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ARTICLES

Historical literacy and contradictory evidence in a Finnish high school setting: The Bronze Soldier of Tallinn

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ABSTRACT: This article revolves around three key issues. First, over the last 30 years, the traditional approach to history teaching as memorization of facts and chains of events has been changing. Currently, the Finnish national core curriculum fixes the focus of history teaching on students' critical and historical thinking skills. However, the curriculum leaves a lot of maneuvering scope for schools and individual teachers, but teachers seemingly still emphasize content over skills with too little focus on historical thinking skills. Second, Finland has so far been lacking in research on students' historical thinking skills, even if they have been adopted as an important part of the curriculum. What existing research there is shows that only a few students are able to evaluate the information available and make sense of contradictory interpretations of past events. Third, this article reports an experiment that aimed at offering students more opportunities to develop their historical thinking skills and at the same time evaluated their historical thinking ability. The case chosen was confrontation in Estonia between ethnic Russian and Estonian population around historical interpretations of the so-called Bronze Soldier that led to unrests and violence in Tallinn in 2007. Our research points out that Finnish students have weaknesses in their text skills. Furthermore, analysis of these weaknesses emphasizes a need for research that would examine what kind of interventions change how students learn and how their ability for historical thinking can be improved.

KEYWORDS: historical thinking, historical literacy, history teaching, Finland, high school students, critical thinking skills

Introduction

History as a subject is more than just facts about the past. Working with documents that can be interpreted in several ways or that contain contradicting evidence comprises an important part of historical research (Seixas & Morton 2013; Wineburg 2001; Lee 2011). The traditional approach to history teaching—the memorization of facts and chains of events—has changed over the last 30 years. This has resulted in part from the linguistic turn in history. Ever since Hayden White (1973) suggested that historiography mirrors literary writing and emphasizes "narrativity," the traditional tenets of historical objectivity have been increasingly challenged. This has resulted in an emphasis on the role of interpretation in the process of historical inquiry. The historians' turn towards language, particularly in the 1980s, did not fail to have an impact on the objectives and practices of history teaching.

The linguistic turn in history was followed by a new emphasis on the interpretational nature of history. This led to changes in the curricula of Finnish primary and secondary education in the 1980s, but it was especially influential during the 1990s. Earlier, the curricula

were more clearly content based, which meant that competence in history required a good rote memory. Since the 1990s, however, history teaching in Finnish *general upper secondary schools* (hereafter: high schools)[1] has been based on skill-based curricula and instruction. Today, competence in history requires that students know how to determine causes, present their reasoning, and consider the authenticity of the evidence. The stated focus of history teaching is to develop students' critical and historical thinking skills (National Core Curriculum 2003; Rantala 2012).

Jukka Rantala (2012) has pointed out that these changes in the Finnish history curriculum are manifested in two effects: history itself has become more popular, but at the same time, it has become a more difficult subject. The traditional memory-based history was easier to master, because the information provided was static. The "new history" requires the student not only to know the content, but also to be able to deal with the uncertainty of information (Rantala 2012).

Teaching in Finland is based on a national core curriculum, which is determined by the Finnish National Board of Education. It defines the objectives and core contents of different subjects, subject groups, thematic subject modules, and student counseling. It also specifies the principles of student assessment but leaves a lot of maneuvering scope for schools and individual teachers. The present national core curriculum for the upper secondary schools was approved in 2003. According to it, history learning is strongly skill-oriented, and its main objective is to teach students about the nature of history, which means that attention will be focused on critical analysis and interpretation of information (National Core Curriculum 2003, 180). At the moment (2015), the core curriculum is being revised, but is not expected to bring major changes.

Although the Finnish national core curriculum for basic education and the upper secondary school has since the early 1990s emphasized an understanding of the nature of history, changes in teaching practices have been minor. Several reasons for this can be found. Firstly, textbooks hold a strong position in Finnish school culture (Törnroos 2004, 32-34), and even though they may contain attempts to try to teach analytic skills, they without exception stress content knowledge and pay little attention to the nature of history. Furthermore, even though teachers are allowed to choose the textbooks they use and to customize their teaching, they still quite commonly follow the textbook. Secondly, teacher-centered orientation is strong in history teaching, and the teachers' basic ideas about what history is and how it should be taught have not changed. Even when new methods like co-operative learning are used, the basis of history teaching is still content oriented (Rautiainen 2013; Rantala 2012). Thirdly, it has proved hard for teachers to change their teaching methods. It is difficult especially for novice teachers to find a proper balance between substantive and procedural knowledge in their teaching. Moreover, experienced teachers commonly stick to their familiar teaching habits. They might not see the point of following the latest didactic discussion, or they may lack sufficient skills to teach procedural history and hence continue to teach in the way they have always done (Rantala 2012, 203-204). The little research that exists also shows that only a few students are able to evaluate the information available and make sense of contradictory interpretations of past events (Rantala & van den Berg 2013; Veijola & Mikkonen 2015; Kouki & Virta 2015).

Both substantive knowledge and conceptual thinking as well as the interplay between them are essential in the learning of historical thinking. As Rantala (2012, 203) states, "The dichotomy of content versus skills is not valid because both are needed in developing students' historical thinking." Historical thinking skills, then, form the basis of the nature of history as a discipline and its criteria for the formation of knowledge. Peter Seixas and Tom Morton (2013, 2) write that the basic question about historical thinking is "How do we know

what we know about the past?" There is no single answer to this question. Historical thinking is a creative process without a universal structure that would apply to all cultures at all times. Seixas and Morton have pointed to six concepts of historical thinking that constitute a framework for helping students to think about how historians transform the past into history, and guide them toward constructing history themselves. These concepts are historical significance, evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspectives, and the ethical dimension (Seixas & Morton 2013, 4; see also VanSledright 2004).

Historians' knowledge of the past is largely bound to texts. After the linguistic turn, the complex ways in which historical meaning is constituted, transmitted, and transformed have become more apparent (Toews 1987). Instead of simply regurgitating textbooks in order to learn history, students have to read different kinds of texts and make interpretations based on them (Schleppegrell & de Oliveira 2006). Different scholars have offered slightly different definitions of historical thinking. However, all research on historical thinking comes down to documents as key elements to examining how students understand and make sense of the past (e.g., Ashby 2005; VanSledright & Afflerbach 2005; Gago 2005).

Reading itself is not a simple or neutral process. When reading sources, the reader has to realize the manifest contents of a text, which means that he or she needs to understand concepts, the structure of the whole text, find out the underlying messages, detect bias, and finally draw conclusions. Literacy also includes the dimension of writing and communicating as an active participant in a society, the ability to express ideas effectively (Virta 2007). Apple (2000, 42-43) points out that it is not enough to possess technical literacy or even functional literacy; critical literacy is needed, because knowledge is not neutral. Thus, in history, the concept of literacy is much broader than simply "reading and writing" (Virta 2007). In Finnish school contexts, historical text skills are defined as "the ability to work with documents that have a historical context, the skill to read (analyze) texts produced by past actors and to produce valid interpretations about those uses." (Rantala & van den Berg 2013, 395; Opetushallitus 2014, 415). When historical text skills and historical literacy are defined like this, they overlap with historical thinking skills. In this article, we propose that historical thinking requires historical text skills. Furthermore, by observing students' historical text skills, it is possible to understand their historical thinking skills.

In Britain, the Schools Council History Project has focused on historical thinking skills since the 1970s (Laville 2004, 172–173). This approach spread beyond Britain, reaching Finland in the 1990s. Educational research has shown an increased interest in the learning of history, particularly since the early 1990s. It is perhaps illustrative of the fluid nature of the field that the terms used to describe the aims of history education have fluctuated: for example, *historical thinking* (Seixas 1993, Wineburg 2001; Husbands 1996; VanSledright & Frankes 2000; Seixas & Morton 2013), *historical literacy* (e.g., Lowenthal 1997; Lee 2011), *historical reasoning* (van Drie & van Boxtel 2008), and *historical consciousness* (Rüsen 2004; Von Borries 1997; Lee 2004). Van Drie and van Boxtel (2008) point out that some authors relate historical thinking and reasoning to historical literacy and consciousness. In our research, we have adopted the terms "historical thinking" and "historical literacy." We believe that historical literacy is an essential tool (although we acknowledge that it is more than just a tool) for developing historical thinking skills.

Implementation

The data used in this research is linked to a course held in a Finnish high school. We had compiled a set of assignments that were used in the course "The history of the Soviet Union/Russia and the USA." The other author of this article was also the teacher of this

course. Typically for courses in a Finnish high school, it lasted 38 hours (5 hours a week over 7 weeks). The main idea of the course was to combine problem-based learning with ICT. One part (unit) of this course was a document-based exercise dealing with the events surrounding a statue called the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn and particularly with different interpretations concerning these events in 2007. This part was used for collecting the data for this study.

The course was tooled to offer students opportunities to develop their historical thinking skills and simultaneously make it yield research data about their abilities in historical thinking. Most of the existing studies about historical thinking have used data based on materials compiled solely by the researcher, allowing little room for students to gather and process information as researchers themselves. We wanted to create a more open and genuine research framework. For this purpose, we planned a unit in which students worked with source material consisting of texts and pictures and also had a chance to use the internet throughout the course. They were also given an opportunity to present and check their interpretations with a university scholar who is a specialist in the subject (and also the other author of this article). One important part of this exercise was that students needed to make subject-related questions that they would present to the specialist. The idea was that they would not only get more information in this way but would also learn to pose questions that would direct them towards alternative interpretations (see also Reisman 2012, 240).

The Bronze Soldier is the informal name of a war memorial featuring a Red Army soldier in Tallinn, Estonia. It was erected by Soviet authorities on September 22, 1947, three years after the Red Army returned to Estonia during WWII, on the site of several war graves. The official name of the memorial was originally "Monument to the Liberators of Tallinn." This was considered too controversial after Estonia became independent in 1991, and it was therefore changed to "Monument to the Fallen in the Second World War," which reflected the fact that Estonians fought in both the German Wehrmacht and the Soviet Red Army. In April 2007, the Estonian government relocated the Bronze Soldier as well as the remains of the Soviet soldiers (after exhumation and identification) to the Defense Forces Cemetery in Tallinn. Political differences over the interpretation of the war and the Soviet period in Estonia that the monument symbolized had, even before 2007, led to controversies between ethnic Estonians and the community of multiethnic Russophone post-WWII immigrants living in Estonia, and between the Russian and Estonian governments. The dispute surrounding the relocation peaked with two nights of riots in Tallinn, a weeklong blockade of the Estonian embassy in Moscow, and cyber-attacks on several Estonian organizations.

The students received a material pack compiled by the authors containing two pictures of the monument, two news items about the situation related to the dispute in 2007, excerpts from a book *Pronssisoturi* [The Bronze Soldier] (Johan Bäckman, 2008) and a copy of the oath sworn by the Pioneers who guarded the statue during the Soviet era, a tradition revived by the pro-Russian activists during the riots in 2007. Texts were of different lengths and styles. The longest excerpt (722 words) was from Bäckman's book. The oath was 119 words, and news items were 115 and 350 words. Both news items were from a regional, independent newspaper Turun Sanomat, based on information from the Finnish News Agency and printed three days after the riots first began. Photographs depicted the statue, the first one in its original place and the other after the statue was relocated.

The texts contained contradictory facts and interpretations. Johan Bäckman's book for its part was a polemical—even propagandistic—description of the dispute, and the situation in Estonia regarding its Russian minority. It was quite obviously one-sided, demonizing the actions of the Estonian government and making the Russians innocent victims. All the texts were in Finnish, the students' native language. The students were also given six groups of questions to answer, which were to be answered over a period of six consecutive 45-minute-

long lessons spread over several days. Throughout the course, the students could use laptops, tablets, and their smartphones for acquiring information.

Question groups in the assignment were built to incrementally deepen the students' understanding of the historical research process. The idea was to teach them to work like historians. First, they were asked to try to contextualize the pictures and texts and link them to past events. Then, they had to itemize the content and, after that, look for possible contradictions found between the texts. Finally, the students were asked to write their own conclusions about the Bronze Soldier dispute. The questions eliciting their answers gave quite explicit hints that the Bronze Soldier dispute contained controversial views. The idea was that this would lead the students to focus on differing interpretations. Ultimately, students were asked to reflect upon their work, findings, and the whole process.

Before students wrote their own conclusions, they were given a chance to ask questions from a university scholar related to the documents and findings made by the students. Questions were drafted beforehand during the lessons. The teacher did not collect the questions in advance, although some of the students wanted to check their questions from the teacher before the scholar was contacted. Contacting took place via a video conferencing system. Students were familiar with both the system and the scholar through previous similar sessions during the course when the university scholar had explained the situation in Estonia to the students by, for example, giving them facts about the population of Estonia, underlining that it is an ethnically heterogeneous country. Scholar explained how the statue was important to Russian identity in Estonia. After consulting with the scholar, students were asked to write their own analysis of the situation and answer to the question "What was the Bronze Soldier dispute about?" Throughout the process, students produced written answers that we have been able to use as the data to examine their learning processes, not just their final analysis. The teacher was present throughout the course and assignments were written at school.

The data were collected from 11 high school students from an average Finnish high school of about 300 students. Six of them were female and five were male. The students were 17–19 years old, and they were all Finnish native speakers. The idea of the course was that students would work independently with the teacher acting less as the specialist and more as their guide to research, answering questions when students needed to consult someone. Students were aware that their answers would become part of this study. They had a right to refuse their answers from this study, but no one declined. Students wrote their answers alone, but they were allowed to discuss with each other during the whole process.

In order to check the limits of what was possible, we had 13 history students (7 male and 6 female) at the University of Jyväskylä do the same exercise and act as a reference group a few months later.[2] The selected students were history majors who were studying to become history teachers. They had all studied history for at least two years and a few had longer periods of study behind them. This group did basically the same exercise, but with less time for contextualizing, and without a chance to check their interpretations with the specialist scholar. Furthermore, they had altogether only 60 minutes to complete the whole task. We assumed that they would have basic knowledge of the research area in question and be familiar with historical analysis and the nature of history.

Results

For the analysis, we used the framework introduced by VanSledright and Afflerbach (2005, 2-4) to recognize different aspects related to students' historical thinking. They point out that the analysis and assessment of the nature of sources draws on at least four closely interconnected cognitive activities that begin with close critical reading. These activities are

attribution, identification, perspective, and reliability. *Attribution* involves recognizing that a source is an account constructed by an author for a particular purpose. It also requires locating the historical context of its author. *Identification* involves knowing what a source is: what type of account it is (a primary or secondary source, a diary, a letter, a newspaper article, etc.); when it was created; and what the grammar, vocabulary, and spelling is like. *Perspective* involved a set of judgments about the author's social, cultural, and political position, which, according to VanSledright and Afflerbach (2005, 2-4), is difficult because ascertaining the author's perspective or personality often takes the form of reading between the lines or below the surface of the text. *Reliability*, too, calls for judgment. Judging the reliability of a source involves comparing it with other sources from the same period or context.

We added one more level, *novice*, below these four, in order to reflect the fact that students might fail to consider the reliability of sources. Wineburg (1991) points to several differences between expert and novice ways of reading historical texts. Typically, novices seek only to know (content knowledge); they ask what the text says (facts); and they assume neutrality and objectivity in texts. It is also common that novices ignore word choice and tone, and when they make their own summaries, they try to tell the "truth" and sound as certain as possible. However, instead of dividing readers to novices and experts, we considered it expedient to have several categories for measuring students' ability for historical thinking.

The data were analyzed by dividing the students' reports into five levels: 0) Novice (sees the sources as neutral information; does not see them as artifacts created by authors); 1) Attribution (recognizes that someone has drawn up the source for some particular purpose); 2) Identification (identifies the nature of the source and can tell if it is a primary or secondary source); 3) Perspective (is able to associate the source with a historical context and to compare the sources); and 4) Reliability (is able to assess the reliability of the sources and compare them). It is important to notice that attribution and identification often go together (VanSledright and Afflerbach 2005, 4). Typically, several of these activities occur simultaneously when an expert works with sources.

Both the high school and the university students' texts were analyzed using this framework. University students were used merely as a reference group that would exemplify what was possible. In the analysis, we were fairly strict and required quite a lot from answers in order to reach certain levels. Thus, for example, when a student displayed some ability to identify a single source as written by someone, this was not enough to reach this level. Students had to evaluate sources as a whole and compare them with each other. Practically all students made some comparison between the sources when asked but rarely included this in their final analyses. Furthermore, it was quite common among the high school students' texts that they recognized only some of the sources as having a writer.

	Novice	Attribution	Identification	Perspective	Reliability
High School students	5	6	1		
University Students			9	2	2

Figure 1: Level of students' cognitive activity

One of the 11 high school students reached the *Identification* level (as shown in Figure 1) and was able to question the reliability of the sources, but even he failed to contextualize the

texts, which would have been a prerequisite for proceeding to the next level. Six students reached the *Attribution* level, and five were *Novice* readers. Typically, the students were able to identify the type of text in question as "a newspaper article" or "an excerpt from the book," but they did not recognize that someone had written it for a particular purpose. Another interesting finding was that the students did not refer to any sources when they were writing their own analyses about what the dispute was about. Moreover, most of the high school students failed to use the "memorial guards of honor oath" altogether, which was the only primary source given. Only the reader who attained the Identification level, one of those who reached the Attribution level and two Novice readers, seemed to pay any attention at all to the oath. However, it needs to be pointed out that university students had similar problems. Even though they routinely described the content of the source as asked, none referred to it as part of their analysis, suggesting that it was too much to ask high school students to pay attention to it.

In the third part of the exercise, students were asked to itemize the content of each text and identify possible contradictions. Students were also asked to consider the reliability of the information and ask which source (text or person) they felt was most reliable and why. University students were apparently used to controversies in source materials. Subjectivity in Bäckman's text in particular was easy to discover for them. More striking, however, was that news items were dealt as neutral sources of information. It was no wonder, then, that high school students had even more problems evaluating the reliability of the sources. They were able to evaluate the information mainly to the extent of when, where, and by whom the sources were produced. As for considering the credibility of the sources and authors' intentions, if at all, they pointed out to a source that for them seemed to be incompatible with others, most typically Bäckman's book. Thus, it seemed that they tried to find a source that ran counter to others. After discovering this, they tended to think that other sources were correct, providing the right version of events.

> The newspaper articles present the relocation of the statue in a more neutral way [than the book written by Johan Bäckman]. (HS Student 11, F[3])

> Bäckman's research gives only one researcher's opinion about the events. … Both news items are fairly neutral. (HS Student 2, M)

> Perhaps I trust the text written by a specialist more than those newspaper articles or texts in the internet. (HS Student 3, M)

> The author's opinion may appear in the book and the attitudes of the authors can tinge [the presentation of] the matter. (HS Student 3, F)

Common to all these answers was the fact that although the students tied their answers to the texts to some extent, their answers seemed rather extraneous to them. Only one student was able to analyze the sources more deeply:

> Bäckman's (subjective) book, *The Bronze Soldier*, tells the story of the Bronze Soldier in a very aggressive way (for example, the choice of words: "nondescript platitude," "Blitzkrieg against the dead") and is sometimes even hostile. He [the author] feels that the exhumations were a sacrilege, and he is sure that everybody thinks like he does. He also thinks that the relocation of the statue was a military operation. Furthermore, he thinks that the riots surrounding the statue dispute were caused by "fascist leaders," while the newspaper articles mostly adopt a more objective position. (HS Student 10, M)

This student's answer shows his ability to back up his argument with this source. More typically, however, students' answers contained isolated fragments from the sources.

Moreover, the high school students very typically tried to find "the facts" from the texts. That could easily be seen from the questions that the students put to the specialist. In fact, it was very hard for them to come up with questions to present in the first place. They were

much more used to answering than asking questions (see also Logtenberg 2012, 20). The questions the students asked indicate their strong focus on the history of events. They seemed to think that studying history means knowing dates, places, numbers, and names:

> How many corpses were buried there? (HS Student 3, M)

> Were there 12 or 13 corpses buried under the monument? (HS Student 9, F)

Some of the questions showed their confusion about the essence of what had happened:

> Who was against the relocation of the statue? (HS Student 1, F)

> Why were the Estonians rioting and against the relocation of the statue? (HS Student 6, F)

Even though the university students did not have an opportunity to present questions to the scholar, we asked them to pen down questions raised by the source material. Those university students who just identified the nature of the sources and summarized their contents posed questions that dealt mostly with content of the events:

> How was the dispute solved? (Uni student 10, F)

> What is the role of Russians in Estonia? (Uni student 11, F)

However, some of the university students were more able to pose questions that opened the door to a wider examination of the phenomenon:

> How does Bäckman explain the "facts" that he claims? (Uni student 13, F)

> How was the situation experienced in the Russian media? (Uni student 5, M)

> Will events like Bronze Soldier become more common between Russia and its neighbors? What kind of relationship will there be in the future between Russia and those countries that were formerly part of its empire? (Uni student 4, M)

The ability to form questions is one of the most important parts of historical thinking. Developing deeper historical thinking and understanding begins with rich questions. As VanSledright (2014, 32-35) states, students are not able to pose questions if they are not used to doing so. Students need a deep understanding of history in order to know how to ask good historical questions. It is quite typical of novice learners that their understanding is too shallow to ask deep historical questions, and therefore the questions that they ask seem trivial. Logtenberg (2012, 34-38) points out that students who have the best background knowledge ask more questions. Even if the questions are so-called lower level questions, not very relevant considering the topic, this might lead them towards more relevant questions than not posing questions at all.

The students also tended to simplify the past into as few events and persons as possible and ignored those that they considered irrelevant. For many of them, the events of 2007 were completely detached from the situation after WWII, which was of extreme importance for the conflicting Russian and Estonian interpretations. The high school students' answers were vitiated by their failure to appreciate the chronological and topological context involved. They reported the events in 2007 but did not link their answers to the past, even though they had been pointed in that direction. Barton and Levstik (2009, 134-136) note that students quite commonly tend to simplify historical change. For many students, history is a very simple, single narrative. This seems to be supported by our findings.

When asked to consider the reliability of different sources, high school students opted for the written texts. At the same time, they had accepted interpretations from the scholar they had consulted during the process and repeated his interpretations, even copying the formulation the scholar had used. Even so, the students wrote that they placed most trust in the book written by Bäckman. They felt that since Bäckman's book was non-fiction, it had to

be factual, even if they had questioned the reliability of the book. This seems to be connected to deeper problems of understanding historical sources.

When the students noticed direct conflicts between the texts, they typically tried to eliminate them by creating simple narratives supported by selected facts. Almost all the students were able to describe what kind of sources were involved (e.g., "They were newspaper articles" or "They are from a book"), but when it came to contextualizing the texts, they took almost everything that was written as fact. The students were not used to dealing with historical interpretations, which must be historicized and contextualized. The students should have realized that what different texts are doing and what they are saying are two different things (Chapman 2011, 99; 102). What was most difficult for the students to understand was that in history, it is possible to accept more than just one interpretation at the same time (see Chapman 2011, 103).

As expected, the university students were much more familiar with reading source materials and analyzing them than the high school students. They all drew attention to the authors' ways of writing. However, only two of the thirteen reached the highest level (*Reliability*), and two others were *Perspective* readers. The remaining nine students only achieved the *Identification* level. Unlike high school students, university students had considered the reliability of the sources and the perspective of the authors when reading them. Nevertheless, it was curious to note that even they saw newspapers as neutral and objective sources. Moreover, the oath taken by the monument guards was quite a hard source for many of them to contextualize. Typically, the students only summarized the content of both the oath and the newspaper articles and paid most attention to the excerpts from the book by Johan Bäckman. The difference between the high school and university students' styles of reading texts emerged best in assessing how they read the texts written by Johan Bäckman.

> Bäckman is known for his provocative pro-Russian statements. The texts written by him are very one-sided, and no Estonian viewpoints are presented at all. The newspaper articles seek for objectivity, but the opportunities to get information are limited, and the author's viewpoint could be influenced by the interviewee's opinions, standing, and walk of life. (Uni student 6, M)

University students' answers pointed out that they had more content knowledge to support their arguments, for example, background information about Bäckman not possessed by any of the high school students.

What was maybe most clearly seen was that the university students paid more attention to the language used by the authors. Typically, if they felt that the language used was neutral, they did not focus on it. Their attention was drawn to the language when they felt that it was somehow unusual:

> The relocation of the statue is represented as a violation and "as a spit in the face of the world." (Uni student 6, M)

> The government of Estonia speaks about "archaeological excavations." Bäckman speaks about "the violation of the grave" and "the desecration of the monument." (Uni student 7, M)

However, it can be clearly seen that while the university students focused on the language used by specific authors, the high school students generally understated the issue and ignored the authors. In general, the high school students read the texts like novice readers and the university students more like experts (see van Boxtel & van Drie 2004; Wineburg 1991).

The university students paid more attention to language of the sources, but they were also more accustomed themselves to using the academic language appropriate to the subject. Schleppegrell (2004) points out that subject information in schools is constructed in language that differs from the language we use to interact with each other in our daily lives. The higher the level they reached on the evaluation scale (figure 1), the more sophisticated was the language they used. The text used in one of the best analyses offers a good illustration of the

use of subject-based literacy. The student's answer to the question "What contradictions can be found between the texts?" shows that he not only introduced the sources and analyzed them but also paid attention to the use of the academic language that is typical of history writing:

> The sources describe the events from very different angles: The guards' oath and Johan Bäckman's *The Bronze Soldier* do not question the function of the structure as a "symbol of liberation." Bäckman accuses the Estonians of the direct falsification of history. The Finnish press reports follow the Estonian perspective, which in turn is in direct conflict with Bäckman's views. The Estonian government talks of "archeological excavations," Bäckman of "desecration of a grave" and "destruction of a monument." According to the news media, contradictory information circulated about the fate of the statue, but Bäckman seems, in the book he wrote a year later, to be inclined to say that the statue was actually destroyed. According to the media, the Estonian government affirmed that the statue remained intact throughout. The Finnish press stayed fairly neutral or cautiously pro-Estonian, while Bäckman was strongly against the actions of the Estonian government. (Uni student 7, M)

This student seems to understand very well how to refer to sources and how to justify his own text by using the sources given. Even if his references contained small errors (there were no texts produced by the Estonian government, but rather, a news item that reported the Estonian government's stand) the writer still sounds very convincing. Moreover, this student demonstrates in his conclusion that he was able to analyze and contextualize the sources:

> In this question, it is important to understand post-Soviet Estonia's interpretation of history. The answer depends on how legitimate one considers Estonian's reaction to the collapse of Soviet power and its memories to be. From the historical and perhaps purely rational point of view, the relocation of the statue might seem dubious. If, however, one takes into account the fact that many Estonians experience the Soviet power as traumatic, the emphasis on emotional experience seems more legitimate. The emotional experience among the Russian sympathizers was also strong, but an opposite one: they saw in the statue its original function as a monument to the battles against Germany. The sentiments [attached to the statue] are very different. (Uni student 7, M)

To him, history was not just the story of the past, but different interpretations. Monte-Sano (2011) points out that it is quite typical for novices to see history as fixed information, while experts see history as constructed accounts based on evidence that has been situated in context and interrogated for its reliability. This requires not only an understanding of the language used in the sources but also an ability to use appropriate language when writing one's own account, in this case the student's conclusion. In some ways, this student embodies the ideals introduced in the national core curriculum for high schools. However, he also had several years of studies in history at the university behind him. Therefore, it should not be surprising that he could read the sources, contextualize them, and understand the ways in which historical knowledge is produced. Furthermore, university students are a select group, with mere 10% of applicants being accepted in the first place. This is in line with the fact that one out of eleven high school students in our study could reach the same level as the majority of university students.

Conclusion

The majority of the high school students in our study were not able to properly address the reliability of the sources or to contextualize them. The students had problems, especially when analyzing conflicting documents. It was also very hard for them to "read between the lines." The students were able to find basic information, like what happened and when, fairly easily. It was much more difficult for them to understand why different people interpreted the situation differently and even attempted to rewrite the historical narrative. The majority of the students believed that history was something that had taken place in the past, and for them the

texts were direct evidence of what had happened. Their answers also showed that they were used to understanding history as a collection of facts. Some of them drew attention to small, even irrelevant, things like the number of corpses buried under the monument. Only a few students understood that the assignment was about working with different interpretations, not about trying to figure out what had taken place.

Schleppegrell and de Oliveira (2006) write that history is a subject that presents challenges to students and that this challenge is to a great extent linguistic. When studying history, students need to be able not only to understand the sequence of events and the role that the historical participants played in those events, but also to recognize the fact that interpretation is an integral part of all historical reporting and is built into every text. Many of the high school students and some of the university students found it quite difficult to recognize different interpretations. Instead, they strove to find out "who was right," thus reasserting their belief about history as a single narrative. In order to reach higher levels of historical understanding, they would need to try to figure out why different people interpret events in different ways. For many people, history is a fixed story composed of predetermined facts; they may even regard it as the exclusive single story of the past (Seixas 2000). Although the Finnish national core curriculum has emphasized for years that the aim of history teaching is to develop students' critical and historical thinking skills, they still tend to see history as the single story of the past; this suggests there are discrepancies between the curriculum and the classroom reality.

It has been pointed out (Brozo et al. 2013; Goldsmith & Tran 2013) how important it is to shift the focus away from the literacy-content dichotomy. Both content area skills and literacy skills should be developed. The danger in focusing to text skills is the reducing of history into loose tinkering with sources, with students being unable to contextualize them, or connect them into a broader framework. Content knowledge is needed for this. (Bain 2015) In this study, the university student with the highest level of historical literacy demonstrated good knowledge of the topic and different actors. However, most importantly, he showed the ability to gather a meaningful entity from these pieces, which would have been difficult without content knowledge. Afflerbach and VanSledright (2001) point out that the use of texts and sources in teaching may create opportunities for students to increase their historical thinking skills. Many students need help or coaching in order to understand that a particular text is part of a larger historical context or longer chain of evidence from which history is constructed.

Our study showed that the high school students were not able to work with contradictory texts without major guidance. In Finland, skills for working with individual documents have been taught in high schools for a long time, with an emphasis on teaching students to conduct external source criticism. However, our study suggests that this is not enough. The teaching of historical literacy would help the students to understand what history is and how historical knowledge is created. It is important to understand that every historical account has been told from some perspective that can be analyzed and assessed by using the tools of critical thinking. This would also help students to understand how history is used and misused. One factor is Finland's textbook-centered culture, which needs to change. Textbooks lack multiple perspectives and fail to be truly multicultural. Virta (2007, 22) points out that "textbooks alone are not enough for teaching historical literacy." It is of the utmost importance that different types of historical texts be used.

Thinking like an historian does not come naturally to students, but this skill can be developed. We find a lot of similarity between our findings and those of Nokes (2011). Nokes named four barriers that prevent the students from reading like historians: 1) a false conception of the discipline of history; 2) a simplistic view of the world; 3) limited or misapplied background knowledge, and 4) high demands on students' cognitive resources. In

our research, all four features could be found with students aiming at simple narratives of the past: focusing on facts rather than interpretations; lacking knowledge about the context; and a great majority of high school students lacking in critical and abstract thinking required for the task. There is a need for further research to show what can be done to overcome these barriers with regard to both teachers and students.

One important area of future research would be to evaluate what kind of interventions change how students learn and how their ability for historical thinking can be improved. On the other hand, it would be equally important to the evaluate teachers' attitudes: how they think about history and the way they implement the national curriculum. This would yield valuable information about possible discrepancies between the set objectives and the reality of the classroom.

History teaching in Finland would need to focus more on how historical knowledge is being produced. As students focus on finding the difference between truth and propaganda, teaching should aim at giving tools for analyzing different texts in order to distinguish information from opinions and evaluate authors' motivations. This would answer to requirements of critical reading and thinking skills included in the Finnish national core curriculum. Students need to learn to understand that historical knowledge is always in relation to the sources used and to the historical context in which the sources are produced. Realizing this was most hard for the students. They tried to form a single narrative, making truth and propaganda the opposite ends and, in the final analysis, lost sight of the original documents.

In retrospect, we can see some limitations in how we gathered the data. Although the teacher was present throughout the course, we did not examine how students gathered information. Thus, we cannot say how and where students gathered information when they contextualized the topic. Therefore, it is not possible to say how critical students were in regards to information they found from the internet and what sources they used. This would be an interesting subject of further research. Another point of criticism is that we could have put more emphasis on working together. Instead of writing everything down, some parts could have consisted of group work and discussions that could have been recorded. However, as it is, students at Finnish high schools are used to working alone and writing long answers.

Even if this was not our intention, we made one important related discovery. After the course, students described feelings of empowerment as a result of outside attention paid to them. Even if the questions they put to the scholar were somewhat unimportant and irrelevant, the questions were authentic, and they increased students' feeling of agency. Students lauded the arrangement in which they were not just passive recipients of information. The value of breaking the confines of the classroom was apparent. This would suggest that it might be worthwhile to pay more attention to how students process information, what makes them interested in the subject and makes them not only objects, but active subjects.

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[1] We use *high school* instead of *Finnish general upper secondary school* (*lukio* in Finnish) for the sake of clarity. In Finland, the post-compulsory upper secondary level comprises general and vocational education. After comprehensive school education, 95.5% of school-leavers pursue further voluntary basic education (2.5%) or continue their studies in upper secondary schools (54.5%) or in initial vocational education and training (38.5%). Upper secondary education offers general education for students of approx. 16–19 years of age. Subjects are taught in courses that are not bound to a particular year of study. It usually lasts three years.

[2] The University of Jyväskylä is a nationally and internationally prestigious research university that focuses on the human and natural sciences. The QS World University Rankings by Subject has ranked the University of Jyväskylä among the world's top 200 universities in education, psychology, and history. For education, it is ranked among the 51–100 top universities and for history among the top 151–200. (http://www.topuniversities.com/subject-rankings)

[3] Students' answers have been numbered and indicate whether a student is male or female, although there were no visible gender differences.

Videography and student engagement: The potentials of battlefield tourism

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ABSTRACT: The purpose of this article is to present the findings from a collaborative study conducted by a research team consisting of Canadian university students and a course instructor visiting battlefields and memorials located in Western Europe. The goal of the course was to provide students with an experiential opportunity to learn about the First and Second World Wars, participate in video interviews, and administer surveys on-site. Emphasizing the field component of the course, this paper discusses how visual ethnography can be used to provide a greater understanding of visitor motivations and enhanced tourism learning experiences. Also discussed are the strengths and weaknesses of conducting field research for a university undergraduate level course and the potential contributions that such approaches bring to learning.

KEYWORDS: battlefield tourism, WWI, memory, tourism, visual studies, Vimy memorial, historical consciousness

Introduction

Drawing on the events pertaining to the First World Centenary (2014-2018), this article presents the findings of a collaborative study carried out by 9 authors (the instructor and 8 undergraduate students attending a course offered by the School of Outdoor Recreation, Parks and Tourism at Lakehead University) visiting battlefields, memorials and museums located in Western Europe and associated with the First and Second World Wars. In-order to add greater authenticity to the article, each co-author is addressed by his/her real name throughout the text (see table 1). This approach, we believe, adds further veracity to the study, while helping to contextualized and personalize the findings and reflections emerging from this study.

Offered in the spring of 2014, the goal of the course was to provide students with an experiential opportunity to learn about the First and Second World Wars, acquire insights into the management of battlefields, memorials and museums, understand the process of memory-making, participate in video interviews, and administer surveys on-site. Emphasizing the field component of the course, this paper discusses how visual ethnography through video interviews and in-situ research conducted at the Canadian National Vimy Memorial can be used to engage historical consciousness and memory-making and enhance learning experiences in a tourism context. The goal is to showcase the benefits of engaging students and instructors through video interviews and in this particular instance, in-situ interviews conducted with other battlefield

tourists. Also discussed is how these approaches enhanced and transformed our understanding of our historical narratives and the management of these sites.

An overview of the literature pertaining to the role of remembrance, pilgrimages and visitation patterns along the Western Front throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries is provided first. Following is a discussion pertaining to video interviews and semi-structured interviews. The findings profile the research team and the tourist participants. The conclusion re-examines the key findings and discusses some of the challenges and opportunities associated with conducting field research for a university undergraduate level course.

Literature Review

Remembrance

As Winter (2012) explains, remembrance is a social process, thus:

> activities relating to the war are performed as symbolic rituals at specific times and places to recall people, events, ideas and values ... Because the memories are developed to satisfy particular social needs, each new generation re-negotiates and re-selects (or forgets anew) aspects of the memories to suit its own needs. (p. 249)

The historicizing of events and memories associated to warfare and traumatic events can be reinforced or discarded by governments (Lederach, 1997), perpetuated by media and family members (Bird, 2013), transmitted inter-generationally (Clark, 2014; Levy & Sznaider, 2002; Volkan, 2001; Weldon, 2009), and contested by groups that have been omitted from certain battlefield narratives (Vance, 2016).

For Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders and South Africans, the collective memory of the First World War is often associated with the "nation-creation mythos" where members of "the Commonwealth entered the Great War as colonies, and although they were still members of the Commonwealth at the conclusion of the First World, these countries, through their contributions to the Great War had distinguished themselves as individual nations" (Brown & Cook, 2011, p. 38). As a result, following the conclusion of the First World War, thousands of memorials were erected throughout Australia, New Zealand and North America to honour the dead (Lloyd, 1998). For its war efforts, Canada was given three parcels of land in Belgium and five in France. After some debate, the Canadian National Vimy Memorial (the Vimy Memorial from here on) was erected on the parcel at Vimy Ridge and designated as Canada's national First World War monument (Hucker, 2007). Completed in 1936, the Vimy Memorial is comprised of a monument and a 91.18-hectare memorial park (Hucker & Smith, 2012).

The Vimy Memorial

The capture of Vimy Ridge in France on April 10-12, 1917 by the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) solidified the CEF's reputation among the allies (Brown & Gimblett, 2006). While the CEF would go on to fight in other significant battles in the First World War (Passchendaele July 1917, Amiens August 1918, Cambrai October 1918), Vimy quickly acquired an iconic status in the minds of Canadians and would, until the Second World War, remain Canada's most celebrated military victory (Brown & Cook, 2011; Hayes, Iarocci, & Betchhold, 2007).

At 27 metres high and containing 15,000 metric tonnes of concrete and masonry, the monument features twin white pylons and 20 carved figures representing, peace, justice, truth, knowledge, sacrifice, bravery, and death (Brown & Gimblett, 2006). Flanking the staircase

leading up to the pylons are carved male and female mourners surrounded by the names, carved in stone, of 11,285 Canadian soldiers killed in France (Hucker, 2009). At the front of the monument is the sorrowful figure known as "the bereft" and below her is a sarcophagus (Lemelin & Johansen, 2014). Located downhill from the monument is the memorial park featuring an interpretive centre, remnants of the battlefield (i.e., craters, dugouts, trenches, tunnels), and two cemeteries (Givenchy Road; the Canadian Cemetery No. 2) (Parks Canada, 2005). With visitations totalling 700,000 annually, the Vimy Memorial is a popular destination along the Western Front (Lemelin & Johansen, 2014).

Pilgrimage

Tours to the Western Front battlefields in France and Belgium began soon after the Armistice was signed in 1918 and visitors, especially from the allied nations, came from around the world (Brown & Cook, 2011). By 1928-29, Germans were also visiting these battlefields in significant numbers (Eksteins, 2000). For Canadians and Australians, distance proved to be a formidable barrier, but even so, they came; nearly 6,000 Canadian veterans and their families (including French and Japanese Canadians) travelled to France to witness the unveiling of the Vimy Memorial in 1936 (Brown & Cook, 2011).

Pilgrimages made by veterans and their families were given prominence and by 1921 the French parliament passed a law "providing free transportation to war cemeteries for relatives of the dead, thus ensuring the continual flow of 'pilgrims' to the former war zone" (Sherman, 1999, p. 39). Visitation to the Western Front remained popular until it was interrupted by the Second World War (Vanneste & Foote, 2013). Although the Western Front continued to attract not only pilgrims but also history enthusiasts and organized youth groups throughout the 20th century, a decline was noted in the 1950s and early 60s (Eksteins, 2000). Concerns regarding these declining visitations in France prompted the French government to construct various memorials dedicated to the First World War like the Mémorial de Verdun in 1963 and the Historial de Péronne in 1992 (Eksteins, 2000).

In the 1980s, a resurgence of visitors from Canada and Australia was noted in Gallipoli and along the Western Front (Clarke & Eastgate, 2011; Fathi, 2014; Hyde & Harman, 2011; Lemelin & Johansen, 2014). Factors influencing these changing visitation patterns include a heightened focus on national narratives and commemorative activities like the First World Centenary, an increase of coverage of the Great War and memorial sites in traditional media like books, documentaries and movies (e.g. Gallipoli, Passchendaele), greater exposure of these events in newer media like social media and podcasts (Clarke & Eastgate, 2011; Winter, 2006; Winter, 2012). Tours (Hyde & Harman, 2011; Seaton, 2000), and organized outings to battlefields by schools, cultural organisations, military or para-military institutions (Fathi, 2014; Lemelin & Johansen, 2014) have also helped to increase the visibility of these events in the national consciousness.

Methodology

The course consisted of in-class discussions and assignments aimed at familiarizing the students with issues pertaining to the First and Second World Wars. The research trip consisted of visits to various sites in Western Europe associated with the Canadian Expeditionary Force's involvement in the First World War and the Canadian Army's involvement in the Second World War. In accordance with the course pedagogy, 10 of the 11 students (one student opted to conduct his own project and declined to participate in the writing of this article) conducted

video interviews. The on-site surveys were administered by research teams consisting of Calla and Matt, Wesley and Kathryn, Sam and Zachary, and Shannon, who opted to work on her own. John and Sarah conducted their own research projects on other topics pertaining to battlefield tourism, while Corey was assigned the responsibility of creating stock video footage of the field trip as well as helping to conduct the video interviews.

One of the goals of this course was to share our experiences with others, this has been accomplished by presenting some of the findings from our studies at national and international conferences, sharing our experiences on a blog (http://goo.gl/Wzw0K6) and, on a website (http://battletourism.ca/index.html). We have also produced two videos depicting Canada's role in the First and Second World Wars and recounting our experiences acquired in this course. Both videos can be found on the web (http://battletourism.ca/index.html).

Video Interviews

Scholarship in battlefield tourism over the last three decades reveals that many of these studies continue to use traditional research instruments: questionnaires (Winters, 2012), interviews and participant observation (Clarke & Eastgate, 2011; Dunkley, Morgan, & Westwood, 2011; Seaton, 2010), or journal analysis (Fathi, 2014). While important contributions to the study of battlefield tourism have been made through these traditional research methods, visual studies, which often feature images and videos of participants partaking in an activity (Pink, 2001; Rose, 2001), can help visualize shared commonalities, encourage reflexive encounters, provide moments of contemplation, and accept that mutual vulnerabilities may occur during these discussions between the researcher and participants (Rakik & Chambers, 2009; Scarles, 2010). Although these video interviews as we described next were combined with in-situ interviews, the key aspect of this study is that it was conducted on site with other visitors who were on the same site (in this case the Vimy Memorial Site), the site itself being a significant memorial site.

Conducting Video Interviews in the Field

The video interviews consisted of four semi-structured interviews conducted with all members of the research team. The first interview was conducted prior to the trip, the second following the Normandy visit, the third occurred during our visit to the Western Front, and the final one followed the May 5 ceremonies in the Canadian cemetery in Groesbeek, Holland. For members of the research team, the video interviews facilitated experiential reflection and expansion of ideas and perceptions (Kvale & Brinkman, 2008). The names of the research team are provided below (see table 1).

> As we head into mere weeks before leaving for France and Holland, our class has now completed our first interviews, prepared for the research we will be engaging in, and are now preparing ourselves for departure. Many of us have family connections, keepsakes, and personal investment in taking this trip together. Over our growing discussions of what we will be doing and the places we will be visiting, we are now not only preparing for our physical journey, but preparing ourselves for the emotional and spiritual experiences we will be facing as a group and individually. (Shannon)

Averaging 5.26 minutes per interview, the combined time of the four rounds of interviews was 3 hours and 51 minutes. The shortest interview was 18 seconds and occurred during the first round, while the longest interview was 14.46 minutes and occurred in the fourth round. From the first round of interviews, which averaged 44 seconds per interview, the video interviews increased significantly in length in each round (II=4.52 avg.; III=7.22 avg.; IV=8.86 avg.). When asked to explain these differences, Sarah suggested that "at first, I found the interviews difficult. I found myself focusing on facts and itinerary rather than my experiences and

thoughts. However, as the interviews went on, I found it easier to connect to the places we went to and be able to put into words the complex emotions I was experiencing." In a similar light, John explained "that visiting the sites enhanced our understanding of these places and deepened our connections to these events, this type of experience was conducive, at least for me, to discussion." Corey, a member of the interviewing team stated that we "just got better at it". When asked to elaborate Corey noted that:

> As the interviews progressed, we began to notice a growing ease and comfort with each other and even with a subject matter that could be at times, quite heavy. By the third interview I noticed that the interviewer [Harvey] became more sensitive to certain issues, instead of rushing through the interview, or asking the next question, we took our time, allowed for silent breaks, or even turning off the camera and taking a break. This more sensitive approach appeared to alleviate a number of concerns. (Corey)

After the interviews were conducted, the video files underwent a standard video rendering procedure in order to allow the video interviews to be viewable on a variety of computers. This involved two stages: the transferral of video files from the camera to a computer hard drive and back up drive followed by conversion to MPEG files. Rather than utilizing written transcriptions of the video interviews, a widely accepted method of data preparation (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999; McLellan et al., 2003), a temporal indexing method (indexing short phrases and sentences) was employed which allowed for a quick retrieval of pertinent qualitative data during coding (Saldana, 2009). The video interviews were then analyzed descriptively, using inductive open coding to allow for emergent themes (Saldana, 2009). Crichton and Childs (2005) argue that such methodology allows the research team "to hear and see the gestures, intonation, passion, pauses, and inflections throughout the analysis process" (p. 42). This type of data also allowed us to understand transformations and moments that were particularly engaging.

Semi-Structured, In-Situ Interviews

On May 1, 2014, 3 pairs of researchers consisting of Calla and Matt, Wesley and Kathryn, Sam and Zachary and one solo student (Shannon) administered the surveys. As stated earlier, three students (John, Sarah, and Corey) did not participate in the in-situ interviews. With only half-a-day to conduct interviews we completed 36 semi-structured interviews with tourists visiting the Vimy Memorial (see Table 1 and Table 2 below). Managed as a national historic site by the federal government of Canada, the 100 hectares Canadian National Vimy Memorial is composed of a monument rising 27 metres in height, and a memorial park preserving the remnants (e.g., craters, dugouts, trenches, shell holes and tunnels) of the battlefield. Also found at the site are two cemeteries, an interpretive centre, and various other structures associated to the management of the site (Lemelin & Johansen, 2014).

Approved by a university research and ethics board, Parks Canada and Veterans Affairs Canada, the research instrument consisted of questions pertaining to the visitor's knowledge of the First World War, the Vimy Memorial and other sites they had visited, their perceptions of the interpretation and management strategies (most effective/most innovative) at the Vimy Memorial, and their awareness of the commemorations of the First World War Centenary (2014–2018). Participants were also asked to provide basic socio-demographic information (nationality, age, education, etc.).

> Speaking of research projects, after a hasty lunch on the bus, it was time to do the other half if what we came to do at Vimy- research. We split into groups or teams with our 'research instruments'. A five question survey, essentially, about people's experiences at Vimy and other memorial sites, their demographic, and any other comments. It was a rough day for it for a few reasons. It was a french holiday, so many of the visitors that day didn't speak english. Also, the weather had turned dark,

> and a bit chilly, and there was a damp, quickening wind that had 'something wicked this way comes' written all over it. Sure enough, about an hour in the skies opened and dark clouds poured rain all over the ridge while those of us assigned to the site and parking lot dove for the bus, and those of us by the trenches ran for the visitor centre. Dr. Lemelin rounded us up and took an interview count- our minimum sample was 20, and we were still short. We waited out the rain, and then split up again to hopefully get a few more before it was time to leave for dinner. Our guide, Phil, a Czech born Australian-raised Frenchman, helped out by translating some french groups for us. After another hour, we had almost 30 interviews. Damp, tired, and probably more than somewhat emotionally exhausted after the last three days of cemeteries and remembrance monuments, we arrived back at our hotel to crash for about two hours before supper. We all needed it. (Shannon)

These semi-structured interviews were transcribed soon after the interviews had taken place and analysis began in the field. Participant anonymity has been preserved by referring only to respondent nationality and approximate age (e.g., P14, Canadian man in his fifties). Using the transcripts and the interview guide, participant responses describing their knowledge of the Great War, their family affiliations (if any) with the Great War, the reasons for undertaking the trip, on-site experiences, their awareness of the First World War Centenary, and other themes that emerged from the semi-structured interviews, were examined. This preliminary analysis was circulated to and studied by all members of the research team. Excerpts from the interviews were organized into tables based on these themes. Tables were revised and excerpts added or eliminated in various categories as transcripts were read and re-read. In every phase of the analysis, the contents of the different themes were juxtaposed alongside each other to refine the analysis (Saldana, 2009).

Findings

The analysis of the findings profiles our research team and the visiting participants. All members of the research team (with the exclusion of the course instructor)[1] were in their early twenties and pursuing undergraduate degrees at a Canadian university. Although only Calla had previously visited many of these sites, four had familial links to the First World War, eight had familial links to the Second World War, four had connections to both World Wars, and two had no connections to either World Wars (see Table 1).

Research Team Pseudonyms	Connections to World Wars	Previous Visits To World War Sites
Carlson	WWII	No
Sherry	WWII	No
James	WWI, WWII	No
Joshua	WWII	No
Hank	WWII	No
Mike	WWI, WWII	No
Jenny	None	Yes
Lorna	WWI, WWII	No
Warren	WWI, WWII	No
Valerie	None	No

Table 1 – Student Researcher Profiles

The tourist participant sample consisted of students, engineers, military personnel, and retirees. Of these, 23 were men and 13 were women. More than 50 percent were from the Commonwealth (see Table 1). Due to time limits, we opted to forego asking participants about their age and income, and only estimated approximate age.

Nationality	Total
Australian	7
Belgian	5
Canadian	6
English	13
French	4
Polish	1
Total	36

Table 2 – Tourist Participant Nationality

The majority of the participants (of those who reported it) had a post-secondary education (see Table 3). Less than 40 percent of the 36 respondents (n=14) reported any familial links to veterans of the Great War.

Age Group	Total	Education	Total
20–30	5	High School	2
40–50	12	University degree/ College diploma	12
60–70	18	Post-Graduate	4
Total	**35**	**Total**	**18**

Table 3 – Age Group and Education

The Vimy Memorial was but one of many battlefields and museums located along the Western Front that were visited by the participants. However, because the Vimy Memorial was the first site visited by some participants (n=3), the numbers of reported battlefields and memorials visited in Table 4 cannot reflect the total number visited by the participants during their travel. Apart from a few French and Belgian participants who came specifically to visit the monument or to partake in a leisure opportunity provided by the various trails found on site, repeat visitations to the Vimy Memorial were rare (n=4). Participants' descriptions of sites visited were often vague depicting more general areas (e.g., the Western Front, Flanders Fields, and the Eastern Front) than specific sites like the Tyne Cot Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery and Memorial in Belgium.

Location: First World War	Number of Visits	Location: Second World War	Number of Visits
Ypres	11	WWII (unspecified)	8
Passchendaele	8	Juno	5
Beaumont-Hamel	5	Omaha	4
Thiepval	4		
Wellington Quarries	3		
Verdun	2		
Flanders & the Western Front	2		
Eastern Front	1		
Total	**35**		**17**

Table 4 – Battlefields Visited by Participants

Every Canadian tourist participant (n=6) mentioned that they had either been, or were going to battlefields associated with the Second World War. Although not representative of all battlefield tourists visiting the Vimy Memorial, this finding does suggest that battlefield tours for many Canadians include visits to both First and Second World Wars sites. These early observations as well as travel logistics made prioritizing battlefield site visitation necessary. It

is possible that similar logistical constraints occurred for some of these Canadian visitors and perhaps, limited their travels to other, less well-known battlefields in Western Europe.

Although Australian (n=5), Belgian (n=4) and British (n=8) participants discussed various events planned to commemorate the First World War, no Canadian tourist participant was aware of any plans that Canada might have to commemorate the First World War. These findings should not come as any surprise considering that while millions of dollars are being allocated to exhibitions and galleries, digitizing archives, creating websites, hosting conferences, and youth education throughout Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand (Hopkins & Norton-Taylor, 2013; Lemelin et al., 2013), no new monies are being allocated to First World War Centenary events in Canada. Indeed, government departments, agencies and crown corporations "have been ordered to finance the commemoration costs out of existing budgets" (Granatstein, 2014). Although this government reticence is disappointing, it does provide an opportunity for Canadians to learn, discuss and re-examine issues pertaining to the First World War centenary in less nationalistic terms (Smith, 2014; Vance, 2016).

The Management of the Vimy Memorial

When asked to comment on the interpretation strategies provided at the Vimy Memorial, tourist participants, much like all the members of the research team for that matter, were overwhelmingly positive in their praise of the management approach at this national historic site (see Table 5 below).

Comments	Number
Interpretation is fair and balanced	15
The monument is powerful, impressive, memorable	10
The guides are well-informed	10
The displays and visuals aids (e.g., movie) are effective	10
Seeing the battlefield and having an opportunity to walk through the trenches and visit the tunnels is crucial	8
The interpretation in various languages (English, French, German) is commendable	3

Table 5 – Comments Pertaining to the Management and Interpretation of the Vimy Memorial

As some participants noted, the on-site experience was crucial as well as memorable.

> Being at the actual place and seeing the surroundings speaks more of an understanding than just reading about it. (P5, Belgian man)

> The landscapes speaks for itself. (P22, British woman)

> Being here where it happened, feeling the connections, seeing the spaces where the soldiers were. (P36, English man)

Members of the research team also highlighted the importance of the experiential aspects of this educational experience. For the weather and the terrain accentuated the learning opportunities and provided a spatial depiction of what the men would have experienced. For Corey, Shannon, John, Zak and Matt it was the beaches of Dieppe that resonated quite strongly with them, "you see the picture and the videos, but until you actually walk on the beaches and see the cliffs, you don't truly understand what the men were facing" (John). For Shannon seeing the movie *They Walk With You* at the Juno Beach Centre and walking along the beaches were the Canadians landed was an "unexpectedly emotional experience." In addition to providing a greater historical understanding, this type of opportunity suggested Kathryn, "provides an opportunity for all of those history lessons to finally sink in."

Although most visitors were satisfied with their experience at the Vimy Memorial, the Memorial was for many visitors, simply one of many sites to be visited on this trip. As a result, the Vimy Memorial was often compared to other sites recently visited. For example, some participants suggested that visitor experiences would be enhanced if the site provided living history, re-enactments and more experiential opportunities. One participant stated that although they were quite impressed with the monument at the Vimy Memorial, they believed that additional interpretation similar to that used in the trenches and tunnels in the memorial park should be provided at the monument. Although some of us agreed with this observation, it is worth noting that since the monument also serves as a site of remembrance, careful consideration of how to balance interpretation and commemoration at this particular site would be required.

Reflections

A collaborative approach to visual ethnography became instructive as members of the research team engaged in both the video interviews and conducting semi-structured interviews with visitors to the Vimy Memorial. Mitigating unexpected challenges such as conducting video interviews in open space where there were noises and distractions from curious onlookers (Rakik & Chambers, 2009) was educational for all members of the research team, and we reduced these aspects of it, as we proceeded through our trip. Minimizing distractions and making the interviewees more comfortable was a key component for improving how the video interviews were conducted. As Sarah states:

> The video interviews ended up being an important part of the trip to me. I feel that without that opportunity for self reflection, I would not have been provoked to truly analyze and critique what I saw. I would not have understood the importance of what I was experiencing. I've realized that learning cannot occur without reflection. The video interviews offered me a chance for reflection. Having to put into words what I experienced and saw made a huge difference in my overall experience. I was able to consider how each museum, monument, or cematary made me feel and this forced me to put those thoughts into words. Merely thinking about an experience can sometimes not be enough; I think it's important to express in words one's thoughts and feelings for such an important journey. I had the opportunity to create a video of our trip which included the video interviews. I was deeply moved by the insights and reflections of my peers. The interviews provided us with the opportunity to express our gratitude for those who came before us and to connect us to our emotions. With permission, I was able to include some of the footage in the video I created. I was able to create a lasting memory that I shared with my peers. (Sarah)

Although popular with most of the research team, Calla also noted that she had mixed feelings towards the video interviews:

> I understand that through video interviews you can capture the emotion behind what is being said and allows for the interviewer to take the questions further if they wish. For myself though because of what we were seeing and experiencing I would have preferred to answer the questions on paper. My journals went much deeper into what was happening through the trip then what was captured in my interviews. (Calla)

What this insight suggest is that although video interviews are a valuable research tool, we should not discount more traditional approaches (e.g., field diaries) to field research. We should in fact, encourage a multitude of approaches encouraging reflexivity and discuss this with the research team prior to the implementation of the project.

The semi-structured surveys provided an opportunity for various members to develop and in some cases, refine interviewing skills. Members of the research team were quick to learn that interviewing people in the field was not just about administering surveys, it required

interacting with people and developing sufficient trust that the participants were willing to provide insights and information. This process, as Calla suggest, could be quite intimidating:

> I understood why the research was important but there was still the feeling that the individuals would be on a personal and potentially emotional experience causing them to not want to be bothered. The individuals I was able to speak with were kind, for the most part, but you could tell they did not want to talk long. They wanted to continue on their personal journey. (Calla)

The interviews also became an opportunity to acquire a greater understanding of visitor motivations associated with First and Second World Wars. When asked about their knowledge of the Great War, almost half of the participants (n=15) defined themselves as somewhat knowledgeable with the rest of the respondents situating themselves at the two poles of knowledge: very limited or non-existent (n=8) to very well-informed (n=8). In comparison, at the beginning of the course less than one-quarter of our research team had any knowledge of the World Wars (n=3). Although our knowledge of the First and Second World Wars increased throughout the trip, by the end of the trip and conclusion of the course, none of us defined ourselves as 'experts'.

An emergent theme from this project revealed a possible characteristic of the visitors to war related monuments and battlefields. Our class as a whole did not distinguish between the various nationalities of the fallen soldiers, nor were we particularly drawn by a familial connection; rather, every researcher was profoundly moved by the loss of an entire generation, no matter the country of origin, now known as the "sacrificed generation." Although you can appreciate the work that goes into managing these cemeteries, after visiting so many of them, whether they be French, German or from the Commonwealth "it is still in the end a cemetery, and watching the ages on the stones was an excruciating exercise- so many men (boys, really) our age and younger. 16, 19, 24. It turned my stomach after a while." (Shannon) This was in contrast to the interviewees who were interested in the particular site because of an attachment to an event usually through a familial relationship or a national discourse. Understanding both segments of the population could guide future interpretive displays and marketing.

Conclusions

Seaton (2000) warned that visitors undertaking these types of experiences can, after a while, become bored with visiting another cemetery or another battlefield, and therefore keeping visitors engaged in battlefield tourism can be challenging. The goal of this study was to avoid this weariness and boredom by engaging all members of the research team into a collaborative research process. The responsibilities associated with administering the surveys provided various opportunities for the research team to learn about, and develop their research skills in the field. The video interviews provided an opportunity to create, reflect, and share memories. For some members of the research team, these memories have become a part of family lore, for others these experiences will be cherished memories that may in the future be shared with others. As stated earlier, inspired by these travels but concerned with the apparent reluctance of Canadian federal and provincial governments to promote the First World War Centenary, a blog (blog site removed for review purposes) and a video (video link removed for review purposes) have been created. It is our hope that both will contribute to the social memory of the First and Second World Wars, and that instructors and students will be encouraged to integrate video ethnography and on-site research, to, in the words of Winston Churchill, "excite the wonder and reverence of future generations" (Winston Churchill cited in Summers 2007, p. 7), visiting these sites.

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Endnotes

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[1] Since the course instructor had previously visited all of these areas and published on the visitation of some of these sites, we decided in-order to remain consistent, to remove him from the analysis.

Designing the Middle Ages: Knowledge emphasis and designs for learning in the history classroom

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ABSTRACT: Contemporary teaching and learning implies that pupils encounter curricular content in the form of multimodal representations such as film, museum visits, PowerPoint presentations, roleplay and digital games. Spoken language is no longer the only mode for knowledge representation and meaning-making. This means a new demand for teaching (and assessment), since the school tradition is heavily based on verbal language and assessments of verbal representations. In this article, we will present an analysis of the use of resources and different media in classroom work about the Middle Ages, and discuss the need for the development of assessment tools.

KEYWORDS: multimodality, framing, salience, learning design, curriculum, substantive knowledge, procedural knowledge

Introduction

This article reports findings from a research project devoted to an investigation of the complex interaction of selections, interpretations, representations and actions that shape the basis for how a knowledge domain is being construed in history classrooms[1] (see Insulander, Lindstrand & Selander, 2015; Lindstrand, Insulander & Selander, 2016). Our focus is on what is considered meaningful knowledge about the Middle Ages in two different classrooms by looking at the procedures in the classroom as well as the resources that were introduced by the teachers in our study. Three sets of questions are asked: a) What is framed and represented as salient when learning about the Middle Ages concerning procedural activities, resources and content focus? b) How does the framing and salience change during learning design sequences? What is the characteristic of representations at different points of time? c) What are (tentatively) the consequences for assessment?

A multimodal design perspective on teaching and learning

Both teaching and learning can be understood as multimodal design activities (*for* respectively *in* learning), where knowledge is constantly interpreted and modally expressed anew (Selander & Kress, 2010). Thus, knowledge is not seen as a fixed entity that can be transmitted to the learner (Danielsson & Selander, 2014; Jewitt, 2006, 2009; Kress, Jewitt, Ogborn & Tsatsarelis, 2001; Kress 2003; Selander 2008).

In multimodal research of sign-making and knowledge representations, the notion of *salience* refers to content (or units) that has been attributed particular value or importance (Kress, 2003; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996/2006; van Leeuwen, 2005). We will use this concept in line with Roberts' (1982) notion of *curriculum emphases* – developed in relation to science education and defined as 'a coherent set of messages about science' (Roberts, 1982: 245) which organises what is seen as specifically important subject domain knowledge (cf. Seixas & Morton, 2013). Here, we will specifically highlight this in terms of *substantive* and *procedural* knowledge (Lee, 2006; Levesque, 2008). Substantive knowledge concerns content and central concepts like 'war', 'nobility' and 'merchant' (First Order Concepts), whilst procedural knowledge enhances processes and such aspects as 'cause/effect', 'change/continuity', 'historical empathy' and the 'taking of a perspective' (Second Order Concepts). We will also show how emphases may change during a learning design sequence (Selander, 2008).

The concept of *design* in this article refers to the organizing principles of a learning environment and resources, and its consequences for communication and learning (Rostvall & Selander, 2008; Insulander, 2010; Kempe & West, 2010; Selander & Kress, 2010; Elm Fristorp & Lindstrand, 2012). Designs for learning articulates learning as sign-making, transformative processes and knowledge representations in learning environments of different designs. *Learning design sequences* is an analytical tool that intends to capture activities such as teaching and learning in different learning environments, including sketching, negotiations and choices (Selander, 2008; Selander & Kress, 2010). This model consists of 1) a contextual framing for the outlines of teaching and learning 2) the primary transformation unit where pupils, by way of different resources (modes and media), work with information and represent their understanding 3) the second transformation unit where the work and the result of work is assessed, discussed and (sometimes) graded. One sequence may consist of a lesson, a theme or a series of lessons. It starts with the teacher's introduction of the subject area and continues throughout the evaluation and assessment.

Method and empirical setting

Various materials were gathered during several visits to two different classrooms in two different schools in Sweden. The pupils were 10 – 11 years old and were in the 5th grade. In Sweden, pupils do not start receiving official grades until the 6th grade. One of the schools, here called the Urban School, had around 550 pupils and was located in a multi-cultural suburb, while the other was a small rural school, here called the Countryside School, with around 50 pupils. In both schools, a researcher attended a series of lessons, starting from the introduction of the unit and continuing until its finish. Several lessons on the Middle Ages were documented. These data consist of video recordings of classroom interaction and visits to museums, a compilation of educational material such as local educational plans, lesson plans, textbooks, films, PowerPoint presentations, worksheets, instructions and text files produced during teaching. Tests and pupils' writings such as stories, factual texts and notes, were also collected as data.

The video data consist of 22 hours of film, recorded during ten lessons at each school and during two museum visits. The entire video collection was viewed several times during the process of transcription. The transcription, which was made in linear form, focused on teachers' and students' speech, body posture and gestures. In the first step of the analysis, all the material was printed and processed several times, using different colours for the codes. The analytical concepts of procedural activities, resources and content focus was used as a filter, through which the material was coded. In the second step of the analysis, condensed meanings concerning the procedural activities, resources and content focus were summarised in a matrix that also took into account the time aspect, i.e. the different phases of learning design sequences. Thus, the analysis was organised chronologically: as educational material was introduced or produced in class, condensed meanings concerning the content's focus was noted in the matrix. Our intent has not been to make a detailed multimodal analysis of human interaction, but rather to study transformative processes and instances where modes and media are used by teachers and students. Our empirical examples are used to illustrate how different didactic designs produce different images of a knowledge area and create different opportunities for learning. This research has been performed in accordance with ethical guidelines set by the Swedish Research Council, including confidentiality, consent, information and autonomy, with an emphasis that participation in the study was voluntary.

The Urban School

The setting: In the first lesson, the teacher demonstrated a local educational plan, using PowerPoint, on a computer and projector. This plan is part of the teacher's didactic design and based on re-formulations from the syllabus. It shows that both substantive knowledge and procedural knowledge is important. In terms of substantive knowledge there is a list of concepts, e.g. 'being a Christian', 'baptism', 'saint', 'crusade', 'a suit of armour'. Procedural knowledge concerns source criticism, historical empathy and cause/effect. The teacher also gives examples of how pupils can demonstrate their knowledge of history and asks them to compare the past with the present.

Fig. 1. Local educational plan, the Urban School

During the subsequent PowerPoint presentation, called *A quick presentation of the Middle Ages*, substantive knowledge is considered salient through the use of words like: 'king', 'realm' and 'Hundred Years War'. As stated in the educational plan, the teaching methods are related to verbal language: reading, listening to a lecture and participating in discussions. The presentation includes both text and images, but the text is orally presented and discussed. The teacher regularly asks the students to explain subject-specific words and words connected to the knowledge requirements. Examples included explaining the implication of 'the most powerful', 'tyrant', 'to account for', 'pedagogical', and 'to have basic or a good knowledge'. Each week, the pupils' homework was to learn some subject-specific concepts and words. Apart from these examples, the focus was on substantive knowledge, where political and social history is discussed. In terms of political history, the teacher emphasized members of the ruling classes, kings and queens, their jobs, abilities and ways of controlling the realm. Sweden as a realm is placed in relation to England, France, Germany and Russia. The struggle for power between Sweden and Denmark is exemplified through the historical event, the Stockholm Bloodbath. The computer and projector were used as resources to present the local education plan and the PowerPoint presentation. The PowerPoint presentation and educational plan was also printed into hand-outs and distributed. The knowledge representations in this setting concern both procedural and substantive knowledge, but it is substantive knowledge that is being stressed.

In the *primary transformation unit*, where the pupils' designs for learning were the focus, the pupils were able to watch ten episodes of a film series called *With Ahmed in the Middle Ages*. The computer and projector were used as resources, and the pupils were encouraged to take notes and write down questions. The film is focused on procedural knowledge in terms of source criticism and historical empathy, and deals with social history within themes such as food, entertainment and love. However this emphasis is downplayed by the teacher through the comments and questions posed, as these concern substantive understanding, where pupils are asked to explain words like 'brawn' (a meat dish), 'hygiene' and 'to be burned at the stake'. Subsequently, pupils were told to work individually with study questions, using the PowerPoint handout as a resource. The teacher's role appeared to be to motivate the pupils to work, suggesting answers and arranging work in pairs as some pupils had a hard time concentrating on the assignment. The questions posed can be characterised as convergent (closed) and connected to substantive knowledge and political history: 'How could the king find out what happened in the realm?', 'Who was Birger Jarl' and 'How many people died during the Stockholm Bloodbath and why were they killed?'. The class went through the answers collectively - pupils raised their hands and several suggestions were given. Word comprehension appeared important, and words like 'corpulent' and 'barn' were explained. In another assignment, social and cultural history was emphasised as pupils had to select key words for a factual text and oral presentation concerning the themes of food, professions, housing and the church. Here, and in the following assignment, substantive knowledge appeared as the central theme. The next assignment was to form groups and work with specific themes, including food, professions, housing and the church. The pupils were encouraged to take turns reading a text about their theme, a resource which was produced by the teacher. The focus was on social history and substantive knowledge. The pupils read aloud and then worked individually to find key words, such as 'merchant', 'guild' and 'town wall', which were written down and used as semiotic resources during the presentation. New groups were formed, with representatives from each theme and the pupils presenting their themes to one another. The teacher instructed them and had a supporting role during the lessons. During the presentation, pupils had a few minutes to read their notes and make preparations, then they took turns telling one another about their theme. Next, the class read aloud from their textbook. The focus was

on cultural history and the influence of church, procedural knowledge and cause/effect. Additionally first order concepts and substantive knowledge are emphasised and explained: 'pious', 'preach', 'missionary' and 'apostle'. Their next assignment, as presented in a handout, was to write a story through using a set of given words. The pupils had to write at least two pages, using pencil and paper. Most of these words were discussed in class, and pupils gave suggestions of what 'tournament', 'to knight somebody' and 'noble' means. The focus was on social and cultural history. In the story-based assignment, pupils had to learn words related to the everyday lives of people in the countryside and in towns during the Middle Ages.

Fig. 2–3. Assignment and essay, the Urban School

Even though the assignment was focused on historical empathy, it is the substantive knowledge that remained in focus. The pupils had to use most of the given words in the story. The teacher gave examples of how to write and held up certain phrases as an example. During their work, they got to see an episode of the film series to get inspiration for writing and as yet another model for how to tell a story. After this assignment, the class read aloud from their textbook - a chapter on the plague - which was focused on social history and substantive knowledge. They also watched a film, which discussed the plague. During the primary transformation unit, knowledge representations mostly concerned substantive knowledge.

During the *secondary transformation unit* some of the pupils' stories were read out loud in class. This selection highlights what is considered as recognized knowledge. These stories concern everyday conditions and situations, and mention housing, professions and social classes. Again, it is the substantive knowledge that appears as the central theme. During the last lesson, the teacher hands out an evaluation form, where pupils are encouraged to write down what they have learned, what they liked the most, and where they would have liked to live: in the countryside or in a town. Paper and pencil are used for this purpose. In the evaluation of this unit, only a small part of the pupil's representations are mentioned aloud in class. A few weeks later, the class pays a visit to the Museum of Medieval Stockholm. A museum educator

shows them the display and takes the class on a guided tour of the Old Town. The emphasis here is on social and cultural history.

The Countryside School

The setting: During the first lesson, the teacher started by asking the pupils to write down what they already knew and what they wanted to learn during this unit. Social history and topics like clothing, hygiene and punishments appeared to be important to the pupils. As the pupils finished writing, using pen and paper, they jointly make a mind map on the Smart board. In terms of content, first order concepts like 'gallows', 'plague', 'castle' and 'knights' were suggested by the pupils. Then, the teacher displayed a document on the Smart board. It was a re-formulation from the syllabus focusing on core content and learning goals, which covered political, social and cultural history. The content included Cultural interchange between Europe and other parts of the world through e.g. trade and migration; The evolution of the Nordic countries (How Sweden came to be); The introduction of Christianity in the Nordic area; The importance of religion for cultures and states in Sweden and other Nordic countries; How religion and other changes affected peoples' living conditions. Goals: To have basic knowledge of social changes (cultural meetings, migration, religion etc.); To know the consequences of these changes for peoples' living conditions and actions (how the changes affected people); To be able to account for the effects of cultural meetings and migration in our own age; To be able to account for how peoples' living conditions have effected today's society.

The teacher then introduced the pupils' main assignment: they were supposed to make their own history book. On the white board, next to the mind map, the teacher displayed a prepared book page as a source of inspiration.

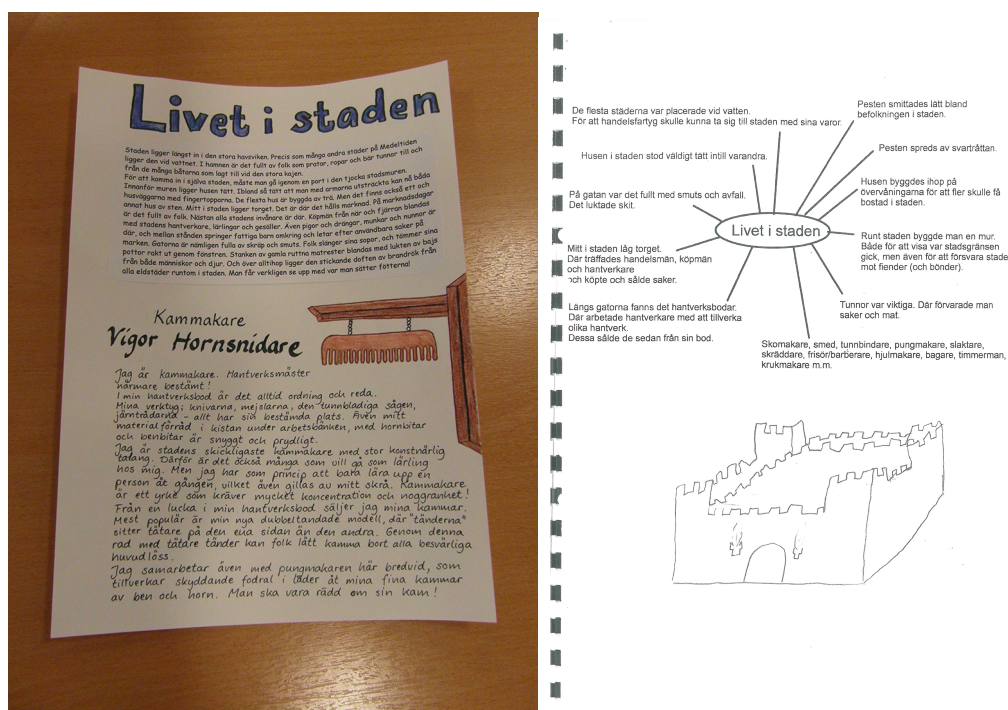Fig. 4-5. "Life in town", the teacher's book page and a mind map made by the teacher and pupils, the Countryside School.

The class studied a timeline in the textbook; they discussed when in history this period was set and established the beginning and end of the period in terms of years. The teacher distributed homework with a text – which consisted of writing and images – and questions about 'life

during the Middle Ages', addressing cultural and social history. In the setting, in the teacher's design for learning, it is the procedural knowledge that is salient.

During the *primary transformation unit*, the class read aloud from the textbook, dealing with cultural and political changes during the Middle Ages. The teacher wrote down first and second order concepts and phrases like: 'Christianity a new religion', 'Sweden as a united realm with kings and common laws' and 'bondsmen are set free'. These notes were later summarised into a text by the teacher, displayed on the Smart board and later distributed to the pupils as a handout. A film was shown on the Smart board, as an introduction to the period, focusing on changes in terms of a new religion, a united Sweden and common laws. Thus the emphasis was on procedural knowledge and political and cultural history. Next, the pupils began to produce material for their book; they designed *in* learning. They will use this text with content from their textbook to draw an image which is inspired from the film. They can cut-out sections of the text and glue them onto a white piece of paper and use colour pencils. In the following lesson, the teacher and pupils went through the homework. As pupils answered questions aloud, the teacher wrote down their answers on the whiteboard. The focus was on social history: 'What were the different occupations on a farm?', 'If you were living in the Middle Ages, what would you do during the day'? This activity could have been a way to encourage historical empathy. Next, there was some repetition from the previous lesson as the mind map was displayed on the Smart board. First order concepts such as 'self-subsistent household' and 'pay one's tithes' were explained. A new assignment was introduced, where pupils had to read a few pages in the textbook and then work on a worksheet called 'Life in a Medieval village'. From this worksheet, a new mind map is produced on the Smart board, with suggestions from the pupils about life in a typical village. Social history terms such as 'most people lived in the country', 'the houses were built from logs' and 'several people slept in the same bed' are articulated. The next step was to produce a new page for their book. Pupils started to work, using laptops, colour pencils, and occasionally paper and pencil. Some pupils printed their texts, cut-out sections of text and pasted them onto a new sheet of paper. The teacher assisted them in terms of providing a model from the page, technical support and help getting started.

As homework, pupils were asked to read a text about 'life in town'. In what followed, the teacher read a literary text about a boy arriving to medieval Stockholm. The teacher asked the pupils to consider what life was like in those days, thus focusing on procedural knowledge. The next assignment was a new worksheet with questions that focused on social and economic history and substantive knowledge in terms of 'craft', 'guild' and 'Hansan'. Some pupils worked individually, while others worked in pairs. From the worksheet, the teacher and pupils together produced a new mind map on the Smart board.

The next assignment was to produce a page about life in the city. During another lesson, the teacher was dressed in 'medieval' clothing. She demonstrated the different garments that she wore, and she also brought a large bag with clothing for the children to try on. We interpreted this as a focus on procedural knowledge. On the Smart board, the teacher also displayed images of men and women dressed in clothes from the 1100s, 1200s and 1300s. The different garments were named, thus focusing on substantive knowledge: 'surcot', 'tunic' and 'steeple cap'. The pupils took turns trying on the clothes, and most had their photographs taken. The photos were later presented in the book. The pupils also produced a new page which focused on clothing. A few days later, the class visited the Old Town of Stockholm, where the teacher took them on a guided tour. The class, dressed up in 'medieval' clothing, visited the Old Town in Stockholm and the museum, which involved a focus on cultural and social history. The teacher and the guide spoke about Christianity and everyday life in Stockholm. Here the emphasis was on social and cultural history and perspective-taking, as they stopped at the church and took a look at a large square and very narrow alley. At the museum, a museum educator spoke about

Christianity, life in the city, archaeology and history as disciplines, crime and punishment and diseases - thus focusing on social and cultural history.

During the visit the teacher took pictures. Back in school, the pupils were able to choose which pictures to use when making a new page on their visit to the museum. Some used their laptops to write captions, while others used pencil and paper. The images were printed on paper, and the pupils cut them out and pasted them onto new sheets of paper, along with captions. The teacher assisted with technical issues, encouraged pupils to continue writing, and she also used models to show the pupils what such a page might look like. For this project the pupils worked individually. The project ended with a short film that presented the core content of the Middle Ages. Altogether, the first transformation unit focused on both substantive and procedural knowledge.
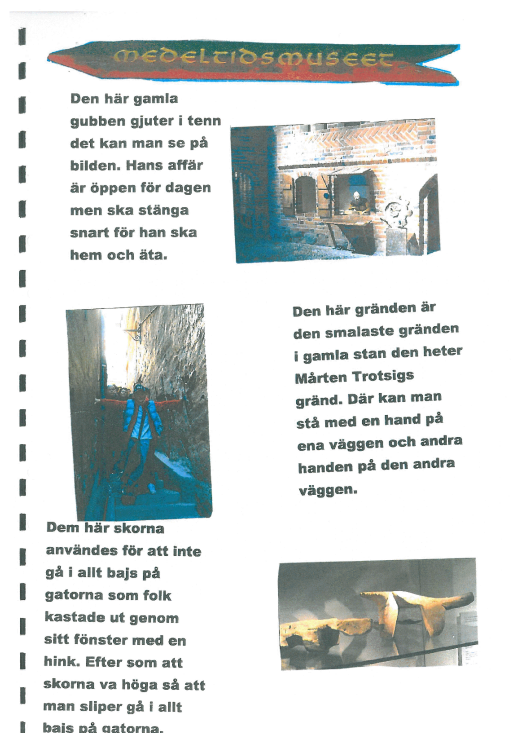
Fig. 6. "Medieval museum", Pupil's book page, the Countryside school

During *the secondary transformation unit,* the books were ready. They were presented to the pupils during a ceremony, where mead was served and 'medieval music' was played. As the class was about to evaluate the unit, the teacher repeated the central content and learning goals concerning cultural interchange between the Nordic area and Europe, the evolution of the Nordic countries, reasons for societal changes, the consequences of these changes and how they have affected today's society. The pupils were encouraged to discuss how they had been working with these goals. Jointly they concluded that Christianity was a big change for people, that Sweden was united as a realm, that immigration through trade had a large effect on the culture, that laws were legislated and that food, language and clothing changed as a consequence of the cultural influences. During the secondary transformation unit, procedural knowledge appeared to be central.

Knowledge emphases and implications for assessment

We will now move on to a comparison between the two classrooms, concerning resources and content focus as well as procedural activities. In the Urban School, pupils worked individually

with verbal texts, while pupils in the Countryside School composed multimodal texts both individually and through collaborating with others.

Classroom conversations occurred in both environments: in the Urban School through pupils' understanding of first order concepts, and in the Countryside School on the pupil's previous knowledge and interests, entailing both first and second order concepts. The contextual framings of the two classrooms were also different: in the more multi-cultural Urban School, in the multilingual classroom, the focus was to scaffold the academic language proficiency in history. In the Countryside School there was a focus on multimodal literacies, and the pupils were offered other and more diverse ways of making meaning.

In both examples, classroom work was not based on school textbooks. The Urban School used a mix of teacher-produced materials and other materials such as written texts and videos. Digital media was used both as a resource for dissemination and as a starting point for conversations of conceptual understanding. Additionally the Countryside School involved a variety of learning resources such as mind maps, role play, photographs and museum exhibitions. Digital media was used as a resource for collective meaning-making, co-authoring activities and as a tool for composing multimodal texts. Thus, the pupils at the Countryside School also acquired digital literacy.

In the Urban School, the teacher framed first order concepts as being central for the subject – an emphasis of history *as substantive knowledge*. The teacher at the Countryside School highlighted second order skills – *procedural knowledge*. The framing of the subject and what seemed salient changed during the learning design sequences: In the Urban School, there was a shift from procedural and substantive knowledge towards an emphasis on substantive knowledge. In the Countryside School, we noticed a shift from procedural knowledge to procedural/substantive knowledge and then back to procedural knowledge.

The Urban School had a focus on substantive knowledge in verbal texts, which meant that a rather abstract version of the Middle Ages was produced. In the Countryside School, procedural knowledge was stressed and other potentials for learning were offered through the use of many different modes and resources. In this way the Middle Ages was presented in a more concrete way where the pupils were able to see, taste, feel and *design* history. Additionally, the exchange between teacher, pupil and content was more intense in the Countryside School. This can be described in terms of modal density (Norris, 2009), if we look at the communicative modes at play in interactions. Modal density may come about through modal complexity, and in this case there was an intricate combination of spoken and written language, moving and still images, layout and object handling.

To conclude this paper, we would like to point at some tentative consequences for assessment. The multimodal character of the classroom – emphasised in the Countryside School – gave access to multimodal resources. The texts produced and used in this class were more diverse than the Urban School in terms of composition and possibilities for interaction. What was seen as significant knowledge (knowledge emphasis) about the Middle Ages differed in many ways between the two schools: a focus on verbal concepts versus a focus on wider multimodal representations. We can only reflect upon what influence the choice of schools was on the results of this study. The focus on verbal texts and conceptual understanding in the Urban School seemed to be connected to an explicit strategy and approach to develop pupils' language. As we will argue below, this may not always be the only way to teach history.

In the future, we assume that there will be a need for a wider understanding of assessment, where assessment is not only based on verbal language and representations. Ercikan & Seixas (2015:6) maintain that assessing historical thinking should not be dependent upon pupils' reading and writing skills. Recently, scholars have argued that in order to attend to pupils' learning, assessments need to address and include multimodal aspects of teaching and learning

(Jewitt, 2003; Wyatt-Smith & Cummings, 2003; Wyatt-Smith & Kimber, 2009). For such a change to come about, we need to reflect on the social arrangements of power and the authority of the teacher (Kress, 2009).

In a society which continues to be more culturally and linguistically diverse, it no longer seems valid to think of assessment in terms of single standards and targets (Johnsson & Kress, 2003). Johnsson & Kress (2003) argue that assessments need to be redefined so that the diversity of pupils and their different ways of knowing and making meaning will be recognised as being productive in class. They believe that the assessment of children's literacy can, and must, be democratic. Researchers in the field of assessment also stress the active role of students in assessments, such as in self-assessment and peer assessment (e.g. Black & William, 2005).

For instance, Seixas and Morton (2013) have emphasised students' active roles in the creation of historical narratives. Teachers can bring forward the importance of establishing historical significance with pupils in much the same way that a historian would do. In classroom discussions about historical change, teachers can ask insightful questions about sources and discuss how different sources have been selected and used to produce certain narratives. The Historical thinking project also (http://historicalthinking.ca) proposes that 'Historical literacy' should involve active engagement with a variety of historical texts.

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Endnotes

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Pedagogy of oppression: Reconstruction narratives in Mississippi history textbooks 1887-1976

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ABSTRACT: The goal of this study was to identify and analyze Reconstruction narratives in Mississippi History textbooks from 1887-1981 and identify themes that helped maintain the existing social structure/ hierarchy. The Reconstruction narratives in these texts created a myth of corrupt Reconstruction that was run by others who were characterized as evil, dishonest, ignorant, outsiders, and greedy. This narrative helped to support the maintenance of the existing social order from post Reconstruction through the 1960s and 1970s. It also provided, or reinforced, intellectual arguments used to resist desegregation during the Civil Rights Era.

KEYWORDS: History textbooks, reconstruction narratives, History education, Mississippi.

Introduction: Myths of the Lost Cause

Living in Mississippi, I grew up with Lost Cause myths and heard people try to separate the Civil War and other aspects of American history from slavery and race. For several years, I taught U.S. history for a large university with a very diverse student body. Like Loewen (2010), but forty years later, my students readily embraced Lost Cause myths. When I shared the Mississippi Declaration of Secession with students, they were usually surprised that slavery was mentioned in the first sentence as the principle cause for secession. The Mississippians who pushed for secession understood they were seceding over slavery, why don't we today? Of course, the slavery versus state rights argument is just one aspect of the Lost Cause that has managed to become a part of our greater historical narrative. This leads to the question: what can explain the persistence of Lost Cause myths?

Charles Reagan Wilson (1980) described the Lost Cause as, 'the dream of a cohesive Southern People with a separate cultural identity' that replaced the dream of a 'political nation' (p. 1). Wilson explained that the Lost Cause predated the Civil War and was used to justify and defend slavery. After the Civil War myths of the Lost Cause served to help develop a distinctive southern identity and to maintain the racially segregated social order.

During Reconstruction, public education systems were established in the South (Boyer, et al., 2011), however, education was used to maintain the existing social order. This included textbooks that promoted the Lost Cause (Wilson, 1980). The advent of public education and the prominent role of textbooks in schools provided a venue for passing the Lost Cause and the dominant southern Reconstruction narrative from generation to generation. As Howard Zinn

(1995) explained, 'A great propaganda campaign was undertaken North and South (one which lasted well into the twentieth century) in the history textbooks of American schools to show that blacks were inept, lazy, corrupt, and ruinous to the governments of the South when they were in office' (p. 195).

A brief history of Reconstruction

In order to prepare the reader with appropriate background information, I will briefly describe the period of Reconstruction. From 1861-1865 the United States was in a state of Civil War. The cause of the war was primarily over the issue of slavery, more specifically the fear of the Southern states that the expansion of slavery into the Western territories would be ended with the election of President Lincoln. They feared this would lead to the eventual abolition of slavery. Eleven states seceded from the United States and formed the Confederate States of America. The war was then essentially over the right of the states to secede with the United States going to war to prevent secession. The war was won by the Union (states that did not secede from the United States). Prior to his assassination, President Lincoln proposed a very easy plan for states, which had seceded to rejoin the United States. He was assassinated in April 1865 and therefore his vision of Reconstruction was not realized. What followed was a period of time from 1865 until 1877 called Reconstruction. During this time period, the Federal government worked to readmit the Southern states that had seceded under various plans including one by the new President Johnson. The Federal government also worked to integrate freedmen into American society. The Republicans in Congress became frustrated with Johnson's plan because he pardoned many ex-Confederates allowing them to regain American citizenship as well as participate in the political process. Many states, including Mississippi, quickly formed new governments, applied for readmission, and sent Congressional delegations to the United States Congress. At the same time these state governments created laws called Black Codes to restrict the political, economic, and social freedoms of free blacks. These actions led to conflict between Congress and the President. Congress refused to allow Congressional delegations to take their seats in Congress. They also passed a series of laws that enacted what became known as Congressional or Radical Reconstruction. This is the Reconstruction that led to the participation of blacks in the local and state governments in Mississippi and other states. The South was divided into military districts and soldiers were used to enforce Federal Reconstruction laws including the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the United States Constitution. Reconstruction ended with the election of Rutherford B. Hayes to the Presidency in 1877. For those interested in a more comprehensive description of Reconstruction, I recommend *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People* (Boyer, et al., 2011)

The role of textbooks in shaping identity

Margaret Mead (1967) argued that an individual's culture 'shapes and limits our imaginations' in ways that make it difficult for the individual to think or feel outside the bounds of those limits. Wilson (1980) described how religion was used as an institutional force to maintain the social order by keeping blacks subordinate to whites through segregation. Like religion, education was used and the venue was textbooks. Southern history textbooks were used as institutional forces to set limits on how people thought about Reconstruction, race, and segregation. These textbooks helped to create and sustain a mythology of Reconstruction that justified segregation and the maintenance of the existing social structure.

I chose to study Mississippi History textbooks because they provide insight into what was taught in Mississippi schools about Reconstruction over time. According to Issit (2004),

textbook analysis can 'illuminate the history of ideas and the evolution of dominant ideologies' (p. 696). Often textbooks allow the authorities to create an image of the other that helps to protect the existing social structure and define the desired cultural identity (Issit, 2004). Dong-bae-Lee (2010) conducted a textbook analysis of North Korean textbooks concluding that in the textbooks, 'North Korean identity is defined through the portrayal of non-North Koreans, mostly enemy others.' This identity served to encourage North Koreans to be loyal and unquestioning servants to the regime by trusting their political leadership and placing the goals and needs of the nation ahead of their personal goals and needs. Korostelina (2011) studied Ukrainian history textbooks and concluded that the texts were used to emphasize cultural and historical differences with Russia in an effort to strengthen Ukrainian national identity. In effect, the texts made an enemy out of Russia and Russians through describing them in negative ways. This was used to 'justify its own past policies and actions.' (p. 14). Just as North Korean and Ukrainian texts were used to define the 'others' in an effort to build a national identity and maintain the existing social and political structure, these Mississippi textbooks served a similar purpose.

Mississippi was slow to adopt statewide free textbooks. Prior to 1940, Mississippi did not have a statewide policy for textbook adoption or approval. Before 1940, school districts could adopt textbooks (Binford, 2014), but as Davis (2010) reports there were no "inclusive texts" (p. 7) on Mississippi history available until 1974. In 1940, a law was passed providing free textbooks to public school students. The law created a Textbook Rating and Purchasing Board that was chaired by the governor. This legislation gave the governor the power to significantly influence which textbooks were used in Mississippi public schools (Binford, 2014). This power was exercised to help maintain control over "what and how students learned" Mississippi history including the Civil War and Reconstruction (Davis, 2010, p. 7).

Two examples illustrate the active role the state government played in controlling textbook purchases and adoption in attempts to control what was taught. In 1962, Governor Barnett, as a result of a 1960 law giving him "full control over selecting textbooks," selected a Mississippi history textbook authored by Bettersworth "as the only state-approved choice for the required Mississippi history course." A version of this book would be the only approved text until 1980 in Mississippi schools. In 1974, the recently created History Textbook Review Committee rejected a Mississippi history textbook that dealt with the Civil War, Reconstruction, and race more objectively and honestly, *Mississippi: Conflict and Change* by Loewen and Sallis. It was not until 1980 that this book was adopted as a result of a federal court ruling (Davis, 2010).

The historical record shows that for many years, textbooks nationwide were used by authorities to reinforce negative stereotypes about blacks including their role in Reconstruction (Wilson, 1980; Zinn, 1995). Early on the Mississippi textbooks "merely echoed" the prevailing historiography on the subjects, but when historians nationwide began to shift their narratives to more honest representations of the past, southern histories did not change (Davis, 2010, p. 6). As Wilson (1980) pointed out, it was important to Southerners to maintain a "correct interpretation of Southern history" and the use of textbooks "suitable for use by Southern children…" (p. 139). Prior to the statewide adoption there were no texts that dealt honestly about Mississippi history available and after the policy of statewide adoption was initiated, the policy served to guarantee that the history read in schools would help maintain the existing social structure/ hierarchy.

Analysis

The goal of this study was to identify and analyze Lost Cause myths in Reconstruction narratives and identify themes that helped maintain the existing social structure/ hierarchy. This

was done through analyzing the Reconstruction accounts in Mississippi history textbooks. The texts were the Mississippi history textbooks available in a large university library. The 1887 text was the earliest text I could find and the latest text was 2013. The texts were primarily published by companies in the South. Only two texts that are described in this analysis were published in the North: Lowry and McCardle (1892) in New York and Sansing (1981) in Minnesota. Additional information about where the others were published is available in the citations for each of the texts located in the reference list at the end of the paper.

I employed content analysis to analyze the texts. My initial analysis used an inductive approach to identify the themes that emerged from an initial text (Berg, 2007). An initial review of one text (Riley, 1915) identified a base set of themes from the Reconstruction narrative to be used as a starting point for analysis of the other texts. The initial set of themes was derived from the texts, because the goal was to identify themes that emerged from the texts and then see how these themes were presented overtime.   I then shifted to a combination of deductive and inductive approaches with the remaining texts. I used the initial set of themes to guide my analysis, but was open to the introduction of new themes that emerged in the other texts. The initial themes identified are listed in Table 1. I next analyzed and reduced the number of themes. Finally I grouped them according to their function. The two functions identified were to justify reactions to Reconstruction or to define others (see Table 2). The label 'justify' was later renamed 'Righteous Response to Reconstruction.' Of the textbooks analyzed, the 1981 Sansing text broke the dominant Reconstruction narrative and began a new phase in Mississippi history texts in which Reconstruction is addressed in more historically objective terms. I analyzed the textbooks from 1981- present, but these texts were either authored or co-authored by Sansing and maintained a similar description of Reconstruction as the 1981 text; therefore, they are not included in this description of the findings.

Table 1: Initial base themes and expanded themes from content analysis

Base themes used for initial content analysis	Expanded themes
a. Redemption/ Redeemers taking back legitimate control from Republican carpetbaggers, scalawags, and ignorant blacks.	a. Corruption of reconstruction governments
b. Revolution of 1876 and the return of good government	b. Redemption/ Redeemers and the Revolution of 1876 and the return of good government
c. Honest white Democratic government vs. corrupt Republican government	c. Honest white Democratic government vs. corrupt Republican government
d. KKK its initial purpose vs. its transformed purpose and methods	d. Legitimate purposes of KKK in Redemption
e. Race problems as a result of outside agitation	e. Race problems as a result of outside agitation
f. Freeman's bureau as corrupt and misguiding blacks	f. Freeman's bureau and other outsiders as corrupt and misguiding blacks
h. Blacks misled and guided into corruption (lack of black agency)	g. Blacks misled and guided into corruption (lack of black agency)
i. White response to Reconstruction- not hatred, but concern about corruption	h. White response to Reconstruction- not hatred, but concern about corruption and taxes
j. Overwhelming impact of freedom on freed slaves- more than they could handle	i. Overwhelming impact of freedom on freed slaves- more than they could handle- not ready for freedom
k. Benevolence of former slave owners and slavery system as beneficial to slaves	j. Benevolence of former slave owners and slavery system as beneficial to slaves
l. The Loyal Negro	k. The Loyal Negro
	l. The others- Scalawags, carpetbaggers, greedy negroes
	m. MS response to reconstruction misunderstood
	n. Disenfranchised whites
	o. Opposition to 1868 Constitution
	p. Good negroes

Table 2: Final themes resulting from content analysis

Themes	Duval, 1887	Duval, 1892	Lowry & McCardle, 1892	Riley, 1915	Lowrey, Kincannon, & Lowrey, 1937	Sydner & Bennett, 1939	Guyton, 1952	Bettersworth, 1964	Riley, 1976	Sansing, 1981
Righteous Response to Reconstruction										
Corruption and lawlessness during Reconstruction	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O
Redemption/ Redeemers and the Revolution of 1876 and the return of good government	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O
Legitimate purposes of KKK in Redemption	O	O	O	X	O	X	X	X	X	O
MS response to reconstruction misunderstood	X	O	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	O
Others										
Race problems as a result of outside agitation	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Y
The others- Scalawags, carpetbaggers, greedy negroes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Y
Negroes not ready for freedom	X	X	O	X	O	X	X	X	X	Y
Good negroes	O	X	X	X	O	X	O	O	X	O

Defining the Righteous Response to Reconstruction and 'the Others'

Analysis of the ten textbooks identified two major functions of the Reconstruction narratives: (a) to justify southern white actions as a Righteous Response to Reconstruction and (b) to define others. The Righteous Response to Reconstruction function is defined as those narratives that characterize Reconstruction as a period of lawlessness and corruption that was endured for a time, until the white, Southern, Democrats were able to regain control, thus restoring legitimacy and good governance. This process of 'redemption' or 'revolution' was completed with the election of 1875 and the intimidation, impeachment and removal, or forced resignation of black and white Republican elected officials including the Governor Alderbert Ames in 1876. This ended Reconstruction government in Mississippi, resulting in a time of 'renewal.' The Ku Klux Klan and other groups used a variety of methods to suppress the black vote and discourage Republican political activity. These activities included terror and violence to support this

Righteous Response to Reconstruction. These efforts are characterized as legitimate and necessary because of the corruption and lawlessness of Reconstruction governments. Finally, Mississippi's response to Reconstruction was misunderstood by the North. The white people of Mississippi were not motivated by race and hatred, but rather were motivated to restore legitimate, efficient, and fair government.

The function of defining 'the others' justified the Righteous Response to Reconstruction. Many of the actions in response to Reconstruction were anti-democratic, illegal, violent, or otherwise illegitimate. In order to justify these actions it was necessary to define 'the others' as outsiders, political adventurers, greedy or ignorant 'negroes', dupes, traitors, and agitators. In doing so the actions taken by white Democrats that would normally be seen as illegitimate were characterized as heroic. In defining 'the others' the textbook authors created a contrast between the legitimate leaders (the heroic white Southern gentlemen) and the corrupt and lawless leaders who had usurped power at the end of the Civil War (the ignorant negroes, unscrupulous scalawags, and corrupt carpetbaggers).

Both the Righteous Response to Reconstruction and the definition of 'the others' served a further purpose to create a horrific picture of Reconstruction that no sane white person would ever want to experience. In creating this vision of the past, the textbook authors helped to solidify generational support for the existing segregated social order in which blacks could not vote or exercise political power and a social order in which outsiders were not trusted and their motives suspect because of their actions during Reconstruction. Both of these functions that I have identified as the dominant narrative contain elements of the Dunning school's "traditional interpretation" of Reconstruction (Foner, 1982).

Examples of the Righteous Response to Reconstruction

In the Mississippi history textbooks analyzed in this study, Reconstruction was portrayed as a period of corruption and lawlessness. In response to the corruption and lawlessness, southern white men had to conduct a revolution in order to redeem Mississippi from the control of the illegitimate, corrupt, outsiders (blacks, scalawags, carpetbaggers, and Republicans). Four themes support the idea of the Righteous Response to Reconstruction: (a) Corruption and lawlessness during Reconstruction, (b) Redemption/ Redeemers and the Revolution of 1876 and the return of good government, (c) Legitimate purposes of the KKK in Redemption, and (d) The Mississippi response to Reconstruction was misunderstood by the North.

Corruption and Lawlessness during Reconstruction

In order to justify the need for Redemption or Revolution, textbook authors described the Reconstruction government in Mississippi as corrupt. An example of corruption in the Reconstruction government is the Constitutional Convention in 1868. It was called the 'Black and Tan Convention' because there were 'seventeen Negroes among its one hundred members' (Bettersworth, 1964, p. 228). The authors bemoan that the primary concern of the members of the convention was their own compensation: 'Before adjourning, the members of this Convention voted to themselves the most extravagant compensation for their service during the session' (Duval, 1892 p. 210).

In the narratives, corruption was often the result of ignorance, illiteracy, and dishonesty on the part of the Reconstruction officials. Riley (1976) wrote:

> Justices of the peace were for the most part ignorant colored politicians, who knew little of the law or of judicial procedures. It was asserted that in Madison County in 1873 there was not a justice of the peace who could read or write. (p. 304)

According to the Reconstruction narratives in the texts, corruption in government was further compounded when 'a number of the most intelligent white citizens in the State were excluded from participation in the elections…' (Lowery & McCardle, 1892, p. 191). 'This meant that black voters far outnumbered the white' (Guyton, 1952, p. 212). Because of this 'the entire political power of the State was thrown into the hands of a few adventurers from Northern States and a host of ignorant negroes' (Duval, 1887, p. 175).

Mississippi's Response to Reconstruction Misunderstood

In the narrative, Mississippi bears some blame for Radical Reconstruction because of actions taken immediately after the war that were misunderstood by the North. The problem is that the people of the North did not realize the gravity of the situation in Mississippi and the rest of the South as described by Lowery, Kincannon, and Lowery (1937):

> Did any people ever face a task more gigantic? If mistakes were made by the masses or by governmental powers, local, and national, these mistakes were only what might have been expect of fallible humanity. The great slave population liberated- a complete wreckage of the labor system; the 25,000 slave holders who had been the financial, civic and social power of the state suddenly came to poverty and ruin; eight thousand ignorant Negroes suddenly enfranchised with less than half the number of legal white voters- all these conditions faced Mississippi's leadership and all cried for immediate adjustment (p. 184).

In response to these difficulties the state took a number of steps that were misinterpreted by the North as efforts to maintain or reinstate slavery. Most notably was the failure of the state of Mississippi to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution and the adoption of the 'Black Code.' Bettersworth (1964) provided a succinct statement of justification:

> The new legislature refused to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment on the grounds that the state convention's action in abolishing slavery made it unnecessary. To make matters worse, insofar as Northern critics were concerned, the assembly passed a series of laws, generally spoke of as a 'Black Code.' These laws were designed to stop vagrancy and to force the freedmen to go to work. Although the laws were patterned after similar ones in the North, there were excited charges that Mississippians were attempting to revive slavery. (p. 223)

According to the narrative, the results of these misunderstandings were a shift in Reconstruction policy from the softer policies of President Andrew Johnson to the harsh, punitive policies of the Radical Republicans.

Redemption, Redeemers and the Revolution of 1876

In response to the overwhelming corruption and lawlessness of the Reconstruction period, white Democratic leaders arose to challenge the illegitimate rule of blacks, their agitators, and the Republican Party. The response initially was organized around Tax-payers' Leagues who protested excessive spending and taxes by the local and state government. According to Lowry and McCardle (1892):

> The taxpayers, under these circumstances, had grown desperate, and in almost every county in the State held conventions with a firm determination to correct the existing abuses, and prevent their repetition in the future. Ministers of the gospel, lawyers, doctors, farmers, and mechanics, all took part…. (p. 229)

Bettersworth (1964) described the goals of the Taxpayer's Leagues: 'White resistance in Vicksburg took the form of the organization of a Taxpayers' League early in 1874. Its objective was the defeat of the Negro city government in the fall elections.' (p. 235). When the corrupt state government did not respond, 'the Democratic party made a determined effort to break the yoke of misrule and oppression under which the State had so long been laboring' (Duval, 1887,

p. 189). Bettersworth (1964) characterized the response by the Democratic Party in 1875 as 'The White Man Fights Back' in a chapter subheading (p. 232).

In order to guarantee Democratic victory in the 1875 election, extraordinary measures were taken. When Governor Ames attempted to restore order after a violent political campaign, he was challenged by the Ku Klux Klan and other white political leaders. Ames' actions are characterized as attempting to suppress the white vote and political activity using a Negro militia. Syndor and Bennett (1939) explained that in 1875,

> The chief difficulty lay in the fact that the voting booths were controlled by Negroes. Governor Ames had created a Negro militia, and these armed Negroes kept the white citizens from voting. It was therefore necessary to force Ames to stop giving this aid to the Negroes….The Ku Klux Klan, under the leadership of Captain W. A. Montgomery, influenced Ames to disband the Negro militia. (pp. 197-199)

These texts highlight the important and 'heroic' role the Ku Klux Klan played in redemption. Rather than criticize the role of the Ku Klux Klan in the Righteous Response to Reconstruction, most of the texts describe their actions as legitimate and necessary in light of the corruption of the Reconstruction government in Mississippi.

Legitimate purposes of the KKK in Redemption

Guyton (1952) described the role of the Ku Klux Klan in this way:

> In 1866, a secret organization, the Ku Klux Klan, was founded in Tennessee…. The purpose of the Klan was protection of weak, innocent, and defenseless people, especially the widows and orphans of the Confederate soldiers. Besides this worthy aim, the Klan had another purpose—that of restoring the political power in the South to the educated and responsible white men who formerly had held it. (p. 218)

And according to Guyton the Ku Klux Klan was successful: 'The Ku Klux Klan did its work effectively and well. One after another, unfit and corrupt people were removed from office…' (p. 218). Because it was difficult to overlook the violence and terror committed by the Ku Klux Klan it was necessary to justify and make apologies for their actions. Syndor and Bennett (1939) wrote:

> The government of the state gave the citizens almost no protection. The white people therefore had to protect themselves without help of sheriff or police….Usually the Ku Klux Klan was able to frighten the Negroes into better behavior. If they continued to act in a disorderly way, on the next visit the whip was used. Some Negroes and some of their white leaders were hanged or shot. This was of course illegal, but the 'legal' officers did not truly represent the people of the state and were not enforcing the laws. Most of the acts of the Klan can therefore be justified on the grounds of grim necessity. (p. 195)

These sentiments are echoed in the textbooks from 1915- 1976. The Ku Klux Klan was necessary, often went to excesses, but it was understandable given the gravity of the situation. In all accounts from 1915- 1976 it was vital to restoring legitimate white rule in Mississippi.

The Return of Good Government and the Revolution Preserved

The Righteous Response to Reconstruction did not end with the election of 1875 and the overthrow of the Republican Governor Aldebert Ames in 1876. Sydnor and Bennett (1937) explained: 'When in 1875 the white people of Mississippi regained control of the government, they had to begin at the very bottom to build up the state, which had suffered in many ways while under the control of corrupt officials' (p. 199). Bettersworth (1964) best described the feelings in Mississippi:

> After 1875 the old bitterness began to fade. Mississippi was back under the control of the native whites, the Redeemers. …. But it was Mississippi for the Mississippians at last…. Negroes continued to vote until the 1890s, but in ever-decreasing numbers. A few were given minor officers by the Democrats, since some of the Negro leaders joined the Democratic Party in 1875. As long as Negroes were voting, it was the practice of the planters and the Democratic leaders in the towns to take charge of the situation and use the Negro vote for the Democratic Party. (p. 239-240)

In order to protect Mississippi from a resurgence of outsider or 'negro' rule, it was necessary to limit the political power of blacks through suppressing or controlling votes. Again, this is justified in light of Reconstruction corruption and lawlessness. These narratives helped to justify a segregated societal order that limited black freedom and agency for the good of all.

Discussion of the Righteous Response to Reconstruction

The narrative of a Righteous Response to Reconstruction is one that was present in all of the texts from 1887- 1976. Several themes support this narrative including the idea that Reconstruction government in Mississippi was corrupt and in need of redemption. The concept of redemption is important because it carries a religious overtone. The idea of redemption implies that there is a great evil that must be overcome by a greater good. In the Righteous Response to Reconstruction, the great evil is 'negro', Republican, Reconstruction government. The greater good that overcomes this evil is the heroic Democratic white man.

Redemption was accomplished through a revolution that included an election, suppression of black votes, and the forcible removal of corrupt, inefficient, illiterate Reconstruction officials. The revolution was solidified by the continued suppression of black political power in Mississippi and the maintenance of a segregated society. This preserved Mississippi for the white man. Because the danger of Reconstruction government and black rule was so great, extraordinary measures were taken by the organizations including the Ku Klux Klan. The persistence of the legitimacy of the Ku Klux Klan in the twentieth century texts could help to justify their continued presence and activity in the state. Finally, in this narrative the idea that white Mississippians were not motivated by race, but they were only doing what was necessary to maintain good government is important. It helped to legitimize actions taken to preserve a segregated society. After the evils of Reconstruction were overcome, Mississippi would do almost anything to prevent a return of 'negro' or outsider rule.

What is the impact of these themes on the collective consciousness of nearly a century of school children? Interestingly, many people currently in places of influence in government, business, and society in Mississippi were educated using these textbooks. They would be 50-70 years old. Many of their thoughts about Reconstruction and race were shaped and limited by these narratives that were presented to them as official knowledge. When we ask why Lost Cause myths persist, it may be because for nearly 100 years the myths were passed along as truth in textbooks. For almost a century Reconstruction was described in a way that created fear of the 'negro' and outsider rule. Is it any wonder that in November 1961 Hodding Carter could write in the *New York Times Magazine*:

> Perhaps the hardest point to grasp is that the Citizens Councils in Mississippi – no matter how dubious its aims, repugnant its philosophy—is not made up of hooded figures meeting furtively in back alleys. Its leadership is drawn not from the pool hall but from the country club. Its membership generally exhibits the attitudes of the middle and upper classes rather than of the poor white. And its aims are not couched in violent language but in the careful embroidery of states' rights and constitutionalism. (Carter, 1961, p.23)

The members of the Citizen Councils were living life within the limits placed on them by their education in Mississippi schools. Their education including what they had read in Mississippi history textbooks had shown them the folly of integration and 'negro' rule, and they were

willing to fight to prevent outsiders who did not understand the situation in Mississippi from interfering with segregation.

On June 21, 1962, a memorandum from the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi highlights that the resistance to desegregation was seen as a struggle against outsiders pushing for integration as aggressors who use intimidation. The movement to resist forced integration is deemed as 'dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community and in our State and to the preservation of our State's Rights' (Patterson, 1962). The struggle is also characterized as a struggle against a pending era of disorder that would result should segregation end. Again, from their study of history in Mississippi history textbooks, these groups learned their lesson well.

Defining Others

All of the textbooks from 1887- 1976 defined others in negative terms in stark contrast to the portrayals of white Democratic Mississippians. The others in the text included 'negroes', carpetbaggers, and scalawags. In discussing 'negroes' several themes were addressed: (a) the idea that race problems or 'negro' misbehavior were a result of outside agitation, (b) that 'negroes' were not prepared for freedom, and (c) the idea of the good 'negro' who resisted outside agitation and who cooperated and supported the ideas of white, Democratic men. Carpetbaggers and scalawags were the agitators who manipulated 'negroes' through the Freedman's Bureau, loyalty leagues, and the Republican Party. In the Righteous Response to Reconstruction narrative, the others represent the evil that must be overcome by the heroic, white, Democratic Mississippi man.

Examples of defining others

Negroes not prepared for freedom

In all of the texts from 1887- 1976 the theme that the freed 'negro' slaves were not prepared for freedom and government is present. This theme was used to justify many of the excesses of Reconstruction. According to the narrative, because 'negroes' were not prepared for freedom, action was necessary to outline their role in society. Sydnor and Bennett (1939) wrote:

> One of the most important things to decide was the status of the Negro. When the Negroes had been slaves, they had not been allowed to vote, to witness against white men in the courts, or to own property. Now that the slaves were free, the legislature had to decide what rights and privileges the Negro would have in the future. (p. 185)

According to the narrative, the Black Codes were necessary because the freedmen could not handle their freedom without externally imposed laws.

Race problems a result of outside agitation

Because they were not prepared for their sudden emancipation, 'negroes' were susceptible to manipulation and agitation by 'political adventurers' (Bettersworth, 1964, p. 227; Riley, 1915, p. 295) Political adventurer was used to describe carpetbaggers, scalawags, and officers of the Freedman's Bureau. In order to fully understand the nature of the race problems resulting from outside agitation, the textbook authors had to define the normal relationship between the races. Lowery, Kincannon, and Lowery (1937) described this relationship: "One of the best traditions of the South is the life-time loyalty of these former slaves to their former masters and the faithful way in which many of the old slave-holding aristocrats befriended these former slaves to the

end" (p. 180-181). According to the narrative, it was the actions of unscrupulous whites from the North and white traitors from Mississippi who upset this relationship. Duval (1892) explained, 'The most vindictive feelings of the lower class of negroes was aroused against the whites by the inflammatory speeches and incendiary teachings of their political leaders, and the peace and safety of the whites were constantly menaced by the presence of armed bodies of infuriated negroes' (p. 221).

The Good Negro

The theme of the good 'negro' is primarily present in the early texts (from 1892-1915). This theme emphasizes that good 'negroes' cooperate with white people. It also highlights 'negro' officials who were not educated and not corrupt. Lowry and McCardle (1892) gave 'negroes' credit for helping to bring about the return of Democratic rule in the state. The same text and Riley (1915/1976) also credited them for voting against the 1868 Constitution which would have disenfranchised most whites in the state. The theme of the good 'negro' also helps to highlight the depravity of the carpetbaggers, scalawags and Reconstruction governments. Sydnor and Bennett (1939) wrote of black political officials during Reconstruction: 'not all of these Negroes were rascals… it has been said that the Negroes were on the whole more honest than the white men who held office during this time' (p. 194).

The image of blacks in these texts portrays a group of people ill-prepared for freedom and participation in the political process. When acting on their own they are too ignorant to effectively fulfill their duties, and often they are manipulated by outsiders to work against their best interests. They are capable of good, but that is only when guided by white Mississippians. Their ignorance and greed make them susceptible to control by unscrupulous outsiders and therefore they and the larger society should be protected from their exercise of political power.

Carpetbaggers and Scalawags

If the white Democratic man represented the redeemer who would rescue Mississippi from the evils of Reconstruction government, the carpetbaggers and scalawags personified the evils of Reconstruction. Carpetbaggers and scalawags were white men who supported Reconstruction and were most likely Republicans. The difference between a carpetbagger and scalawag was geographic origin. According to the narrative, carpetbaggers were white Northern men who came South during Reconstruction to profit from the hard times after the Civil War. Scalawags were native southerners who supported Reconstruction. Both groups were characterized as corrupt:

> Most of the carpetbaggers and scalawags were corrupt. They did not love the state, and were looking out only for their own selfish interests. They held office because of the salary and the chance to rob the state. They gave Negroes only enough power to keep their votes (Sydnor and Bennett, 1939, p. 193).

Carpetbaggers and scalawags were able to gain political power because most white men had been disqualified from participating in the Reconstruction government. Guyton (1952) explained:

> Since there were so few white men in the Southern States who could hold office, many unscrupulous Northerners swarmed to Mississippi and other Southern States in the hope of gaining power and wealth… Even worse were the 'scalawags,' Southerners who placed their own gain above the good of their state and its citizens. Together, the carpetbaggers and the scalawags were able to gain much power by influencing the ignorant Negro vote. (p. 217-218)

Both scalawags and carpetbaggers were seen as 'political adventurers' who were out to profit from Reconstruction government. They were also credited with manipulating and controlling the 'negro' vote. It was these two groups who were criticized for voting themselves large compensation during the 1868 Mississippi Constitutional Convention.

The overwhelmingly negative descriptions of the scalawags and carpetbaggers provided a contrast to the honorable men who saw the evils of Reconstruction and developed the Righteous Response to Reconstruction in order to redeem Mississippi. Carpetbaggers and scalawags were motivated out of greed and power; the white Democratic Redeemers were motivated out of selflessness and love of state. This theme in the narrative exists in all texts from 1887- 1976. This theme helped to solidify the idea that outsiders came to the south and Mississippi out of selfish ambition resulting in corruption and manipulation of 'negroes.' It also helped to justify the Revolution of 1875 and the actions of the Ku Klux Klan in helping to redeem Mississippi. The only way to prevent the return of corrupt Reconstruction government and 'negro' rule was to resist outside intervention in Mississippi and support the white Democratic Party.

Discussion of defining others

The characterization and definition of others in these texts served to put a face to the corruption and lawlessness of the Reconstruction period in Mississippi. In these texts, 'negroes', scalawags, and carpetbaggers are characterized as outsiders who lack the legitimate right to govern or exercise political power. The white scalawags and carpetbaggers are credited with manipulating 'negro' voters and helping bring about 'negro' rule, which was described as corrupt and inefficient. The carpetbaggers especially were described as outsiders who did not understand or love Mississippi and were motivated by selfish gain. Defining the others in such a way helped to justify the Righteous Response to Reconstruction. If Reconstruction was corrupt, these others were the corrupters. Because of their actions during Reconstruction these others could never be trusted to participate in Mississippi politics again. Therefore, it was not difficult to justify a segregated society that limited black political power, which resisted outside influence when it came to civil rights, and that aimed to maintain a one party system.

To highlight the potential impact of decades of defining others as described above consider a document circulated by the Association of White Citizens' Councils in 1961, 'A community action plan to counteract negro and white agitators.' In it, white citizens are encouraged to 'advise their negro friends and employees not to affiliate with outside agitators. It is a mistake not to give them advice in this critical time when they are accustomed to looking to their white friends and employers for advice.' The plan goes on to encourage white citizens to explain to 'negroes' that the outsiders are only there to stir up trouble that will lead to racial chaos. The plan concludes with a statement about outside agitators as people 'whose objective is to destroy the goodwill between the races and to create chaos in our community' (Association of Citizens' Councils, 1961). This memo from 1961 incorporates the themes that race problems are the result of outsider agitators and must be resisted. It also illustrates the theme that 'negroes' need advice from whites in order to not be duped by outside agitators.

Broader analysis

A broader analysis of the themes that exist in these Mississippi history texts indicates a few patterns. Several themes persist across all texts: Corruption and lawlessness during Reconstruction, Redemption/Redeemers and the Revolution of 1876, Race problems as a result of outside agitation, and the others. These themes match those what Foner (1982) called the "traditional interpretation" with origins in the Dunning school that began in the first decade of

the Twentieth Century (Franklin, 1980). Five of the texts: Duval (1892), Lowry and McCardle (1892), Riley (1915), Syndor and Bennett (1939), and Lowrey, Kincannon, and Lowrey (1937) were published in what Loewen (2010) identified as the Nadir of race relations which he defined as a time resulting in increased separation of races. During that time "historians emphasized tales of corruption and bad behavior" during Reconstruction (p. 75).

Two themes have significant variation across the texts: Legitimate purposes of KKK in Redemption and Good Negroes. The theme Legitimate purposes of KKK in Redemption is present in five of the texts: Riley (1915) and the Riley reprint (1976), Lowrey, Kincannon, and Lowrey (1937), Sydnor (1939), Guyton (1952) and Bettersworth (1964). The Riley; Lorey, Kincannon and Lowrey; and Sydnor texts coincide in time with the Second Ku Klux Klan which was founded in 1915 was active in the United States. It might be expected because during the 1920s the Second Ku Klux Klan had between one million and five million members nationwide and was the largest and most powerful KKK in the history of the United States (MacLean, 1994). The Guyton and Bettersworth texts were written during the modern civil rights period when Southern states including Mississippi began a process of resistance to efforts to desegregate society. In the South, including Mississippi, the Klan was an instrumental organization in this resistance. As such it would be expected that textbook writers would desire to focus on the legitimate purposes of the KKK in resisting the exercise of black political power through voting or a desegregated society.

Interestingly, the second significant variance across texts is the theme good negroes. Though present in most of the early texts it is notably absent from the Lowrey, Kincannon, and Lowrey (1937), Guyton (1952), and Bettersworth (1964). Perhaps the idea of a good negro who knows his place was easy to imagine prior to World War II, but after World War II and the emergence of the modern civil rights movement it was impossible to imagine. The visible efforts of blacks on their own behalf at the state and national levels indicated that they were no longer content cooperating to maintain the status quo and were demanding political and social equality. Regardless, the theme is not present in the two texts from the modern civil rights era.

History is not written in a vacuum. Writers rely on the ideas of others. Of interest is that all of the texts contain elements of the Dunning school's "traditional interpretation" of Reconstruction (Foner, 1982) even though by 1940, historians, including Beale (1940) were reconsidering this interpretation. Beale called for "further studies and changed points of view necessary to a full understanding of Reconstruction" (p. 810). Beyond calling for a reinterpretation, he identified several young historians who were capable of leading this reinterpretation of Reconstruction history. Among those listed was C. Vann Woodward. It was Woodward who described the historians living twenty to thirty years after Reconstruction as "propagandists" reviving "the legend of Reconstruction" resulting in a "new generation of Southerners… forcibly impressed with the sectional trauma as if they had lived through it themselves" (p. 85-86). He concluded that "it was inevitable that race relations should deteriorated rapidly under such pressure" (p. 86). One can easily lump the writers of the six texts published after 1900 and analyzed in this study as propagandists. Woodward and others would reinterpret the history of Reconstruction and that version would become the national norm, but not in the Deep South and not in Mississippi. This is evident in the fact that the historiography of the Dunning School persists in these texts long after 1940 when Beale called for a reinterpretation. This is also evident from Davis's (2010) conclusion that until 1980 there was not a Mississippi history text that did not include what Foner (1982) called the "traditional interpretation."

One may ask what happened in 1981 that led to the use of the Sansing text that broke from this "traditional interpretation?" A few things were happening. Mississippi schools finally desegregated in 1970. But the Bettersworth text was still used for the next decade. Loewen and

Sallis published the first text that broke with the narrative described in this paper in 1974, but it was not until 1980 that it was allowed to be used in Mississippi schools (Davis, 2010). This event opened the way for a non-Bettersworth text. In 1980 reform minded William Winter was elected governor and began the process of reforming education in Mississippi. He also focused on racial reconciliation and continues to do so to the present day. It was during this time that Sansing (1981) published his text. Since 1981, a text written or co-written by Sansing has been the primary text used in Mississippi history classes.

Conclusion

The Reconstruction narratives in these Mississippi history textbooks were read by generations of school children from 1887 to 1976. As textbooks they represented official knowledge (Issit, 2004) and helped shape the knowledge and opinions held by many Mississippians. In the time period analyzed from 1887 to 1976 there were no positive alternatives to these Reconstruction narratives in any Mississippi history text available. It was not until the publication of Loewen and Sallis published their text in 1974 and it was accepted for use in Mississippi schools in 1980 that an honest interpretation of Reconstruction was available (Davis, 2010). The Reconstruction narratives in these texts created a myth of corrupt Reconstruction that was run by others who are characterized as evil, dishonest, ignorant, and greedy. Because Reconstruction was horrendous, it required a Righteous Response. In contrast to the dishonorable men who ran the Reconstruction government, the men who conducted the Revolution of 1875 and redeemed Mississippi were characterized as honorable. In redeeming Mississippi, they saved Mississippi from the others and helped create a Mississippi for the Mississippians.

Interestingly in these narratives, Mississippi society, which had oppressed others and practiced chattel slavery, used its textbooks to create the myth that Reconstruction was oppressive to the native white Mississippian. By doing this, Mississippi missed the opportunity to be freed from the oppression of a society dominated by racial suppression. As Paulo Freire (1998) wrote, '… the former oppressors do not feel liberated. On the contrary, they genuinely consider themselves to be oppressed. Conditioned by the experience of oppressing others, any situation other than their former seems to them like oppression' (p. 56-57). In order to reverse this perceived oppression, the dominant class created these myths about Reconstruction, which were passed on in textbooks. In doing so, they used the educational system to reestablish oppression of the recently liberated slaves. In effect they created a pedagogy of oppression.

The Reconstruction narratives in these textbooks describe a Reconstruction that was so bad and the others as so different that it was necessary to do everything possible to prevent a return to it. It was paramount that the social order that arose from the Righteous Response to Reconstruction be maintained. The social order was one segregated by race. One in which blacks exercised limited political and social power and one in which outsiders were not trusted, because they did not understand the unique nature of Mississippi and would only bring about problems between the races.

Both the Righteous Response to Reconstruction theme and the others theme helped to support the maintenance of the existing social order from post Reconstruction through the 1960s and 1970s. It also provided, or reinforced, intellectual arguments used to resist desegregation during the Civil Rights Era. The language employed by the Association of Citizens' Councils, Mississippi politicians, and others who resisted desegregation employed these themes. They saw themselves as a righteous resistance to decadent outsiders who would overthrow the orderly and godly culture in the South. This is seen in their "advice to negroes not to affiliate with outside agitators" (Association of Citizens' Councils, 1961) and comments that, "If Mississippi finds herself standing alone in carrying on this fight, at least she will stand proud and tall, with

a clear conscience and self-respect intact"(Ethridge, 1960). The good negro was even trotted out by Charles M. Hills in a newspaper editorial to illustrate how happy black Mississippians were in a segregated society, "Angered at the Communist inspired efforts of outside of the state agitators to disrupt the peaceful relationships between the races, he has been utilizing his long experiences in espionage and intelligence… and his far flung contacts… to wage relentless war upon these disruptive and subversive agitators" (Hills, 1961). Much as the Righteous Response to Reconstruction was characterized as a war, so was the effort to resist desegregation.

The analysis and description of the dominant Reconstruction narratives in these textbooks helps us to see the history and development of the Reconstruction myth. It persisted for nearly 100 years in Mississippi history textbooks. It was not until the early 1980s that the narrative was broken. So why was it important to analyze these Reconstruction narratives? One reason is that it illustrates how textbooks were used as instruments of oppression or as a weapon (Loewen, 2010, p. 12) to maintain and justify segregation for many years. It established the record of using Reconstruction narratives in textbooks as a means of social control. The second reason is that it helps us understand the persistence of Lost Cause myths. Finally, it can help us identify latent themes from the Lost Cause myth and Reconstruction narratives that still exist in textbooks. One final benefit of this type of study was best described by Loewen (2010) when he wrote,

> There is a reciprocal relationship between justice in the present and honesty about the past. When the United States has achieved justice in the present regarding some past act, the Americans face it and talk about it more openly, because we have made it right. It has become a success story. Conversely, when we find a topic our textbooks hide or distort, probably that signifies a continuing injustice in the present. Telling the truth about the past can help us make it right from here on. (p. 15)

We can't go back and fix the injustices of segregation and racial injustice, but we can identify it for what it was, realize and acknowledge that it was propagated in our public education systems in Mississippi and other parts of the South, and use that knowledge to squarely confront the demons in our collective past and move forward to a more just future. I hope that my students and others in education, many of whom are woefully ignorant of the evils of segregation, will learn from this study how societies can use 'institutional forces' like textbooks to create and sustain false narratives that serve the purpose to maintain unjust and unfair social structures.

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