer the same questions in another way. During the interview, I used reflective listening and allowed the interviewee to determine in how much detail to go on a topic. I attempted to avoid examining, interrogating, and imposing possibly uncomfortable explicitness on the interviewees.

Notwithstanding this, the school as a somewhat formal setting and my own person must have influenced the interviews. For example, although most teachers seemed sincere and willing to help, and several stressed their candour, they may have presented themselves as less critical towards the school, the national curricula and the education system, and more loyal to the state and official narratives, than they would have in some other setting or to another interviewer. Latvian teachers may have felt it possible or necessary to be more explicit to a researcher from another country. For Estonian Russian-speaking teachers my belonging to the titular ethnicity was constantly reiterated by my imperfect and Estonian-sounding Russian; whereas for ethnic Estonian interviewees my former backgrounds in curriculum development and academic research could have been of some effect. This needs to be kept in mind even though 'ideal representations' are the object of the study. On the other hand, most of the teachers seemed open, sincere, and willing to help the PhD student. And indeed, there were interviewees who stressed their candour: "perhaps others paint you a nice picture, but let me tell you how it is in reality". In addition, the school context, and often being in the teacher's own classroom, the availability of textbooks and computers, etc., must have supported the interviewees in talking about their work.

### Calibrating the foci of the papers

As I already mentioned, when setting out to conduct the interviews, I could not know in what respects an interesting diversity in teacher positions would appear. At first, I was interested in different conceptions of history teaching, as described above in Section 2.1. Similarly to paper I, I intended to study which components and functions of history teaching, in which meanings and contexts,

would appear in the teacher representations. This was in fact the focus of papers II and III. In the course of conducting the interviews and reading the transcriptions, teachers' dilemmas and positions proved more interesting and became the focus of papers IV and V. Interviews with teachers at Russian schools helped me notice taken-for-grantedness among ethnic Estonian teachers, and look more deeply for their positions on dealing with contentious issues. Similarly, the 14 Latvian interviews helped me notice some taken-for-grantedness in the Estonian interviews. After I had conducted the Latvian interviews I was able to ask some more specific questions of the Estonian teachers as well. These additional questions concerned the interviewee's attitude towards patriotism as an aim of history teaching, and whether and how they perceived expectations of history teachers in the general media.

Both Estonian and Latvian interviews demonstrated how interview timing influences data via what is actual to the interviewees. In Estonia, the 'Bronze night' of April 2007 came up time and again<sup>22</sup> – although as time passed between the event and most of the interviews, it came up rather en passant, as one of illustrations or examples that the interviewees used in making their point. In Latvia, the interview timing was relevant – and distinguished the Latvian context from the Estonian – even at different levels. First, the question of history teaching had been clearly more politicised in Latvia for years. Since autumn 2011, a politically ordered change in history curriculum, dividing 'history' and 'Latvian history' into two separate subjects, was going to take place. The Latvian Parliament had mandated this, based on an initiative of a nationalist party (Klišāns 2005, 2011). As history teaching was thus a political topic even used in election campaigns, several Latvian history teachers (but none of their Estonian colleagues) remarked that they were encountering expectations or allegations (which they found unfounded) against them 'in the media'. This was at least partly connected to the discussions on the same question of the subject of Latvian history (the latter being supported, as mentioned by a teacher, especially in a nationalist newspaper that has no equivalent in Estonia). Second, although the global financial crisis of 2008 hit both countries hard, its effects were more extreme and visible in Latvia. The teachers' concern with the emigration wave that was going on at the time was also visible time and again, and seems to have been among the contributing

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<sup>22</sup> The so-called 'Bronze Night' in April 2007 was a riot that manifested the 'mnemonic conflict' between ethnic Estonians and Estonian Russian-speakers, and was the first large manifestation of ethnic tensions in Estonia since 1980 (Ehala 2009). It came as a shock to many who had believed that the tensions had abated since the early 1990s. It followed the Estonian government's decision to remove a monument called the 'Bronze Soldier' from the centre of Tallinn to a soldiers' cemetery at the town's outskirts. The monument was built during the Soviet era to commemorate Estonia's liberation from German occupation by the Soviet army. It was a strong positive symbol for the Russian speaking community but bore negative or at least more ambivalent meanings for ethnic Estonians (see e.g. Brüggemann and Kasekamp 2008, Ehala 2009).

factors for Latvian history teachers' concern about their students' patriotism. Third, several of the Latvian interviews were conducted during or soon after a week in November which included celebrations of several important anniversaries relating to the founding of the Latvian state: *Lāčplēsis* Day on November 11th, commemorating the victory over the West Russian Volunteer Army (1919) in the Latvian War of Independence, and Latvian Independence Day (1918) on November 18th. Thus, for this reason too, questions of patriotism and patriotic education were clearly more topical for the Latvian interviewees. Several of them discussed their position on, or role as history teachers in, the celebrations.

### Analysis and interpretation of findings

The interviews were voice recorded and transcribed verbatim by a native speaker of the relevant language: Sandra Kamilova (Estonian and Russian), Katri Aivare (Latvian), Tiina-Mary Metsik (Estonian), Jane Roostar (Estonian), and myself (Estonian). Exceptions were one whole interview and one part of another interview that could not be recorded for technical reasons. I recorded the un-taped parts as notes and memos. I analysed the transcriptions in the original languages, translating only the extracts I wished to quote in the papers.

In analysing the interviews, my aim was similar to that of what Jansen (2010) calls 'qualitative survey': "While the statistical survey analyses frequencies in member characteristics in a population, the qualitative survey analyses the diversity of member characteristics within a population" (p. 1). Rather than estimation of prevalences or ability to generalise my findings to a population, the *range* and *diversity* of existing positions was what interested me. At the same time, discursive positionings in an interview are not only situated, but also socially constructed and socio-politically conditioned, and my Estonian sample is sufficiently large and diverse enough to make conjectures about *typical patterns* among Estonian history teachers, as well as of representations among particular sub-groups. "[S]ocial phenomena, such as language, decisions, conflicts, and hierarchies, exist objectively in the world and exert strong influences over human activities because people construe them in common ways" (Miles and Huberman 1994, 4).

For different papers, the transcriptions were analysed from different angles, focusing on different parts of the interviews, and by means of different analytical approaches. For Papers II and III, a simple paraphrasing and grouping of relevant statements and teacher positions was used.

For paper IV, the analysis consisted of selecting, grouping and interpreting relevant interview sections. Based on a first reading and selection of relevant sections from a subset of the transcriptions, I wrote a tentative draft of the findings, distinguishing broad differences in teacher positions and clarifying topics to be analysed further. I revised and complemented my distinctions, based on further reading and re-reading of the interviews. Thus, I followed an

iterative procedure to fill in the gaps, to test my preliminary descriptions, and to distinguish more specific details every time. The analyses were facilitated by coding with the MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software, but mainly focused on in-depth interpretation of the positions that emerged during iterative reading of both whole transcriptions and selected sections.

For paper V, our analysis aimed at modifying and trying out the so-called Potter's Box, originally constructed to analyse moral argumentation in communication ethics, on contrasting examples of teacher positions. That is to say, we first chose four interviews which exemplified three kinds of a dilemmatic, or potentially dilemmatic, teacher position. Subsequently, we analysed these positions in terms of teacher's action space (values, loyalties, autonomy) by means of a model we had modified for this purpose.

As outlined above in the theory section (2.2), in all papers the research questions are answered *from the perspective* of individual teachers, but individuals are not *the focus* of the study. Thus, I reconstruct perspectives and interpretations as characteristic to particular *teacher positions*, but do not tie the positions to concrete interviewees. The role of quotations is to illustrate and confirm the interpretations.



## 4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In the following sections I briefly present the dissertation papers' findings and discussions, according to the research questions. More detailed findings and discussions can be found in the individual papers.

### 4.1. What is the range of representations of history teaching in Estonia, both in general public and in professional discourse?

**Paper I** shows that two functions of history teaching prevail in the 'aggregate representation' of history teaching in the *Teachers' Newspaper*: knowledge and generic skills. With regard to knowledge, unsurprisingly, history teaching was presented as mainly a national and European history centred subject. This focus was generally expressed in terms of topics taught, and sometimes also in terms of enhancing students' identification. The representation of 'history' as a subject that teaches students about the Estonian and European past was reflected in newspaper pieces written from the broadest range of author positions and dealing with topics as various as national examinations; student competitions; museums, archives, and other 'external allies' of the history teacher; and opinions about the aims and essence of history teaching. The broad range of author positions and article topics that refer to the traditional, knowledge and identity centred core of history teaching, confirms that in terms of Carretero and Bermudez (2012), both 'romantic' and 'traditional enlightened' discourse are the prevalent ones in Estonia, particularly in lay discourses reflecting social representations. In contrast, the prevalence of the second most frequently represented function of history teaching, that of enhancing students' general skills, was due to pieces on national final examinations, written mostly from professional or even official positions. In fact, 'routine' news had an important contribution to the subject's 'aggregate representation' in the weekly. The altogether 37 pieces about national examinations often included references to generic skills and competencies such as argumentation, generalization and comparison, expressing one's opinion, and working with maps and schemes as part of the subject's content (on the prevalence of article topics see Table 1 in **paper I**).

Thus, all in all the 'aggregate representation' of history teaching in the *Teachers' Newspaper* articles included that of the national curriculum for history, but added to it the social representation of a 'romantic', identity-building-focused history teaching. Authors who expressed their personal opinions particularly reflected this representation. In contrast, a 'skills and thinking' conception expressed a curricular ideology, and did not necessarily derive from an author's personal position. That is to say, private opinions

tended to represent engrained, traditional representations (i.e. knowledge-centred and ethnocentric representations), whereas official views represented ‘politically correct’ and/or more innovative, skills-centred and multiperspective approaches. In addition, articles written from a personal position reflected broader memory political discussions in Estonian public space. This was especially visible directly after the ‘Bronze night’ events in April 2007.

The findings of **paper I** outline the different discourses on history teaching in Estonia, providing a useful background for the following papers.

## **4.2. How do history teachers represent their subject and what positions do they take in the face of different values, demands and expectations?**

As mentioned above, **papers II and III** centre on history teachers’ aims and values in approaching their subject. **Paper II** distinguishes the following groups of education aims that the interviewees spontaneously named: knowledge, understanding and analysis of the facts of the past; skills of deliberation, argumentation and self-expression; critical mind; learning skills and ability to gain knowledge independently and to account for various perspectives; tolerance and other positive traits. Additionally, also cooperation skills, diligence, self-respect, citizen participation, goodness and caring were mentioned in answers to the explicit question about the interviewees’ main aims or intentions as history teachers.

Thus, there was a certain common core in the teachers’ answers, as well as a varied spectrum of additional, more individually coined intentions. Even though the aim of the analysis was not to quantify the findings, the analysis of the interview transcriptions shows that teachers were most unanimous about the centre of the subject – gaining some basic or framework knowledge about the past, seeing connections within it; and, if possible, connecting it to the present, reasoning about it, and being interested in it. Other parts of the interviews confirm that the central core of knowledge, rather than other aspects, was seen as the sine qua non of the subject. In later parts of the interviews, even teachers who in answer to the explicit question about their central aims as history teachers declared developing interpretation abilities and a critical attitude among their main goals, accorded with the dominant view that this was more appropriate with older students, and if time allowed. Thus, the dominant representation among history teachers was clearly a ‘traditional enlightened’ one in terms of Carretero and Bermudez (2012) – other approaches from the ‘enlightened range’ (see above, Section 2.1) seemed to have reached the teachers more on an ideological level (for instance *declaring* or *agreeing* that critical approach and multiperspectivity are important), but less on the level of the actual practice. There were instances where the teacher acknowledged a

contradiction between, on the one hand, the inherent interpretativity, multi-perspectivity and uncertainty of historical knowledge, and, on the other hand, the need or expectation (by students themselves, by society or the state, as perceived by the teacher) to offer the students some certainty. I focus on such possible dilemma perceptions in papers IV and V.

What could be the reasons for the dominance of the ‘traditional enlightened’ representation? On the one hand, traditional representations of the nature of history teaching; on the other hand, particularly the external evaluation (national placement test and final examinations) can be assumed to be among the most influential factors. In some cases, the final examination seemed to support fact centred teaching especially in the case of weaker students with whom the teacher felt compelled to focus on the basic facts so that they would know the minimum required to pass the exam. Other cases, in contrast, can be interpreted in line with the assumption by Oja (2004) that those of the national examination tasks that focus on student abilities, like source analysis and justifying opinions, have encouraged teachers to focus on a broader range of student skills than the traditional recall and retelling of textbook content. Of course, as teacher views are formed idiosyncratically from many sources (see above, Sections 2.2 and 2.3), there is no straightforward relationship: it wasn’t necessarily true that for the more able students, the way of teaching was represented as more interpretation and discussion centred, multiperspective and ‘modern’. In fact, also teachers who taught highly selected students represented ‘traditional’ approaches to history teaching. And, in contrast, teaching of ‘unselected’ and even quite young students was in some cases represented as based on discussion and analysis (although the latter was rather an exception among the sample’s representations).

In discussing the finding that a ‘romantic’ approach to history teaching (identity building and patriotism) was practically absent from the ‘aggregate representation’, according to the teacher sample from **paper II** (with the exception of a few Russian-speaking teachers, and unlike the later Latvian interviews), I propose that the reason might be that outright indoctrination (identities, patriotism) might have been either perceived as a taboo, or the interviewees might have lacked the habit of addressing it explicitly. Teachers may be wary of representing themselves as transmitters of some political ideology; particularly against the backdrop of Soviet history teaching, which was perceived as overly ideological. Simultaneously, identity related aspects of history teaching may be taken for granted as implicit aims, as part of teaching the local past *naturally*, without explicit effort and without addressing any particular group. In fact, this is the way identity related aims are addressed in the national curriculum: “*In the process of solving historical problems /–/ [the students’] national and cultural identity, tolerance and positive attitude to the values of democracy develop*” (Estonian Government 2002, similarly idem. 1996, 2010a, 2010b; my italics).

Later Estonian interviews in which I explicitly asked about teachers' views on patriotism as an aim of history teaching, support this explanation: most of those whom I asked agreed that the aim was important or even self-evident for them. However, several of these teachers noted that this aim was pursued not so much via direct teaching as implicitly and en passant. Thus, on the one hand, for some teachers it didn't need to be an explicit objective a teacher keeps in mind when teaching. On the other hand, as compared to other not very explicit or not particularly well assessable objectives like interest or empathy, identity building and patriotism seem to be uneasy topics in Estonian professional discourse. That is to say, they might not fit so well into the interlinked range of 'enlightened' aims that most Estonian teachers offered spontaneously.

This explanation is also supported by the findings of **paper III**, which show that although admitting the importance of world history, Estonia and Europe were the preferred and presumed spatial foci among the interviewees. This taken-for-grantedness did not appear so clearly in the aims explicitly mentioned the teachers, but emerged in other parts of the interviews, especially when commenting on the statement, "The current teaching of history is too 'self-centred' – concentrating on the Estonian and European past produces young people with narrow worldviews". Although some of the teachers, when commenting on this statement, admitted that current history teaching was, or may indeed have been, too self-centred, most of them did not oppose the focus, either supporting Estonia- and Europe-centred history teaching with pedagogical or ideological arguments (thus negating excessive self-centredness), or – even if some criticism was expressed towards too self-centred a focus for history teaching – considering such a state inevitable. The 'self-centredness' was justified by the necessarily limited teaching time and, thus, the inevitability of choosing some kind of a focus in history teaching, as well as with reference to the pedagogical principle that teaching should commence with what was closest to the student. Connected to this was the argument that history teaching is first and foremost about understanding oneself and learning about oneself, and that, in support of this goal Estonia and Europe are most important.

Thus, taken together, **papers II and III** present a rather coherent 'mirror image' to the representations of history teaching appearing in the *Teachers' Newspaper* at the level of 'aggregate representations'. All aspects present in the newspaper pieces were also present in teacher interviews. However, the 'romantic' aspects, which found little attention or were avoided in the national curriculum, were also more hidden in the Estonian teachers' discourse. The partial hidden-ness is particularly visible in contrast to Latvian interviews, as their political and professional contexts differed from the Estonian ones exactly in how explicit the 'romantic' aims of history teaching were.

Apart from looking at what teachers' spatial preferences in history teaching were, **paper III** focuses on teacher perceptions of and positions on the potential of the students' everyday media environments to support history teaching: in what ways did the interviewees see the widening and diversifying media

environment of their students, including in what ways did they represent it as supporting or hindering their education aims. The teachers took varied positions on this point. In some interviews the focus was on the widening lifeworld (Schütz and Luckmann 2003), which was presented as a natural and welcome process, involving both teachers and students. In other interviews, the emphasis was more on the negative effect of information and communication technologies on students' concentration ability and worldview (horizon). Often, the students' limited information acquisition skills and diminishing book reading habits were mentioned. Time spent watching TV was also perceived as having decreased, resulting in a narrower worldview. Thus, more or less explicitly, several teachers pointed to the lifeworld differences between students and teachers as a cause of pedagogical difficulties. The interviews indicate that differences between student and teacher worlds may prove problematic especially in situations in which they take the teacher by surprise. Apparently, the students' lifeworlds are changing so rapidly at present that many teachers can barely keep pace – not simply with the new technologies, but, from their 'teacher perspective', with what else each new year group does *not know* as compared to the previous. Putting this more positively, teachers need more sources from which to learn about the *new* things that each new group of students knows, and what interests these groups, in order to aid them in finding new and appropriate aspects of their students' lifeworlds to which to anchor their teaching.

**Papers IV and V** focus on Estonian and Latvian history teachers' positioning and representations of their action spaces under the pressure to act and between divergent expectations, demands and limitations. Particular attention is given to challenges related to them being positioned differently on the majority-minority landscape.

In **paper IV** I discern history teacher positions on, and strategies for, teaching sensitive and controversial issues, based on how they represented their teaching in the interviews: 'hiding or avoiding'; 'finding common ground or smoothing edges'; 'just doing the job'; 'enhancing heterogeneity' and 'leaving the truth open'. By means of the positions, I illustrate how dealing with sensitive and controversial issues is shaped by tensions between socio-political, academic and education factors and identities. I show how teacher positions are shaped by their location, both perceived and actual, on the socio-political landscape.

The positions of minority teachers appear especially interesting, being more multifaceted than the positions of teachers from the titular ethnicities. One reason for this was that these teachers worked with predominantly Russian-speaking students. Thus, the presence of conflicting memories in the classroom made the political dimension and inherent interpretability of historical knowledge more prominent in teachers' representations of their subject. Another reason is that for the Russian-speaking teachers, the social contexts and collective memories between which they are positioned are more diverse and

complex than those of their colleagues from the titular ethnicities. It is more likely in the case of the Russian-speaking teachers that (at some earlier point in time) they may have had radically different perspectives on the past, and may have moved closer to an ‘ethnic Estonian/Latvian perspective’ over the years. Therefore, they could have found both perspectives more plausible than their colleagues from the titular ethnicities. For all these reasons, they had more options of where to position themselves between the two extremes. In fact, in discussing the findings I compare the *location* of Russian-speaking teachers to that of a person from a culturally mixed family. Such individuals can distance themselves from both communities as well as prefer one to the other, or synthesise them, etc. – they have many more potential positions available than a person from a mono-cultural family. In practice, the individual can actively and consciously choose to act as mediator and interpreter – or not. This is not to say that their ethnic Estonian and Latvian colleagues’ typical view of the past was less nuanced or not as reflective. Rather, the current majority position of these teachers was less ambiguous, even when dealing with alternative perspectives and when defending their preferred view against another position. Thus, a third aspect that distinguished the positioning of teachers from the Russian-speaking minorities, was that for them, the issues that divide the local majorities and minorities were more sensitive both personally and ‘politically’. Their feeling of treading a sensitive field between state and public demands, and their own and their students’ identities, was more salient.

In contrast, the perspectives of teachers from the titular ethnicities were more similar to both those of their students and those implied in the dominant narratives. Even if, as historians, they did not agree with politicians’ and lay people’s myths and simplifications, they shared their nation’s – Estonian or Latvian – *perspective* on the events. It was also less likely that either their students or the students’ parents would pose critical questions about the content taught. Thus, if they decided to deal with an issue as controversial, it was more because of their scientific or pedagogical convictions rather than ‘external’ pressure from their students or students’ parents. Concurrently, they might have felt freer in showing their criticism of the dominant representations, as they wouldn’t be suspected of lacking loyalty to the state or nation for doing so. Certain issues (e.g. deportations) were not necessarily less emotional for them personally – but their personal emotions were more likely to align with those accepted by the dominant majorities in their countries.

These findings illustrate a more general phenomenon. They show that different pedagogical positions are neither equally obvious nor equally easy to realise for all teacher groups. ‘Hiding or avoiding’, and ‘finding common ground or smoothing edges’ were more obvious when an issue was sensitive for the teachers themselves, too, whereas ‘just doing the job’ acquired different meanings depending on how ‘cool’ or ‘hot’ the teacher’s personal relationship to the issue was. In the case of ‘hot’ personal relationships, i.e. when an issue was sensitive for the teachers themselves, adding some new skills or instruction

methods to the teacher's methodical repertoire (for example a method of 'enhancing heterogeneity' in the classroom) would have been insufficient. In contrast, the reception of innovative teaching methods would have been rather different by those teachers who already had a 'cooler' attitude to the issue and a more playful approach to the historical truth, especially if they were ready to 'leave the truth open'. Insecurity, dilemma perception and hesitation were effects of perceived contradictions between different demands, such as when a wish to present alternative interpretations collided with demands for social cohesion or perceived expectations from the state. In one interview ('Tija'), the teacher's feeling of 'no way out' was very evident: the dilemma between perceived demands from 'the state' and the academically correct interpretation of the past. She was not the only teacher who said she would leave the job if she could, but in her case it was the abstract, ideological predicament that she represented as causing her unhappiness in her job. In the case of a younger colleague ('Jaanika') who described a similar dilemma, the tonality was more optimistic, more like an open question waiting for a solution or compromise.

For such challenges, we propose one possible remedy in **paper V**. Based on a discussion of contrasting representations of teacher dilemmas on one hand, and the so-called Potter's Box, originally constructed to analyse moral argumentation in communication ethics, on the other hand, we propose a model that can be used as a group work instrument to enhance teachers' critical reflection on different values, loyalties, demands and expectations. Assuming that it is helpful for a teacher to have a possibly elaborate and component-rich subjective action space, working with such a model could help the teachers to broaden their action spaces and become better 'dilemma managers' by discerning more clearly the range of components that make up the contexts and contents of their work.

## 5. CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

History as a school subject is an important part of identity politics and history culture, and faces expectations from different groups within society. An ever-growing number of groups and institutions have the expectation that school education consider their voice and conceptions. The differences bear not only on the content taught, but equally on the how it should be delivered, and which values, skills or competences should be enhanced when doing so. The diversity of conceptions about what history teaching could or should look like reflects dynamics in different social and education fields: changes in history culture and memory politics, developments in academic history, epistemology and theory of history, as well as trends and developments in the field of education psychology and education policies. History educators thus navigate between many relevant factors such as alternative didactic approaches, various structural constraints, and expectations by different interest groups. Teachers themselves may have competing loyalties, such as the curriculum versus their own professional convictions, versus student and parent interests. There is always space for ambivalence, inconsistencies and pedagogical dilemmas in a teacher's daily practice. However, teachers cannot allow themselves to be paralysed by the ambivalence. They need to 'muddle through', acting here and now. A teacher's personal background, skills and comfort zones co-determine what and how it is possible for him or her to teach in terms of issues stressed, methods used, and effort devoted to different aspects of student development and understanding. Because of the number of potentially available 'coordinates' (situational demands, external expectations, pedagogical convictions), the options and action spaces that are perceived as available differ even between teachers who live and work in similar contexts. Much of this pertains to any school subject. The specifics of history teaching are its ideological and political sensitivity and the potential of public attention to history teachers' actions.

The present dissertation dealt with different conceptions of history as a school subject: different expectations of the subject by the different groups that have a say on the subject, different possible foci of attention within the subject, and different choices or even dilemmas to be faced by history teachers in their daily practice. The dissertation viewed history teachers as *navigating* different values, demands and expectations, and *mediating* different participants in the history culture. Concurrently, the dissertation regarded these values, demands, expectations and participants as potential 'coordinates' that teachers can use in their navigation.

The studies of the dissertation illustrate the complexity and multi-layered nature of the challenges that shape educators' choices. Firstly, the official expectations are not univocal, demanding concurrently the preservation of a dominant narrative as well as multiperspective and critical approaches in history teaching. Thus, there is a considerable space for interpretation of what exactly is expected from history teaching. Secondly, the social and political contexts of



history teaching pose additional demands and interpretation spaces on history teachers. How the teachers represent the ways of teaching that are available to them – their action spaces – appear to depend on many kinds of symbolic resource and many dimensions of positioning: on an education field towards the curriculum and between various education authorities, on a ‘history culture field’ between various kinds of knowledge and perspectives on the past, and on a social and political field, facing encounters with minority and majority expectations at various levels – personally (as with parents, friends and colleagues from different communities) as well as via media (for example politicians and the voices of different segments of the broader public). In particular, representations of dealing with sensitive and controversial issues reflect teachers’ perceptions of broader realities. The differences that appeared between teacher positions are formed at an individual level by different, partly group specific, partly idiosyncratic factors, *as well as* the ‘objective’ differences of the individual’s social location.

### Practical relevance and outlook

I first of all hope that this dissertation is interesting and useful for history teachers who read it. I hope that learning about colleagues’ conceptions will help readers to reflect on their own situations, their own facilitators, constraints, their students’ needs as well as the multiplicity of existing views and assumptions, and perhaps clarify their own views. For some teachers, my studies could help them see that they are not alone – there are others with similar views and similar challenges. I also hope that there will be readers who learn to see new aspects in the teacher’s work and its challenges after reading this. I hope that this dissertation managed to bring out the diversity and complexity of the views and situations that exist for history teachers.

From the perspective of the curriculum, the dissertation shows how important it is for the national curriculum to have *space* for open teaching approaches – and, indeed, for innovation more generally – if they are wished. If innovation in teaching is wished, support to teaching and teachers’ reflections will not suffice – not only the habits and skills, but also other actors and institutions (from syllabi to parents) support more a traditional, either ‘romantic’ or simply textbooks and fact-based teaching. Further, the dissertation provides support to Zembylas and Kambani (2012) who state that providing structured and professional support for reflection and ‘clarification of their positions and emotions’ is important even though in sensitive contexts, better professional development and instructional materials are not *sufficient* in supporting teachers. The diversity of the teachers’ actual working contexts and emotional and political complexities hinder public discussion of many related aspects (cf. Nakou and Barca 2010), but it is important that there be awareness and reflection on these questions at least for each individual teacher or among subgroups of colleagues. Factors that enhance or limit teacher’s action spaces

reside at the macro level of society and politics as much as in the classroom and individual teacher, but the latter is still the decisive level of interpretation and application (cf. also Kelchtermans 2009, 269).

At the very least, teachers should be aware of, and able to reflect on, the range of available options in terms of pedagogical approaches and methods, and of the possible effects of these approaches and methods on students and teachers alike. One method of teacher training that could help the teachers in this was proposed in paper V, whereas all other papers each brought out different aspects on which other instances of reflection could focus: on coordinating the multiplicity of the teacher's values and aims that sometimes also conflict (paper II); on dealing with various and sometimes conflicting 'external' demands and expectations (paper I), particularly when teaching sensitive and controversial issues (paper IV); on 'translating' between the teacher's own and the ever more digitalised life-worlds of their students, and on finding their own ways to 'reconcile' the different spatial foci that are worthy of attention in history teaching (paper III).

These lessons can be considered in curriculum development, teacher training, and in other contexts as well. There are certainly country-specific combinations of challenges which are of an exemplary rather than representative character – how transferable the findings are to other contexts where past is socially and politically highly sensitive, cannot be ascertained within the present study. Nevertheless, the study pointed to factors similar to those that other studies have noted. The findings are also relevant for other contexts because of the simple reason that focusing on history teachers' situation between the various fields, values, demands and expectations, has been a frequent focus of neither research nor development.

The dissertation presents several openings for further research. First of all, the teacher positions and representations of history teaching that I studied are part of the culture of history in Estonia and Latvia. Further studies, including international comparisons, that approach the topic from a broader social psychology and political science perspective could shed more light on the teachers' positions on memory-political landscapes and in power and identity networks. From the perspective of teacher research, teachers' coping with contested issues and their own and students' sensitive positions should be studied further in a more close to practice manner, particularly with regard to developing suitable in-service education and support formats which pay more attention to the teachers' own identities, affiliations and pressure perceptions. In addition, the interviewees talked about many interesting aspects that could be explored more purposefully in further research: from innovative instruction ideas to history and social science teachers broader roles as educators – and mediators – in school and society. Not least, specific exploratory research would be necessary to map better, on the one hand, the range of the teachers' practical needs – from quite small material things (such as replicas of archaeological finds and a portable timescale) that some teachers wished for

badly, to hitherto uncovered topics and approaches in educational films and games. On the other hand, teachers lack sources to learn about what are the *new* things that new year-groups know, and similarly to aid them finding new and more appropriate things in their students' lifeworlds with which to anchor their teaching. Analyses of textbooks and other instructional materials, probably the most frequent method in critical history teaching research, could proceed both in studying further how the interests, ideologies, epistemological positions, etc., of different institutions and social groups are reflected in the texts, as well as what approaches to history teaching itself, in terms of its aims and functions, are present. The inputs of other components of history culture into history teaching, and their interplay deserve a closer look, too. For example, the changing nature of museums may have new potentials for 'enlightened' ways to interact with school history teaching and to help history teachers (cf. e.g. Asensio and Pol 2012, Boix Mansilla 2012, Makriyianny 2011).

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Dates, authors and titles of articles mentioning history teaching or addressed to history teachers in *Teachers' Newspaper* 1999–2008

Date	Author(s)	Title
15.01.99	Kraavi	Eesti ajalooõpikuid sirvides... [Browsing Estonian history textbooks...]
15.01.99	Lippus	Ajaloo õppekavast põhi- ja keskkoolis [About the national curriculum for history in basic and middle school]
29.01.99	Hohensee	Ajaloo riigieksamist kliendi pilguga emakeele riigieksami kontekstis [About the national final examination in history from the client's perspective in the context of the examination in Native Language]
26.03.99	Pever	Ajalooõpetajad Šotimaal [History teachers in Scotland]
09.04.99	Piir	Ajaloo ainenõukogus [In the history subject council]
23.04.99	Piir	Ajaloo ainenõukogus [In the history subject council]
30.04.99	Piir	Ajaloo riigieksamist [About the national final examination in history]
07.05.99	Piir	Ajaloo aineaktiivi koosolekul [In the meeting of history teachers council]
11.06.99	Piir	Ajaloo ainenõukogus [In the history subject council]
07.05.99	Liivak	Ajalooõpetajad said arvutikoolitust [History teachers took part in computer training]
27.08.99	Piir	Eesti Ajalooõpetajate Seltsi suvepäevad [Estonian History Teachers Association summer days]
17.09.99	Piir	Ajaloo ainenõukogus [In the history subject council]
01.10.99	Valdmaa	Ajaloo ümberkirjutamisest [About re-writing history]
15.10.99	Piir	Eesti Ajalooõpetajate Seltsi aastakoosolekul [At the annual meeting of the Estonian History Teachers' Association]
19.11.99	Lippus	Ajalugu – kas tunnetuslik või ideoloogiline õppeaine? [Is history a cognitive or an ideological subject?]
26.11.99	Türk	Asterix ja seriaalikangelased kui ajalootunni abimaterjalid. Mõtteid antiikajaloo õpetamisest [Asterix and heroes of TV series as aids in history teaching. Some thoughts on teaching ancient history]
03.12.99	Piir	Ajalooõpetajatele [For history teachers]
07.01– 28.01.00	Selirand	Ajaloota ajalooõpik 5. klassile [I–IV] [A history textbook for the 5 <sup>th</sup> grade that has no history in it]

31.03.00	Adamson	Ajalooõpetusest [About history teaching]
14.04.00	Luuk	Ajaloo-olümpiaadi tulemused [Results of the students history competition]
14.04.00	Kandimaa	Mõtestades ajalugu: õpilasuuringute võistlused [Giving meaning to history: student research competitions]
12.05.00	Piir	Ajaloo lõpueksamitest [About the national final examinations in history]
12.05.00	Piir	Ajaloo ainenõukogus [In the history subject council]
12.05.00	Räis	Segadused põhikooli ajalooeksamiga [Confusions with basic schools final examinations in history]
26.05.00	Mäesalu	Täiendusi Baltimaade vanemale ajaloole [Additions to the older history of the Baltic countries]
11.08.00	Oja	Minevik läbi erinevate vaatenurkade [The past viewed from different angles]
25.08.00	Järve	Pilk Eestile rahvusvahelisest vaatepunktist [A glance at Estonia from an international viewpoint]
01.09.00	Räis	Riigi- ja põhikooli lõpueksami teemad 2000/01. õa ajaloos [The topics of the 2000/01 national and basic school final examinations]
15.09.00	Taimla	„Baltimaade ajalugu“ [A History of the Baltic Countries]
22.09.00	Aiaots, Aiaste, Baronov, Klitsner, Piir & Oja	Veelkord ajaloo riigieksamist [Once more about national final examination in history]
29.09.00	Lippus	Riigieksam kui loterii [National final examination as a lottery]
06.10.00	Anon.	President toetab õpilaste ajaloohuvi [The President is encouraging student interest in history]
13.10.00	Piir	Ajaloo ainenõukogus [In the history subject council]
24.11.00	Räis	2000. aasta ajaloo riigieksami kokkuvõte [Summary of the national final examination in history, 2000]
15.12.00	Rohtla	Õpilaste ajalooalaste uurimistööde võistlus „Eesti kool“ [“Estonian school” student research competition]
05.01.01	Räis	Ajaloo riigieksami teemad [Topics of the national final examination in history]
19.01.01	Rohtla	Uurimistööde võistluse “Eesti kool” teabepäevad [Information days for the “Estonian school” student research competition]
09.02.01	Kreem	Lähedane kauge ajalugu [The close distant history]
23.03.01	Kruus	Kohtusid 37 riigi ajalooõpetajad [A meeting of history teachers from 37 countries]

06.04.01	Oja	Igapäevaelu ajalugu [The history of everyday life]
20.04.01	Meri	Vabariigi Presidendi ajaloomälestuste võistlus. The president's historical memories competition]
25.05.01	Oja	XVIII üleriigilised ajalooapäevad [The 18 <sup>th</sup> national history days]
8.06.01	Rohtla & Ojala	Lõppes võistlus "Eesti kool" vabariigi presidendi auhindadele [The "Estonian school" student research competition for the President's awards in finished]
21.09.01	Rohtla & Ojala	Algab uus õpilaste uurimistööde võistlus [A new student research competition begins]
19.10.01	Rohtla & Ojala	Võistluse "ENSV" teabepäevad [Information days for the "Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic" student research competition]
19.10.01	Anon.	Ajalooeksamite teemad 2002. Aastal [Topics of the national final examinations in history, 2002]
21.12.01	Järve	Reisid ja koolitused ei asenda mõtlemist [Travelling and training are no substitutes for thinking]
25.01.02	Lääne	Ajaloo teadmatus kontroll [Audit of ignorance of history]
08.02.02	Räis	Mida õpetas gümnaasiumi riigieksam 2001? [What did the national final examination in history 2001 teach us?]
08.02.02	Räis	Ajaloo lõpueksam põhikoolile [Basic school final examination in history]
08.02.02	Vseiov	Ajalugu: nauding või õppeaine [History: a pleasure or a school subject]
08.02.02	Õuna	Riigieksamitest: valikuvõimalusest ja -võimatusest [About the national final examinations: the existence of choice and lack of choice]
08.02.02	Kala (Tiina)	Ajalugu koolis ja väljaspool kooli [History at school and beyond school]
08.02.02	Täht	Ajalooõpetajate kvalifikatsioonist [About the occupational qualification of history teachers]
08.02.02	Luuk	Vabandus. Vastuseks artiklile "Ajaloo teadmatus kontroll" [An apology. A reply to the article "Audit of ignorance of history"]]
26.04.02	Luuk & Oja	XVIII üleriigilised ajalooapäevad [The 18 <sup>th</sup> national history days]
17.05.02	Rohtla & Ojala	Uurimistööde võistlus "Eesti NSV" lõppes konverentsiga [The "Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic" student research competition ended with a conference]
06.09.02	Rohtla	Algab õpilaste ajalooalaste uurimistööde võistlus Eesti Vabariigi presidendi auhindadele [The student history research competition for the President of the Estonian Republic awards begins]
25.10.02	Rohtla & Ojala	Noorte ajaloo uurijate sügisakadeemia Eestis [Young historians Autumn Academy in Estonia]

06.12.02	Järve	Õigel ajal sündinud ajaloolane [A historian born at the right time]
28.02.03	Räis	Kuhu liigub ajaloo riigieksam? [In what direction is the national final examination in history moving?]
28.02.03	Tannberg	Ajaloo riigieksam ja selleks valmistumine [The national final examination in history and preparing for it]
28.02.03	Räis	Põhikooli ajalooeksam [Basic school final examination in history]
28.02.03	Raudkivi	Enesetunnetuse ränk tee ehk Ajaloo kaitseks [The difficult journey of self-image, or, in defence of history]
28.02.03	Oja	Ajalugu, ajaloo õppimine ja õpetamine [History, the learning and teaching of history]
28.02.03	Oja & Järve	Õpetajate arvamused riigieksamist [Teachers' opinions about the national final examination in history]
09.05.03	Kala (Kulno), Kuldna & Parktal	Ajaloo riigieksam [National final examination in history]
23.05.03	Rohtla & Ojala	Võisteldi presidendi auhindadele [The competition for the President's awards took place]
06.06.03	Järve	Ajaloo keerdkäigud ja riigikaitse õpetamine [The twists and turns of history and paramilitary training at school]
26.09.03	Rohtla & Ojala	Algab võistlus "Muutuv Eesti 20. sajandil" presidendi auhindadele [The "The Changing Estonia in the 20 <sup>th</sup> century" competition for the President's awards is starting]
10.10.03	Grichin	Kaardil ja südames ehk Ajaloo õpetamisest ja õppimisest Euroopas [On the map and in the heart or, about teaching and learning history in Europe]
09.01.04	Vahtre	Ajaloo kirjutamine ei lõpe iial [The writing of history will never end]
13.02.04	Tannberg	Ajaloo riigieksam mullu ja tänava [National final examination in history last year and this year]
13.02.04	Tamme	Kas ainult uitmõte? [Just a stray thought?]
13.02.04	Räis	Kas ainult uitmõte? [Just a stray thought?]
13.02.04	Räis	Põhikooli eksami tulemused on stabiilselt head [The results of the basic school final examinations are steadily good]
13.02.04	Räis	Kuhu liigub eksamiarendus? [In what direction is the development of final examinations moving?]
13.02.04	Vseviiov	Universaalseid kriteeriume ei ole [There are no universal criteria]
13.02.04	Laur	Uued seisukohad ei jõua adressaadini [New positions don't reach the addressee]

13.02.04	Kivimäe	Ajalugu on meis kõigis [History is in all of us]
13.02.04	Ant	Õppur ei ole maailma naba [The learner is not the centre of the world]
13.02.04	Oja	Ajaloo-olümpiaadist [About the national history competition]
13.02.04	Tannberg	Arvamus: Missugused on teie kogemused arvutite abil ajaloo ja ühiskonnaõpetuse õpetamisel? [Opinion: What are your experiences with teaching history and social studies with the help of computers?]
16.04.04	Oja	19. üleriigilised ajaloo päevad – ajaloo-olümpiaadi lõppvoor [The 19 <sup>th</sup> national history days – the final stage of the national history competition]
28.05.04	Rohtla & Ojala	Ajaloo uurimistöõde võistlus [The student research competition in history]
13.08.04	Sepper	Mineviku varjud tänases päevas [The shadows of the past in the present]
17.09.04	Hindrikson	Ajaloo huvilised ehitasid Euroopa ühismaja [History enthusiasts built the common house of Europe]
01.10.04	Rohtla & Ojala	Ajaloo uurimistöõde võistlus Eesti Vabariigi presidendi auhindadele [The student research competition in history for the President of Estonian Republic awards]
17.12.04	Riigor	Lauri Vahtre jutustab eesti lugu [Lauri Vahtre tells the Estonian story]
07.01.05	Voltri	Metoodikamaterjalide võistlus ajalooõpetajatele [Teaching materials competition for history teachers]
17.01.05	Koks	Arutluse kiituseks [Praise for essay writing]
18.02.05	Maripuu	Tagasivaade 6. klassi 2004. a riiklikule tasemetööle [A retrospective of the 6 <sup>th</sup> grade national achievement test]
18.02.05	Tannberg	Ajaloo riigieksamist [About the national final examination in history]
18.02.05	Räis	Põhikooli ajalooeksam 2004. aastal [The basic school national final examination in history in 2004]
18.02.05	Arjakas	Ajaloo õpetamise tänasest ja homsest [About the present and future of history teaching]
18.02.05	Voltri	Ajaloo metoodiliste materjalide võistlus [History teaching materials competition]
18.02.05	Vahtre	Ajalugu on lugu on lugu [History is a story is a story]
18.02.05	Aiaots	Ajalooõpetajaid ühendab EAS [History teachers are united by the Estonian History Teachers' Association]
18.02.05	Oja	Väliseksperti arvamus ajaloo riigieksamist [A foreign expert's opinion on the national final examination in history]
18.02.05	Tannberg	Kommentaar retsensioonile [A comment on the review]



18.02.05	Kello (Katrin) & Luisk	Vähe levinud vaateviisist ajalooõpetusele – riikliku õppekava perspektiivist [About an uncommon view of history teaching – the perspective of the national curriculum]
18.02.05	Oja	Mõnda ajalooõpetajate küsitlusest [Some points from the history teachers' survey]
18.02.05	Tannberg	Õpilaste küsitlusest 2004. aasta ajaloo riigieksamil [About the students' survey during the year 2004 national finals examination in history]
11.03.05	Rohtla & Ojala	EUSTORY ja Eesti [EUSTORY and Estonia]
18.03.05	Abiline	Õpetlik arhitektuur. Mõtteid ajaloo ja kunstiajaloo õpetamisest Arhitektuurimuuseumi näituse taustal [Instructive architecture. Some thoughts about teaching history and art history against a backdrop of an exhibition in the Museum of Architecture]
08.04.05	Oja	Integratsioon Eesti ühiskonnas [Integration in Estonian society]
20.05.05	Kallas	Ajaloo riigieksam tekitab probleeme [The national final examination in history causes problems]
27.05.05	Rohtla & Ojala	President tunnustas noori ajalooüriajaid [The President recognised young history researchers]
30.09.05	Ruutsoo	Kas ebaprofessionaalsus või avalik parteilisus. Tähelepanekuid seoses üleriigilise ajaloo-olümpiaadi teema "Balti riikide taasisesesivumine" soovituskirjanduse valikuga [Lack of professionalism or open political bias? Observations on literature selection for the "Baltic re-independence" national history contest topic]
13.01.06	Voltri	Lõppes ajaloo metoodiliste materjalide võistlus [The history teaching materials competition is finished]
17.02.06	Oja	Ajaloo riigieksamist 2005 [About the national final examination in history in 2005]
17.02.06	Kello (Katrin)	Põhikooli inimese- ja ühiskonna- ning ajalooõpetusest ajalooõpetusest [On personal and social education and history teaching in basic school]
17.02.06	Oja	Põhikooli ajaloo lõpueksam [The basic school final examination in history]
17.02.06	Kraut	Kümme tuhat aastat laserplaadil [Ten thousand years on a CD]
17.02.06	Voltri	Eesti Ajalooõpetajate Selts kuulutab välja 2006. aasta ajalooalaste metoodiliste materjalide võistluse õpetajatele REKK-I ja Tartu Linnavalitsuse auhindadele [Estonian History Teachers' Association announces the year 2006 teachers' history and social studies teaching materials competition for the National Examinations and Qualifications Centre and Tartu City Government awards]

21.04.06	Oja	20. ajaloo-olümpiaad [The 20 <sup>th</sup> national history competition]
21.04.06	Hallik	Kakskümmend ajaloo-olümpiaadi [Twenty years of the national history competition]
17.05.06	Voltri	Ühest Eesti Ajalooõpetajate Seltsi algatusest [About an initiative of Estonian History Teachers' Association]
26.05.06	Rohtla & Ojala	Ajalootööde võistlus vabariigi presidendi auhindadele [Student research competition for the President of the Republic's awards]
29.09.06	Rohtla & Ojala	Uurimistööde võistlus "Inimene ajaloos 20. sajandil" ["An individual in the 20 <sup>th</sup> century history" student history research competition]
26.01.07	Kannel	Ajaloo uuest ainekavast [On the new national history curriculum]
09.02.07	Luisik	Vastuseks küsimustele ajaloo ainekava kohta [Answers to questions about the new national history curriculum]
16.02.07	Tamm (Marek) & Kõiv	Ajaloo uue ainekava selgituseks [A comment on the new national history curriculum]
16.02.07	Oja	Ajaloo riigieksam [National final examination in history]
16.02.07	Oja	Ajaloo põhikooli lõpueksam [Basic school final examination in history]
16.02.07	Hiio	Holokaust ja Eesti [The Holocaust and Estonia]
16.02.07	Laur	Riigieksam sisseastumiseksami asemel [National final examination instead of university entrance examination]
16.02.07	Voltri	Eesti Ajalooõpetajate Selts kuulutab välja 2007. aasta ajaloo ja ühiskonnaõpetuse metoodiliste materjalide võistluse õpetajatele [Estonian History Teachers' Association announces history and social studies teaching materials competition for teachers]
16.02.07	Aiaots	Eesti Ajalooõpetajate Selts tegevuses [Estonian History Teachers' Association in action]
16.02.07	Piir	Ajaloo õppekirjandusest ja metoodilistest materjalidest [About history textbooks and teaching materials]
23.02.07	Liivanõmm	Ajaloolise tähtpäeva eel [Before an historical anniversary]
09.03.07	Kiik	Tundkem maailma kultuurilugu Amazonasest Mongooliani! [Let us know world cultural history from the Amazon to Mongolia!]
13.04.07	Israel	"Igast reisist on midagi õppida" [There is something to learn from any journey]
13.04.07	Helme	Mõte [Idea]
27.04.07	Kalakauskas	Kas ajalugu saab olla objektiivne? [Can history be objective?]

27.04.07	Ruutsoo	Euroopaliku ajaloo võimalus [The possibility of a European approach to history]
04.05.07	Leppik	Avalik kiri vene koolide (ajaloo)õpetajatele [A public letter to (history) teachers in Russian schools]
11.05.07	Israel	Vastus toimetuse küsimusele [Answer to a question from the editorial board]
11.05.07	Arjakas	Vastus toimetuse küsimusele [Answer to a question from the editorial board]
11.05.07	Oja	Vastus toimetuse küsimusele [Answer to a question from the editorial board]
25.05.07	Gräzin	Mõte [Idea]
08.06.07	Tamm (Marek)	Mõte [Idea]
08.06.07	Kalakauskas	Teine ajalugu [Another history]
15.06.07	Somelar	Riigieksamid – objektiivne tagasiside [National final examinations in history – objective feedback]
17.08.07	Õuna	Juhendamine on vaeva väärt [Supervising student work is worth while]
31.08.07	Seegel	Ajalooarhiiv astub ajaloo huvilistele lähemale [Historical archives take a step towards aficionados of history]
07.09.07	Peterson	Ajaloo uurimistöõde võistlus “Eesti Euroopas” [“Estonia in Europe” student research competition in history]
21.09.07	Rohtla & Ojala	“Eesti Euroopas” [Estonia in Europe]
28.09.07	MTÜ Olde Hansa Kesk- aja Kool	Keskaja kool ulatab ajalooõpetajatele abikäe [The School of the Middle Ages offers a helping hand to history teacher]
12.10.07	Tamm (Airi)	Jagades väärtusi [Sharing values]
12.10.07	Luisik	Kirjutame Euroopa Liidu ajaloost [Let’s write about the history of European Union]
23.11.07	Aronovich	Haridus- ja näljahädast [About education famine and real famine]
23.11.07	Oja	Samal teemal [On the same issue]
25.01.08	Sepp	Koolitunnid muuseumis [History lessons at museums]
01.02.08	Kello (Karl)	Mis ajast algab ajalugu, täpsemini – reaaliajalugu? [When does history, or more precisely real history, begin?]
01.02.08	Voltri	Lõppes neljas ajaloo ja ühiskonnaõpetuse meetoodiliste materjalide võistlus [The fourth history and social studies teaching materials competition is finished]
01.02.08	Siilaberg	Inimene, ühiskond, kultuur. II. Keskaeg [The textbook <i>Individual, Society, Culture, Vol. II, Medieval Times</i> ]

01.02.08	Voltri	Küüditamise teema Eestis, Lätis, Leedus [The issue of deportations in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania]
01.02.08	Voltri	Algab uus ajaloo ja ühiskonnaõpetuse metoodiliste materjalide võistlus [New history and social studies teaching materials competition begins]
02.05.08	Oja	XXI ajaloo-olümpiaad [21 <sup>st</sup> history contest]
30.05.08	Rohtla, Ojala	Ajalugu köidab õpilasi [History attracts students]
29.08.08	Antons & Antons	Kuidas ühendada ajalugu ja sporti [How to connect history and sport]
05.09.08	Peterson	Vabariigi President kuulutas välja ajaloo uurimistööde võistluse "Minu Eesti" [The President of the Republic announced the My Estonia student research competition]
12.09.08	Rohtla & Ojala	Uurimistööde võistlus "Minu Eesti" [My Estonia student research competition]
03.10.08	Seegel	Käevakatsutav ajalugu [Touchable history]
10.10.08	Kunnu	Kirglik ajaloolane naudib mineviku jutustamist [A passionate historian enjoys telling the past]
07.11.08	Tamvere	Uurimistöö põhikooli valikeksamiks [Student research as an option for the basic school final examination]

## Appendix 2: Interview schedule

### Question guide<sup>23</sup>

#### Teacher's aims and ideals

What are your 2–3 main aims/intentions as a teacher or a history teacher?

*Possible additional questions, approximate wordings:*

Are these more generic, pedagogical aims, or rather subject-specific aims?

How do you see whether you are 'moving towards'/to what extent you have achieved your objectives?

How might your students perceive/describe your objectives?

How/why have your objectives changed over time?

How/in what directions might they change in future?

In what kinds of schools/environments have you worked? To what extent have they differed?

In what ways are the students different? (depending on schools, classes, school levels?)

How long have you been a teacher? Have your students changed over time?

*Question added April 2010 (cf. paper II):*

To what extent are your objectives achieved during the time the students go to school, and to what extent at some later time in the future?

#### Approaches to history teaching and its contexts; the past within the present

To what extent and how do you direct your students' attention to the present day?

To what extent/how do you deal with different present representations of the past? (For example in the media, tourism objects?)

*Possible additional questions:*

Doesn't the multiplicity of interpretations trouble the students? Don't they ask what the point of learning history at all is?

To what extent/how do you to explain to the students how historical knowledge develops?

Do the students have an idea how historians work?

To what extent do the students believe or trust the textbook? Historians?

To what extent do the students believe or trust you?

*Questions added 24.11.10:*

To what extent and how do you perceive expectations projected onto history teaching in the media?

What is your view about patriotism (*isamaaligus vöi patriotism*) as an aim of history teaching?

#### The essence/characteristics of history teaching as compared to other subjects (optional)

Is history your main subject? (*What is your specialty?*) What other subjects do you teach?

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<sup>23</sup> Version from April 2010, my translation from Estonian.

Do you feel more like a history teacher who also teaches social studies, or do you feel equally like a history *and* social studies teacher?

In what ways are these subjects similar, in what ways are they different?

With what other subjects would you compare history?

### Statements<sup>24</sup>

1. *Through historical knowledge it is possible to raise citizens who are aware and loyal to the state, and able to independently assess the values necessary for further strengthening of democracy.*
2. *The history teacher faces a dilemma: on the one hand, a system of knowledge is necessary. On the other hand, it is risky to bring order to the 'jungle of the past', since it will result in exposing or interpreting the past within our own present and from our own perspective. There are many interpretations, they are individual and constantly changing.*
3. *The job of the history teacher is becoming more and more difficult since the students' conceptions are influenced by more and more diverse sources – from books, films, TV shows and the Internet to family traditions and personal memories.*
4. *Nothing but complete and correct facts are demanded from the history teacher. Different interpretations may be added later, according to necessity and possibility.*
5. *History teaching does not pursue one truth – the aim is to offer the students different approaches, so that each student can form his/her own picture of history.*
6. *History teaching does not pursue one truth – the aim is to offer the students different approaches that help them reach as objective an interpretation as possible.*
7. *An important task of history teaching is preserving the connection and continuity of generations.*
8. *History teaching should resemble historian's work.*
9. *In a democratic state no presentation of a predefined ideology (even if it were loyal to the country) can/may be demanded.*
10. *The aim is that the student orients himself/herself in the information surge and regards various information sources critically.*
11. *The aim is that the student understands the inevitable subjectivity and national, political and cultural conditionality of historiography.*
12. *Fact knowledge is historical literacy.*
13. *The most important objective is to support the development of students' analytical ability, the ability to see various positions and argumentation skills.*

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<sup>24</sup> Each statement was on a separate piece of paper and *not* numbered when presented to the interviewee. I gave all statements to the interviewee at once, mostly in the arbitrary order as above. The interviewee could reorder or group the statements and comment on those of them s/he liked (most interviewees chose to comment on all the statements in the presented order). I used three sets of statements in the interviews: in Estonian, Russian and Latvian. The Russian version was translated by Valeria Jakobson. The Latvian version was translated by myself, and checked by Katri Aivare. Above are my translations from Estonian.

14. *Children and young people lack knowledge, experience and even the emotions required to understand the presented material critically.*
15. *It would be good if the students would be able to learn the generally accepted views and evaluations; it cannot be demanded that an average student orient him- or herself among different evaluations.*
16. *What is interesting is not so much when battles took place, as where history can be found: where history can be seen, how it can be collected, how history comes into being.*
17. *The best a history teacher can do is to be tolerant and encourage the students to think – on their own and together with others.*
18. *The current teaching of history is too 'self-centred' – concentrating on the Estonian and European past produces young people with narrow worldviews.*
19. *The teacher may not expose his/her personal political views.*
20. *Students' own opinions should not be demanded in complex, problematical issues with which even scholars have difficulties.*
21. *Student knowledge is often overshadowed by prejudice, political and emotional attitudes, legends and myths, and subjectivity.*
22. *The big picture is more important than details and nuances. For example, it's a pity if the student learns nothing about collaboration in the Second World War. But it would be even worse if s/he left school without knowing whether the Germans and the French were allies or enemies in the war.*

## SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

### Üldharidusliku ajalooõpetuse funktsioonid ja kontekstid: sotsiaalsed ja professionaalsed representatsioonid Eestis ja Lätis

Traditsiooniliselt on üldhariduskooli ajalooõpetust – õppeainet nimega “ajalugu” – mõistetud kui kollektiivset mälu ja identiteeti kujundavat õppeainet. Samas on sel ainel alati olnud ka teine, akadeemilisem ülesanne: anda teadmisi, laiendada silmaringi. Vahel on viimasele eesmärgile lisandunud ka taotlus toetada õpilastes kriitilist suhtumist identiteeti loovatesse narratiividesse. Eriti alates 1960. ja 1970. aastatest on läänemaailmas kõlapinda leidnud arusaam, et ajalootunnis tuleks pöörata rohkem tähelepanu mineviku kompleksusele, erinevatele kogemustele ja vaatenurkadele ning müütide ja narratiivide kõigutamisele. Samuti on toetatud paljuperspektiivilisi lähenemisi ja rahvusliku fookuse asendamist globaalse(ma)ga. Tulemuseks on olnud ajalooõpetusele esitatavate ootuste üha suurem mitmekesisus. Seoses ühiskonna pluraliseerimisega on õppekavad ja õpetajad pidanud neid mitmekesisemaid ootusi ka üha enam arvesse võtma. Samuti on üha mitmekesisemad need allikad, mis globaliseerub ja veebistub ühiskonnas õpilaste minevikurepresentatsioone kujundavad. Ühelt poolt on minevikku käsitlev meediasisu, lähedaste mälestused ja paljud muud ajalookultuuri komponendid kooli ajalooõpetusele toeks. Teisalt pakuvad seal esitatavad tõlgendused, seosed ja assotsiatsioonid koolis õpetata-vale vahel ka konkurentsi. Mainitud aspekte ilmestab Jörn Rüseni poolt välja joonistatud ajalookultuuri mõiste (Rüsen 1994, 1997a). See mõiste aitab näha minevikuga seotud praktikate, kujutluspiltide, teadmiste-uskumuste ning kvaliteedikriteeriumite seotust ja üheaegsust – tooteturundusest akadeemilise uurimise ja kooliõpetuseni. Nimetatud üheaegsus aitab meeles pidada, et inimesed – sealhulgas õpetajad, õpilased, ajaloolased ja poliitikud – loovad oma isikliku minevikupildi kõige erinevamate allikate põhjal, multifilmidest tõsiste raamatuteni. Iga uus teadmine paigutub olemasolevate kujutluste taustale, seda tõlgendatakse varasema kaudu. Nagu rõhutab Rüsen, on esteetiline ja poliitiline dimensioon siin sama tähtsad kui kognitiivne teadmine.

Käsitades ajalooõpetust kui eri liiki kontekstide (haridus, teadus, ühiskond, poliitika) vahel paiknevat, sotsiaalselt ja individuaalselt ning diskursuste ja praktikate kaudu konstrueeritavat nähtust, vaatleb käesolev doktoritöö vastavate ootuste ja arusaamade tajumist ja kajastumist mitmel tasandil: ühiskonnas, õppekavas ning ajalooõpetajate hulgas. Kontekstid, mis ajalooõpetust ümbritsevad, sisaldavad erinevaid mineviku mõistmise ja ajaloost mõtlemise viise, huvisid ja eesmärke, millest lähtudes minevikku kasutatakse. Ajaloo ainekavad taotlevad nende lähtekohtade ja positsioonide konsensust konkreetsetes ajas ja ruumis. Ent alles õpetajad koos õpilastega, õpikuautorid ja teised ainekava rakendajad teevad ainekavast tegeliku ajalooõpetuse, otsustades näiteks selle üle, kui palju aega konkreetsetele teadmistele ja oskustele pühendatakse.



Käesoleva doktoritöö fookuses on arusaamad ajalooõpetusest ning ajalooõpetajate positsioonid Eestis ja Lätis. Ajalooõpetuse uurimisel pakuvad Eesti ja Läti huvi nii hiljutise taasiseseisvumisega seotud haridus- ja ühiskonnamuutuste tõttu kui ka mõlemas ühiskonnas paralleelselt eksisteerivate mälu kogukondade mitmekesisuse pärast. Eri ühiskondadest pärit andmete ja vaatenurkade võrdlus ei ole doktoritöös omaette eesmärk, kuid nende kõrvutamise võimaldab uurijal andmeid tervikuna paremini näha – panna tähele ning tõlgendada ühes või teises andmekogumis leiduvaid ja puuduvaid detaile. Täpsemalt on doktoritööl kaks peamist fookust – ühelt poolt ajalooõpetust puudutavad üldised arusaamad ning nende sotsiaalsed, ideoloogilised, poliitilised jne kontekstid ja tagamaad, teiselt poolt ajalooõpetajate käsitused ja positsioonid nimetatud üldisemate käsituste ja kontekstide taustal. Viies teadusartiklis, millest doktoritöö lisaks sissejuhatavale ülevaateartiklile koosneb, vastan kahele peamisele uurimisküsimusele: (1) “Milline on ajalooõpetuse alaste representatsioonide ja ideoloogiate spekter Eestis, sh nii üldises avalikus kui ka pedagoogilises diskursuses?” ning (2) “Kuidas ajalooõpetajad kujutavad oma õppeainet ning kuidas positsioneeruvad erinevate väärtuste, nõudmiste-vajaduste ja ootuste suhtes?”. Esimesele uurimisküsimusele vastan varasemate uurimuste, õppekavamaterjalide ning meediaanalüüsi (Õpetajate Lehes kümne aasta jooksul, 1999–2008, ilmunud artiklite) põhjal. Teisele uurimisküsimusele vastan kokku 53 Eestis ja Lätis ajalooõpetajatega tehtud intervjuu analüüsi põhjal. Doktoritöö kirjeldab seega ühelt poolt nädalalehes kajastatud arusaamade põhjal seda, milliseid ootusi kooli ajalooõpetusele n-õ väljastpoolt esitatakse. Teiselt poolt kirjeldab doktoritöö seda, mida ajalooõpetajad ise seoses ajalooõpetusega tähtsustavad, milliseid eesmärgi endale seavad, kuidas oma tegevust kujutada soovivad ning milliseid dilemmasid teadvustavad.

Teoreetiliselt on doktoritööl kolm lähtekohta: (1) varasemad ajalooõpetuse sisu, taotluste-funktsioonide ja meetodite käsitlused; (2) sotsiaalpsühholoogiline arusaam sotsiaalsest representeerimisest ja positsioneerimisest kui vastastikku seotud protsessidest indiviidides, rühmades ja ühiskonnas tervikuna; (3) õpetaja kogemustel ja tõlgendustel põhineva subjektiivse tegevusruumi alased uuringud ja tõdemused.

Doktoritöö sissejuhatavas osas kirjeldangi kõigepealt erinevaid lähenemisi ajalooõpetusele. Vaatlen arusaamu ajaloo õpetamise taotlustest ja viisidest nii rahvusvahelises kirjanduses kui ka Eesti ja Läti õppekavades. Toetudes Carreterole ja Bermudezile (2012), jagan need lähenemised laias laastus “romantilisteks” ja “valgustatuteks”. Lähenemisviiside nimed viitavad nende vaimsetele lätetele 18. ja 19. sajandil. Mõlemad hõlmavad mitmesuguseid konkreetsemaid kontseptsioone ja praktikaid, kuid nende peamine erinevus seisneb selles, et kui “romantilise” arusaama kohaselt peaks ajalooõpetus teenima teatud riigikorda ja ideoloogiat ühise identiteedi ja mälu kujundamise kaudu, siis “valgustatud” arusaam keskendub ajalooteadmistele kui väärtusele iseeneses. Mõlemad lähenemisviisid on ajalooõpetust saatnud tema algusest peale, kord sõbralikult kõrvuti eksisteerides, kord teineteisele vastandudes.

Selgem vastandumine on leidnud aset alates möödunud sajandi teisest poolest, kui “valgustatud” lähenemiste raames on enam kõlapinda saanud kriitiline, dekonstrueeriv lähenemine olemasolevatele identiteetidele ja ajaloomüütidele (Carretero ja Bermudez 2012).

Doktoritöö sissejuhatuses annan ülevaate ka identiteedi, representeerimise ning positsioneerumise ja positsioneerimise käsitlustest sotsiaalpsühholoogilist perspektiivi esindava sotsiaalse representeerimise teooria raames. Käesoleva töö jaoks on sotsiaalse representeerimise teooria üldine raamistik, mis võimaldab mõtestada seoseid erilaadsete ja eritasandiliste andmete vahel ning vaadelda konkreetsemaid andmeid ja arusaamu üldisemal, ühiskonna tasandil (vt näiteks Moscovici 1988, 2001, 2008/1976, Wagner ja Hayes 2005). Samuti kirjeldan doktoritöö sissejuhatuses seda, kuidas mõistan oma töös õpetaja tegevusruumi – artiklid II kuni V vaatlevad ajalooõpetust nimelt intervjueritud õpetajate jutust paistva subjektiivse tegevusruumi kaudu. Mõistan viimast kujutletava ruumina, milles sulanduvad subjektiivsed ja objektiivsed (Bergeri ja Luckmanni 1991/1966 tähenduses) tegurid. Õpetaja subjektiivne tegevusruum peegeldab seda, kuidas ta tajub ja tõlgendab nii oma isiklikke ressursse (võimeid, oskusi, tugevusi, nõrkusi) kui ka oma töö laiemaid kontekste. Isegi samade “välistingimuste” korral on iga individuaalne ruum mõnevõrra erinev – kuid samal ajal on olemas ka teatud ühised, objektiivsed piirangud, mida inividid ei saa eirata.

Viimaste aastakümnete haridusuuringutes on üha enam teadvustatud õpetaja kui reflekteeriva subjekti otsustavat rolli. Tänu sellele on ka see, kuidas õpetajad mõistavad oma töö ajaloolisi, sotsiaalpoliitilisi, majanduslikke, õppekavalisi ja muid kontekste, olnud kasvava uurimishuvi objektiks. Käesolev doktoritöö paigutub uurimissuunda, mis keskendub õpetajate kogemustele ja arusaamadele kui mitmesuguste tegurite koosmõju tulemusele. Õpilased, nende vanemad ja kohalik kogukond; teised õpetajad; kool, õppekava ja eksamid; riik ning hariduse laiemad sotsiaalpoliitilised kontekstid; akadeemiline teadus ja teadmised ning epistemoloogilised arusaamad – kõik need kokku moodustavad õpetajatöö konteksti, suhestuvad üksteisega ning tihti ka vastanduvad üksteisele, mõjutades konkreetsete õpetajate enesetunnet ja tegevusruumi. Varasemad uuringud on näidanud, et õpetajate olukord on eriti keerukas tundlike, vastuoluliste ning identiteediga seotud teemade käsitlemisel. Samas on ajalooõpetajate kontekstitaju ja tegevusruum leidnud seni üllatavalt vähe uurija-tähelepanu. Ajalooõpetajate positsioonide vaatlemine laiemate ühiskondlike ja diskursiivsete kontekstide taustal on pigem uudne uurimisfookus – rahvusvahelises kontekstis ei ole see küll täiesti erakordne, kuid ka mitte etableerunud uurimisala. Eestis ja Lätis on niisugune fookus aga päris uus.

**Artikli I** tulemused ilmestavad sotsiaalsete ja professionaalsete representatsioonide kui kooli ajalooõpetusele esitatavate ootuste kokkumängu nädalalehes. Õpetajate Lehes domineeris aastatel 1999–2008 kuvand ajalooõpetusest kui õppeainest, mis koosneb ühelt poolt teadmistest Eesti ja Euroopa mineviku

kohta ning teiselt poolt üldistest oskustest, nagu töö kaardi ja skeemiga või oma arvamuse väljendamine ja põhjendamine. Selle iseenesest vähe üllatava leiu taga on mitmekesine artiklite spekter. Enamik artiklirühmi panustas kõige traditsioonilisemasse, ajalooõpetuse kui teadmiste vahendaja kuvandisse, samal ajal kui kuvandit ajalooõpetusest kui üldoskuste kujundajast konstrueerisid pigem ametlikult positsioonilt kirjutatud ja riigieksameid käsitlevad artiklid. Ajalooõpetust kui õpilaste identiteedi kujundajat käsitlesid pigem autorite isiklikke seisukohti väljendavad artiklid. Seega võib öelda, et ajalooõpetuse kuvand Õpetajate Lehes oli üpris ilmekalt seotud autorite paiknemisega ametliku, riiklikus õppekavas sõnastatud ideoloogia suhtes: mida ametlikumalt positsioonilt kirjutati, seda enam kujutati ajalooõpetuse sisuna peale teadmiste andmise ka õpilaste üldoskuste toetamist. Mõnel juhul vahendati just ametlikult positsioonilt ka riikliku õppekava konstruktivistlikku, st õpilase kui tõlgendaja aktiivsusele osutavat arusaama õppimisest ja ajalooteadmisest. Peale selle kajastasid Õpetajate Lehe artiklid ühiskonnas aktuaalseid diskussioone minevikutõlgenduste teemal, eriti vahetult pärast 2007. aasta aprillis Tallinnas toimunud pronksõduri-rahutusi. Kokkuvõttes näitab artiklis I publitseeritud analüüs erinevaid viise, kuidas Õpetajate Leht mitte ainult ei *kajastanud* olemasolevaid arusaamu, vaid leidis ka teadlikku kasutamist lugejate ajaloo ja ajalooõpetuse alaste arusaamade suunajana.

**Artikli II** kohaselt on ajalooõpetus Eesti õpetajate jaoks “valgustav” õppeaine. Õpetajate peamised eesmärgid ajaloo õpetamisel on õpilasele teadmiste andmine ja tema silmaringi laiendamine, aga ka tema analüüsivõime ja ajaloohuvi toetamine. Minevikku puudutavate teadmiste, nende analüüsimise ja nendele suunatud huvi kindel positsioon ajalooõpetuse keskmene ei ilmnenud mitte ainult sellest, et vastavaid aspekte mainisid õpetajad oma peamisi taotlusi kirjeldades kõige enam. Samavõrd kinnitas õppeaine teadmistekesksust asjaolu, et just põhiteadmiste vahendamise edukusest olenes intervjuudes õpetajate jaoks see, kui palju mahti ja võimalusi jäi muude, iseenesest samuti tähtsaks peetud taotluste jaoks. Lisaks ajapuudusele ja meetoodilistele raskustele suhtusid mitmed õpetajad pessimistlikult õpilaste suutlikkusse olemasolevate tõlgenduste mitmekesisust aktsepteerida ja analüüsida. Samas vähemalt põhimõtte poolest õpetajad pigem ei toetanud traditsioonilisel, õpilastele “üht ja õiget” tõlgendust vahendaval viisil mõistetud ajalooõpetust ning nõustusid, et tähtis on tutvustada õpilastele erinevaid perspektiive ja tõlgendusi.

Kuigi indiviidi tasandil rõhuasetused erinesid, sarnanes rühma tasandil moodustunud taotluste loend riiklike ajaloo ainekavade rõhuasetustega – lisaks eespool mainitule märgiti korduvalt ka arutlemise/argumenteerimise ning eneseväljendamisega seotud oskusi; teabe hankimise oskusi; kriitikameelt; sallivust, diskussioonivalmidust, erinevate vaatenurkade arvestamist ning muid positiivseid isikuomadusi. Teistpidi vaadates – riiklikus ainekavas vähem tähtsustatud taotlusi mainis spontaanselt ka vähem intervjuueerituid. Sealhulgas torkas artikli aluseks olnud intervjuusid analüüsid silma, et hoolimata sellest, et traditsiooniliselt on ajalooõpetust peetud ka identiteeti loovaks aineks,

väljendas “romantilist” arusaama spontaanselt vaid kaks õpetajat ühest Ida-Virumaa venekeelsest koolist. Nad tähtsustasid ajaloo teadmiste võimalusi toetada õpilaste seotuse- ja uhkusetunnet nii kodukoha kui Eesti suhtes laiemalt. Pakun artiklis välja, et identiteedi ja isamaalisusega seotud taotluste vähese mainimise põhjuseks võis ühelt pool olla niisuguste taotlustega seotud indoktrineerimishirm, millele on osutanud ka teiste maade õpetajatega tehtud uuringud. Teisalt võisid identiteediga seotud aspektid paista ajalooõpetusega iseenesest kaasnevadena, nõnda et vähemalt eestikeelses keskkonnas ei nähtud vajadust neid *eraldi* taotleda ja kõneks võtta – pigem *kaasnevate* taotlustena kujutab ajalooõpetuse enesemääratlusega seotud funktsioone ka riiklik õppekava. Identiteet ja isamaalisus tunduvad olevat keerulised teemad Eesti ajalooõpetuse professionaalses diskursuses. Ilmselt ei sobitu nad nii kergesti ka erinevate “valgustatud” taotlustega, millest enamik õpetajaid spontaanselt lähtus. Need hilisemad intervjuud, kus küsisin õpetaja arvamust isamaalisuse kui ajalooõpetuse eesmärgi kohta otsesõnu, toetavad eeltoodud selgitust: enamik otsesõnu küsituid pidas seda taotlust oluliseks või isegi enesestmõistetavaks. Kuid mitmed märkisid sealjuures, et tegemist pole eesmärgiga, mida otseselt õpetada – pigem on see miski, mis kaasneb õpetamisega kaudselt, ridade vahel.

Niisugust selgitust toetab ka **artikkel III**, mis näitab, et isegi kui intervjueeritud õpetajad mõnsid maailma ajaloo õpetamise tähtsust, pidasid nad esmatahtsaks pigem Eesti või kohaliku ja Euroopa ajaloo õpetamist. Seega kinnitab ka artikkel III ajalooõpetuse teise, õpilase identiteedi kujundamist puudutava keskme püsivust.

Artiklis III uurisime teiseks seda, kuidas õpetajad tajuvad tänapäeva õpilaste teabevälja ja elumaailma. Selles suhtes olid intervjueeritute kogemused ja vaateviisid mõneti mitmekesisemad. Näiteks Interneti mõju õpilaste silmaringile tajusid õpetajad nii laiendava kui ka kitsendavana. Ühelt poolt pakub avarduv maailm õpilastele uusi võimalusi nii teabeotsinguks kui reisimiseks. See teeb õpilased avatumaks ja huvitatumaks. Teisest küljest ei kaasne arvutitega iseenesest silmaringi laienemist. Vastupidi, mitu õpetajat märkis õpilaste silmaringi kitsenemist just arvutisistumise tõttu vähenenud teleri-vaatamise ja lugemise pärast. Nad kurtsid, et neil on oma õpilastega üha vähem ühiseid kogemusi (nähtud filme, loetud raamatuid), millega õpitavat materjali seostada. Õpilaste huvid, teadmised ja mitteteadmised muutuvad kiiremini, kui õpetaja sammu pidada jõuab. Uued ideed ja lahendused, mis aitaksid ajalooõpetajal leida muutuvate õpilastega uusi puutepunkte, on seega üks toetusvajadusi, millele käesolev uuring osutab.

**Artiklid IV ja V** vaatlevad Eesti ja Läti ajalooõpetajaid mitmesuguste väärtuste, vajaduste ja ootuste vahel paiknevadena. **Artiklis IV** toon õpetajate jutust välja positsioone ja strateegiaid keeruliste, vastuoluliste ja tundlike teemade käsitlemisel: “peitmine või vältimine”; “ühise pinna leidmine või nurkade silumine”; “palgatöö äratemine”; “mitmekesisuse toetamine” ja “tõe lahtiseksjätmine”. Õpetajapositsioonide eritlemise kaudu ilmestab artikkel seda,

kuidas tundlike ja vastuoluliste teemade käsitlemist mõjutavad sotsiaalpoliitilised, akadeemilised ja hariduslikud tegurid ja identiteedid. Intervjuud näitavad, et eriti selgelt tajuvad väärtuste ja ootuste mitmekesisust õpetajad, kes töötavad eri mälu kogukondadest pärit õpilastega (nii eesti/läti- kui venekeelsetes koolides). Samuti kinnitavad intervjuud, et vene emakeelega õpilaste õpetajad näevad end vahendajatena kogukondade ja tõlgenduste vahel. Näiteks on selliste õpetajate jaoks vähem enesestmõistetavaid ajaloonarratiive kui homogeenses keskkonnas töötavate ja elavate õpetajate jaoks. Mälu-konfliktide tajumine klassiruumis võib toetada nii erinevate ajalootõlgenduste ja võimaliku konflikti esiletuleku vältimist kui ka teadlikumalt multiperspektiivilist ja konstruktivistlikku lähenemist. Samas aga ei tulenenud erinevused, mis õpetajate positsioonides ilmnesisid, mitte ainult "objektiivsetest", näiteks sotsiaalsetest, rahvuslikest või hariduslikest erinevustest, vaid ka väga individuaalsetest tõlgenduse- ja kogemuse-erinevustest. Seega näitab uuring mitmes mõttes mitmekesisust eri õpetajarühmade sees. Õpetaja positsioneerimine sõltub nii individuaalsetest teguritest kui ka tema tajutud ja tegelikust paiknemisest hariduslikul ja mälu poliitilisel väljal.

Sellised tulemused ilmestavad laiema tähendusega nähtust: sotsiaalse konteksti erinev individuaalne tajumise paigutab õpetajad erinevatele lähte-positsioonidele ka pedagoogilises mõttes. Teisisõnu: õpetaja sotsiaalpoliitiline positsioon ja kontekstitaju mõjutab seda, kuidas hõlbus või enesestmõistetav üks või teine pedagoogiline positsioon või strateegia tema jaoks on. Õpetaja oskuste ja meetoodilise repertuaari laiendamisest tundlike teemade puhul ei piisa. Näiteks märglevam lähenemine minevikule ning tõe lahtijätmine või 'mitmekesisuse toetamine' klassiruumis eeldavad ka teatud isiklikku distantsi, enesekindlust ja turvatunnet. Õpetaja ebakindlust, kõhklusid ning dilemmade tajumist põhjustas ka vastuolude tajumine "väliste" ootuste või erinevate väärtuste (näiteks akadeemiline ajalooteadus *versus* riigi või ühiskonna ootused) vahel.

Seda, kuidas õpetaja positsioneerimine sõltub tema töö "objektiivse" ja "subjektiivse" konteksti koostõlvist, illustreerib ka **artikkel V**. Toetudes intervjuudes ilmnenu õpetajadilemmade analüüsile, pakume seal välja ühe võimaliku toetusviisi seda laadi väljakutsetega toimetulekuks. Täpsemalt öeldes pakume niinimetatud Potteri kasti, s.o seni kommunikatsioonieetikas kasutatud moraalse argumentatsiooni analüüsiskeemi edasiarendusena välja analüüsimudeli, mida võiks kasutada õpetajate täienduskoolituse raames. Kirjeldatud mudel võimaldaks neil analüüsida oma isiklike ja professionaalseid väärtusi, lojaalsusi ja vajadusi ning suhestada neid mitmesuguste "väljast" esitatavate ootustega, st paremini teadvustada ja kaardistada oma isiklikku professionaalset "dilemmavälja". Eeldades, et õpetaja jaoks on kasulik teadvustada oma töö konteksti võimalikult diferentseeritult, loodame, et selline analüüs aitaks neil oma tegevusruumi ka realselt avardada.

Tervikuna põhineb käesolev doktoritöö niinimetatud kvalitatiivsetel, s.o uute vaatenurkade avastamisele ning ideede ja hüpoteeside genereerimisele suunatud uurimustel. Niisiis ei võimalda see enamasti kvantitatiivseid,

üldistavaid järeldusi. Selle asemel, et hinnata levimust, tuua välja üheseid seoseid või üldistada tulemusi ühiskonnale või õpetajaskonnale, huvitasid mind pigem ilmnevate positsioonide spekter, uudsed nüansid ja seni käsitlemata aspektid. Uuritud representatsioonide kaudu tuleb nähtavale ajalooõpetuse mitmekesine roll – ning samas keeruline paiknemine – ajalookultuuris. Ajaloo õpetamine kui protsess on justkui sõlmpunkt, kus seostuvad väga erinevat – pedagoogilist, argielulist, poliitilist ja teaduslikku – päritolu sisendid. Ajaloo õpetaja on tõlkija ja vahendaja – vahel ka lepitaja – vastavate “keelte”, tõekspidamiste ja kriteeriumite vahel. Viimane asjaolu ning vastavad dilemmad ja väljakutsed on hariduskogukonnas seni vähe tähelepanu pälvinud. Doktoritöö artiklites avaldatud analüüsi tulemused osutavad niisiis mitmetele aspektidele, millest võiks õppida õppekavaarenduses ja õpetajakoolituses, ning edasiuurimisvajadustele mitmes suunas. Õpetaja kui ühe võtmetegutseja positsioonide analüüsi kaudu muutub uuel moel nähtavaks erinevate ajalookultuuri komponentide konfiguratsioon meie konkreetses ühiskonnas.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

# CURRICULUM VITAE

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2006–... University of Tartu, Faculty of Social Sciences and Education, PhD studies in Media and Communication  
2012 J. Kepler University of Linz, visiting PhD student  
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2006 University of Tartu, Faculty of Education, Educational Research and Curriculum Development Centre, project manager  
2004 Tartu Waldorf School, Teacher of Social Studies  
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## Main research areas:

Social representations and pedagogical conceptions of history teaching, social memory and history culture; teachers' views and positions during education transitions and when facing divergent values, demands and expectations; peasantry-related laws and legal thought in the 18th century.



### **Main publications in addition to the dissertation's papers:**

- Harro-Loit, Halliki and Kello, Katrin (eds) (2013) *The Curving Mirror of Time. Approaches to Culture Theory 2*. Tartu: University of Tartu Press.
- Masso, Anu, Kello, Katrin and Jakobson, Valeria (2013) Üleminek eestikeelsele gümnaasiumiõppele: vilistlaste seisukohtade Q-metodoloogiline diskursus-analüüs [Transition to state-language instruction in upper secondary schools according to alumni: Q-methodological discourse analysis of individual positions]. *Eesti Rakenduslingvistika Ühingu Aastaraamat [Estonian Papers in Applied Linguistics]* 9, 161–179.
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- Kello, Katrin (2005) Taluinimestest ja nende liikumisvõimalustest 18. sajandi Liivi- ja Eestimaal [On peasants and their possibilities of mobility in the 18th-century Livonia and Estonia]. *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi aastaraamat – Annales Litterarum Societatis Esthoniae* 2003 (Tartu: Learned Estonian Society), 175–194.
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- of Livonian peasants at transition from Swedish to Russian rule]. In M. Laur and E. Küng (eds) *Die Baltischen Länder und der Norden. Festschrift für Helmut Piirimäe zum 75. Geburtstag* (Tartu: Academic History Society), 400–413.
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- Laur, Mati and Kello, Katrin (2001) Rootsi aja pärand 18. sajandi Liivimaa agraarsuhetes [Legacies of Swedish rule in agrarian conditions of 18th century Livonia]. In A. Andresen (ed) *Muinasaja loojangust omariikluse läveni. Pühendusteos Sulev Vahtre 75. sünnipäevaks* (Tartu: Kleio Foundation), 251–273.

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### **Peamised publikatsioonid lisaks doktoritöö artiklitele:**

- Harro-Loit, Halliki ja Kello, Katrin (toim) (2013) *The Curving Mirror of Time. Approaches to Culture Theory 2*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.
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