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CONCEPTOS Y NARRATIVAS SOBRE LA NACIÓN EN ESTUDIANTES E HISTORIADORES

CONCEPTS AND NARRATIVES OF NATION AMONG STUDENTS AND HISTORIANS

Autor

César López Rodríguez

Directores

Mario Carretero Rodríguez

María Rodríguez Moneo

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ABSTRACT

The beginning of history as a modern discipline in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century was under the influence of a strong nationalist context. The main purposes of history were to legitimate the emerging nations as the new political order and the construction of a national identity in the new citizens. In order to achieve these goals, the romantic historiography of the nineteenth century nationalized history in every nation by establishing a link from the distant past to the current nation. It was hoped that history provided the nation and its members a natural and immemorial origin that somehow legitimized the new political situation. Thus, on each nation the romantic historiography produced a narrative depicting the nation's evolution from antiquity to its golden era. These national narratives - mostly based on myths and legends and not as much on historical facts - became unquestionable truths of each nation's past.

However, in the late twentieth century a new disciplinary approach emerged within the disciplines of history, sociology and political science. This disciplinary approach highlighted the modern and constructed nature of the national phenomenon. Due to the development of cognitive studies in psychology and other disciplines, an interest in understanding the very nature of historical knowledge and historical thinking came up, putting aside the political uses of history. Some of these studies have stressed the relevance of historical thinking as a specific way of thinking understood as the manner in which experts use, interpret and produce historical knowledge. Understanding certain concepts central to the field of history also has become decisive. This new disciplinary approach of history is often opposed to the common romantic and national interpretation of history.

This dissertation starts from the analysis of the tension between these two approaches, the romantic - still in force today - and the modern disciplinary one. The concepts of nation and national identity and the historical narratives built around them are the key elements on which this tension is established. Focusing on these elements, this dissertation intends to make a theoretical and empirical contribution to the development of historical knowledge and the teaching and learning of history.

To this end, in the following chapters, we present a compilation of seven studies. In the first one (López & Carretero, 2012) the role of the nation and national identity in setting the goals of history is discussed. The study covers the different approaches and debates on the way history should address these concepts. As it is discussed, each approach even entails an epistemological choice regarding the very nature of historical knowledge.

Regardless of the approach, historical narratives are undoubtedly central to history. Study 2 examines the influence of narratives - specifically national narratives - on the construction of historical knowledge (Carretero & López, 2010a). The unquestionable main character of these national narratives is the nation. Studies 3 and 4 are focused on how students understand their own nation. Therefore, from a conceptual analysis, Study 3 presents an empirical study on how students understand the concept of nation through their own historical narratives (López, Carretero & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012a). In the following study, Study 4 gathers the most relevant works carried out on students' understanding of the concept of nation conducted in different countries in recent years (Carretero, López, González & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012).

To determine the influence of identity and emotional elements on understanding the concepts of nation and national identity, Study 5 presents a second empirical work conducted with students, which reintroduced the concepts of nation and national identity but this time using historical content regarding a foreign nation (López, Carretero & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012b). Linking students learning processes of historical concepts with experts' historical thinking, Study 6 provides an analysis of historical thought features developed within the modern disciplinary approach (Carretero & López, 2010b). The study contains the main contributions from different cognitive studies conducted with experts in history and its implications for the development of historical literacy in students. Finally, a third empirical study is presented in Study 7, specifically focused on how expert historians interpret the concepts of nation and national identity through national narratives (Carretero, López & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012).

Therefore, this dissertation makes an empirical contribution on the relevance of the concept of nation and on identity elements for learning and teaching history and for

the discipline itself. It also aims to contribute to analyzing and understanding students' and experts' historical thinking about these concepts. Through the different theoretical studies, these empirical contributions are put in relation to some of the central debates on historical knowledge held in recent decades.

RESUMEN

La historia que surge como disciplina moderna a finales del siglo XVIII y principios del XIX estuvo marcada fuertemente por un contexto nacionalista. Sus principales propósitos giraban en torno a la legitimación de las naciones que emergían en ese momento y a la construcción de una identidad nacional en los nuevos ciudadanos. Para ello, la historiografía romántica del siglo XIX nacionalizó la historia de cada una de las naciones estableciendo un vínculo desde el pasado más remoto hasta el presente nacional. Se pretendía dotar a la nación y a sus miembros de una antigüedad inmemorial y natural que legitimase el nuevo orden político. Con este fin, la propia historiografía romántica de cada nación produjo una narrativa que recogiera el devenir de la nación desde la antigüedad hasta su apogeo. Estas narrativas nacionales, más fundamentadas en mitos y leyendas que en hechos históricos, se perpetuaron como verdades incuestionables del pasado de cada nación.

Sin embargo, desde finales del siglo XX aparece dentro de las disciplinas de la historia, la sociología y las ciencias políticas, un nuevo enfoque disciplinar que pone de manifiesto el carácter construido y moderno del fenómeno nacional. De la mano del desarrollo de los estudios cognitivos en psicología y otras disciplinas, surgió un interés por comprender la naturaleza del conocimiento y el pensamiento histórico, más allá de sus usos políticos. Algunos de estos trabajos han puesto de relevancia la existencia de un pensamiento histórico, entendido como un modo de pensar específico que los expertos en historia utilizan cuando producen e interpretan el conocimiento histórico. También ha comenzado a tomar importancia el aprendizaje de ciertos conceptos centrales en el campo de la historia. Este nuevo enfoque disciplinar de la historia aparece en numerosas ocasiones como opuesto al modo romántico nacional tan frecuentemente encontrado en historia.

Esta tesis parte del análisis de la tensión entre estos dos enfoques, la historia romántica - aún muy presente en la actualidad - y el moderno enfoque disciplinar. Los conceptos de nación e identidad nacional y las narrativas históricas construidas en torno a estos conceptos constituyen los elementos fundamentales en torno a los cuales se establecen estas tensiones. La presente tesis, centrándose en estos elementos, pretende

realizar una contribución de carácter teórico y empírico al desarrollo del conocimiento y los procesos de enseñanza y aprendizaje históricos.

Para ello, en los siguientes capítulos, se presenta una compilación de siete estudios. En el primero de ellos (López y Carretero, 2012) se analiza el papel de la nación y la construcción de la identidad nacional a la hora de establecer los objetivos de la historia como disciplina. El capítulo recoge los diferentes enfoques y debates sobre el modo en el que la historia debería abordar estos conceptos. La elección de un enfoque u otro implica incluso una elección epistemológica respecto a la propia naturaleza del conocimiento histórico.

Independientemente del enfoque por el que se opte, las narrativas históricas constituyen, sin duda, un elemento central para la historia. Por esta razón, en el segundo estudio se presenta un análisis de la influencia del formato narrativo, y específicamente de las narrativas nacionales, en la construcción del conocimiento histórico (Carretero y López, 2010a). Estas narrativas nacionales tienen como protagonista indiscutible a la nación. Desde un nivel de análisis más conceptual, el estudio 3 presenta un estudio empírico sobre el modo en el que los estudiantes comprenden el concepto de nación propia a través de las narrativas históricas que ellos mismos generan (López, Carretero y Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012a). En el siguiente estudio, estudio 4, se examinan conjuntamente los trabajos más relevantes realizados en los últimos años sobre la comprensión del concepto de nación en estudiantes de diversos países (Carretero, López, González y Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012).

Para determinar la influencia de los elementos identitarios y emocionales vinculados con la comprensión de la nación y de la identidad nacional, el estudio 5 recoge un segundo trabajo empírico realizado con estudiantes, que retoma los conceptos de nación e identidad nacional, pero en esta ocasión utilizando un contenido histórico referente a una nación ajena (López, Carretero y Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012b). Relacionando los procesos de aprendizaje de conceptos históricos de los estudiantes con el pensamiento histórico de los expertos, el estudio 6 ofrece un análisis de las características del pensamiento histórico desarrolladas desde el enfoque disciplinar moderno (Carretero y López, 2010b). En dicho capítulo se recogen las principales contribuciones de los diferentes estudios cognitivos realizados con expertos en historia

y sus implicaciones para el desarrollo de la alfabetización histórica de los estudiantes. Finalmente, el estudio 7 presenta un tercer trabajo empírico en el que se examina el modo en el que expertos historiadores interpretan los conceptos de nación e identidad nacional y comprenden las narrativas nacionales (Carretero, López y Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012).

Por lo tanto, la presente tesis realiza, por una parte, una aportación de carácter empírico sobre la relevancia del concepto de nación y los elementos identitarios para el aprendizaje y la enseñanza de la historia. Además, pretende contribuir al análisis y la comprensión del pensamiento histórico de estudiantes y expertos en torno a estos conceptos. En los diferentes estudios teóricos, estas aportaciones empíricas son puestas en relación con algunos de los debates centrales sobre el conocimiento histórico desarrollados en las últimas décadas.

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SECCIÓN I: INTRODUCCIÓN GENERAL

INTRODUCCIÓN GENERAL

1.1. La Nación y la Enseñanza de la Historia

La asignatura de historia ocupa un lugar paradójico en cuanto al interés y al valor que se le asocian. En ocasiones los alumnos, padres y profesores ponen en duda la utilidad del conocimiento histórico y la escasa aplicación del mismo en la vida cotidiana. Sin embargo, cuando se mencionan aspectos como el de la identidad nacional o la memoria colectiva, la historia se traslada a un primer plano, cobrando una relevancia que no toma ninguna otra signatura del currículo (Ashby, Foster y Lee, 2009). En ese momento la importancia de la historia traspasa los límites puramente académicos para abarcar aspectos políticos, culturales y sociales.

Como señala van Der Leeuw-Roord (2009), desafortunadamente, los mayores defensores de la utilidad de la historia en las escuelas de Europa y fuera de ésta, defienden una historia fuertemente basada en la historia nacional. El argumento es que las naciones-estado son el pegamento cultural que mantiene unido a las sociedades y que dicha cohesión social depende de crear e inculcar una cultura nacional común en las escuelas (De Rooij, 2006).

La enseñanza de la historia en la escuela se ha vinculado a menudo con la enseñanza de aspectos socializadores, cívicos e identitarios (Barton y Levstik, 2008; Carretero, 2011). Son muchos los estudios que ponen de manifiesto cómo mediante la enseñanza de la historia se transmiten valores y se construyen identidades (Barton y Levstik, 2008; Carretero, 2011; Hobsbawm, 1997; Wertsch, 2002). En este sentido, la enseñanza de la historia en la escuela se ha considerado como insustituible para el arraigo de la identidad nacional (Álvarez Junco, 2001; Carretero y Kriger, 2008; Grever y Stuurman, 2007; Carretero y Montanero, 2008).

A partir del siglo XIX, coincidiendo con el surgimiento de los estados-nación, apareció la idea de que para forjar una unidad nacional, los ciudadanos de las naciones-

estado debían desarrollar un sentimiento de pertenencia a una comunidad, y se pensó que compartir un pasado, una historia, podría favorecer la formación de dicho sentimiento (Smith, 1991). Como consecuencia de esto, muchos currículos tradicionales de historia se llenaron de contenidos nacionales como la lucha por la independencia, guerras contra otras naciones, catástrofes nacionales que fueron superadas – como la “Reconquista” en España o la Guerra Civil estadounidense- o ejemplos de cómo la nación progresó en términos culturales, económicos o sociales (Symcox y Wilschut, 2009; Wils, 2009). Los actores de estos acontecimientos en su gran mayoría fueron convertidos en héroes nacionales y las fechas de los mismos en celebraciones de efemérides patrias (Carretero y Kriger, 2006). A partir del siglo XIX, la historia ya no se escribía ni al servicio de una dinastía monárquica ni de ninguna institución eclesiástica. Con el nacimiento del concepto de nación como sustento de la soberanía política, la nación pasaba a ser la protagonista central. Se produjo una nacionalización del pasado, en la que cada nación se centraba en recoger su contribución al progreso universal de la humanidad (Pérez Garzón, 2001b). Este aumento de la importancia del papel de la nación en la historia no debe sorprendernos si tenemos en cuenta que la enseñanza de la misma, que surge a finales del siglo XIX, lo hace con fines marcadamente identitarios, ligados al espíritu romántico, vinculados a la construcción de las naciones (Carretero, 2011).

Como señalan Symcox y Wilschut (2009), durante los años 60 y 70 del siglo XX, hubo un período de crisis en la enseñanza de la historia. El sentimiento general fue que la historia ya no era tan útil para explicar el comportamiento y la naturaleza de las sociedades como el resto de ciencias sociales. El conocimiento del pasado parecía carecer de importancia en un período de rápida modernización. Los movimientos globalizadores, por su parte, parecían dejar obsoleta la idea de una historia tradicional basada en las naciones-estado. Esto provocó que, durante este período - al menos en muchos países occidentales - el interés en la enseñanza de la historia fuera sensiblemente menor. Los políticos y la sociedad parecían perder interés en una asignatura aparentemente sin utilidad en tiempos modernos.

El foco de historiadores y educadores se situó entonces en defender la importancia de la asignatura de historia y del conocimiento histórico en sí mismo, una vez despojado aparentemente de sus usos políticos y sociales. Se trataba de demostrar que el

conocimiento histórico sí era útil después de todo, y que la historia constituía un modo específico de pensar y razonar. En Inglaterra se fundó el *Schools Council History 13-16 Project* (SCHP), el cuál abogaba por abandonar el currículo tradicional centrado en una narrativa cronológica de acontecimientos de la historia nacional para proponer una enseñanza basada en el pensamiento histórico. Algunos conceptos básicos de este pensamiento histórico fueron: evaluación de evidencias, continuidad y cambio histórico, causalidad y empatía histórica (Lee, 2005). Este nuevo enfoque enfatizaba la adquisición de habilidades históricas, a menudo a expensas de un conocimiento de acontecimientos cronológicamente ordenados.

Un nuevo currículo de la enseñanza de la historia estaba surgiendo, muy diferente de las reconocibles, y en muchas ocasiones, queridas historias patrias. Sin embargo, muchos críticos de este nuevo enfoque se quejaban de un excesivo énfasis en aprender habilidades históricas en detrimento de “saber Historia”. Títulos estadounidenses, australianos o canadienses, como *Impostors in the Temple*, *The killing of History*, o *Who killed Canadian History*, recogen este desagrado hacia el nuevo enfoque (Stuurman y Grever, 2007). Pero la novedad de este “extraño” currículo no fue la única dificultad con la que se encontró este nuevo enfoque disciplinar de la enseñanza de la historia.

A partir de los años 80 y 90, los movimientos de globalización, migraciones masivas y enfoques multiculturales fueron haciendo a las naciones-estado gradualmente menos reconocibles. La era postmoderna parecía romper las fronteras nacionales incluso en lo referente a las identidades nacionales (Billig, 1995). Los procesos como el desarrollo de la Unión Europea también apuntaron en la misma dirección. ¿Cómo se defenderían las naciones estado ante esta pérdida de relevancia? Los políticos y la sociedad volvieron entonces a centrar su interés en la enseñanza de la historia. La antigua fórmula de la construcción nacional volvía a tomar de nuevo un papel importante: una narrativa centrada en un pasado común y una herencia cultural común para inculcar a los ciudadanos el sentimiento de un destino nacional compartido (Grever y Stuurman, 2007; Symcox y Wilschut, 2009; VanSledright, 2008).

1.1.1. La Nación como Eje Vertebrador de la Historia: un Fenómeno Global

En ocasiones, la presencia de objetivos identitarios y socializadores en el currículo oficial suele producirse de un modo sutil (Carretero y Montanero, 2008). No obstante, al hablar del papel de la nación como eje vertebrador en la enseñanza de la historia, podemos hablar más de un fenómeno ampliamente extendido que de excepciones.

Como indica Ballantyne (2005) las naciones-estado permanecen como un aspecto clave, si no como *el* aspecto clave, de las narrativas y los análisis históricos. Esta estrecha relación entre la nación y la historia - relación establecida desde el nacimiento de los estados-nación en el siglo XIX - se ha llegado a denominar como contrato narrativo (Kaviraj, 1992). Este fenómeno no se limita únicamente a los países del ámbito occidental, sino que como señala Ballantyne (2005), esta “íntima relación entre la historia y la nación ha caracterizado el desarrollo de la historia como disciplina en Asia, África, Latino América, y el Pacífico, donde la historia ha sido central tanto en el nacionalismo anti colonial como en los debates postcoloniales sobre la intersección entre etnicidad, religión y nación” (p.23).

Como apunta VanSledright (2008), al hablar del caso estadounidense, las narrativas sobre el desarrollo nacional y el progreso constituyen la enseñanza de la historia en las escuelas. La historia, tal y como es entendida desde la propia disciplina, raramente es enseñada en las escuelas, donde la memoria colectiva y la celebración del patrimonio cultural toman una especial relevancia. La enseñanza de la historia es considerada como un instrumento fundamental a la hora de enseñar el “credo americano” a los recién llegados, tanto a los inmigrantes como a los niños en general.

En esta misma línea Peter Finn (2007), hablando del caso ruso en un artículo del *Washington Post*, comenta: “con dos nuevos manuales de historia y ciencias sociales para la enseñanza superior en la escuela, escritos por consultores políticos del Kremlin, las autoridades rusas tratan de imbuir el debate en la clase con un punto de vista nacionalista” (para.1)

Jan Germen Janmaat (2005) señala cómo en países de la antigua Unión Soviética como Ucrania, los libros de texto proveen a los constructores del sentimiento nacional

con una infinita fuente de materiales basados en mitos y narrativas históricas para fundamentar un discurso nacionalista. Tan relevante es el papel de la nación en la enseñanza de la historia que está dividida en dos asignaturas diferentes: Historia Mundial e Historia de Ucrania. El sistema educativo en Ucrania desde su independencia de la Unión Soviética no ha sufrido una reforma estructural profunda. La centralización de la educación en las escuelas sigue siendo una característica importante. El ministerio de educación ejerce un control total sobre el contenido, la cantidad y el nivel de educación. Para cada asignatura los libros de texto son sometidos a un complejo análisis y revisión. Sólo tras obtener el sello del ministerio estos libros son permitidos en las escuelas de toda Ucrania (Janmaat, 2002; Popson, 2001).

En Taiwan nos encontramos con un caso similar. Hasta el año 2002, se utilizaba un único libro de texto estándar para la enseñanza de la historia. A partir de ese año, las escuelas pueden elegir entre cuatro o cinco libros de texto distintos escritos de acuerdo a una guía nacional. Pese a que los profesores pueden utilizar otros materiales en las clases, el gobierno regula la publicación de los libros de texto y los contenidos que tienen que ser memorizados por los alumnos (Hsiao, 2005).

La presencia de la nación y de contenidos relacionados con ésta en el currículo de historia en la gran mayoría de los países europeos sigue muy presente en la actualidad. Así, la asociación EUROCLIO, interesada en fomentar el desarrollo de un enfoque innovador e inclusivo de la historia y la educación de la ciudadanía en Europa - pero también en crear una identidad de carácter europeo - pone de manifiesto la importancia de las naciones en la enseñanza de la historia. De este modo, cuando se llevó a cabo un análisis en 2003 sobre qué dimensión había aumentado más su presencia en el currículo (nacional, regional, europea o mundial) desde 1980, la historia nacional resultó ser la que más había aumentado (Van der Leeuw-Roord, 2004, 2007). En 2004 los países miembros de EUROCLIO fueron preguntados si estaban satisfechos o no con la proporción de diferentes dimensiones geográficas –local, regional, nacional, europea, y mundial- en la enseñanza de la historia. Nuevamente la dimensión con mayor grado de satisfacción resultó ser la de la historia nacional (Sí, 68%), mientras que otras dimensiones como la historia local (No, 51%) o regional (No, 52%) revelaron cierta insatisfacción. La idea que se desprende es que la fundamentación nacional de los currículos y libros de texto en Europa no han cambiado demasiado desde 1989. Incluso

se puede apreciar un aumento de los enfoques fundamentados en la nación, recurriendo a una metodología tradicional de la enseñanza de la historia (Mak, 2005). Como señaló Van der Leeuw-Roord (2007), para 2008, la enseñanza de la historia nacional aparecía como un contenido central en la agenda de muchos países europeos. Desde diversos ámbitos - el político, los medios de comunicación e incluso los propios historiadores - se hace hincapié en que el público general tiene una falta de conocimiento histórico nacional. Para solventar esta carencia, en un grupo creciente de países los políticos abogan por un incremento de la historia nacional en el currículum. En la misma dirección, se pretende cambiar las narrativas nacionales escolares dotando de un énfasis mayor a sus propios períodos heroicos nacionales de dominación étnica o religiosa.

En países como Holanda, los debates sobre el currículum de historia han llevado a introducir el término *canon* para describir el conocimiento obligatorio que los estudiantes deben aprender sobre la historia y la cultura de Holanda (Grever, 2006). El *canon* aplicado a la historia defiende la idea de una gran narrativa histórica, donde se seleccionan determinadas figuras, eventos, ideas y valores, en defensa de unas determinadas perspectivas y explicaciones (Stuurman y Grever, 2007). Como señala Van der Leeuw-Roord (2004), el objetivo explícito de la introducción de un canon nacional sobre el conocimiento histórico no es otro que fortalecer la memoria colectiva de Holanda.

Incluso en Gran Bretaña, uno de los principales focos del surgimiento del enfoque disciplinar de la enseñanza de la historia, el secretario de educación en 2005, Tim Collins, defendía la idea de crear un nuevo currículum de historia basado en la herencia común, que hiciera posible la supervivencia de la nación británica (Stuurman y Grever, 2007). En la misma línea, en 2012, el Secretario de Educación, Michael Gove afirmaba:

We need to ensure our GCSEs and national curriculum are better aligned and critically they're better aligned so that our students have a better understanding of the linear narrative of British history and Britain's impact on the world and the world's impact on Britain (Vasagar, 2012, para. 8).

También en Dinamarca, tradicionalmente un país con una perspectiva internacional, el nuevo curriculum de historia muestra un marcado interés por potenciar la historia nacional (Van der Leeuw-Roord, 2007).

1.2. Historia Romántica e Historia Disciplinar: Objetivos en Conflicto

El gran predominio de la nación en el ámbito de la historia junto con los usos identitarios de la misma, ha llevado a los historiadores a plantear una diferenciación entre estas prácticas y la propia historia como disciplina.

Esta diferenciación se basa fundamentalmente en los objetivos que se le atribuyen a la historia. Así, desde el enfoque romántico tradicional se persiguen unos objetivos que ya hemos identificado con un carácter más emocional y afectivo, centrados en la construcción de una identidad nacional en los ciudadanos (Carretero, 2011). Este enfoque romántico también ha sido denominado como el fenómeno *heritage*, en referencia a su visión de la historia como un patrimonio nacional que debe ser conservado (Kammen, 1989; Lowenthal, 1998; VanSledright, 2008). Se trata de una visión simplificada de la historia que tiende a agrupar diferentes historias en una única narrativa para forjar una identidad común alrededor de la nación. Conjuntamente con los objetivos identitarios surgen otros relacionados con el compromiso y la lealtad a la nación (Barton y Levstik, 2008). Con la historia se pretende anudar fidelidades políticas, sustentadas fundamentalmente en la pertenencia nacional (Pérez Garzón, 2001a). Incluso en ocasiones el fenómeno *heritage* se ha asimilado con fenómenos religiosos ya que descansa sobre demostraciones de fe más que sobre pruebas científicas (Lowenthal, 1998). En lugar de realizar un análisis de la historia en busca de respuestas y nuevas preguntas se trata de celebrar y preservar la historia como parte del patrimonio nacional.

Por el contrario, desde el enfoque disciplinar actual, los objetivos que se plantean poseen un carácter más ilustrado, centrados en la adquisición de unas habilidades y conocimientos propios de la disciplina que conforman el pensamiento histórico (Lee, 2004; Seixas, 2004; Voss y Wiley, 2006; Wineburg, 1991). Más que habilidades para memorizar una historia oficial, se trata de comprender cómo se produce el conocimiento histórico y adquirir las capacidades para producir y comprender dicho conocimiento.

Así, la evaluación de fuentes históricas, el pensamiento crítico, la comprensión del tiempo y el cambio histórico, la causalidad histórica, o la contextualización de las fuentes históricas y sus autores, son algunas de las habilidades presentes en lo que podríamos denominar una adecuada alfabetización histórica (para una aproximación psicológica de estas habilidades véase Carretero y López, 2010b). No se trata, pues, de mirar hacia el pasado en busca de una respuesta complaciente, sino en busca de nuevas preguntas y problemas, en un proceso de interpretación y reconstrucción constante. Se trata de un proceso complejo, difícil de analizar, con constantes dificultades y, en la mayoría de las ocasiones, falta de respuestas fáciles y consensuadas.

Las diferencias entre el enfoque romántico y el disciplinar van más allá de los objetivos que se plantean para la historia desde uno y otro. Esto es, la propia naturaleza de la disciplina y del conocimiento histórico se ve influenciada por esta diferenciación. Desde el enfoque romántico, el pasado se convierte en un ideal del presente. Posee un valor fundamentalmente ético y legitimador. Son estos valores los que otorgan valor a la historia. El pasado se elabora de manera mítica desde y para el presente (Salas, 2010). Así, pasado y presente guardan una relación de semejanza y familiaridad. Las personas del presente son vistas como herederas del pasado. La herencia del pasado constituye un marco de referencia para nuestra conducta del presente. Por lo tanto, esta visión del pasado nos ofrece una satisfactoria sensación de familiaridad, que nos hace interesarnos por conocer el pasado para re-conocernos a nosotros mismos. Como en un álbum familiar, el enfoque romántico recoge los eventos más felices y dignos de recordar del pasado nacional, que se convierte en motivo de admiración y celebración (Carretero, 2011). El pasado se convierte en un elemento estático que debe ser preservado. La historia romántica entiende que este pasado verdadero se recoge fundamentalmente en las narrativas nacionales. Como el álbum de fotos familiar, podemos acudir a estas narrativas siempre que queramos visitar nuestro pasado. Así, para el enfoque romántico, la historia es algo que podemos conocer tal como fue, que está de algún modo esculpido en piedra. Por tanto, el conocimiento histórico es fundamentalmente una narrativa que recoge ese pasado.

Sin embargo, desde el enfoque disciplinar la mirada hacia el pasado no es una mirada familiar, sino que está llena de elementos que nos producen sorpresa y extrañeza. Las personas en el pasado no pensaban del mismo modo que lo hacemos hoy

en día, no tenían los mismo intereses ni las mismas preocupaciones. Cuanto más conocemos sobre ellas y sobre el pasado, más conciencia tomamos de las sorprendentes diferencias con nuestro presente. Por lo tanto, para el enfoque disciplinar, conocer el pasado no es una sencilla tarea de reconocer elementos familiares de nuestro presente en un tiempo anterior, sino un complejo proceso de comprender lo ajeno, lo diferente y lo extraño (Lowenthal, 1985; Wineburg, 2001). Se trata de intentar comprender el pasado desde el mismo pasado, no desde y para el presente. Precisamente el trabajo del historiador debe consistir en desprenderse lo máximo posible de esa sensación de familiaridad con el pasado para poder comprenderlo. Pese a ello, el pasado siempre es moldeado por los objetivos del historiador y por el contexto del presente. Por lo tanto, la historia se convierte en una constante reinterpretación y reelaboración del pasado. El pasado, lejos de estar esculpido en piedra es siempre dinámico y cambiante. Para el enfoque disciplinar existen historias falsas o erróneas, pero no existe una única historia verdadera. El conocimiento histórico no se centra únicamente en las narrativas históricas, sino que éstas son vistas como una herramienta cultural más para conocer el pasado. Otros elementos distintos a las narrativas cobran relevancia dentro de este enfoque. Así, el análisis de conceptos históricos centrales forma también parte de los objetivos de este enfoque disciplinar. Especialmente relevante es el análisis del cambio de significado que sufren conceptos como democracia, revolución o nación a lo largo de la historia (Koselleck, 2004). Comprender y contextualizar adecuadamente estos conceptos resulta de vital importancia a la hora de comprender el pasado (Lee, 2005). Como veremos a lo largo de la presente tesis, el modo de entender conceptos como los de nación o identidad nacional puede ser clave para la comprensión de la historia como disciplina. (Lee, 2004; Lee y Ashby, 2001; Wineburg, 1991; 1998).

Existe, pues, una problemática a la hora de conjugar estos dos tipos de objetivos - románticos y disciplinares - en la enseñanza de la historia en la escuela. Autores como Álvarez Junco (2007), ante la persistencia de los objetivos románticos en el currículo de historia, centrados en la nación, ven realmente difícil encontrar soluciones. Incluso se plantea la posibilidad de eliminar la asignatura de Historia o bien sustituirla por una denominada “Mitos y leyendas patrias”. Lowenthal (1998), en su libro titulado *The Heritage crusade and the spoils of History*, también aborda esta problemática. Para Lowenthal, la historiografía actual y el fenómeno *heritage* conviven en una situación paradójica. Por un lado historiografía y *heritage* son entendidos como fenómenos

antagonistas, contrarios en lo más fundamental de sus objetivos. El fenómeno *heritage*, propone Lowenthal, no es en ningún modo historia. La historiografía explora y explica un pasado que se hace cada vez más oscuro y distante. Para el enfoque *heritage* el pasado y el presente están muy cercanos, y el presente se justifica en muchas ocasiones mediante ese cercano y familiar pasado. Por lo tanto, la distinción entre uno y otro enfoque se hace vital. Por otro lado, paradójicamente se trata de dos fenómenos inseparables. Ningún aspecto del fenómeno *heritage* está exento por completo de una realidad histórica y ningún historiador está totalmente al margen del sesgo *heritage*. Por ello, se hace necesario tomar conciencia de esta interrelación, así como tener claro que los objetivos de uno y otro pueden llegar a ser, en la mayoría de ocasiones, totalmente opuestos.

Sin duda, optar por unos objetivos románticos o por otros disciplinares influye de manera notable tanto en la producción del conocimiento histórico como en su enseñanza y aprendizaje. Desde el nacimiento de la historia como disciplina moderna, el formato narrativo ha constituido una de las principales herramientas tanto en el proceso de producción del conocimiento histórico como en el de su transmisión y aprendizaje.

1.3. El Formato Narrativo de la Historia: Narrativas Nacionales

Los debates actuales en torno al papel de elementos como la nación y la identidad nacional en el ámbito de la historia tienen su eco en campos como la sociología, la política, la psicología y la propia historia. Esta variedad de enfoques supone que en ocasiones sea difícil encontrar elementos de interés común desde los que abordar el objeto de estudio. Como señala Wertsch (2004), el formato narrativo constituye un candidato idóneo en este sentido.

La narración, más allá del campo de la historia, constituye no solamente un tipo discursivo, una configuración textual determinada, sino también un modo específicamente humano de organizar el pensamiento (Carretero y Atorresi, 2008). Los seres humanos interpretamos narrativamente tanto nuestras acciones y comportamientos como las de los demás, existiendo por tanto, una predisposición a organizar la experiencia de forma narrativa, mediante estructuras de tramas que dotan de significado a dicha experiencia (Bruner, 1990). De tal modo, el pensamiento narrativo constituiría

una modalidad propia y universal del pensamiento que nos proporciona modos característicos de construir la realidad. A la defensa de este carácter universal del pensamiento narrativo se suman autores como Egan (1997), que sostiene que “somos animales narradores; solemos dar sentido a las cosas en forma de narración” (para una descripción del pensamiento narrativo aplicado a la historia véase, Carretero y López, 2010a).

Como destacan Barton y Levstik (2004), las narrativas son una poderosa herramienta cultural para la comprensión de la historia. Este formato narrativo está presente en muchas de las maneras a través de las que nos acercamos al pasado: cuentos, mitos, novelas, museos, diarios o películas son algunas de ellas. Los libros de texto utilizados en muchos colegios sin duda también. Como señala Von Borries (2009), la estructura narrativa es una condición inevitable de la historia.

Desde una edad muy temprana estamos rodeados por fuentes que poseen una estructura narrativa. Así, estas herramientas nos resultan familiares, aprendemos a cómo usarlas desde pequeños e incluso sabemos qué podemos esperar de ellas. Un buen número de estudios reflejan que las historias se recuerdan mejor cuando poseen una estructura típicamente narrativa (Mandler, 1984). Incluso, podemos considerar que las narrativas constituyen una buena herramienta para que nuestros alumnos manejen conceptos tan centrales en el aprendizaje de la historia como son las relaciones causales y la temporalidad. Por todo esto, no es de extrañar que algunos educadores equiparen la enseñanza de la historia con contar una buena narrativa (Barton y Levstik, 2004; VanSledright, 2008).

Merece la pena señalar que las narrativas, como herramienta organizadora del conocimiento, están cargadas de elementos emocionales e identitarios. Es decir, solemos atribuir intenciones, juicios morales y de valor a los protagonistas de las narrativas y también solemos identificarnos con ciertos protagonistas de las mismas y no con otros. Las narrativas y los contenidos históricos específicamente generan muy a menudo respuestas y juicios morales. Solemos enjuiciar las acciones del pasado como “justas” o “injustas”, como “admirables” o “reprobables”, y calificar a los protagonistas de estas acciones como “héroes” o “villanos”. Como comentan Barton y Levstik (2004), posicionarnos moralmente es algo ineludible cuando nos encontramos con el pasado.

Sin duda, las narrativas más frecuentes en el ámbito de la historia son las narrativas nacionales (Barton y Levstik, 2004; Barton y McCully, 2005; Carretero, 2011; Carretero y López, 2010a). Reconociendo el carácter positivo de algunas de las características del formato narrativo para el conocimiento histórico, también es importante tener en cuenta alguna de sus limitaciones. Estas narrativas nacionales poseen fundamentalmente unas características de tipo romántico. Se trata de narraciones cerradas que tratan de dibujar una clara línea entre el pasado, el presente y el futuro, haciendo a la nación una perenne protagonista. Como señala Balibar (1991):

La historia de las naciones, empezando por la nuestra, se nos ha presentado siempre con las características de un relato que les atribuye la continuidad de un sujeto. De este modo, la formación de la nación aparece como la culminación de un "proyecto" secular, jalonado de etapas y de tomas de conciencia que los perjuicios de los historiadores presentarán como más o menos decisivas, pero que, de todas formas, se inscriben en un esquema idéntico: el de la manifestación de la personalidad nacional. (p. 135)

Las narraciones nacionales suelen valorar en términos positivos las acciones del propio grupo nacional, fundamentando sus argumentos en términos esencialistas y no históricos. En ellas, se recuperan de manera acrítica eventos históricos y sus personajes, que son transformados en héroes nacionales. Las fuentes que ponen en conflicto una visión complaciente de la propia nación suelen ser rechazadas u olvidadas (Carretero y Montanero, 2008). Como ya señalaba Renan (1882/1990), el olvido, e incluso el error histórico, son un factor esencial en la creación de una nación. No es de extrañar, por tanto, que el progreso de los estudios históricos que revisan estas narrativas nacionales románticas sea visto como un peligro para las mismas.

Pese a su carácter ahistórico y muchas veces mítico, estas narrativas nacionales toman un papel central en el currículo de numerosos países. Así, Paxton (1990) y Alridge (2006), a partir de un exhaustivo análisis de los libros de texto estadounidenses, ponen de manifiesto que las narrativas sobre los «grandes» hombres y los acontecimientos que guiaron a Estados Unidos hacia un ideal de progreso y civilización continúa siendo la manera prototípica mediante la cual muchos historiadores y libros de texto difunden el conocimiento histórico. Como señala Ballantyne (2005) estas

narrativas, ya a principios del siglo XX, se constituyeron en tradiciones de la historia nacional que - como indica en lo que nos parece una acertada metáfora- calcificaron en muchos países de Europa, así como en las colonias europeas y gran parte de Asia (Duara, 1995). Estas narrativas nacionales constituyen lo que Werstch denomina *schematic narrative templates* (Werstch, 2006). Son narrativas construidas y compartidas socialmente, aceptadas por la gran mayoría de la sociedad como verdades naturales incuestionables. Estas *master narratives*, sin duda ejercen una influencia en el modo en el que las personas elaboran sus narrativas específicas sobre determinados acontecimientos históricos.

Las narrativas históricas sobre el origen y fundación de las naciones - en muchas ocasiones apoyadas en relatos míticos y leyendas - juegan un papel legitimador del presente. Como ya se ha señalado, estas narraciones tratan de establecer una unión entre la identidad de las sociedades actuales y las que participaron en los eventos del pasado. Esta vinculación entre el pasado y el presente, fundamentada en la construcción de una identidad nacional, tiene como objetivo central la adquisición de unos elementos afectivos y emocionales en el estudiante y no tanto la de habilidades cognitivas (Carretero y Montanero, 2008). Prácticas como la celebración de las efemérides patrias en las escuelas de Latinoamérica o Estados Unidos - en las que participan los alumnos incluso antes de comenzar a recibir una instrucción formal sobre la historia - son un claro exponente del componente afectivo y emocional que rodea las historias nacionales (para un exhaustivo análisis de estas prácticas en el caso de Argentina véase Carretero y Kriger, 2006).

En el campo de la enseñanza de la historia, un elemento clave a la hora de recoger y transmitir estas narraciones históricas basadas en la nación son los libros de texto. Como recoge Foster (2012), "*school history texts books in many nations across the world typically are shaped by two characteristics. First, they are often overtly nationalistic. Second, they commonly adopt an official, single "best story" narrative style*" (p. 49). VanSledright (2008) destaca cómo, para el caso estadounidense, el libro de texto es el depositario más importante de las narrativas nacionales, que proveen de forma y sustancia a la formación del credo americano. Foster (2006) señala que en las últimas cuatro décadas, los libros de texto estadounidenses se han caracterizado por un énfasis en el estado-nación, en el que el objetivo no era examinar o reexaminar el

pasado, sino celebrar los logros de la nación. Para ello frecuentemente se minimiza la larga historia de conflictos intergrupales y étnicos de los Estados Unidos, con la finalidad de fomentar una unión nacional.

En la mayoría de ocasiones, las voces que presentan estas narrativas nacionales en los libros de texto son voces impersonales, cuya autoridad radica precisamente en los comienzos de la nación y en mitos que simbólicamente se han ido consolidando como verdades absolutas. Otras narrativas que divergen de la narrativa oficial o en las que se ofrecen enfoques alternativos casi siempre ocupan un espacio limitado en los libros de texto. Es importante señalar que precisamente aspectos tan relevantes para el enfoque disciplinar actual de la historia, como la comparación entre distintas fuentes históricas, la importancia de identificar el autor y el propósito de los textos, o la idea de que no existe una única historia donde se recojan verdades objetivas, son fundamentalmente contrarios a los que caracterizan las narrativas nacionales. El problema radica en que, como comenta Foster (2012), las naciones que utilizan su sistema educativo para fomentar el orgullo y la unidad nacional no tienen razones para favorecer el uso de narrativas múltiples o conflictivas que favorezcan el desarrollo de un enfoque disciplinar.

Sin embargo, no en todos los países los libros de texto presentan una narrativa cerrada con objetivos fundamentalmente identitarios. En Inglaterra, por ejemplo, existe un énfasis en comprender el libro de texto como una fuente textual más a la hora de enseñar la asignatura en las escuelas. Se trata de ofrecer una herramienta que favorezca la comprensión del carácter interpretativo y en muchas ocasiones conflictivo de la historia (Foster, 2012). No obstante, este enfoque disciplinar en Inglaterra parece ser más la excepción que la norma entre las naciones-estado (VanSledright, 2008; van Der Leeuw-Roord, 2009).

Por último, es relevante destacar que los textos escolares no son el único medio a través del cual se da forma a la identidad nacional y se reafirma un enfoque romántico de la historia. En muchas ocasiones podemos encontrar este mismo enfoque identitario en novelas de divulgación histórica, museos (Asensio y Pol, 2012; González de Oleaga, 2012) películas (Wineburg, Mosborg y Porat, 2001), en memoriales públicos destinados al recuerdo de algún acontecimiento o personaje nacional (Wineburg, Mosborg, Porat y

Duncan, 2007) (piénsese, por ejemplo, en el famoso memorial de Lincoln en Washington D.C. o en los cercanos a éste de la guerra de Vietnam o la Primera Guerra Mundial), o en las ya mencionadas efemérides patrias (Carretero y Kriger, 2008).

1.3.1. Implicaciones del Uso de las Narrativas Nacionales para el Aprendizaje de la Historia

Es importante señalar que un excesivo peso de las narrativas en la enseñanza de la historia puede producir una serie de sesgos en la comprensión histórica (Barton y Levstik, 2004). Las narrativas nacionales - tanto en el ámbito formal como en el informal - son un medio fundamental a través del cual los alumnos aprenden el pasado de su nación (Foster, 2012). Estas narrativas nacionales, como se ha señalado, buscan construir una imagen positiva del propio grupo. Por lo tanto, cuentan unas historias y otras no. Hablan de unos personajes centrales - generalmente convertidos en héroes nacionales - pero olvidan a otros, que en ocasiones pueden llegar a ser grupos sociales enteros. Por lo tanto, inevitablemente, estas narraciones producen una simplificación de la historia. Como señala Alridge (2006) al hablar de las narrativas presentes en los libros de texto estadounidenses, éstos presentan narrativas discretas, heroicas y unidimensionales que niegan al estudiante un conocimiento complejo, fidedigno y preciso de los acontecimientos históricos.

Diversos trabajos ponen de manifiesto cómo las narrativas nacionales de numerosos países seleccionan qué y también cómo contar el pasado, con objetivos fundamentalmente ideológicos que apoyen la construcción de la unidad nacional. Así, por ejemplo, Crawford y Foster (2007) señalan cómo los estudiantes de China, Francia, Alemania, Japón, Estados Unidos y Reino Unido, manejan narrativas muy distintas sobre la Segunda Guerra Mundial, en las que cada nación construye una interpretación nacional del pasado. Un fenómeno similar se encontró en los análisis de las narrativas de los libros de texto utilizados en España y Méjico sobre el denominado “Descubrimiento” de América (Carretero, Jacott y López-Manjón, 2002). Así, las narrativas nacionales suelen presentar a los alumnos únicamente una visión - generalmente sesgada a favor del propio grupo nacional - de la historia.

Por tanto, una de las implicaciones fundamentales del uso de estas narrativas nacionales tiene que ver con la capacidad de contemplar el punto de vista del otro. Como indica Wertsch (1998) en un estudio sobre relatos de la historia estadounidense, muy pocos participantes introducen ironías en los relatos o comentarios que dan cuenta de conflictos entre interpretaciones, la mayoría se ha apropiado de la versión histórica oficial y la reproduce casi sin matices.

Este tipo de narrativas no sólo disminuye la importancia de estas «otras historias», sino que influye en el tipo de explicaciones causales que los alumnos dan a determinados acontecimientos históricos. Ideas centrales como la búsqueda de la libertad y del progreso nacional suelen fundamentar las narrativas de muchos eventos históricos. Por ejemplo, al hablar de la Segunda Guerra Mundial o la guerra de Vietnam, alumnos estadounidenses suelen explicar la participación de Estados Unidos en estos conflictos con frases como “para ayudar a otra gente...estábamos luchando por otra gente” o “para ayudar a los vietnamitas” (Barton y Levstik, 2004). Incluso, el carácter atemporal de la nación defendido por estas narrativas, suele servir de base legitimadora para la posesión de determinados territorios. Por ello, a menudo las explicaciones causales de los alumnos suelen apelar a estos tópicos nacionales para justificar ciertos acontecimientos históricos (véase Barton y Levstik, 2004, para el caso estadounidense o Carretero, Rosa y González, 2006, para el argentino).

Estas narrativas nacionales no sólo atribuyen explicaciones causales positivas de los eventos nacionales, sino que también pretenden transmitir enseñanzas morales. Normalmente las acciones de la propia nación son reflejadas no sólo como justas, sino como dignas de admiración. Los protagonistas nacionales son tratados como héroes dignos de ser imitados por las generaciones futuras. Por tanto, estas narrativas establecen claramente un posicionamiento moral tanto respecto al propio grupo nacional como al “otro”.

Por último, el abundante uso de estas narrativas nacionales suele producir que los estudiantes - e incluso en ocasiones los propios profesores - dejen de considerar las narrativas como una herramienta más a la hora de adquirir un conocimiento histórico para ser consideradas la historia en sí (Barton y Levstik, 2004, 2008; VanSledright, 2008). Esta idea es secundada en numerosas ocasiones por los propios libros de texto,

en los que es difícil encontrar expresiones del tipo “desde este punto de vista” o “en mi opinión”, ya que suelen estar despojados de ese enfoque personal, intencional y subjetivo, dificultando a los alumnos entender el texto como una herramienta producida por un autor o autores en concreto (Wineburg, 1991; 2001).

Por lo tanto, pese a que el uso del formato narrativo posee algunas ventajas importantes a la hora de enseñar y aprender historia, parece que una enseñanza centrada en las narrativas nacionales puede implicar la aparición de una serie de sesgos en la comprensión histórica. La simplificación, explicaciones causales sesgadas, el olvido de historias alternativas o la identificación de las narrativas con la historia en sí en lugar de cómo herramienta del conocimiento son algunas de ellos (Carretero y López, 2010a).

1.4. Historia e Identidad Nacional

Ya hemos visto cómo en numerosos países el principal objetivo de la enseñanza de la historia es la construcción de un sentimiento de identidad nacional. Se espera que los estudiantes establezcan un vínculo con el pasado nacional. Sin embargo, este objetivo identitario es muy distinto al de explorar de manera histórica cómo el pasado ha conducido al presente nacional. La vinculación identitaria recae más en el campo de lo subjetivo, incluso del adoctrinamiento. Como indican Barton y Levstik (2004), la identificación con el pasado es más parecida a un acto de fe, en el que se trata de espejar un pasado remoto con el presente. En ese sentido, el proceso de identificación se refleja en la idea de que conociendo nuestros orígenes, nuestro pasado, podemos conocer quiénes somos hoy. A través de las historias románticas nacionales, se pretende enseñar a los estudiantes cuál es “nuestro” origen y cómo “nosotros” nos hemos convertido en lo que somos hoy. Como hemos visto al analizar las narrativas nacionales, el objetivo no es dar una explicación precisa del pasado, sino desarrollar un vínculo entre los estudiantes y la nación (Rosa, Blanco, Travieso, Mateos y Díaz, 1997). Recientemente se han producido numerosos debates en torno al papel que debe o no jugar la historia en el desarrollo de la identidad nacional (Barton, 2009; Carretero, 2011; Grever y Stuurman, 2007; López & Carretero, 2012). Pero ¿cuáles son las implicaciones que tiene este componente identitario en los alumnos y su aprendizaje de la historia?

Desde el enfoque tradicional de la enseñanza de la historia se espera que los alumnos desarrollen un sentimiento de identidad nacional. Este sentimiento de identidad nacional pretende crear unos vínculos emocionales positivos con la historia de la propia nación, es decir, con el pasado. Esto se consigue como resultado de un repetido énfasis en la historia nacional - fundamentalmente a través de las narrativas nacionales - y gracias al modo altamente positivo en la que son presentadas estas historias nacionales (Barton, 2009). Este aprendizaje emocional e identitario se produce, en ocasiones, incluso antes de comenzar a recibir una enseñanza formal en la asignatura de Historia. Es el caso de las ya mencionadas celebraciones de las efemérides patrias (Carretero 2011; Carretero y Kriger, 2006). Los alumnos, como en el caso de Argentina, comienzan a participar en estas celebraciones a edades tan tempranas como los dos años. También es popularmente conocido el caso estadounidense. Es muy habitual ver cómo los niños reviven en primera persona la historia de su nación, disfrazándose de los padres fundadores como George Washington o Lincoln, o reviviendo el primer acción de gracias de los Peregrinos (Barton & Levstik, 2004). La creación de un vínculo emocional con los acontecimientos y contenidos reflejados en esas efemérides patrias se revela prácticamente inevitable.

Desde el punto de vista del aprendizaje, parece que en la mayoría de los casos se produce un aprendizaje exitoso de estos objetivos identitarios. Así, en muchas ocasiones los alumnos construyen un vínculo emocional con el pasado de la nación. Los estudiantes se apropian del uso de pronombres como “nosotros” o “nuestro” para referirse a personas y eventos históricos de la historia nacional (Barton, 2009; Carretero, 2011). Es importante mencionar que el uso de estos pronombres es muy frecuente también en los libros de texto de muchos países (Barton, 2012; Foster y Crawford, 2006). La nación pasa así a formar una parte muy importante de la propia identidad de los alumnos.

Inevitablemente, como ya se ha apuntado, esta carga emocional e identitaria tiene necesariamente un impacto sobre el aprendizaje histórico visto desde un enfoque disciplinar. Parece inevitable que esta construcción de la historia en términos tan favorables para la nación propia lleve a distorsiones u omisiones importantes de esas “otras historias” (Loewen, 1995; VanSledright, 2008). Los estudios elaborados hasta el momento así lo reflejan. Además de la vinculación identitaria con la nación, es común

encontrar en los estudiantes una valoración moral positiva respecto a las acciones de su nación y superior a las demás naciones (Barton y Levstik, 2004; López, et al. 2012b).

Como hemos venido señalando, desde un enfoque puramente disciplinar se rechaza la búsqueda de objetivos identitarios, sean éstos nacionalistas o de cualquier otra índole. El enfoque disciplinar se centra en el análisis de las causas y consecuencias de un determinado evento, las razones por las cuales los actores participaron en dicho evento o las evidencias que sostienen determinados argumentos históricos. No se trata pues, de que los estudiantes se apropien de un determinado punto de vista y que desarrollen vínculos emocionales con el mismo, sino de que desarrollen un pensamiento crítico que abarque distintos enfoques de un problema.

Como ejemplos de países que han tratado de establecer este enfoque disciplinar de la enseñanza de la historia podemos mencionar los casos de Inglaterra o Irlanda del Norte (Barton y McCully, 2005). Por ejemplo, Barton y Levstik (2004) señalan cómo mientras en Estados Unidos expresiones como “el origen de *nuestro* país” o “*nosotros* luchamos en la Segunda Guerra Mundial” son consideradas como obvias y naturales, en Gran Bretaña son tachadas de poco profesionales, porque el objetivo identitario no se considera central. Pero, ¿cuáles son las consecuencias de no contemplar los componentes identitarios en la enseñanza de la historia?

Una de las principales dificultades con la que se enfrentan los educadores es que en numerosas ocasiones, los alumnos encuentran la asignatura de historia falta de utilidad y significado. Posturas tan radicalmente diferentes en torno a la construcción de identidades como la tradicional o la disciplinar pueden resultar igualmente desmotivantes para los estudiantes. Debido al carácter multicultural de las presentes sociedades, es frecuente encontrar alumnos que no se identifiquen o que incluso rechacen las narrativas oficiales que encuentran en el colegio. Tan vacíos de significado pueden resultar los currículos que únicamente abordan conceptos disciplinares de la historia, dejando al margen aspectos identitarios que posteriormente los estudiantes sí encuentran fuera de la escuela, produciéndose así una falta de vinculación entre ambos contextos.

Como señala Barton (2012), tanto si los educadores consideran relevante incluir aspectos identitarios en el currículo de historia como si no, lo cierto es que los estudiantes de hecho sí que lo hacen. El hecho de que no se encuentren con enfoques identitarios en la escuela no significa que los estudiantes vayan a dejar de vincular la historia con aspectos identitarios. Como ya hemos visto, los usos sociales de la historia, también fuera de los contextos académicos, están estrechamente vinculados con estos elementos identitarios. Es de esperar que los estudiantes desarrollen identidades nacionales a partir de historias que encuentran en sus comunidades y sus familias. Como señalan Barton y McCully (2005) para el caso norirlandés, es posible que esas identidades se caractericen por ser igualmente excluyentes, precisamente porque los alumnos no han adquirido herramientas que les capaciten para contemplar las cuestiones identitarias de otra forma.

Desde algunos enfoques se reclama precisamente que la enseñanza de la historia debe abordar los aspectos identitarios, pero de un modo disciplinar que refleje sus aspectos inclusivos, diversos y complejos, más que hacerlo de un modo simple y exclusivo, como se encuentra en las narrativas nacionales tradicionales (Barton y Levstik, 2004; Jonker, 2007; VanSledright, 2008). Se trata fundamentalmente de contemplar otras identidades más allá de la nacional. Identidades referentes al género, a la clase social, a una comunidad local o a una cultura son algunas de esas otras identidades que se proponen como alternativas a la identidad nacional (Von Borries, 2009). Sin embargo, la identificación con la nación sigue siendo la más comúnmente encontrada en las escuelas, y las evidencias reflejan que la consecución de ese objetivo se produce de manera exitosa (Barton y Levstik, 2004).

Pese a que hay un intenso debate en la actualidad en torno a cómo enfocar los componentes identitarios en la enseñanza de la historia, éstos parecen un componente inevitable a tener en cuenta. Los alumnos traen consigo a las aulas estas identidades y las ponen en juego a la hora de adquirir y utilizar el conocimiento histórico. Además, se trata, como se ha señalado, de componentes muy vinculados con el interés y la motivación de los estudiantes. Se hace patente así la importancia de comprender cómo influyen estos componentes identitarios a la hora de que los alumnos adquieran un conocimiento de carácter disciplinar.

1.5. Nación e Identidad Nacional desde la Historiografía Actual

Los conceptos de nación e identidad nacional siguen teniendo un papel central dentro de la disciplina de la historia y sin duda también en su enseñanza y aprendizaje. La relevancia de estos conceptos es tal que de las diferencias en torno a su significado pueden surgir maneras completamente diferentes de entender la propia disciplina de la historia.

Dentro de la historiografía actual encontramos fundamentalmente dos enfoques opuestos: el primordialista y el modernista (un análisis en profundidad de ambos enfoques puede verse en López, Carretero y Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012a). Brevemente, desde el enfoque primordialista las naciones y la identidad nacional son vistas como algo intrínseco a la naturaleza humana. Poseen un carácter atemporal, y pueden ser encontradas en los distintos periodos de la historia. Por el contrario, el enfoque modernista sitúa el surgimiento de las naciones en un momento determinado de la historia, en la era de los nacionalismos, entre finales del siglo XVIII y el siglo XIX. Desde este punto de vista, las naciones no son una entidad natural, sino construida en época reciente. Como recoge la célebre frase de Gellner, “es el nacionalismo el que crea las naciones, y no al revés” (1983, p.55).

Pese a que en la actualidad aún podemos encontrar ambos enfoques, la aproximación primordialista es característica de la historiografía romántica de los siglos XVIII y XIX, mientras que el enfoque modernista se ha impuesto como enfoque disciplinar desde finales del siglo XX. Álvarez Junco recoge este giro dentro de la propia historiografía (2001):

En vez de aceptar las identidades nacionales como realidades naturales, comenzaron a verse como creaciones artificiales, movidas por intereses políticos. El sentimiento nacional, en lugar de crearse espontáneo o innato, pasó a considerarse adquirido o inculcado, fundamentalmente a través del proceso educativo, pero también por medio de ceremonias, monumentos o fiestas cívicas. Se cayó en la cuenta de que los estados, tenidos hasta entonces por invenciones humanas que se apoyaban en fenómenos sociales y culturales previos, eran los promotores del proceso; lo político precedía a lo étnico, y no al contrario. Se

comprendió también que las identidades nacionales eran cambiantes, en lugar de permanentes (p.15).

Este cambio en el modo de entender estos conceptos supone una revolución en el modo de entender la propia historia. El conflicto entre enfoques es evidente. Para el enfoque romántico toda la historia, desde el más remoto pasado, está estructurada en torno a la nación. Desde el enfoque disciplinar actual la mayoría de historiadores defiende que no se puede hablar de naciones en épocas anteriores a la era de los nacionalismos. Como hemos visto, la historiografía romántica nacionalizó el pasado, reinterpretándolo desde el punto de vista de cada una de las naciones y plasmándolo en narrativas nacionales excluyentes que se perpetuaron como versiones únicas de la historia. Para el enfoque disciplinar actual, dichas narrativas nacionales constituyen más unos mitos que interpretaciones historiográficas. Por lo tanto, desnacionalizar los análisis históricos de épocas anteriores al surgimiento de las naciones constituye uno de los objetivos de este nuevo enfoque.

Parece relevante plantearse cuáles son las implicaciones educativas de estas tensiones entre el enfoque romántico y el disciplinar en lo referente a conceptos tan centrales para la historia como el de nación e identidad nacional. Parece claro que el cambio a nivel disciplinar no ha tenido un reflejo a nivel educativo, ni dentro ni fuera de las escuelas. Este hecho pone de manifiesto la importancia de analizar de manera empírica la brecha entre el modo en que historiadores y estudiantes comprenden la historia. A pesar de la preeminencia del enfoque disciplinar dentro de la historiografía actual, la utilidad de conceptos como la identidad nacional y la nación a nivel social y político hace que su desvinculación con la asignatura de historia sea motivo de fuertes debates sociales, políticos y educativos (un análisis de estos debates y sus implicaciones para la educación puede verse en López y Carretero, 2012).

Para acercarnos al concepto de nación desde una perspectiva historiográfica, creemos importante retomar y analizar los componentes del concepto de nación para así tratar de comprender el papel de los mismos en cada uno de estos enfoques. Los factores étnicos, culturales, históricos y territoriales son, de alguna manera, componentes que hunden sus raíces en un pasado más remoto, mientras que los políticos y económicos poseen un carácter más moderno. Es decir, los factores político legales que conforman

la nación se han establecido más tarde y sobre las bases de una cultura vernácula premoderna. Por lo tanto, de algún modo, esta diferenciación entre componentes premodernos y modernos del concepto de nación puede estar en la base de la concepción romántica o no del concepto de nación (Carretero y Kriger, 2008; Carretero y González, 2008).

El enfoque romántico o perennialista, está vinculado al concepto de nación étnica propuesto por Hans Kohn (1944, 1962, 1994). Esta nación étnica proviene fundamentalmente del enfoque romántico germanista de finales del s.XVIII. Desde este enfoque, la nación se concibe como una identidad natural cuyo origen se pierde en el pasado. La pertenencia o no a una nación se basa en las necesidades emocionales de los individuos de pertenencia a una amplia comunidad cultural. Los componentes que unen a un individuo con la nación (antepasados, lenguaje, tradiciones, religión, otros) son considerados como algo inmaterial, cultural y, por encima de todo, de una naturaleza permanente. Por lo tanto, desde el punto de vista romántico, los límites y el carácter de las naciones están fijados desde hace tiempo y son resistentes a las presiones sociales del presente. La nación es algo cerrado, homogéneo, permanente y que no puede ser modificado por la acción de hombre (Janmaat, 2005; 2006). Como puede verse, los componentes culturales, históricos y étnicos toman una gran relevancia en este enfoque del concepto de nación, lo cual supone que se entienda el factor territorial como algo estático, fijo y cerrado a posibles cambios.

Por su parte la concepción moderna e instrumental del concepto de nación proviene de las ideas racionalistas francesas que se propagaron también durante finales del siglo XVIII. En la distinción de Hans Kohn, estaríamos hablando de la nación cívica, en contraposición a la nación étnica. La nación cívica es el producto de una serie de elecciones individuales que participan en una comunidad política. Este enfoque racionalista subraya el carácter voluntario, abierto e instrumental de la pertenencia a una nación. La nación es una comunidad política moderna que no puede ser separada de las instituciones estatales, ya que éstas representan los valores e intereses de los individuos, ofreciendo a los ciudadanos una serie de beneficios y obligaciones comunes. La nación es vista como algo dinámico, una comunidad de intereses políticos heterogénea, producto de la acción deliberada del hombre. El componente territorial, desde este enfoque, es visto como algo modificable y de límites porosos (Janmaat, 2005; 2006).

Algunos autores han tratado de construir una distinción cívica-occidental y étnica-oriental de las naciones (Kohn, 1944, 1962, 1994). Del mismo modo se plantea la idea de que el enfoque cívico es compatible con una visión democrática, pluralista y protectora de los derechos humanos, mientras que el enfoque étnico está más relacionado con el autoritarismo o la intolerancia étnica hacia los otros.

La idea geográfica - occidental-oriental - de Kohn es la que más polémica ha suscitado y algunos autores han tachado de absurda esta concepción dicotómica regionalista de las naciones occidentales y orientales (Janmaat, 2005). Algunos, como Smith (1991, 1998), mantienen que todas las naciones, incluidas las occidentales, se sostienen sobre fuertes fundamentos étnicos. Kuzio (2001, 2002). Propone que muchos estados occidentales han evolucionado desde naciones étnicas a naciones cívicas. Así, según este autor, cuanto más joven es un estado nación y más rudimentarias sus instituciones democráticas, más probabilidades hay de que surjan estructuras sociales étnicas, para posteriormente, con la estabilidad de las instituciones democráticas, pasar a un aumento de componente cívicos.

Como se ha señalado anteriormente, la fuerza de los contenidos relacionados con la nación en el currículo de historia siguen muy presentes en diversas partes del mundo. Las narraciones nacionales en la enseñanza de la historia frecuentemente reflejan una concepción étnica de la nación. Esta situación nos hace plantearnos qué tipo de concepciones sobre la nación se están inculcando en las escuelas, qué tipo de objetivos persigue la enseñanza de la historia y qué influencia tienen en los alumnos a la hora de alcanzar un conocimiento más cercano al que se le supone a un experto en historia.

1.6. La Nación Española: Concepto Construido o Concepto Natural

Como hemos venido analizando, la relevancia del concepto de nación en el currículo de historia procede fundamentalmente de la herencia romántica que se instauró desde finales del siglo XVIII y principios del XIX y que aún tiene una gran influencia en la actualidad. En este sentido, la enseñanza de la historia en España no parece decantarse por un enfoque historiográfico como veíamos en el caso del Reino Unido. Pero ¿cómo se entiende el concepto de nación española en el currículo de Historia?, ¿cuáles son los orígenes del concepto de España como nación?, ¿sobre qué

componentes fundamentales se sostiene este concepto de España y de lo español? Todas estas preguntas nos ayudarán a entender mejor otra que consideramos de vital importancia: ¿cuál es el concepto que nación española que los estudiantes adquieren a través de la enseñanza de la historia?

1.6.1. Los orígenes de la nación española y la historiografía nacionalizadora del siglo XIX

Para muchos historiadores, España, como muchas otras naciones actuales, surge como nación a principios del siglo XIX. Un origen fuertemente vinculado a las Cortes de Cádiz y la promulgación de la constitución de 1812 (Pérez Garzón, 2001a; 2001b; Álvarez Junco, 2001). Estos autores defienden la hipótesis de una relación profunda entre el proceso de organización del estado-nación de España y la historiografía desarrollada por escritores que califican como españolistas. Por lo tanto, se establece esta vinculación entre el estado-nación y la disciplina de la historia ya desde los orígenes de la nación. Así, como indica Pérez Garzón (2001a), la España liberal del siglo XIX organizó la historia como un saber nacional, con unos fuertes objetivos identitarios promovidos desde el propio estado. Desde entonces persiste el discurso coherente de una historia de España concebida como historia nacional unitaria. Con el surgimiento del nuevo concepto de nación como legitimador de la soberanía política, el contenido y el debate de la historiografía había cambiado. Ya no se trataba de sustentar y ensalzar las hazañas de un determinado rey o dinastía familiar frente a otros, sino que el papel protagonista lo recogía la nación. Se llevó a cabo, ya desde principios del s. XIX una nacionalización española del pasado y, por lo tanto, de la historia.

Los historiadores jugaron un papel fundamental a la hora de consolidar este proceso de nacionalización. La historia se convertía en el arsenal de razones inmemoriales para el comportamiento nacional de los ciudadanos. Con la historia se pretendía anudar nuevas fidelidades políticas, sustentadas en su pertenencia nacional.

El concepto romántico de la nación española justificaba los hechos del pasado y lo adecuado o no de las posturas políticas de la época. Por lo tanto, la historia, al constituirse como saber nacional, no podía comenzar desde el momento en el que se organizaba España como estado-nación, porque entonces se hubiera negado a sí misma

la condición atemporal como nación. Un aspecto fundamental para la gestión de la memoria era la construcción del discurso histórico sobre los tiempos inmemoriales en que arraigaba ontológicamente la nación española (Pérez Garzón, 2001a). Por lo tanto, España debía constituirse en el hilo conductor de los sucesos ocurridos en el territorio peninsular desde tiempos muy remotos, y el carácter de los españoles remontarse ya hasta los íberos. La nación española poseía así un carácter eterno, que además sería inmutable. Desde el punto de vista de autores como Pérez Garzón (2001b), se estaba falseando la realidad histórica al catalogar como nación española todo el territorio peninsular desde mucho antes de la invención del concepto de nación, y al dar carta de nacionalidad española a cuanto aconteció dentro de esas fronteras desde la prehistoria hasta hoy.

Para la historia romántica, lo español y los españoles existían ya desde el más lejano pasado y se distinguían esencialmente de los habitantes de otras naciones. Como afirmaba Modesto Lafuente (1861): “los iberos y los celtas son los creadores del fondo del carácter español [...] ¿Quién no ve revelarse este mismo genio en todas las épocas, desde Sagunto hasta Zaragoza...? ¡Pueblo singular!” (p.14).

Los acontecimientos colectivos se convirtieron en el nuevo tema del análisis histórico y los ciudadanos españoles llenaron las páginas de la historia con grandes epopeyas de toda una nación (piénsese en la resistencia de Numancia, la “Reconquista”, el “Descubrimiento” de América o la guerra de la independencia frente a las tropas napoleónicas). Los actores principales que se convirtieron en héroes nacionales, desde Viriato - nótese el origen lusitano de éste - pasando por Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, Cortés y Pizarro, hasta Daoíz y Velarde, eran representantes de ese carácter español y de la nación entera.

Como señala Pérez Garzón (2001a):

Enseñar España como unidad nacional se convertía, por tanto, en la principal tarea de los historiadores y escritores del siglo XIX. Y transformar el concepto de España en el componente básico de la cultura de unos ciudadanos que ante todo se tienen que definir como españoles. Por eso deben conocer y hay que divulgar la

historia de héroes y lides que consolida el orgullo del apelativo político de *español* (p.50).

1.6.2. Los componentes fundamentales del origen del concepto de España como nación

Como ya hemos comentado, no existe una única definición consensuada y cerrada cuando hablamos de conceptos históricos como el de nación. No obstante, sí parece haber un mayor grado de acuerdo al hablar de factores vinculados con el concepto de nación como son los étnicos, culturales, territoriales, económicos y políticos (Gellner, 1983; Renan, 1882/1990, Smith, 1991).

En el caso concreto de España, Pérez Garzón (2001b) destaca tres componentes clave a la hora de comprender el concepto de nación Española y su origen: un componente territorial, otro de carácter más cultural como es el religioso y, por último, el componente político del estado.

Así pues, España como nación no se sustenta únicamente sobre un pacto político, sino que otros componentes de naturaleza más romántica aportan ya desde el siglo XIX el valor de unas supuestas tradiciones que legitiman a la nación. En este sentido, se trata de tradiciones que en ocasiones trascienden los límites del tiempo para establecer unos vínculos hacia el pasado más remoto. En este sentido podemos hablar en muchos casos de que se trata de tradiciones inventadas, en la línea que proponen Hobsbawm y Ranger (1983), cuyo objetivo es legitimar a la nación. Como venimos señalando, la historiografía romántica jugó un papel crítico en la construcción de la nación española.

El territorio es un componente central en el concepto de nación, sobre todo en el ámbito occidental. Como sustento de la nación, el territorio nacional no es cualquier territorio, sino un territorio “histórico”, que es aquél donde la tierra y la gente se han influido mutuamente de forma beneficiosa a lo largo de varias generaciones. Es el depositario de los recuerdos históricos y asociaciones mentales. Es un lugar de veneración y exaltación, cuyos significados sólo pueden ser entendidos por los iniciados, los que tienen conciencia de pertenecer a la nación. Los recursos de la tierra son exclusivos del pueblo, y no pueden ser utilizados por los extraños (Smith, 1991).

En el caso de España, el pasado que se reinventa y nacionaliza a partir del siglo XIX es un pasado fundamentalmente peninsular (Pérez Garzón, 2001b). En la obra de Modesto Lafuente (1861) se hacía notar cómo el territorio peninsular establecía, sin duda, “los límites *naturales* que le señalaban su geografía”. Por lo tanto, el territorio nacional español no vendría determinado como algo arbitrario, tampoco como fruto de la acción deliberada del hombre, sino como algo ya establecido por la naturaleza, en lo que podríamos contemplar como un determinismo geográfico. Pérez Garzón (2001b) pone de manifiesto cómo España es el único país en cuya representación cartográfica se incluye otro estado, el portugués. Parece que existe una tendencia a considerar a la península Ibérica como una posesión de España. En este sentido, los momentos de la historia en el que la unidad política ha coincidido con la unidad geográfica peninsular se toman como episodios estelares. Se trataban como momentos en los que España recobraba los límites *naturales* que le señalaba su geografía. Así, acontecimientos históricos como “La Reconquista” por parte de los Reyes Católicos o la “conquista de Portugal” por Felipe II, son vistos como grandes momentos de la historia de España, en los que se alcanzaba un objetivo natural de unidad territorial.

El componente religioso también es interpretado por Pérez Garzón (2001b) como uno de los sustentos de la idea de España como nación. A menudo las órdenes religiosas han sido las guardianas y las encargadas de gestionar los mitos, recuerdos y valores étnicos de la comunidad - papel que actualmente podríamos asimilar con el de la escuela (Smith, 1991). El cristianismo es visto como un factor definitorio de lo español. Nuevamente la unificación religiosa de España se trata como un objetivo natural de la nación. De este modo, la conversión de Recaredo en el siglo VI o la “Reconquista” por parte de los Reyes *Católicos*, son momentos señalados de esa historia de España.

El estado, por último, como máxima expresión del poder, se presenta como otro componente fundamental de la nación española. Más concretamente, la historiografía nacionalista puso de manifiesto ya desde el siglo XIX la importancia de las victorias del estado español sobre otros. Las guerras, como señala Smith (1991) movilizan los sentimientos étnicos y la conciencia nacional, suministrando además mitos y recuerdos para las generaciones futuras, lo que constituye una función primordial. Los acontecimientos bélicos, en la historiografía nacionalista, son un componente fundamental de la historia de España, en los que surgen de manera ejemplar el carácter

nacional y la defensa de la identidad nacional. Acontecimientos a través de los que se establece una vinculación entre el pasado y el presente, ya que en todos ellos se ensalza la unión por la defensa de una identidad nacional frente al otro. Sagunto y Numancia, Covadonga, las Navas de Tolosa, Zaragoza o Bailén se convierten en acontecimientos centrales de la historia de España. Desde la historiografía nacional, todas las guerras desarrolladas en el territorio “histórico” de España se interpretan como acciones destinadas a la obtención de esa unidad esencial. De este modo, las causas, explicaciones y el tiempo histórico se simplifican en virtud de esa búsqueda de unidad nacional. Ejemplos como la “conquista” romana, o los ocho siglos de la “ocupación” musulmana y la posterior “Reconquista” cristiana, se presentan como eventos integrados en el devenir histórico que desemboca en el objetivo lógico del dominio de toda la península (Pérez Garzón, 2001a).

1.6.3. El concepto de nación española en la historiografía académica y en la historiografía escolar actual

Hasta ahora nos hemos centrado en los componentes fundamentales del concepto de nación española que surgen de la mano de la historiografía romántica de finales del siglo XIX. Pero ¿qué aspectos de esta historiografía romántica permanecen en la historiografía académica actual?

En el trabajo de Pérez Garzón (2001b), se hace un análisis de la imagen del concepto de nación española que refleja la obra de uno de los más prestigiosos historiadores actuales, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz (2000). En la obra de Domínguez Ortiz nos encontramos con un título ya de por sí revelador: *España. Tres milenios de Historia*. De este título podemos percibir nuevamente la idea de una nación española permanente, atemporal, que existe de manera natural desde los tiempos más remotos. Efectivamente, Domínguez Ortiz continua la imagen romántica de la nación española que anteriormente encontrábamos al comentar la obra de Modesto Lafuente (1861). Para Domínguez Ortiz, España comienza “cuando los diversos pueblos que la forman comienzan a ser percibidos desde el exterior como una unidad”, concretamente “desde el Hierro hay ya en la península ciertos factores de unidad e interrelación entre sus pueblos. Por eso, no me parece exagerado hablar de un Trimilenio” (p. 5-6.). La romanización - comenta Domínguez Ortiz - “fue un hecho decisivo en nuestra historia:

está en la base de la existencia de España como unidad nacional”, con los visigodos culmina el “proceso de construcción de un Estado” cuando se alcanza “la unidad religiosa realizada [...] el año 589, una de las fechas más simbólicas de nuestra historia, cuando Recaredo [...] abrazó el catolicismo” (p.44). Como vemos, la vinculación presente-pasado y el factor religioso surgen de nuevo como elementos fundamentales del concepto de nación española.

Tanto en la obra de Modesto Lafuente, como en la de Domínguez Ortiz, el punto de llegada lógico de la historia es el estado-nación español formado sobre las fronteras peninsulares del siglo XIX. Las guerras, las grandes causas como la “*Reconquista*” o el “*Descubrimiento*” y *colonización de América*, el olvido de las brutalidades cometidas sobre otros pueblos, la exaltación de acontecimientos y héroes patrios, son parte de un orden natural y legítimo que desemboca en la unión del estado-nación español (Pérez Garzón, 2001a). Así pues, parece que el componente ontológico y romántico de la nación española se mantiene, si bien de manera más sutil, en algunos historiadores actuales como Domínguez Ortiz.

Desde nuestra investigación queremos centrarnos en cómo esa historiografía se plasma en su adaptación didáctica, es decir, en la historiografía escolar. Así, cabe preguntarse cuál es el concepto de nación que se transmite a los estudiantes y las representaciones que finalmente adquieren. ¿Se trata de representaciones de carácter romántico o por el contrario adquieren una concepción más cercana a la visión disciplinar?, ¿Qué mecanismos producen una concepción romántica de la nación?, ¿Cuáles favorecen una visión disciplinar?

Para tratar de responder a estas y otras preguntas similares nos parece relevante examinar las ideas que respecto de este tema se recogen en los manuales escolares de historia. Dichos manuales son los productos historiográficos socialmente más significativos debido a su amplia difusión social (Valls, 2007). Evidentemente no se trata del único elemento influyente a la hora de elaborar un concepto de nación u otro - piénsese, por ejemplo, en los medios de comunicación de masas actuales como la televisión o Internet - pero sí parecen ser un elemento significativo.

En un análisis actual de la historiografía escolar española, Rafael Valls (2007) recoge las opiniones de algunos de los autores más relevantes en el estudio de los manuales de historia españoles como Raimundo Cuesta, Pilar Maestro o Carolyn P. Boyd.

El análisis de Raimundo Cuesta (1997 y 1998), se centra en las relaciones entre la historia regulada - aquella que responde a las disposiciones jurídico-administrativas que diseñan y controlan el sistema educativo - la historia soñada - referente a una enseñanza nueva de la historia basada en un pensar históricamente - y la historia enseñada - que hace referencia a la práctica real de la historia en las aulas. La conclusión de este análisis es la coexistencia de cambios y continuidades, es decir, la persistencia de una educación muy tradicional en la Enseñanza Secundaria, salpicada de algunas prácticas más innovadoras que son, en todo caso, más una excepción que una norma (Valls, 2007). Para Cuesta es necesario hacer hincapié en el desarrollo de un pensar históricamente que vertebré una nueva enseñanza de la historia, rompiendo claramente con una enseñanza tradicional basada en un relato nacionalizante y retrospectivo del territorio ocupado por cada uno de los estados actuales.

Para Pilar Maestro (1997) la enseñanza de la historia en España y otros países de su entorno, mantiene un carácter marcadamente ideológico y permanece estancada en los modelos generados en el siglo XIX. Estos modelos han sido progresivamente transvasados a la enseñanza secundaria y primaria, convirtiéndose en un modelo “natural” de la enseñanza de la historia. Para Maestro (1997), es necesario romper con ese modelo rutinario para poder implantar una nueva historiografía, científicamente aceptable, que se refleje en un verdadero *pensar históricamente*.

Por último, un significativo estudio sobre la historiografía escolar española es el realizado por Carolyn P. Boyd (1997) en su libro titulado *Historia Patria. Politics, history, and national identity in Spain*. Si bien el análisis de esta obra abarca hasta 1975, consideramos relevante tener en cuenta las aportaciones de una investigación como ésta, que estudia la enseñanza de la historia en España durante un periodo tan amplio como un siglo. La conclusión fundamental de Boyd en los cien años analizados es la permanente intención de los dirigentes del estado - ya sean de una u otra tendencia

política - de imponer en el mundo escolar distintos significados e interpretaciones de la historia y de la identidad nacional española (Valls, 2007).

De estos y otros análisis parece desprenderse la idea de que la influencia romántica en la enseñanza de la historia en España sigue jugando un importante papel. No obstante parece relevante llevar a cabo un análisis empírico de este fenómeno que recoja las concepciones e ideas que las personas tienen sobre un concepto tan central en el conocimiento histórico como es el de nación.

1.7. La Reconquista: Un Ejemplo de Narrativa Nacional Española

El denominado proceso de la “Reconquista” hace referencia a las conquistas cristianas realizadas en la península Ibérica que comienzan en la batalla de Covadonga, producida en torno al año 718, y que culminan en el año 1492 tras la conquista de Granada.

Dicho proceso fue reinterpretado por la historiografía a lo largo de los siglos y lo que en principio se concibió como la restauración del reino visigodo fue convertido en una empresa de carácter nacional gracias a la cual se legitimó la institución monárquica y sobre la que se construyó la identidad nacional española (Ríos Saloma, 2005).

Ríos Saloma (2005) analiza cómo la historiografía abordó este proceso desde el siglo XVI y hasta el siglo XIX, mostrando los cambios en la conceptualización y el tratamiento de este proceso histórico.

En el siglo XVI dicho proceso fue especialmente resaltado porque se consideraba el inicio de una época histórica crucial: la época de la *Restauración* - nótese la diferente denominación utilizada en ese momento, en el que en ningún caso se utiliza el término de *Reconquista* - que finaliza con la expulsión total de los musulmanes en 1492. La interpretación histórica imperante en este siglo XVI giraba en torno a la idea de que los últimos reyes visigodos fueron el final de un reinado glorioso que comenzó con la caída del imperio romano y en el cual se había implantado el cristianismo en España. La pérdida de España en este siglo se sustentó - según el relato tradicional - sobre causas de tipo religioso, moral, político y social, pero siempre originadas desde dentro. Es decir,

la pérdida del reino visigodo fue reflejada como un castigo divino causado por los pecados de los últimos reyes visigodos, pero en todo caso se dejaba muy claro que el dominio musulmán era sólo un castigo temporal y que una vez expiados los pecados, Dios permitiría que se restaurase la libertad y la gloria del pueblo godo (Ríos Saloma, 2005). Para los autores de este siglo, el proceso de la Restauración no es una lucha por la recuperación de un territorio, sino por la recuperación de la libertad y la honra.

Durante el siglo XVII no se hicieron excesivos cambios en las versiones anteriores, del XVI, sino que se fortalecieron las ya existentes, formando unas verdades absolutas, y constituyendo un mito fundacional, impermeable a la crítica. Se hicieron, no obstante, esfuerzos por asentar aspectos simbólicos de los eventos, tanto en lo referente a los principales protagonistas como al datado preciso de los acontecimientos ocurridos. Según Ríos Saloma, el interés fundamental era insertar dentro de la corriente de la historia universal el momento fundacional de la nación española. Los autores del siglo XVII continúan utilizando el término Restauración para referirse al proceso, y a los eventos militares los denominan conquistas, en ningún caso “re-conquistas”.

Ya en el siglo XVIII se produce una revisión de la Restauración desde el punto de vista de una temprana ilustración. Se revisa el proceso con la intención de ceñir el relato a una verdad histórica, lo que da como resultado algunos cambios relativos a las fechas y a los relatos centrados en las historias personales que hasta ese momento habían sido vistas como fundamentales a la hora de valorar las causas de la pérdida de España. Pero lo más significativo de este período es la identificación de los autores con los cristianos del siglo VII y con su empresa restauradora en términos nacionales. Surgen en este siglo, de la mano de los historiadores, conceptos clave para sustentar el concepto de Reconquista. Comienza a hablarse de “nuestra España”, pero ya no con respecto a un vínculo religioso, sino en referente a un vínculo político. Los autores comienzan a hablar de España como una entidad política, considerando al reino visigodo y a “su España” como una sola cosa, que pertenece, por supuesto, a los españoles. Como consecuencia empiezan a aparecer los términos de “recobrase” y “recuperarse” en relación al territorio, y ya no se habla únicamente de “restaurar” una religión. Surge pues la idea de que la lucha contra los musulmanes no sólo había sido una lucha para conseguir la libertad y restaurar la religión, sino también una lucha por recuperar el territorio perdido. Como recoge Ríos Saloma, asistimos al surgimiento de una

conciencia “nacional” en la que ya no hay visigodos, ni astures, ni cántabros, sino españoles. Estos españoles, combatían por recuperar algo de lo que habían sido injustamente despojados y también -según algunos historiadores de este siglo- por tomar venganza de los agravios hechos a la nación Española. El concepto de nación y patria comienza a surgir con fuerza en este momento, así como la idea de que los participantes del proceso eran españoles (Ríos Saloma, 2005). No obstante, el término de restauración no es sustituido radicalmente por el de reconquista, y éste último se reservó únicamente para la conquista militar de una ciudad.

Es en el siglo XIX cuando el término de Reconquista adquiere un nuevo sentido de la mano de los escritores románticos y nacionalistas. En un contexto marcado por el surgimiento de los estados nacionales en toda Europa, y tras la invasión napoleónica de España, se hacía necesaria la construcción de una identidad colectiva basada en los nuevos conceptos de “patria” y “nación”. La batalla de Covadonga y la lucha contra los musulmanes se convirtieron en los pilares sobre los que se sustentaba la moderna identidad colectiva española. Existía una necesidad de dotar a la nación española de un pasado común y exclusivo, diferente del de las otras naciones europeas. La lucha contra los musulmanes y la reconquista de la patria era un período significativamente relevante en el que fundamentar ese pasado común. A mediados del siglo XIX se entendía que los franceses habían conquistado un territorio que no les pertenecía y los españoles lo habían recuperado, es decir, lo habían reconquistado y por lo tanto se había producido una liberación de España. El proceso de las guerras contra los musulmanes se entiende en este siglo igualmente como una guerra de independencia y el término de Reconquista comienza a ser utilizado de manera habitual en un sentido no ya sólo de conquista militar, sino de independencia nacional, en el que se da una lucha entre españoles e invasores extranjeros (Ríos Saloma, 2005).

Por lo tanto, es a mediados del siglo XIX cuando el término de Reconquista comienza a ser empleado de manera general para definir todo el proceso de la lucha contra los musulmanes, con las connotaciones románticas y nacionalistas que hemos venido señalando y que eran una práctica común en la historiografía de mediados del siglo XIX.

Se trata de un proceso que, de la mano de la historiografía, pasó a constituir uno de los episodios más importantes de la “historia de España” y sin duda es visto como el germen de la nación española. A través del trabajo de Ríos Saloma (2005) podemos hacernos una idea de la evolución que sufrió la llamada “Reconquista” en la historiografía española y que, desde nuestro punto de vista, va en la línea de la construcción imaginaria de las comunidades nacionales (Pérez Garzón, 2001a; Álvarez Junco, 2001) o de lo que Hobsbawm (1983) denomina como invención de la tradición, cuando habla de la necesidad de las naciones de inventar una continuidad histórica que legitime a las instituciones políticas.

SECCIÓN II: OBJETIVOS GENERALES

OBJETIVOS GENERALES

Los objetivos de la presente tesis surgen fundamentalmente del análisis de las tensiones entre los enfoques romántico y disciplinar de la historia (Carretero, 2011; Lowenthal, 1998). Como se ha señalado en la introducción, esta tensión se centra, entre otras cuestiones, en la diferenciación en cuanto a los objetivos que persigue uno y otro enfoque, siendo la construcción de una identidad nacional el fundamental para el enfoque romántico y el desarrollo del pensamiento histórico para el disciplinar. Cada enfoque se aproxima de un modo muy diferente al campo de la historia incluso a nivel epistemológico. Sin embargo, consideramos que el análisis de conceptos tan esenciales para la disciplina como la nación o la identidad nacional constituye un objetivo fundamental si queremos entender bien las tensiones existentes entre ambos enfoques.

Estableciendo el análisis de los conceptos de nación e identidad nacional como un objetivo prioritario, esta tesis pretende contribuir al desarrollo de los estudios cognitivos psicológicos referentes al campo de la historia en tres niveles (Figura 1). Desde un primer nivel, de carácter más epistemológico, se propone un análisis que ayude a clarificar el porqué de las diferencias entre los objetivos del enfoque romántico y disciplinar. Un segundo nivel se centra en el análisis de las narrativas históricas como una herramienta clave de la construcción del conocimiento histórico. Por último, desde un nivel conceptual se examinan los conceptos de nación e identidad nacional, que constituyen el núcleo de la mayoría de narrativas históricas.

Consideramos especialmente relevante destacar cómo estos tres niveles están estrechamente vinculados. Entre ellos se establecen relaciones bidireccionales de tal modo que los cambios en uno de ellos afectan a los otros y viceversa. Así, por ejemplo, el establecimiento de unos objetivos identitarios para la disciplina de la historia influiría en el tipo de conceptos de nación e identidad nacional que se transmitan y en el uso predominante de las narrativas nacionales como herramienta de transmisión y aprendizaje de estos conceptos. Sin embargo, un cambio en la forma de entender estos conceptos centrales puede, por su parte, suponer un cambio en los objetivos de la propia

disciplina histórica y un replanteamiento del rol que juegan las narrativas como herramienta central del conocimiento histórico.

A partir del análisis de estos tres niveles pretendemos aportar respuestas a las tensiones que se producen entre los enfoques romántico y disciplinar y su influencia tanto en el propio conocimiento histórico como en los procesos de enseñanza y aprendizaje del mismo.



Figura 1. Niveles de análisis de los enfoques romántico y disciplinar en el ámbito de la historia.

Para ello, de modo general, los estudios 1 y 2 abordan dos elementos centrales para el conocimiento histórico como son los elementos identitarios y las narrativas históricas. Por su parte, los estudios 3, 4 y 5, recogen diversos estudios sobre la comprensión de los estudiantes sobre los conceptos de nación e identidad nacional. Por último, los estudios 6 y 7 están centrados en el pensamiento histórico de los expertos,

analizando tanto las características generales dicho pensamiento como aquellas implicadas específicamente en la comprensión del fenómeno nacional.

A modo de resumen, a continuación se presentan los objetivos de cada uno de estos siete estudios. Específicamente, atendiendo al primero de los niveles recogidos en la figura 1, el estudio 1 tuvo como finalidad analizar la influencia de los elementos identitarios en el establecimiento de los objetivos que desde los distintos enfoques se proponen para la historia. Esta problemática ha suscitado numerosos debates que afectan sin duda al modo de entender el papel que debe cumplir la historia en la sociedad (Evans, 2004). Además, no cabe duda de que dichos debates finalmente tienen un alto impacto en los procesos de enseñanza y aprendizaje de la historia.

Respecto al segundo nivel, en un análisis del modo en el que tanto desde el enfoque disciplinar como del romántico se produce y transmite el conocimiento histórico, el estudio 2 tuvo como objetivo clarificar la influencia del formato narrativo en el pensamiento histórico. Sin duda, como hemos visto, el formato narrativo toma una relevancia central tanto en el proceso de producción del conocimiento histórico como en el del consumo del mismo. Específicamente nos interesó examinar la influencia de las narrativas nacionales sobre la comprensión histórica.

Los estudios 3, 4 y 5, abordan de manera empírica la relación de la identidad y las narrativas nacionales en la comprensión de conceptos históricos centrales por parte de los estudiantes. Estos estudios empíricos giran fundamentalmente en torno al tercer nivel de análisis presentado en la figura 1, es decir, un análisis centrado en los conceptos de nación e identidad nacional. El objetivo fundamental del estudio 3 fue analizar el concepto de nación propia de los estudiantes a través de las narrativas que ellos mismos elaboraron sobre la denominada “Reconquista”. Se trata de un proceso histórico cuya reinterpretación en términos nacionales ha llegado a constituir una narrativa frecuentemente empleada en España, tanto en ámbitos formales de educación como informales. Concretamente nos interesó analizar si las narrativas construidas por los participantes reflejaban una concepción de carácter más romántico o, por el contrario, se acercaban más al punto de vista disciplinar. Asimismo, nos interesó analizar los elementos de tipo identitario presente en las narrativas, como son los juicios morales o la vinculación que los participantes mostraban con los protagonistas del

evento. Esto es, nos interesó examinar si los participantes construían una interpretación sesgada en términos identitarios del proceso histórico.

El estudio 4 tuvo como objetivo analizar los trabajos empíricos realizados hasta la fecha por nuestro equipo en diferentes países sobre las ideas de los estudiantes respecto a su propia nación. Si bien es cierto que los estudios sobre la historia y las interpretaciones sobre de las narrativas nacionales deben tener en cuenta las peculiaridades de cada nación, consideramos que existen ciertos elementos comunes en muchas de ellas. Este capítulo pretende aportar un enfoque que va más allá de los casos específicos analizados de países como España o Argentina. Se trata de aportar una visión más global de cómo los estudiantes entienden los contenidos históricos relativos a su propia nación y qué papel juegan los elementos identitarios en esta comprensión.

Para poder determinar de manera más profunda la influencia de los elementos identitarios y emocionales en las concepciones del concepto de nación e identidad nacional, se planteó un segundo trabajo empírico, presentado en el estudio 5. El objetivo principal fue analizar dichos elementos utilizando un contenido relativo a una nación ajena a la identidad nacional de los participantes. De este modo, pudimos analizar cómo se ve influenciada la comprensión y el uso del concepto de nación e identidad nacional cuando no se establece un vínculo de identidad nacional entre el participante y el contenido histórico. Por lo tanto, mediante los estudios 3, 4 y 5, tratamos de analizar la comprensión de estos conceptos centrales para el conocimiento histórico en los estudiantes, teniendo en cuenta tanto elementos de tipo cognitivo como emocional e identitario.

El objetivo principal del estudio 6 fue clarificar las características del pensamiento histórico, principal objetivo a alcanzar para el enfoque disciplinar. Para ello, se recogen las principales aportaciones en este campo realizadas desde un enfoque cognitivo tanto a nivel teórico como a partir de los escasos trabajos empíricos realizados hasta la fecha con expertos. No cabe duda que tanto para la propia disciplina histórica como con respecto a las aplicaciones educativas, se hace necesario determinar las características de una adecuada alfabetización histórica basada en el pensamiento histórico de los expertos.

Por último, el estudio 7 tuvo como objetivo analizar el modo en el que expertos historiadores de alto nivel entienden los mismos conceptos analizados previamente en los estudiantes. Es decir, se trata de examinar de manera empírica las características del pensamiento histórico en referencia a los conceptos de nación e identidad a través de las narrativas que construyen. Para ello, el contenido utilizado fue el proceso histórico de la denominada Reconquista, es decir, el mismo que se utilizó en el estudio 3 con los estudiantes. Este último estudio nos permitió comparar el modo en el que los expertos entienden los conceptos de nación e identidad nacional con el modo en el que lo hacen los estudiantes. Además, otro objetivo importante fue determinar las características del pensamiento histórico en lo que se refiere a la construcción y comprensión de las narrativas nacionales. Es decir, a través de este estudio se pretende ayudar a comprender la naturaleza de ese pensamiento histórico. Hasta la actualidad no existen muchos estudios que hayan tratado de establecer dichas características a partir de un análisis empírico con expertos, por lo que consideramos que este tercer estudio puede realizar una aportación en esta línea empírica.

Desde el análisis de los principales debates establecidos hasta la fecha sobre la relación entre la historia y los elementos nacionales e identitarios y mediante los diferentes estudios empíricos llevados a cabo, esta tesis pretende realizar una aportación - tanto a nivel teórico como aplicado - al campo de la historia desde una perspectiva psicológica. Se trata no sólo de dar respuesta desde una aproximación empírica a estos debates, sino también de generar nuevos interrogantes teórico que a su vez, posibiliten nuevos análisis empíricos.

La tabla 1 recoge, a modo de resumen, los siete estudios presentados en la presente Tesis Doctoral y sus correspondientes objetivos.

Tabla 1

Estudios de la Tesis y sus Objetivos

	TÍTULO	OBJETIVOS
Estudio 1	Identity construction and the goals of history education (López & Carretero, 2012)	Examinar la influencia de los elementos identitarios en el establecimiento de los objetivos de la historia
Estudio 2	The Narrative Mediation on Historical Remembering (Carretero & López, 2010a)	Examinar el papel del formato narrativo en la construcción del conocimiento histórico
Estudio 3	Is the Nation a Historical Concept on Students' Mind? (López, Carretero & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012a)	Analizar el concepto de nación propia a través de las narrativas elaboradas por estudiantes universitarios españoles sobre la denominada "Reconquista".
Estudio 4	Students historical narratives and concepts about the nation (Carretero, López, González & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012)	Realizar un análisis conjunto de los principales estudios sobre la comprensión del concepto de nación propia en estudiantes de distintos países.
Estudio 5	Telling a national narrative that is not your own. Does it facilitate disciplinary historical understanding? (López, Carretero & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012b)	Analizar los conceptos de nación e identidad nacional ajenas a través de las narrativas elaboradas por estudiantes universitarios españoles sobre el denominado "período de ocupación otomano de Grecia".
Estudio 6	Studies in learning and teaching history: implications for the development of historical literacy. (Carretero & López, 2010b)	Recoger las principales aportaciones de los estudios cognitivos sobre las características del pensamiento histórico.
Estudio 7	Thinking Historically about national narratives (Carretero, López & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012c)	Analizar y determinar las características del pensamiento histórico elaborado por historiadores a través de sus narrativas sobre la denominada "Reconquista".

SECTION III: STUDIES

STUDY 1

Identity construction and the goals of history education

César López and Mario Carretero¹

A pioneering writer on the topics covered in this book, the French historian M. Ferro (1981) affirmed in his work *How the Past is Taught to Children* that:

Our images of other people, or of ourselves for that matter, reflect the history we are taught as children. This history marks us for life. Its representation (...) of the past of societies, embraced all of our passing or permanent opinions, so that the traces of our first questioning, our first emotions, remain indelible. (p. vii).

We have discussed Ferro's assertion a number of times in recent years, and we must confess that we have occasionally thought it, if not wrong, at least exaggerated. However, thirty years after the publication of the original work, which is seminal in the field, his statement seems more accurate than ever. The history taught in most countries (Carretero, 2011; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Symcox & Wilschut, 2009) is composed of versions of the past that in addition to giving historiographic meaning to the study of causal temporal relationships, also amplify the nation-state's official voice—often its only voice. Similar to how our minds are influenced by fairytales—as Bettelheim described some time ago in another seminal book (2005) the historical accounts learned in school have a decisive influence on our view of the past, present, and future.

Some readers may find this parallel somewhat exaggerated; however, we could cite the daily press accounts of the growing influence of the conservative Tea Party movement in the United States. In that case, a historical metaphor from the American revolution of 200 years ago is used in its most literal version, out of its historical context, to inspire an ultraconservative critique of the present and construct a political

¹ Study published in M. Carretero, M. Asensio & M. Rodríguez-Moneo (Eds.), *History Education and the Construction of National Identities* (pp. 139-150). Charlotte CT: Information Age Publishing.

direction for the future. We believe that the present-day example of the Tea Party is a clear demonstration of the role that history-based metaphors can play in our understanding and behavior as human beings.

One of the most important sources of such metaphors is the school curriculum, particularly the teaching of history, which commonly generates and disseminates national narratives called master narratives. Strangely enough, we believe in these stories as though they were indisputable, erecting them in the center of the past. However, contemporary historiographic investigations show that in reality, such narratives are based more on the interests of certain social groups than on the objective investigation of past events.

Textbooks and other teaching devices used inside and outside of schools express a certain vision of the past, and in the end, the students and future citizens imbibe these productions because the school transmits them through historical narratives. This practice results in deep internalization; students across social groups believe these narratives to be true. Moreover, students believe that they are self-evident, empirical truths and that it is impossible to doubt any of narrative's key elements. It is not only the school that contributes to this state of affairs through its formal and informal mechanisms, of which patriotic rituals are undoubtedly the most prominent example, but society as a whole also contributes through family socialization, the media, and other cultural instruments, such as museums and films.

In many countries, one finds an almost perfect internalization of these narratives; however, in some cases, obvious dissenting voices emerge among students and professors, giving rise to tension between acceptance and resistance. We believe the work in this book clearly and convincingly demonstrates that this tension is possible but often unlikely to arise because the nation-state tends to be effective in using its instruments. Therefore, educational mechanisms, even if they do not meet the objective of providing a good education, do appear to meet the objective of instilling ideology - and in the case of the teaching of history, even indoctrination.

The accounts usually found within various patriotic rituals shape national identities by having students aged six to eight affirm with certainty that "I am

Argentine,” “English,” or “Spanish”. As this concept is instilled in at that young age, students come to feel like heirs to the heroes who used their swords to build the political institutions of the places to which they claim to belong. This feeling, which is observable by any educator who has a relationship with their students, actually encompasses inherent contradictions that students do not detect but that education should help make them aware of.

Such help would primarily be not attributing an essentialist status to nationality. Students tend to think that nations, particularly their own nation, have always existed and that things could not be otherwise (see Carretero, López, González & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012). Students have difficulty understanding that although nations are well-defined political entities, they are also the result of social and political tensions and structures that have come together in a particular way but not the only possible way. There are clear, well-known examples of these effects, such as how the boundaries of European countries changed after each world war. In Latin America, there were substantial changes in most countries throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For example, Argentina, a country in which we have conducted extensive research, only became independent in 1816, and even then it was very different from the current situation. However, most of the Argentinean students we interviewed, including adolescents and youth, thought that the country had always existed as a nation and that its destiny was predetermined in a teleological sense. Conceptualizations such as these indicate that education in history has been strongly influenced by identity issues. This influence has been greater than an adequate understanding of history as a discipline.

The four papers in this section² present theoretical issues in both general discussions and in detailed analyses of specific countries, including the Netherlands (Grever, 2012), the United States, Ireland, New Zealand (Barton, 2012), France (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2012), and Canada (Seixas, 2012). One of the strengths of this section is the range of educational contexts that are analyzed, which allows for more broad-based comparisons. We believe that these four papers share the recognition of the failure of traditional national narratives as a basis for teaching history. Notably, there

² Section 3: Students ideas and Identities. In M. Carretero, M. Asensio & M. Rodríguez-Moneo (Eds.), *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*. Charlotte CT: Information Age Publishing.

has been a growing awareness of this failure in recent years. It has been recognized in previous works (Grever & Stuurman, 2010) and is clearly expressed in Tutiaux-Guillon's paper in this section, which states the following:

[T]he history of France has to be known... [I]t cannot be said that such aims, prescribed for primary and lower secondary school, are focused on national identity. These developments do not mean that school history in secondary education does not take the national history into account at all: the curricula are compromises between different actors and tendencies, often contradictory (p. 114).

Current research appears to have strongly established that we must rethink the relationship between the goals of teaching history and identity construction. This relationship has been discussed frequently in recent years (Barton & Levstik, 2008; Carretero, 2011; Grever & Stuurman, 2008). It is a complex phenomenon that manifests itself in a variety of ways due to the complexity of each element in the relationship. In both the specialized literature on the purposes of teaching history and the literature on identity aspects, it is difficult to find similar approaches or common conclusions.

The goals of teaching history continue to be the subject of frequent debate. These debates have occurred both within the discipline of history (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Nakou & Barca, 2010) and outside of it as part of political, social, and cultural discussions (Evans, 2004; Nash, Crabtree & Dunn, 2000). One of the key elements that undoubtedly contribute to the complexity of debates on the goals of history teaching is its association with the transmission of values and identity construction (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Hobsbawm, 1997; Wertsch, 2002).

It is well known that the centralization of teaching history in schools began at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, coinciding with the emergence of nation-states. Since that time, a clear purpose has been established for teaching history, namely the construction of national identity. The classic statement by Massimo d'Azeglio in the first session of parliament of the united Italy is very revealing in this regard: "We have made Italy; now we have to make Italians" (Hobsbawm, 1997,

p.44). In the chapter by Tutiaux-Guillon, the origins of the teaching of history are clearly described:

This narrative of progress (about the nation) has probably two main origins. Since 1830, the development of a secular teaching of history has substituted the holy history with the national history: the narrative is of course different, but the structure is still teleological. The end is no more a godly eschatology, but the fulfillment of socioeconomical progress and of democracy (Bruter, 2005)... (p. 113).

However, after World War II and especially in the 1960s and 1970s, educators began to advocate history as an important subject in its own right and the importance of historical knowledge. Without a doubt, the changes within the discipline of history after World War II played an important role, when a stronger relationship was established between historiographic research and the social sciences. At that time, history curricula began to incorporate scholarly objectives related to “thinking historically”, such as evaluating evidence and understanding historical causation. Current scholarship continues to develop the skills used by historians, making the transmission of such skills the primary objective of teaching history (Carretero & López, 2010; Reisman & Wineburg, 2012; Seixas, 2012).

Yet, the traditional role of teaching history as a means of constructing national identity has never been completely forgotten. Several studies have shown that the teaching of history continues to substantially focus on national histories (Berger & Lorenz, 2008; Van der Leeuw-Roord, 2009; VanSledright, 2008). Tutiaux-Guillon (2012) notes that the construction of national identity is still the main objective of primary-school history teaching in France.

According to Grever (2012), this construction occurs within an international context of mass migration and growing multiculturalism. As VanSledright (2008; also see Barton, 2012) demonstrates, in the United States, the fundamental goal of current education in history is teaching the “American creed”, while history as it is understood in the discipline itself is rarely taught. Because of this phenomenon, significant sectors of the population not matching the official identity do not feel that they are reflected in

the national historical narratives. This situation is true of African Americans in the USA (Epstein & Schiller, 2009) and indigenous groups in Latin America (Carretero & Kriger, 2011), Canada (Peck, 2011; Seixas, 2012), and New Zealand (Barton, 2012).

3.1.1. How should the teaching of history address identity issues?

There are different approaches to defining the role of teaching history in identity construction. We can group these approaches into three types, summarized here in general terms.

The first approach advocates a total separation between the two. The teaching of history should focus only on developing an understanding of the past through the lens of the social sciences and be completely disconnected from processes of identity construction (see, for example, Álvarez Junco, 2011). The construction of an identity of any kind is outside of the purview of the historical discipline.

A second approach advocates the use of history to help build one type of collective identity or another. As we previously observed, the most common type of identity linked to the teaching of history has traditionally been national identity.

A third approach takes into account the issues addressed by the other two approaches but that is more nuanced. This approach recognizes both the importance of historical thinking for its own sake and students' identities as a key element in learning. In this respect, the third approach is more focused on understanding the issues of identity and their influence on learning history than constructing a particular identity.

If we consider that a combination of these approaches commonly occurs in the classroom, we can begin to understand the complexity of this phenomenon for both historians and those who conduct research on these issues.

3.1.2. How do identity issues influence teaching and learning history?

Aspects of identity are a factor in the teaching and understanding of history on at least two levels. On the one hand, students bring their various collective identities into

the classroom, which are expressed in different ways (Barton, 2012; Epstein & Schiller, 2005). History pedagogy must therefore be able to account for this diversity of identities (Grever, 2012). On the other hand, as we have observed previously, the teaching of history itself occasionally attempts to construct such collective identities *a posteriori*. We believe that it is necessary to address both of these influences.

It seems clear that students' existing identities influence their construction of historical knowledge. Studies have shown that students as young as three participate in activities such as patriotic historical celebrations that involve a form of initiation into the national identity (Carretero, 2011). In a similar vein, Michael Billig (1995) described how our daily activities in society reinforce - often implicitly - our national identity. National anthems, national flags, street names, holidays, movies, and our passports constantly remind us that we are part of a society organized into nations. It is well-known that this organization is arbitrary and attributable to a variety of political, cultural, and economic factors of a historical nature. However, various social actors commonly present this organization of the world as if it were due to natural causes rather than convention. When people later encounter historical facts, they tend to resort to group identities, which usually results in positive biases towards those they consider as of their own group and negative biases towards those they consider outsiders. It is in this way that historical facts are reinterpreted as confrontations between "us" and "them".

Consequently, the existing identities that students bring to a class can occasionally form an obstacle to an adequate understanding of history, as they prevent the students from achieving the emotional distance required to critically interpret historical events. However, identity has also been viewed as a beneficial element in learning history (Hammack, 2011). One of the main difficulties educators encounter is that students tend to think that history is not a personally useful or meaningful subject. Furthermore, as indicated above, students frequently are confronted with historical issues laden with identity implications outside of the classroom. Acknowledging students' preexisting identities in history class can, in addition to motivating them, help them better understand the relationships they address outside of the classroom, which in turn gives more meaning to what they learn in class.

In other cases, identity is relevant in history classrooms not only in terms of the identities the students bring with them but also in the schools' versions of history, which are intended to build identities. In authoritarian regimes, this identity construction can be more similar to indoctrination (Ahonon, 2001; Carretero, 2011; Janmaat, 2006; 2008). Traditionally, national identities have been formed around ethnicity, i.e., they are based on race, culture, and tradition, presented as if they are permanent and natural.

Today, we also find history-teaching methods intended to promote aspects that are more closely linked to a civic national identity (Barton & Levstik, 2008; Janowitz, 1983; Von Heyking, 2006). This civic national identity is based on ideas such as the future citizen's active participation in society and the challenges posed in that society within a changing social context. The goal of such teaching methods is to transmit skills that will enable the student to participate in society as a good citizen and foster values such as universality and plurality (Haste, 2004; Grever, 2012; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2012). There is no doubt that the construction of an ethnic national identity differs greatly from the construction of a civic national identity. However, in both cases, teaching history is more important as a means to the end of building identity than solely as a social science.

As we have discussed, the relationships between identity issues and the goals of teaching history are complex and far from resolved. Identity can be seen as an obstacle or benefit to understanding history. It is certain that identity can be both in practice, depending primarily on how identity is treated within the discipline of history.

3.1.3. How does historiography address issues of identity?

Historical research often addresses subjects closely linked to identity issues. The role of women in history, civil-rights movements and struggles for national independence are only a few of the examples that reflect the connection between history and identity. Examining the way historiography itself treats identity issues can help us understand the relationship between the two.

In the nineteenth and part of the twentieth century, history was primarily responsible for propagating romantic ideas about national identity; national identities were thus cloaked in an aura of naturalness and timelessness. History was tasked with

demonstrating how national identities - and ethnic and even religious identities - have been an essential part of human nature from time immemorial. History strove to justify the emerging division of societies into nation-states on an almost biological basis. National identities were therefore considered in historiography to be innate and permanent properties that constituted an essential aspect of human nature (Calhoun, 1997; Smith, 1991).

Within this perspective, national and other identities were understood to have a clear function in group cohesion. Each national group was observed to have some common essential characteristics, usually based on cultural, historical, ethnic, and other traditional elements, that had been handed down since time immemorial within a well-defined territory that coincided with the emerging nation-state (Smith, 1991). However, while national identity has a cohesive function for a given group in this understanding, it is also disruptive for other groups (Herzog, 2012; Triandafyllidou, 1998). In practice, these essential characteristics of national identity are not only considered to be permanent, objective characteristics of the national group, but also exclusive to that group. In other words, each national group must have an identity that is not only its own but also clearly distinct from other identities, which distinguishes who belongs to our nation and who does not (Cruz Prados, 2005; Smith, 1991).

However, in the mid-twentieth century, a modernist or instrumentalist approach to the phenomenon of nationality emerged within the field of history. National identities began to be understood as artificial realities motivated by political interests rather than as natural realities. National identity was no longer understood as an innate and spontaneous property of human beings but as something acquired and inculcated inside and outside of school (Álvarez Junco, 2011). The supposed naturalness and timelessness of national identities was discredited. National-ancestral traditions were revealed to be invented traditions (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Identities came to be viewed as changing social constructions.

Current historiography views identities as complex, multifaceted phenomena that are constantly changing and never permanent nor exclusive. However, people continue to be passionate about their identities, and identity is often a major factor in intergroup

conflict (Ashmore, Jussim & Wilder, 2001); in many cases, people even kill in its name (Maalouf, 1998).

Studies have shown that students' ideas about their identity are closer to the natural, timeless, and static conception held in the nineteenth century than the manner in which current historiography understands identity (Carretero, López, González & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012; López, Carretero & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012a). This conceptualization is reflected, for example, in students' reinterpretation of historical conflicts that occurred long before the emergence of nations as struggles between national groups. This understanding of national identities as timeless and permanent produces a simplistic and narrow interpretation of historical events and is often associated with a tendency to make positive judgments about one's own group but not those perceived as "foreign" (Carretero & Bermúdez, 2012). Perhaps, as Barton suggests (2012), teaching students how current historiography views these aspects of identity and highlighting its complex, social, and dynamic character should be an explicit objective of history pedagogy.

As we have discussed, understanding the relationships between identity issues and the goals of history education is one of the most difficult challenges in teaching and learning history. The complexity and diversity of students' identities on the one hand and different objectives associated with the teaching of history on the other make for a particularly problematic area of study. However, a deep understanding of each aspect enables us to shed some light on these interrelationships that are established in history classrooms.

We believe that there are two important questions to examine in this regard. First, it is important to understand the explicit role the state assigns to education in constructing a national identity. For example, countries such as Ireland and New Zealand (see Barton, 2012) do not assign any role for the schools in constructing a national identity; this is also the case in a number of other European countries, such as Spain. In such nations, these phenomena are therefore more implicit. In contrast, in Latin America and the United States, national-identity formation is explicitly considered a function of schools and is conducted intensely (Carretero, 2011). Second, we believe that these differences are also related to the particular variety of nationalism involved

and its role in the given society. In some nations, such as France (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2012) and the USA (Barton, 2012), nationalism may be (or may not be) intense, but it is never challenged by alternative nationalisms within the state itself. In contrast, in other nations such as Ireland (Barton, 2012), Irish nationalism is opposed to British nationalism, and in Spain (Carretero, 2011), there is both Catalan and Basque nationalism.

STUDY 2

The Narrative Mediation on Historical Remembering

Mario Carretero and César López³

Abstract

Narrative structures have an essential role when analyzing historical remembering and its importance at both individual and social levels. This influence is particularly decisive in the production of narratives, primarily reflected in school history textbooks and other informal cultural devices, and also when people consume these narratives in order to explain historical events. People's representations of national identities and the very concept of nation are the most characteristic elements of these narratives. This paper examines the importance of making a detailed analysis of the features of such representations in order to have a better understanding of the process of human historical remembering.

³ Study published in S. Salvatore, J. Valsiner, J. T. Simon & A. Gennaro (Eds.), *Yearbook of Idiographic Science (Vol. 3)* (pp. 285-294). Roma: Firera & Liuzzo.

In the field of narrative remembering there are two highly interrelated phenomena: individual memories and societal issues. This relationship is a major issue when analyzing the process of remembering, as noted in this volume⁴ by Bietti (2010) and Wagoner (2010). In other words, both papers state that it is clearly impossible for individual subjects to remember anything independently of how society structures and organizes events in a particular way.

Let us start with Bietti's contribution (Bietti, 2010). It is no doubt a very intriguing and exciting piece of research about the memories of a "normal" man who not only agreed with the terrible and savage repression carried out by the Argentinian military but also probably participated or at least played some role in those criminal practices⁵.

One of the first points we feel it is interesting to comment on is to what extent the Bandura model of moral disengagement is sufficient to explain Paco's behavior (see Bietti, 2010, for a description of this model. pp.4-7.). In fact, let us imagine that the acts performed by Paco, the person interviewed by Bietti, were not such serious crimes. Suppose, for example, that Paco simply committed a large number of traffic violations. One could also imagine that Paco committed a robbery. Would the features considered by Bandura apply to his behavior? In other words, do these features predict the degree to which they can be applied in? We think it is important to take into account that "to save the nation" is also considered a basic moral goal for any nationalist ideology.

⁴ This refers to S. Salvatore, J. Valsiner, J. T. Simon & A. Gennaro (Eds.), *Yearbook of Idiographic Science (Vol. 3)*. Roma: Firera & Liuzzo.

⁵ Concerning the description provided by Bietti's paper about the Argentinean military dictatorship (1973-1982) and the repression exerted during that time, some clarifications should be provided, particularly with regard to the most recent historical research. On one hand, political repression was not only against leftist or revolutionary political activists, but also against people who were just defending the most basic democratic rights. Also, a significant number of arbitrary acts of political repression were carried out against people who had nothing to do with political action. This is to say, most of these acts were criminal deeds having the sole purpose of stealing goods or even whole businesses from their legal owners (Jelin, 2003). On the other hand, it is interesting to comment on the idea posed by Paco, Bietti's subject, about political repression as something that could be justified as a kind of legitimate defense, because in those years a real war was taking place in Argentina between two "armies", namely the State on one side and the "violent subversive revolutionaries" on the other. It is worth noting that this particular idea, which is historiographically labelled as "the theory of the two demons", has received ideological support by some right-wing historians and political theorists. Nevertheless, is rather difficult to uphold this theory, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, because the State's illegal and violent repression against the leftist activists started before the Military Dictatorship; and secondly, because it is inappropriate to compare the violence exerted by the State, which is responsible for warranting the citizens' civil rights, to the violent acts of a particular group such as leftist activists.

In this respect, we think it is essential to consider the influence of nationalist beliefs in order to understand such terrible, evil acts. Thus, it is important to take into account the fact that nationalist ideologies and beliefs play an important role in establishing some of the most important traits of any human being. It would be very difficult to find specific human beings who do not regard themselves as members of a particular national or cultural identity. To some extent, it can be said that the features of national beliefs are part of the dominant social ideologies, and at the same time, they finally become embodied in human beings through a process of internalization. An important part of national beliefs is related to the historical origins of the nation. These narratives often adopt the form of a saga and provide the nationals with an explanation of their origins. This is to say, historical narratives are essential in order to provide a specific format for individual identities.

Thus, with regard to these ideas, there is, in our opinion, an interesting issue which is not considered by this paper, but which has an important influence on the phenomena being studied. We mean the influence of national historical narratives and also the very concept of nation. Concerning the historical period analyzed by Bietti's paper, it is quite impossible to understand military dictatorships in Latin America during the 70's - we could even say any dictatorship - without taking into account their representation of their own nations, obviously supported by a particular national narrative. It is well known that the last Argentinean dictatorship deemed itself a "process of national reorganization"; its ideological roots doubtless stem from the right-wing trend of authoritarian political processes such as National Socialism in Germany (1930-1945) and the National Catholicism of Spain (1939-1975). Thus, if Bietti's interview with his subject had considered topics like the historical origins of the Argentinian Military Dictatorship, those "national" motives would no doubt have emerged very neatly.

On the other hand, we ought to say that for an understanding of how societies deal with the issue of recent violent historical events, two very well known opposing points of view need to be considered. On the one hand, the classical statement by Santayana (1905), who wrote "those who forget History are condemned to repeat it" (p.284). And on the other hand, the opposite view expressed by Renan that "forgetting is a crucial

factor in the creation of a nation” (1882/1990, p.11), meaning that in order to construct and to keep a national society united, sharing the same goals and motives, it is essential not only to remember certain shared collective memories, but also to suppress and to forget other common collective memories. We think any study about recent violent historical events needs to be considered, at least to some extent, from the point of view of a possible tension between these two views. Let us unpack this idea through a concrete example.

At the time when I was beginning my academic activities in Argentina, one day I presented the film *1984*, based on the famous novel by George Orwell, to my students. Of course, they were very shocked, among other things, by the scenes of torture and mistreatment, particularly those exerted by O’Brien, an outstanding member of the INGSOC (Eurasia’s dictatorial State Party), upon Winston Smith, the novel’s main character who tries to maintain at least some portion of freedom in a very difficult climate of oppression and political repression. When we started our class discussion, many of my students considered that situation of oppression basically similar to the one Argentina suffered under the “Proceso Militar”, from 1976 to 1983, yet quite surprisingly, they expressed great resistance to identifying similarities with the abuses committed under the communist regime in the USSR. In other words, Argentinian students were probably much more prone to “remember” fascist repression than communist repression. In my opinion, this shows how the main topics considered by this chapter cannot be understood without taking into account the context where specific subjects make sense of their meaning in specific national contexts.

Wagoner (2010)’s study on the influence of narrative structures upon remembrance highlights the existence of constraints on an agent’s constructive potentials. The process of remembering analyzed by Wagoner is not produced in an isolated way. Such a process is influenced by an individual’s previous experience, as well as by social conventions developed within the group where he or she belongs. Thus, narratives elaborated by participants while remembering also depend on a previous social and personal context.

Therefore, one of the fundamental starting points of Wagoner’s study is the relationship between the concepts of specific narratives and schematic narrative

templates (Wertsch, 2002). In this relationship, the specific narratives produced by individuals (involving particular people, places and events) are influenced by the schematic narrative templates previously generated in a social context. As seen in Wagoner's study, taking into account the relationships between these two types of narratives is central in order to understand the process of remembering.

From our perspective, narrative structures as tools for human knowledge also play an important mediating role in the remembrance of past events that are analyzed in the domain of history. Wagoner's study suggests a series of questions in this sense: What is the role of narrative templates on the remembering of historical events? What characteristics do schematic narratives templates have in the domain of History? Through which social and personal mechanisms are they built?

We think it is relevant to analyze specifically the role narrative structures play in history production and consumption. This is so because we find a close link between the influences of the narrative format upon remembrance, analyzed in Wagoner's study, and the way narrative structures impinge on historical knowledge when it comes to producing and consuming historical narratives.

The discipline of history is fundamentally related with an analysis of events that have occurred in the past. In order to carry out this analysis, it is necessary to look back and recover - as much as possible - the information on those past events. In this sense, the term "historical memory" or "collective memory" has been frequently used in recent years. Collective memory refers to the way societies transmit beliefs about the past from one generation to the next; also for the purposes for which these beliefs are selected, their nature and shape, and the way they change over time (Seixas, 2004, 2006). It is in this sense that we refer to a process of "collective memory". In psychological terms, this process differs greatly from that produced on an individual level. Events analyzed by history have occurred mostly in a remote past. None of the people who analyze these events directly witnessed them. Consequently, it is psychologically impossible for them to remember something they have not experienced. On other occasions, as when recent historical events are examined, we may indeed find processes of remembrance where the individual who remembers has taken part in the historical process being analyzed (for example, think of the Argentinian dictatorship case analyzed by Bietti, 2010).

Considering this differentiation, in our view the individual process of remembering and the analyses produced in the discipline of History share a fundamental mediator, namely narrative structures.

The construction of historical knowledge is intimately related to the elaboration of narrations (Carretero et. al., 1994). The influence of narratives goes well beyond the field of history and its learning, since they constitute an instrument of human knowledge. Narration constitutes a specifically human way of organizing thought. As human beings we interpret our actions and behaviors, as well as others', in a narrative fashion; indeed, there exists a predisposition to organize experience into a narrative form, through plot structures (Bruner, 1990).

Many of the ways in which we structure information about the past possess a narrative structure (stories, myths, textbooks, films or diaries). Hence it is no wonder that some educators equate history teaching to telling a good story (Barton & Levstik, 2004). It is important to point out that the influence of narratives in the realm of history is produced in two distinct moments: on one hand, in the *process of production* of historical narratives by historians, which reach students fundamentally through textbooks; and on the other hand, in the *process of consumption* and appropriation of these narratives by students, which are reflected in the narratives they themselves build when it comes to explaining a historical event (Carretero & Kriger, 2011; Wertsch, 1997). For this reason, we think it is relevant to analyze firstly the characteristics of the schematic narrative templates students find when they study history, and subsequently to examine their influence on the specific narratives they produce.

3.2.1. Characteristics of narratives templates in the production process

Narratives are not a sequence of random events; rather, they use causal explanations, attempting to shed light upon how one event causes another and the factors that affect these relations (Barton & Levstik, 2004). As Seixas points out, "In History, memories organized as narratives include a temporal dimension, conveying an idea of origins and development, of challenges overcome, with collective protagonists and individual heroes confronting difficult conditions and threatening enemies. Narratives provide actors' roles with a moral valence, in accordance with belief in an

enduring set of ideals or common character traits. The narrative thus defines a boundary between members who share the common past and those who do not” (Seixas, 2004, pp.5-6).

One very common type of historical narrative we can find globally in the educational ambit is the national narrative (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Barton & McCully, 2005; Carretero & López, 2010b). These national narratives become a kind of schematic narrative template, the influence of which is fundamental when building specific historical narratives.

National narratives are closed narrations that try to draw a clear line between the past, the present and the future, making the nation a perennial protagonist. In these narrations, there is a tendency to evaluate one’s own social group positively, to explain their characteristics in essential - not historical - terms, and to reject the sources that come into conflict with a complacent version of one’s history. Likewise, these narratives evaluate the country’s political evolution positively, uncritically retrieve the role of certain emblematic historical characters and establish links of permanence and continuity between past events and characters and the national group’s current time (Carretero & Bermúdez, 2012). Through these national narratives, history becomes a sequence of events aimed at a concrete goal. This concrete goal is often to show the virtues and accomplishments of one’s own nation.

In this type of narratives, the selection of events and characters to be remembered is as important as the choice of those to be forgotten. In this respect, think of the classical phrase by Renan mentioned above about the need for collective oblivion. In Wagoner’s study (2010), “the transformations in the narratives help the participants to avoid including events that do not easily fit their narrative frame” (p. 29). Similarly, national narratives tell certain stories, not others; they speak of certain central characters but forget others, less well known and more anonymous. Sometimes entire social groups are forgotten, because they do not fit well in the national narrative’s plot (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Carretero, 2011).

As we have already mentioned, national narratives try to establish a union between past and present. This present link, which is fundamentally necessary for the

construction of a national identity, is built upon the basis of affective and emotional aspects (Carretero & Montanero, 2008).

Such national narrations take a central role in numerous countries' school curricula. Through an exhaustive analysis of North American textbooks, Paxton (1990) and Alridge (2006) evidence how narratives about "great" men and events that guided North America toward an ideal of progress and civilization continue to be the prototypical manner in which many historians and textbooks disseminate historical knowledge.

Although textbooks are a major mechanism through which the process of production of historical narratives reaches students, they are not the only one. Family histories, diaries, national history museums, memorials or films on historic events are some of the mechanisms whereby schematic narrative templates are built, whose fundamental feature is often the nation. Wineburg and colleagues (2001, 2007) analyze how movies like *Forrest Gump* or memorials like the Vietnam War memorial in Washington are cultural tools that influence people when they construe narrative explanations about a historic event such as the Vietnam War. A more recent example of this phenomenon is found in the analysis by the Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek on the film *The Hurt Locker*, recent winner of the main Oscars (Žižek, 2010). As Žižek points out, the narrative developed in the film "almost completely ignores the great debate about U.S. intervention in Iraq, and instead focuses on the daily experiences, during service and outside it, of common soldiers forced to live with the danger and destruction". Thus, there is a humanization of the war, promoting identification with the fears and anxieties of the soldiers and ignoring the more general problem of the causes and consequences of U.S. intervention in Iraq. Therefore, this type of cultural tools, present in the informal ambit, also contributes to develop a particular type of schematic narrative templates that influence the specific narratives produced by people when making sense of specific historical events.⁶

⁶ Žižek's article contrasts the schematic narrative template developed in *The Hurt Locker* to the one developed in James Cameron's film *Avatar*. *Avatar's* schematic narrative template reflects the territorial conflict between a technologically advanced group and a native group linked to the territory by nature elements. Note that this schematic narrative template is very similar to that developed in other famous films like Kevin Costner's *Dancing with Wolves* or Disney's *Pocahontas*, both regarding to Native Americans.

3.2.2. Narrative mediation in consuming History

The conclusions of Wagoner's study point out that "an effective narrative allowed participants to make useful connections between events and agents, which could be drawn upon in their recall of the film. However, narratives can misdirect as well as faithfully direct remembering, exclude as well as include, constrain as well as enable us" (Wagoner, 2010, p.37). Another relevant conclusion in his analysis is that reminiscence is affected both by the strength of narrative structure and by the type of narrative. We believe it is appropriate to analyze these conclusions in the case of historical narratives. This leads us to pose the following questions: What importance do narrative structures have in history learning? What implications does the use of national-type narratives have on students' understanding of historical events? In short, how do the characteristics of schematic narrative templates influence the consuming of historical narratives?

As we noted before, Wagoner (2010) bases his case on the notion of scheme "as holistic developing patterns used in the service of the present to help an organism act in its environment" (p. 4). These schemes originate through either personal experiences or participation in different social groups. If we follow Wertsch (2002)'s notion of scheme, *schematic narrative templates* are tools of mediation generated between and distributed among members of a social group, and as such will vary between social groups. As we saw earlier on, the type of narrative most frequently used in the domain of history is national narrative. These narratives are elaborated within a social group, the national group in this case. National narratives - originated in the realm of formal teaching, as well as in an informal context - significantly influence the way students make sense of and interpret historical events (Barton & Levstik, 2004; VanSledright, 2008; Wertsch, 2002).

Narratives often differ from one nation to another, even when they deal with one and the same historic event. Carretero and colleagues (2002) carried out an analysis of Spanish and Mexican students' representations of a historic event that was central to both countries, namely the "Discovery" of America. This study shows that textbooks from both countries reflect the same event in very different ways. Narratives composed by Spanish and Mexican students differ significantly and tend to support the official

narrative reflected in each nation's textbooks. Thus we consider Wagoner's statement, "an individual's construction of the past is intimately related to the social groups to which he or she belongs and the resources these groups provide" (p. 5), to be adequate to what sometimes happens in the process of consuming history.

Another relevant aspect reflected by Wagoner's study (2010) is that narratives built by participants to explain the film *Apparent Behavior* (Heider & Simmel, 1994) depend on the participants' current situation and most recent experiences. This influence of the present on the past also occurs in the domain of history. One of the goals of official national narratives is often to legitimize the nation-state's current politics. Consequently, as we have already pointed out, the national narrative usually highlights those very events and characters that suit the narrative's final objective, but also obliterates those that do not. This impinges on the causes students ascribe to certain historical events. In this sense, Barton & Levstik (2004) show how students in the United States interpret certain historical events in such a way that they fit the goals of freedom and progress, which are present throughout the American national narrative. Thus, for instance, Native Americans' resistance is viewed as an obstacle in attaining progress or the Vietnam War as an attempt to bring freedom to that country.

Yet another of the relevant features in Wagoner's study is the *strength of narrative* level. Strength of narrative refers to the degree to which participants saw the film as a unique narrative with a clear plot from beginning to end, or contrariwise, whether they interpreted it as various narratives or they simply did not give the film a narrative sense. Along this line, we think the student's degree of appropriation of an official national narrative may have a similar influence on the understanding of history. One of the implications an elevated degree of appropriation of the official narrative might have is fostering an epistemological vision of history as something closed, unique and true (VanSledright, 2008). According to Alridge (2006), North American textbooks present discrete, heroic and one-dimensional narratives that deprive the student of a complex, trustworthy and precise knowledge about the people and events of North American history. Another fundamental implication of an excessive appropriation of national narratives is related to the capacity to contemplate another person's point of view. As Wertsch (1998) indicates in his study of United States history narratives, very few of the subjects introduce any irony in their stories or comments that account for

conflicts between interpretations; most of them have appropriated the official historical version and reproduce it almost without nuance. Lastly, a high degree of appropriation of the national narrative may lead students to think that history is a mechanical succession of events that fit the national narrative's logic. This often causes them to make predictions about history, precisely based on such mechanistic logic (Barton & Levstik, 2004).

We wouldn't like to finish this reflection without acknowledging some of the advantages of narrative structures in history learning. As in Wagoner's study the use of narrative structures has positive effects upon remembrance, so narrative structures have positive effects too when it comes to learning history. Narratives are cultural tools, which we are daily in contact with: this is why they seem familiar to us and their use is relatively simple. Some studies, like Wagoner's (2010), have demonstrated narratives' positive effects on remembrance, as well as on students' motivation with regard to history learning. Nevertheless, from our perspective it is necessary to bear in mind that narrative structures, when applied to the domain of school-taught history, ought to be understood as an additional tool for historical knowledge, rather than as historical knowledge itself. In this sense, one must consider the difficulties that an excessive importance of narratives - mainly those of a national type - may imply in students' acquisition, not only of historical information, but also of a more elaborate capacity to think historically.

STUDY 3

Is the nation a historical concept on students' mind?

César López, Mario Carretero and María Rodríguez-Moneo⁷

Abstract

Traditional history that emerged in the 19th century did so with a clear focus on the concept of nation. Its main purposes were to legitimate and justify the existence of the emerging nation-state and forging a sense of national identity among the new citizens. Thus, a naturalized and romantic concept of nation was constructed and transmitted throughout school history narratives. However, current historiography emphasizes that nations should be viewed as modern and social constructs. The tensions between these two approaches have been widely explored within the discipline of history and even in the political arena. This article focuses on students' understanding on this key concept. An empirical study on college students' on their own nation was conducted. Most of them displayed a romantic and naturalized concept of nation, making sense of historical content in a national way. These findings are discussed in relation to current research on conceptual change in history. Also in the context of history learning, the role of school master narratives is considered.

⁷ Study submitted for publication

3.3.1. Introduction

Numerous studies have pointed out how teaching history constitutes a fundamental tool for instilling values and building identities (Barton & Levstik, 2008; Hobsbawm, 1997; Wertsch, 2002). History has been especially fruitful for forging a national identity (Carretero, 2011; Carretero, Asensio & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012; Grever & Stuurman, 2008). In this regard, the concept of nation is still a key aspect, if not *the* key aspect, of narratives and historical analyses (Ballantyne, 2005). Unfortunately, traditional history turned the nation into a unique and atemporal protagonist of history, thereby transmitting an idea of the nation as a natural entity.

Multiple works from current historiographical, sociological and even educational fields have stressed this naturalization of the concept of nation (Anderson, 1983; Connor, 2004; VanSledright, 2008). However, these studies have been almost exclusively theoretical. They have been conducted by analyzing the development of the very discipline of history or by analyzing historical textbooks used in schools. Using an empirical study, this article will focus on how people understand the concept of nation in the domain of history. For this purpose, we consider it relevant to begin with an analysis of how the concept of nation has been interpreted within historiography and communicated to society in the past. We will also analyze how the concept of nation is currently viewed by modern historiography in order to understand whether or not people's understanding of nation resembles the modern disciplinary approach.

Since the 19th century, numerous societies have believed that citizens from nation-states should develop a sense of belonging to a community to forge national unity and legitimize the political system. It was believed that sharing a past, a history, favored the development of this sentiment (Smith, 1991). As a consequence, many traditional history curricula became filled with national narratives such as wars of independence, conflicts with other nations and similar events (Barton & Levstik, 2004). The actors in these events were often turned into national heroes and the dates of these events became occasions for patriotic celebration (Carretero, 2011). These national narratives share some main features (Carretero & Bermúdez, 2012): First, the nation and the nationals are established as the main subject of the narrative. This implies the existence of a "we" category as opposed to "they". Second, the nation and nationals are

displayed as preexisting and timeless political entities. Third, the fight for a national territory is one of the main narrative's themes. Finally, the national group is always judged positively from a moral point of view. These features will be empirically considered later in this paper, regarding how students construct historical narratives about their own nation.

This close relationship between the nation and history - established at the birth of the nation-states in the 19th century - has been called the narrative contract (Kaviraj, 1992). Many existing works provide accounts of the importance of national narratives worldwide. In the United States, VanSledright (2008) discusses how narratives on national development and progress constitute "History" in schools. History, as it is currently understood from within the discipline, is rarely taught but is instead considered as a fundamental instrument for teaching the "American Creed" to cultural outsiders and the naïve. In former USSR countries such as Ukraine, school textbooks supply the builders of national sentiment with an infinite source of didactic materials based on myths and historical narratives to support a nationalist discourse (Janmaat, 2005). The nationalist foundation of curriculum and textbooks in Europe has not changed significantly since the late 1980s (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Van der Leeuw-Roord, 2004; 2007). Moreover, it is possible to appreciate an increased focus on the use of traditional methodologies built around the concept of nation (Mak, 2005). Nonetheless, there are discrepancies and cases of distinct social groups that do not feel recognized within a single national history, which has led to the numerous debates called the "history wars" or the "culture wars" (Carretero, 2011; Nakou & Barca, 2010; Nash, Crabtree & Dunn, 2000; Symcox & Wilschut, 2009).

It is apparent that the concept of nation constitutes a fundamental part of the teaching of history. But what concept of nation do history experts currently use? What concept of nation do people finally learn and use when they face an historical content? And to what degree is it similar to the concept used by the history experts? In the next section, we will focus on answering the first of these questions. Then, to answer the last two questions, we will focus on our empirical study, which concentrates on the concepts that individuals manifest regarding their own nation.

Nation as a Political and Historical Concept

As concerning most concepts in the discipline of history, there is no general agreement about the meaning behind the concept of nation (Connor, 2004; Seton-Watson, 1977; Smith, 2002a). Historic concepts are abstract, diffuse, and they change in meaning over time (Carretero, Castorina & Levinas, in press; Koselleck, 1996; Limón, 2002). These characteristics make it difficult to use a single definition of nation or to establish precisely which components are important and how important they are. In order to understand students' concept of nation, it is important to first reflect on how this concept is understood within the discipline of history.

In specialized literature, there are diverse definitions of nation. A first definition could be found in the classic essay by Renan "What is a Nation?" For Renan (1882/1990), a nation is:

A soul, spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form. (p. 19).

In this definition, we find references to a common past, but also to a shared present and future. For Anthony Smith (2002b), a nation is "a named human population occupying an historic territory, and sharing myths, memories, a single public culture and common rights and duties for all members" (p. 65). In this definition, those elements referring to a collective sense remain, but the presence of territorial and political factors is also emphasized. To finish exploring the distinct definitions of nation, we will also mention that proposed by Connor (2004): "The nation is the largest group that shares a sense of common ancestry. Corollary: The nation is the largest group that can be influenced/aroused/ motivated/mobilized by appeals to common kinship." Once again, this definition differs, and the elements that contribute to create the sentiment of common ancestry are not made explicit.

These debates regarding the concept of nation have been and still are very intense. To this regard, Hugh Seton-Watson remarks: “I hence see myself driven to conclude that no "scientific definition" of nation can be developed: still, this phenomenon exists and has existed” (1977, p.5.).

Despite these differences regarding the concept of nation, there are fundamental components about which there is a higher degree of consensus, at least with regard to their presence, if not to their relative importance. Territorial, ethnic, cultural, historical, economic and political-legal factors are present in most of the analyses on the concept of nation (Connor, 2004; Gellner, 1983; Renan, 1882/1990; Smith, 1991; 2002a). The different conceptions of nation stem from the diverse weights given to each of these components.

In historiography, we primarily find two main approaches applied to the concept of nation: the romantic and the disciplinary. It is also very important to mention that this distinction is also related to the two main goals and functions of the teaching of history (Carretero, 2011). Table 2 organizes the main characteristics for each.

Table 2

Characteristics of the Romantic and the Disciplinary Approaches on the Concept of Nation

Romantic Approach	Disciplinary Approach
The nation as a natural reality.	The nation as a social construct.
The nation as an immutable entity.	The nation as an ever-changing entity.
The nation has an antique origin, often placed in ancient times.	The rise of nations occurred in the mid 19th century.
A nation is founded on pre-modern components: territorial, cultural and historical, which have an atemporal and immutable character.	A nation is founded on modern components: political and economic.
National identity is a natural entity, also passed on through an ancient past.	National identity is a constructed entity, originating in the mid 19th century.
The nation creates the State.	The State is what creates the nation.

The romantic approach on nation, also known as perennialist, is characteristic of historiography during the 18th and 19th centuries. In this approach, the nation is understood as a natural reality and national sentiment is spontaneous and innate. It was also expected that national identities were permanent, with roots in the most remote past. According to this perspective, modern nations form a continuum with the earlier communities established within the same territory. Sometimes, these earlier communities and the current nation are viewed as the same object, which remains timeless and unaffected by changes taking place throughout centuries (Smith, 2002b).

As Balibar indicates (1991), the history of nations has been traditionally presented in the form of a tale that creates a national continuity that begins in the remote past. In such a tale, we can find the more or less decisive periods that belong to the history of the nation, a nation which is viewed as the culmination of a secular project. This romantic concept of nation creates not only a persistent and continuous phenomenon based on the past, but also configures a solid foundation to support the political demands of the present (Billig, 1995). The nation is depicted as the natural and preexisting foundation for the state. In this manner, the romantic concept of a nation allows an appeal to the past to confront and vindicate the present (Wallerstein, 1991).

In the mid 20th century and in face of this romantic approach, another approach towards national phenomenon was developed that is known as the disciplinary or modernist approach. National identities came to be seen as artificial inventions, directed by political interests (Gellner, 1978). The national sentiment is seen as something acquired - mainly instilled by schooling - in contrast with the natural character promoted by the romantic approach. The states are seen as promoters of national sentiment and not as political consequences of a natural phenomenon (Álvarez Junco, 2011). Therefore, it is the state that creates the nation and not the opposite (Cruz Prados, 2005).

This disciplinary approach to the nation has become the dominant approach in current historiography. There are very few historians who doubt that the nation is a modern construct, a product of the new conditions that arose after the Enlightenment and following the American and the French Revolutions (Alvarez Junco, 2011; Hobsbawm, 1997; Smith, 2002b). Jansson, Wendt & Ase (2007) assert that in the last

25 years, the discipline of history itself emphasizes that nations should be viewed as social constructs. And, as Benedict Anderson has already indicated (1983), national communities form what has come to be known as *imagined communities*.

As these authors suggest, the romantic approach to the nation creates a dual illusion. On the one hand, it aims to convey the idea that generations succeeding each other throughout centuries in a more or less stable territory transmit an unchanging essence that constitutes a national identity. On the other hand, the manner of this national evolution is such that we perceive ourselves as the culmination of a national history (Balibar, 1991). Thus, nations and national identity "are taken for granted as something inherent to the human condition" (Billig, 1995). However, the disciplinary approach does include the premise that most of the current nation-states did not even exist in name or as administrative units one or two centuries ago (Wallerstein, 1991).

A main aspect over which these two conceptions clash is over the question: when is the nation? (Connor, 2004; Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005). In the romantic approach, nations can be found in almost any historical period, anywhere: "they are as old as history" (Bagehot, 1873. p.83). From the disciplinary approach, however, to discuss a nation there must be legal, political and economic components present, which can only be found in relatively recent historical conditions. Another modern characteristic of the nation is that it is a mass phenomenon and not an elitist one, which refers to both the national consciousness and to the sense of identity about belonging to the nation (Braudel, 1988). As Connor indicates (2004), it was not until the late 19th or the beginning of the 20th century when the majority of groups currently recognized as nations became aware that they belonged to and were participating within a nation. The pioneering work by Eugen Weber (1976) shows that most people who lived in France in 1870 resided in culturally isolated towns and completely lacked a national French consciousness. According to Weber, the awareness of being French expanded over the following decades, primarily through schools, as communication networks began to develop and education became centralized. Nonetheless, this process remained incomplete by World War I. To Connor (2004), the French situation constitutes a generality; this generality can also be deduced from a survey of group identities among European immigrants to the USA during the 19th and early 20th century. In these

surveys, identities such as Croatian, Italian, Norwegian, Polish or the like were absent. People identified themselves primarily in terms of their towns, clans or regions.

Hence, ethnic, cultural, historical and territorial factors are, in some way, components that root themselves in the remote past, while the political and economic components, along with national consciousness, have a modern character. In other words, the political-legal factors that constitute nations were established later, on the bases of a vernacular pre-modern culture. Therefore, in some way, the different importance given to pre-modern and modern components of the concept of nation might depend on the romantic or disciplinary understanding of the concept (Carretero & Kriger, 2011).

One of the most relevant components of the nation- especially in the western context-is the territorial component. As Smith indicates (1991), the national territory is not any given territory, but is instead an "historical" territory, one where land and people have influenced each other in a beneficial manner across multiple generations. It is the warehouse of historical remembrances and mental associations. It is a place of worship and exaltation, whose meaning can only be grasped by the initiated, those who are conscious of belonging to the nation. In this way, the resources of the land are exclusive to its people and cannot be used by foreigners.

Understanding the territorial component in this manner has fundamentally essentialist and romantic features. The national territory transforms into something natural, something that has existed since the remote past and that has well-defined and immutable limits (Álvarez Junco, 2011). From this romantic conception of territory stems a natural and immutable legitimacy regarding its ownership. Thus, the territory is a cohesive factor for its inhabitants, but it is disruptive for those who do not belong.

However, the disciplinary approach supports the idea that the national territory's limits are ever-changing and diffuse (Janmaat, 2005; 2006). Consequently, it rejects the natural and atemporal character of the national territory. The nation, as understood from a disciplinary approach, is a culturally created concept that has a dynamic and variable character, capable of changing throughout time, and capable of disappearing altogether. This approach does not produce an exaggerated image of territorial cohesion but instead

accommodates existing tensions amongst different regions, cities or towns within the national territory (Álvarez Junco, 2011).

Within the current historiography, the nation is viewed as a modern social construct, culturally created and with abstract and multidimensional character; the nation is formed by various elements whose relative importance is negotiable. Therefore, the nation is - as are many other historical concepts - a variable and dynamic concept. Nevertheless, it is important to clarify that the nation is not an ontological concept - it is not given in a natural way by birth or upbringing - but instead must be taught and, therefore, learned. However, the national narratives that are present in the teaching of history frequently reflect a romantic and essentialist conception of the nation, thus nationalizing both the events and the protagonists of the past (Carretero & López, 2010a). Thus, the concept of nation, which modern historiography views as arising in the mid 19th century, is occasionally projected into the most distant past.

Despite that the fact that practically no current historian doubts the constructed character of the nation and national sentiment, people still feel passionately about nations and continue to anchor their identity to them with the expectation of somehow transcending their own brief existence (Álvarez Junco, 2011; Carretero & Kriger, 2011). Walker Connor (2004) extended this idea when he commented that "while in factual/chronological history a nation may be of recent vintage, in the popular perception of its members, it is 'eternal', 'beyond time', 'timeless'."(p. 35).

This situation leads us to question what type of ideas about the nation are transmitted in schools, what the objectives of teaching history are and how these issues influence students' understanding of the concept of nation. As we have seen here, theoretical debates have been established within historiography about the concept of nation, that are built upon two opposing ideas: the romantic and the disciplinary approach.

Within current historiography, this debate appears to have been resolved in favor of the disciplinary approach, and the romantic approach has practically been abandoned. Nonetheless, there are almost no empirical studies that examine what concept of a nation people ultimately acquire; this is the reason why this subject warranted further

investigation. There is a tendency to think that if we understand how historical texts are produced, we will then understand the impact they have on the people who consume them. However, as Werstch aptly indicates (1997), even the most exhaustive analysis about the production process does not allow us to understand how people understand, use or consume these texts and their meaning. Therefore, the study presented here focuses on participants elaborating narratives about the "Spanish Reconquest" as an exercise in making sense of an historical event that is related to their own nation.

The "Spanish Reconquest": An Analysis of Narratives and the Concept of the Spanish Nation

The "Spanish Reconquest" refers to a period of nearly 800 years during which distinct Christian kingdoms carried out a series of conquests in the Iberian Peninsula. The Iberian Peninsula was dominated by Muslim people who had arrived in 711 and had been victorious over the then-dominant Visigothic Kingdom. The "Reconquest" - which encompasses a period during which the Spanish nation did not yet exist - begins in the year 718 and culminates in 1492 with the expulsion of the Muslims from the peninsula. This process was reinterpreted by historiography throughout the centuries and this event was converted into an enterprise of national character, thanks to which the monarchical institution was legitimized and upon which the national Spanish identity was built (Ríos Saloma, 2005).

Ríos Saloma (2005) analyzes how historiography has re-described this event starting in the 16th century up through the 19th century, showing the changes in how this historical process was conceptualized and treated. Accordingly, it was not until the 18th century when, by the hand of the romantic historians, key concepts developed to support the never-before used term of "reconquest". Historians began to speak of "our Spain", referring to a political connection, and considered the Visigothic Kingdom of the 8th century and "their Spain" as the same concept, which rightfully belongs - of course - to the Spanish. Consequently, the appearance of terms such as "recover" and "regain" begin to be used in relation to the territory. Thus, the idea arises that the fight against the Muslims was a fight to take back lost national territory. As Ríos Saloma points out, we witness the emergence of a "national" consciousness with no Visigoths,

Asturians, or Cantabrians, but only Spanish. These Spanish were fighting to take back something that had been unjustly seized from them (Ríos Saloma, 2005).

The term "Reconquest" acquired a new touch by the hand of romantic and nationalist writers in the 19th century. There was a need to endow the newly formed Spanish nation with a common and exclusive past that was different from that of other European nations, so as to legitimize the new State. The fight against the Muslims and the "reconquest" of the homeland was a significant and relevant period to use as a foundation on which to build that common past. In that century, the process of the wars against the Muslims was understood as a conflict of national independence against foreign domination, and the term "Reconquest" began to be used routinely (Ríos Saloma, 2005).

The so called "Reconquest" - due to the romantic historiography of 18th and 19th century - became one of the most important episodes in the "history of Spain" and is undoubtedly seen as the seed of the Spanish nation. The work of Ríos Saloma (2005) reflects the evolution of the "Reconquest" within Spanish historiography placing this event within the realm of the imaginary construction of national communities (Álvarez Junco, 2011; Anderson, 1983), and within what Hobsbawm (1983) defines as the invention of tradition. Therefore, the "Reconquest" appears to be a particularly relevant subject in order to analyze peoples' conceptions about the concept of nation and to see to what extent these conceptions align with the romantic concept proposed by 19th century historiography or with the 21st century disciplinary view.

3.3.2. Objectives

The main objective of this study was to analyze the participants' concept of nation through the narratives that they construct around the so-called "Reconquest." We were interested in analyzing whether the participants would hold conceptions closer to the romantic or the disciplinary concept.

For this purpose, five dimensions of the student's narratives related to the concept of nation were analyzed. Those dimensions are related to the features of national narratives presented in the introduction section. First, we analyzed the degree to which

participants identified with the protagonists of the historic process in national terms. Next, we examined whether they used terms such as “Spain” and “Spanish” to build the narrative about the “Reconquest,” an event which occurred much earlier than the period in which historians place the rise of nations and national consciousness. The third relevant aspect to the analysis was the representation of the origin of the Spanish national territory. Fourth, we analyzed the manner in which participants legitimized the ownership of the territory after the conquests achieved by both Muslims and Christians. In other words, we examined whether participants understood territory ownership to be something static, given in a natural manner, or something dynamic and ever-changing, without a link to a national group. Finally, it interested us to know to what extent participants understood the process of the “Reconquest” as a process of struggle towards the recovery of a national territory. Accordingly, focus was placed upon the extent to which students used romantic terms associated with 19th historiography - which interpreted the process as a reconquest of the national territory - or whether, in contrast, they de-nationalized the event by avoiding connotations of "reconquest" or recovery and speaking simply of conquests.

3.3.3. Method

Participants

The participants were 31 college students from the Faculty of Psychology from Madrid (Spain), who voluntarily participated without prior knowledge of the objectives of this study. These participants had taken six to eight years of history courses through the mandatory educational system in Spain. Hence, despite not being representative of a group of experts in history, this group does possess an extensive education in the field. The age range of participants was between 17 and 28 years old with a mean of 20 years of age and standard deviation of 3.23.

Materials

During the interview, four unlabeled maps were used that depicted Southwest Europe and Northern Africa. Each map had a distinct header referring to a specific moment during the “Reconquest” (see Appendix 1). The participants were provided

with a pen and different colored markers so that they could indicate the political situation at the time described by the map's header.

Procedure

A semi-structured individual interview was performed. After receiving consent from the participants, the interview was recorded.

At the beginning of the interview, participants were invited to expound on the general ideas they had about the events that occurred in the Iberian Peninsula from the arrival of Muslim people and until the conquest of Granada under the rule of the Catholic Monarchs. Afterwards, the participants were asked to draw the political landscape on each of the four maps described in the materials section above. The maps were displayed in chronological order, with the date in the map header. There was no time limit for performing this task. After they completed each map, we asked participants for their opinions regarding different aspects such as: a) inhabitants present at that moment in the Iberian Peninsula; b) causes and motives for the conquests; c) legitimacy of the conquests; and d) territorial right of ownership. At the end of the interview, all participants were asked about use of the term "Reconquest," including those who had spontaneously used the term during the interview as well as those who had not. The terms "Reconquest" and "Spain" were only used at the end of the interview, except for cases in which participants spontaneously made use of them (see Appendix 2 for a written copy of one of the interviews).

All answers were coded by a nominal system of categories, which allowed us to categorize the participant narratives with respect to their romantic or disciplinary character into five dimensions corresponding to the five outlined objectives: personal identification, existence of Spain and Spanish, territorial representation of the origin of the national territory, legitimacy of the territory and, lastly, overall interpretation of the historic process.

In order to validate the categories, an interjudge analysis was performed for the five analyzed dimensions. Two judges independently categorized answers from 20% of

the total sample. The agreement index surpassed 83.3% in all cases. The discrepancies found were used towards improving the definition of the categories.

Table 3 shows, as an example, the nominal categorization performed for the Personal identification dimension.

Table 3

Categorization for the Personal Identification Dimension

Categories	Description of the category.
Presence of identification (Romantic category)	Use of first person plural pronouns when referring to the protagonists of the historical event.
Absence of identification (Disciplinary category)	Absence of first person plural pronouns when referring to the protagonists of the historical event.

In the next section, the gathered results are shown for each of the five analyzed dimensions.

3.3.4. Results

Personal Identification with Historical Events

As noted before, one of the fundamental objectives of the traditional teaching focused on the nation is the construction of a national identity. This national identity is constructed based on emotional and affective aspects. We therefore thought it important to examine to what degree the participants displayed this type of identity relationship with the analyzed event.

Romantic conceptions. As we saw in their narratives, some participants spontaneously used the first person plural pronouns when referring to the group of Christians. They also used the verbal forms of the first person plural when arguing in support of the

actions performed by this group. In these participants' responses, we found an explicit identification with the group of Christians, and never with that of the Muslims. We found numerous examples of this phenomenon in the narratives. Following are two excerpts from the interviews with Ramón and Belén:

Well, it ended in 92, no? 1492 is when we pushed them off Granada, of that I am quite certain... (...) The Battle of Las Navas De Tolosa was a battle of vast importance where we triumphed over them. They kept giving ground and in the end they only conserved Granada that in the end, we expelled them from in 1492. (Ramón, 21 years old)

[And about the conquests made by the Arab people that you have drawn there, what are your thoughts on that? What do you think?] *What do you mean? You mean the conquest that they made over us or the reconquest that we do afterwards? (...) let's see, I don't see that, I don't see that... but Spain also has done acts that have not been correct, (...) because, for example, we then also, well... we went ahead with conquering America, no? (Belén, 25 years old).*

In this last excerpt, we observe a connection between “us” and “Spain,” and Spain and the Spanish are continually perceived as the protagonists of historic events.

This is a romantic identification, centered in national identity, which establishes an imagined connection and continuity between the past and the present. The actors from the past and present share certain features as a group, in this case their nationality. Thus, the attribute of nationality becomes an atemporal and non historical category, clearly seen as a much more ancient category than the nationality defined by the current disciplinary approach to history.

Throughout the interview with Eva, we find again multiple instances of this phenomenon.

The teacher spoke, for example, that a certain name was given to certain things, as for example is the fact of the Reconquest, but nonetheless this territory had never been ours. [It had never been ours...?] Of the Spanish, of the Catholic Monarchs.

I imagine it should have been by means of force, but I'm not sure. I don't know whether we used more strength in throwing them out or they did for coming in.

Man, we now have advanced almost... look, a lot of centuries. And I also say that we copied many advancements from them...they were much more advanced than us for sure, come on. Then once we started making weapons... (Eva, 25 years old).

We also found this type of personal association by the participants to one group based on perceived common nationality when explicitly asking for this connection. Again, these connections arise between past and present, and the national group is perceived as being described as the same in the past and the present, as we can see in the following fragments.

[Throughout this interview we have been talking about many groups. Which one do you identify best with?] *I do with the inhabitants of...you know, with the Spanish. [And why?] Well, because I was born here, because it is also my culture. I think to myself Arabs coming today to invade us and... I picture what would happen to them at this moment. (Sara, 22 years old).*

[Different groups have appeared throughout this process, do you or do you not feel linked with any of them?] *I feel closer to the Catholic Monarchs, because right now if for example that happened to me I wouldn't like being invaded by force and that they would want to impose a series of things by force. Therefore, like the Arabs did, even if they brought good things, I wouldn't like it. Because even though they would come with good things, deep down it is an invasion. (José, 18 years old).*

As we see in the case of Sara, there are characteristics that, for her, are permanent. In other words, her nationality is the same as that of the inhabitants when the Muslims arrived in the 8th century.

Disciplinary conceptions. On the contrary, in other participants' narratives, the process is analyzed without association to any of the groups in question. No "us-them" distinctions are established, but instead both groups were dealt with equally. In these

narratives, the continuity between past and present is broken, at least in reference to national identity.

In the next fragment, we can observe this absence of identification with the participant groups in the historical event:

I remember that this happened in 711 AD (...) The Arab people disembarked in 711 and began gaining territory quickly (...). The last of Visigoth nobles then took refuge in the north and reorganized themselves again for the reconquest (...). At last, there was a dynastic union between Castile and Aragon and finally in 1492 they conquered Granada. (Ricardo, 18 years old).

As we see, this participant speaks of Arabs, Visigoths and Castilians, but in no instance used the first person plural when referring to them.

The following table shows the distribution of personal identification found in the participant’s narratives.

Table 4

Personal Identification with the main character of the narrative

	Frequency	Percentage
Self-identification	14	45.2%
No Self-identification	17	54.8%
Total	31	100%

Conceptions about the Existence of Spain and Spanish People

We analyzed the use of the terms "Spain" and "Spanish" when making reference to events from the process of the “Reconquest” found in the narratives constructed by the participants during their interviews.

Romantic conceptions. Some of the participants used the term "Spain" and/or the term "Spanish" to refer to the territory and the actors of their narrative. On occasion, these

terms were even applied to moments as far back as the 8th century, which is far earlier than the existence of the Spanish nation. For these participants, the existence of Spain during this period seems certain, as the Spanish nationality is attributed to the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula. In this way, the diversity of the population and their features are reduced to a single criterion that defines their essence, in this case their nationality. In other words, the Spanish nation has an antique character, continuous and invariable, that remains until the present. Hence, these national characteristics appear as fundamental elements of the romantic narratives generated by these participants.

To exemplify this phenomenon, we will concentrate on the expressions used by some of the participants:

As I think about it the Arabs arrived to the peninsula from the south... they began ascending all the way up and the Spanish started retreating (...) and then Spain, gained strength... and well, the typical story of El Cid...(A very famous Castilian nobleman) (Pedro, 21 years old).

[Why do you think that Christians wanted to conquer those territories? What were their motivations?] *Well I don't know if any consciousness of Europe and continents existed, but there indeed was consciousness that Spain should be a Christian territory... because it had been Christian since ever. (...) The Arabs had obligated the Spanish to convert into Muslims, so that also was a motivation to throw them out again, because they tried to change what their convictions were. (Marta, 18 years old)*

As we can see in these fragments, these participants conceived of the people undergoing the Arab invasion as already being Spanish and the territory they conquered as already being Spain. Thus, the land in which all of these historic events take place is not any given territory, but is the national territory of Spain - a territory which, for these participants, even has some atemporal characteristics of its own.

Therefore, the Spanish become the protagonist group in the historical narrative that begins with the arrival of Muslim people around the year 711. This “Spanish” national group is presented as tightly linked to the current Spanish national group. The

Spanish nationality is constituted as an essence that is transmitted from generation to generation, as we can discern from the following excerpts:

I answered this like very intuitively, because I believe according to my understanding, and without being racist, that the people that remained here from the whole Iberian Peninsula, those were like the purest of who we now call Spanish people. And I believe that it is from there that what we are today comes from. (María, 25 years old)

[In your opinion, would you consider them Spanish in that moment?] *I believe so, I do. Because I really believe that we come from those who were here, I mean from the Spanish. I mean, also from the Muslims but in a way less, since well, as we threw them out and so... really, I think there is more of those from the Catholic Monarchs, from the Spanish.* (José, 18 years old).

As can be noted in these fragments, the "Spanish" are understood to be an entity that is already present at that moment and that constitutes the foundation of the current Spanish people.

Disciplinary conceptions. In contrast, other participants reflected a conception that was closer to the disciplinary perspective with regard to use of terms referring to Spain and the Spanish. From this approach, it is not considered possible to talk about Spain as a nation or as a single political configuration during that period. Therefore, the characteristic of "Spanish" is not applied to its inhabitants at any moment, and a national character is not attributed to the territory under dispute.

The next example, taken from the interview with Laura, reflects this type of conception that is closer to the disciplinary viewpoint.

There were distinct peoples, (...) I don't remember their names right now, but come on, I do know that at this time Spain was not a unity nor Castile, nor anything... [But when you speak of Spain do you mean that Spain was divided or...?]. No, that it simply was not defined, was it? I think so. [It was not defined but it was there? What do you think about that?] No, it wasn't there, there was none, there was no Spain. (Laura, 21 years old).

As can be observed, even though Laura does not have comprehensive knowledge about the different people inhabiting the peninsula, her ideas with respect to the existence of Spain or the Spanish people during that period are vastly different from the romantic ideas. For her, in this period there can be no talk about Spain just yet.

The following table shows the percentage distribution of conceptions for this dimension.

Table 5

Conceptions on the existence of Spain and Spanish people

	Frequency	Percentage
Romantic conceptions	21	70%
Disciplinary conceptions	9	30%
Total	30	100%

Note: Data from one participant was excluded because this individual did not respond directly to issues related to this aspect of the study.

Representation of the Origins of the National Territory

As we have analyzed, the territorial component is one of the most relevant in the concept of nation, particularly in the Western context. The maps made by the participants during their interviews add relevant information regarding their representations of the origin of the national territory. For this analysis, we were particularly interested in periods that were clearly prior to the settling of national borders. Thus, we felt it important to analyze whether the participant's maps presented romantic characteristics--permanence of territory, a natural character, ancient origin--or, disciplinary characteristics--change through time, a modern origin for national frontiers. We also considered it important to examine the point at which the process known as the "Reconquest" became viewed by the participants as a process exclusively concerning the "Spanish" territory.

Romantic conceptions. In the making of maps corresponding to distinct moments from the period of the "Reconquest," we can clearly observe how some participants attribute

national characteristics to the territory of the Iberian Peninsula which, from the disciplinary perspective, should appear much later. Hence, even though the Iberian Peninsula was under the domain of the Visigothic Kingdom before the Muslims arrived, some of the participants represented the Christian kingdoms - the subsequent protagonists of the "Reconquest" - as the previous owners of the peninsula (historic representation of the territory of both, Muslim and Christian kingdoms, during these eight centuries available at: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/shepherd_1911/shepherd-c-082-083.jpg).

Figure 2 shows an example of maps made by Marta. We can see how the political landscape prior to the arrival of the Muslims (year 700) and that corresponding to the end of the "Reconquest" (1492) are nearly the same:

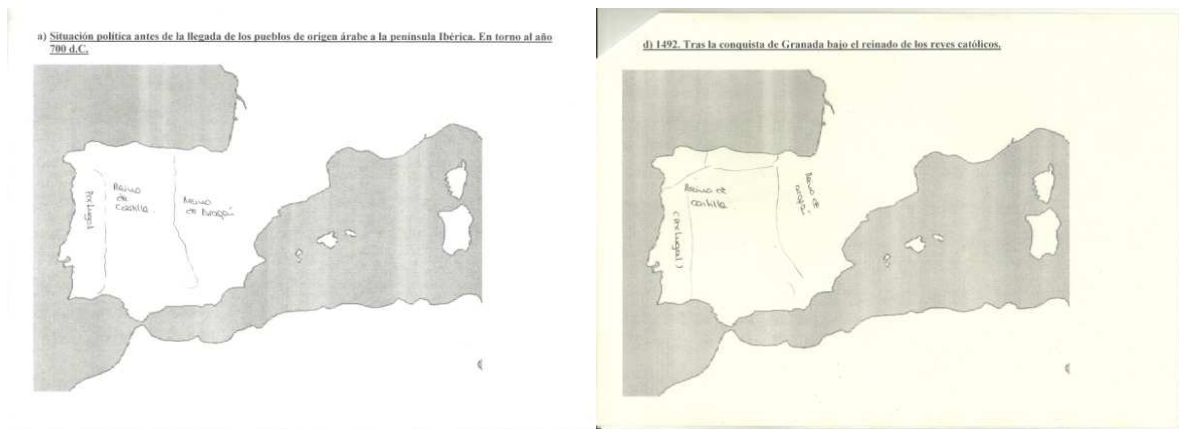


Figure 2. Maps drawn by Marta (19 years old)

Thus, the Christian kingdoms, which from the romantic historical approach constitute the essence of the Spanish nation, already appear as owners of the territory in the 8th century. These participants imagine the ownership of the territory such that it legitimizes the conception of "Reconquest."

Another interesting phenomenon found in the maps of other participants is the manner in which they apply the current borders for the national territories for all of the distinct periods analyzed (700 AD, 711 AD, 1212 AD, 1492 AD). Figure 3 exemplifies this phenomenon.

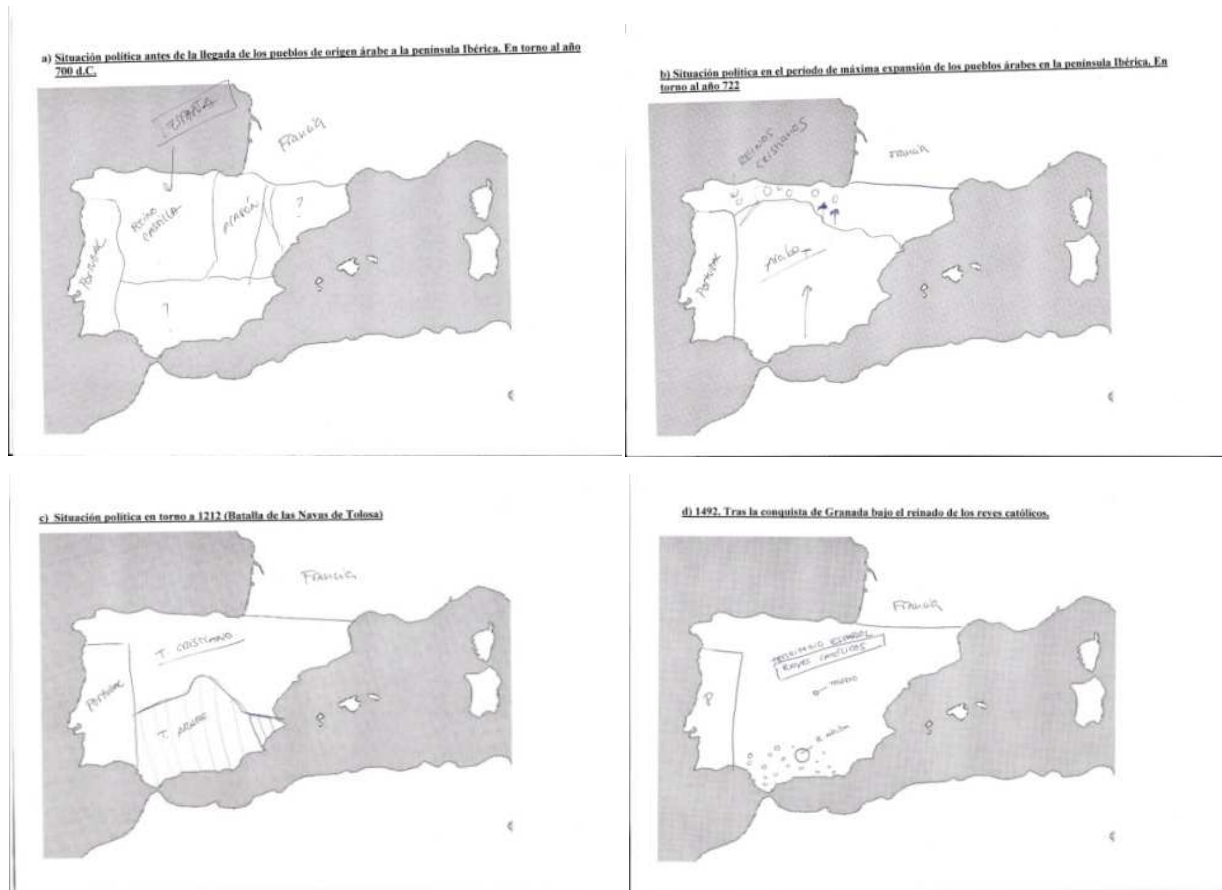


Figure 3. Maps drawn by Juan (25 years old).

As we can see, the current national border of Portugal and the Spanish border with France remain unaltered throughout eight centuries. Therefore, this representation manifests an idea of national territories as something static and also reflects the notion that, for these participants, the process of the “Reconquest” is an exclusively Spanish process, which totally excludes Portugal from events. For these participants, the people of Arab origin carried on with their conquests only over the current Spanish territory, respecting at all times the supposed Portuguese borders.

Disciplinary conceptions. In contrast to the participants who applied features of the national territory to instances much earlier than their actual creation, we find other participants who reflected an idea closer to the disciplinary approach in their maps.

These participants did not apply more recent political formations, such as the Christian kingdoms or the territory of Portugal, to periods preceding the arrival of people of Arab origin. On the contrary, some participants recognize the existence of the

Visigothic Kingdom prior to the arrival of the Muslims and then the emergence, centuries later, of the different Christian kingdoms. The maps drafted by Julio, shown in Figure 4, reflect this conception, which is closer to the disciplinary approach.

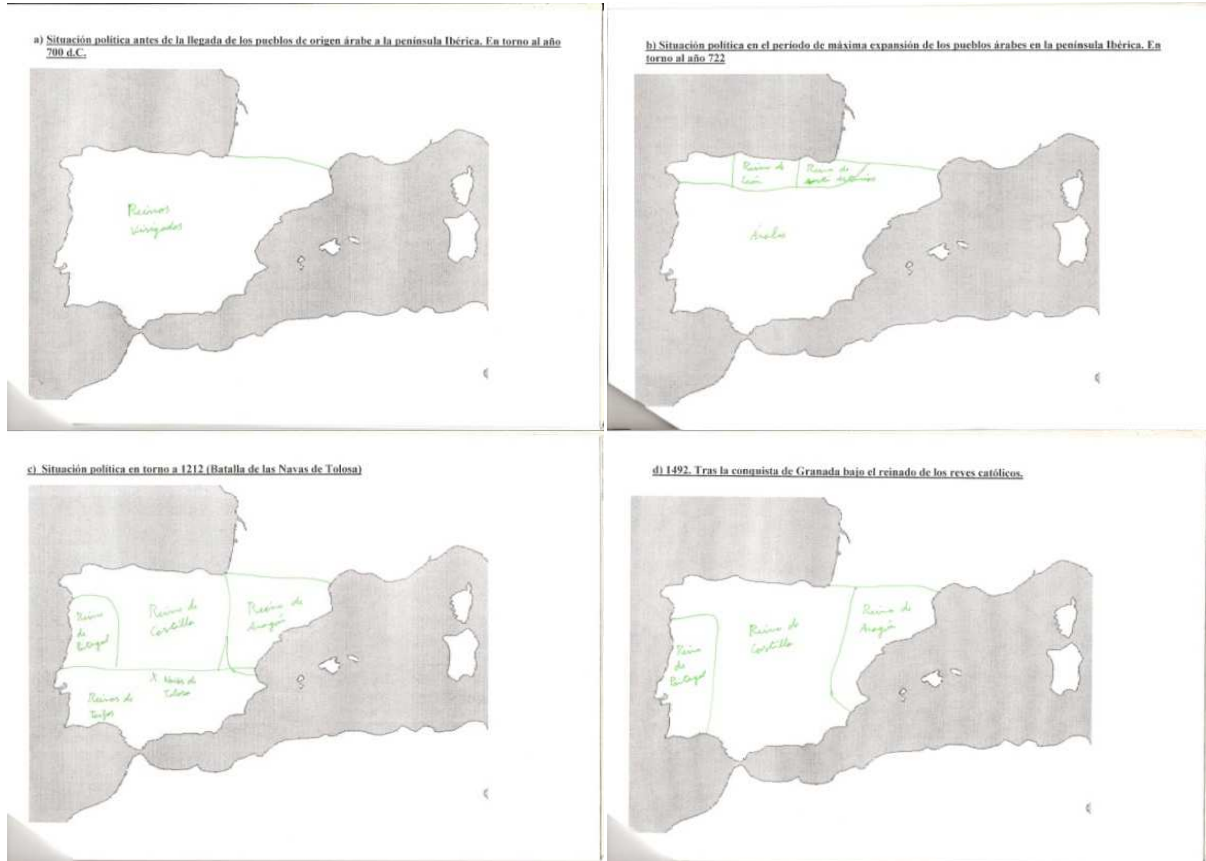


Figure 4. Maps drawn by Julio (22 years old).

As we see, the Christian kingdoms do not appear as the owners of the territory prior to the arrival of the Muslims, but instead emerge later and do not reach total dominion on the peninsula until 1492.

To these participants, the territorial frontiers are dynamic and do not possess the static character seen in previous maps. As can be seen, the national borders of Spain and Portugal do not appear with their current configurations until the final map (year 1492). Moreover, the historical process is no longer limited to the current territory of the Spanish nation, but instead includes the current territory of Portugal. The process, therefore, is common to the two current nations, and not exclusive to either of them.

In Table 6, we can observe the distribution of the types of maps drawn by the participants.

Table 6

Representation of the Origin of the National Territory

	Frequency	Percentage
Romantic conceptions	16	57.1%
Disciplinary conceptions	12	42.9%
Total	28	100%

Note: Three participants were absent because they were unable to perform the necessary task.

Conceptions about the Legitimacy of the Territory

As we noted previously, a romantic vision for the territorial attribute implies an understanding of the national territory as a legitimate possession of the inhabitants of the nation. This sense of belonging is viewed as something established in a natural manner and with an immutable and permanent character. Narratives about the "Reconquest" provide us with important information, as it is viewed as a historic process in which the "national territory" remains under dispute.

Romantic conceptions. During the interview, some participants displayed a clearly romantic conception, according to which, although the territories were conquered by the peoples of Arab origin, the territory legitimately belonged to its previous inhabitants and not to the Muslims. Independently of the elapsed time or the causes of this conquest, the legitimacy of the territory remained unaltered for these participants. This conception clearly influenced the way in which the participants justified or assigned value to the distinct conquests, depending on the group achieving them.

Some fragments are shown reflecting this conception:

[This territory you drew in here as Arab territory, do you believe it belonged to them in a legitimate manner?] *Let's be clear, it can never be right for me that it belongs to them*

because I consider it as part of my territory... well, of our territory as Spaniards.
(Marta, 18 years old)

[And the territory you have drawn over there that is occupied by the Arabs, do you feel that it would legitimately be Arab? If not, who do you think it belonged to?] *Well, when it is conquered legitimately or by power [it] becomes theirs... but I do believe that in essence it is Spanish.* (Juan, 25 years old)

As we can see, for these participants, the territory has a national characteristic. It is a Spanish territory and is conceptualized by these participants as a natural entity and somehow immutable, with a Spanish essence even though it may be conquered by other people.

As is observed in the following fragments of the interview with Sara, this legitimacy of the national territory clearly influences how subsequent conquests performed by Christians five centuries later are judged.

[And whom do you think that territory belonged to?] *Man, in that moment it is true that it would be dominated by Arabs, but it was still of the Spanish. (...) Even though it had been taken by force, but sooner or later they had to expel the Arabs. (...) [The conquests you have drawn (making reference to the further Christian conquests in the year 1212), do you think they were legitimate?] Conquests in the opposite way, to throw them out? Man, they seem to me more legitimate. A bit more legitimate yes, because they are like recovering what was taken from them. Man, wars are not alright, but I do think it could be slightly justified. To recover their territory and customs and whatever they were not allowed to do by the Arabs.* (Sara, 22 years old).

For these participants, the Arab conquests seem something temporary that occur in a territory that still belongs to the Spanish and is therefore destined to return to Spanish dominion. These conquests to expel the Muslims are legitimized because a territory is being recovered that naturally belongs to the Spanish national group.

Once the territory is conquered by the "Spanish," the legitimacy of these conquests appears logical and is taken for granted, as we can observe in the last excerpt from the interview with Sara:

[And the territory you have drawn over here (map of 1492), do you think it belonged legitimately to the Spanish as you say?] *Man! I think so* [Why do you think it belonged to them?] *Well... I don't know... because they are the ones who have lived in there from the beginning.* (Sara, 22 years old).

The legitimacy of the territory is founded in its possession since a past that is lost in time. Thus, this legitimacy is seen as natural or given. It has always been so.

Disciplinary conceptions. In contrast, some participants reflected a conception that was closer to the disciplinary approach. From this perspective, the property and the legitimacy of the territory are not permanent but instead can change over time. In addition, there are no acquired or gifted rights over a determined territory. This perception is reflected in the next segment of the interview with Laura when she talks about the conquest by the Muslims:

It seems to me they do have a right, why not? (...) The territory does not have to be anybody's, if they want and get it, then look (...) It's just that really the territory belongs to whoever wants to conquer it and can do so. But nobody has a right to it. (Laura, 22 years old).

When speaking about the Muslims conquests, Laura does not advocate for the territory belonging to a specific group. Possession is perceived as something dynamic and not static. As opposed to the romantic conceptions, there is no connection between the group and the national territory.

Table 7 shows the distribution of percentages in this dimension.

Table 7

Conceptions about the Legitimacy of the Territory

	Frequency	Percentage
Romantic conceptions	19	63.3%
Disciplinary conceptions	11	26.7%
Total	30	100%

Overall Interpretation of the Historic Process

As previously mentioned, the term "Reconquest" has been entrenched in the teaching of history from the mid 19th century onward. The connotations of this term make reference to a struggle for national independence against foreigners and the legitimate recovery of a national territory unjustly seized. We believe it was relevant to observe to what degree our participants supported these romantic ideals about this historical period.

Romantic conceptions. In the analyzed interviews, many participants reflected some conceptions connected to this focus on the traditional and romantic character of the "Reconquest." We can see this idea reflected in the following examples:

The Arabs invade a territory that is not theirs. During more than seven centuries they keep trying to conquer what is the entire Spanish territory and, the Spanish, when it in fact was in essence their territory before the Arabs came in, they reconquered it again to make it once again their own. (Juan, 25 years old).

In 711, we were colonized by the Muslims, more or less we assimilated their religion, culture and language, especially in the south, although some kingdoms were spared that still belonged to Spain, (...) and then the Catholic Monarchs started trying to recover the territories that the Arabs had conquered and in 1492 finished recuperating them. (Marta, 18 years old).

Clearly, to Juan, the territory under dispute is a territory that essentially belongs to the Spanish. Therefore, the "Reconquest" is a process that wins back the territory. The

protagonists that experienced the Muslim conquest and those who, over 7 centuries later, finish "reconquering" the territory *to make it once again their own*, are perceived as the same group throughout the centuries: the Spanish people. Thus, there is an element of continuity, founded both in the ownership of the national territory as well as in the rights of the inhabitants of this territory, the Spanish people. In the interview fragment from Marta, we can observe how the eight centuries from the arrival of the Muslims until the conquest of Granada by the Catholic Monarchs are interpreted as a process of loss and the subsequent recovery of a territory that *belonged to Spain*. Those eight centuries become simplified and integrated in a national framework of the history of Spain.

In the next excerpt of the interview with José, we can observe how this romantic conception of the recovery of the national territory appears again.

Besides, they had previously invaded us and we wanted to recover again all our territories. All of this started when they wanted to conquer it all, when we had a nucleus of resistance in the north, well of course then, we began reconquering... (José, 18 years old).

Both the ideas of ownership and of the recovery of the territory appear in a spontaneous manner in the interviews. The narrative arch conforms to and gives meaning to historical events along national lines. The participants were also asked explicitly about their use of the term "reconquest," and in their justifications, we can see how this idea of recovering a national territory endures.

Well to me to reconquest...I think that the Arabs when they came what they were really doing was conquering us, getting our lands, the lands of the people who were around there back then, (...) so we began recovering those territories we used to be in before... and that's why it is "reconquest." We were recovering them. (José, 18 years old).

Disciplinary conceptions. In contrast, in a conception closer to the current historiographic viewpoint, some participants considered the Christian and Muslim conquests to be two different conquests, with no connotation of recovery or reconquest attributed to the Christian conquests. The idea that there is discontinuity between those

who suffered the Muslim conquest and those who drove out the Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula seven centuries later appears, as we can see in the next fragment:

Well it is a term quite biased, because, let's be clear, reconquest of what? If we were speaking about a Visigoth king, who had these territories... The Visigoth king left north, maintained his kingdom up north, and all the people in the peninsula and under Visigoth rule left up north, and all those, who would not fit, occupied the North with their respective king. Then, 700 years later that king said: that's enough, (...) let's all go back to our territories of origin. Very well then, that could indeed be called reconquest, because all of those left, they were pushed out, and all those, their descendants came back and occupied those territories. (...) Bu that would imply that this kingdom should have been maintained, (...) and everybody must have left. [And you think it was not that way?] No, I think it didn't happen like that. [So you would not use the term "Reconquest"?) No. [And so what term you would use instead?] Well I would call that phenomenon like... sort of like advance of the Christian kingdoms in the peninsula at the start of modernity. (Gema, 28 years old)

Gema perfectly narrated, in a cartoonish way, the romantic traditional vision of the "Reconquest." Unlike the romantic vision, Gema took into account both, the elapsed time and the changes produced in the different kingdoms during the nearly 700 years that elapsed between these two events.

Table 8 shows the distribution of conceptions in this dimension.

Table 8

Overall Interpretation of the Historical Process

	Frequency	Percentage
Romantic Conceptions	25	80.6%
Disciplinary Conceptions	6	19.4%
Total	31	100%

Presence of Romantic vs. Disciplinary Conceptions in Narratives about the "Reconquest"

As has been seen thus far throughout these interviews, participants demonstrated romantic or disciplinary viewpoints in each of the five analyzed dimensions. Figure 5 shows the distribution of the type of general profile exhibited by their narratives.

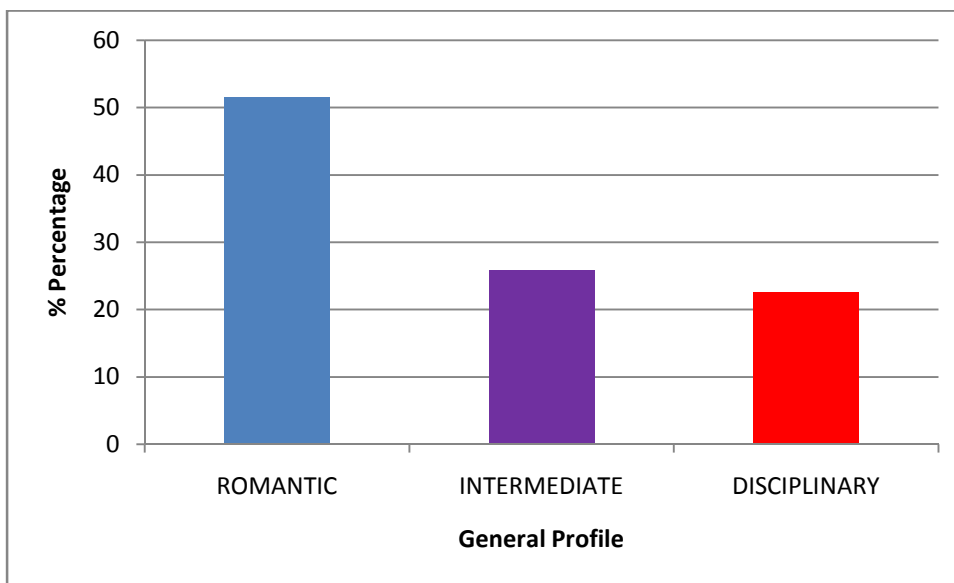


Figure 5. General profile of narratives about the "Reconquest."

Narratives from those individuals whose narratives were categorized as romantic for at least four of the five analyzed dimensions were assigned a general profile categorized as romantic. Similarly, a general profile was considered disciplinary for those individuals whose narratives were categorized as disciplinary for at least four of the five dimensions. Narratives containing two dimensions that were categorized as disciplinary and three categorized as romantic, or vice versa, were interpreted as an intermediate general profile.

To analyze the relationship between the five studied dimensions, a statistical analysis was performed using the software SPSS 16.0. There was a significant association between the dimensions *Overall interpretation* and *Legitimacy of territory* with $\chi^2(1) = 12.95$, $p < .001$, where 83.3% of the participants were categorized either as romantic or disciplinary in both dimensions at once or, in other words, their conceptions were coherent for these two dimensions. Therefore, the hypothesis holds that these

dimensions are related. Only 16.7% of the participants had split categorization with one disciplinary dimension and the other one romantic.

Equally, we found a significant relationship between the dimensions *Overall interpretation* and *Existence of Spain and Spanish people* with $\chi^2 (1) = 4.80, p < .05$. From the total number of participants, 76.6% showed congruent conceptions in both dimensions, and only 23.4% did not show the same categorization for both dimensions.

We also found a significant relationship between the dimensions *Legitimacy of territory* and *Personal identification* with $\chi^2 (1) = 4.47, p < .05$. For these dimensions, 84.6% of the participants who showed a high level of identification showed a romantic conception of the legitimacy of the territory, as compared to 47.1% of those that showed a low level of identification.

Finally, the χ^2 test for the dimensions *Existence of Spain and Spanish people* and *Legitimacy of territory* yielded a value for $\chi^2 (1) = 8, 80, p < .01$. This statistic demonstrates a relationship between these two dimensions. Specifically, 80% of the participants who showed a romantic conception about the existence of Spain also showed a romantic conception about the legitimacy of the conquered territories, whereas 22.2% of the participants with a disciplinary conception about the existence of Spain reflected a romantic conception about the legitimacy of the territories. We found that for these two dimensions, the percentage of participants who displayed coherent conceptions for both (79.3%) was significantly higher than those who presented different conceptions of one against the other (20.7%).

3.3.5. Discussion

The results show that most participants interpret the historical process of the "Reconquest", displaying a romantic conception of the Spanish nation. Despite the fact that the participants were college students who had received extensive history instruction throughout their mandatory education, apparently they have not experienced a process of conceptual change and their depictions about the Spanish nation differ significantly from the disciplinary approach.

The vast majority of participants (80.6%) interpreted the process of the Muslim and the subsequent Christian conquests in the Iberian Peninsula as a process of loss and recovery of a preexisting national territory. This vision of the historical process as an imagined reconquest constitutes what Wertsch (2002) defines as a schematic narrative template relied on by participants to give sense to their own narrative. The results indicate that this romantic vision of the process, invented by 19th century historiography, is still in force and remains as the master narrative used by those trying to provide meaning to the analyzed historical event (Hobsbawm, 1983). In addition, the statistically significant relationships show how the participants' narratives, even though not exclusively romantic or disciplinary, show a high degree of coherence.

The romantic narrative of the "Reconquest," is founded on the belief in the ancient existence of the Spanish nation (Ríos Saloma, 2005). It is this ancient existence that allows for discussion of loss and reconquest. Despite the fact that, from the modern disciplinary approach, nations originated around the mid 19th century, approximately 70% of our participants demonstrated a romantic conception about the existence of the Spanish nation and the Spanish people. In other words, the results empirically demonstrate the statement by Connor (2004) that to members of a nation, the nation has an atemporal character. The participants not only showed their belief in this romantic character with regard to Spain, but also with regard to the Spanish inhabitants. Just as Ríos Saloma notes, the traditional historiography from the 19th century shifted from discussing Visigoth, Asturian or Cantabrian to identifying all of these peoples as Spanish. Our participants also attributed this national characteristic to the protagonists of the events, referring to all of these peoples as "Spanish." This conception of national identity as something ancient is clearly in opposition to the disciplinary idea reflected in multiple articles that point out how, during the Middle Ages, inhabitants of the territories that would now be identified as France or England did not consider themselves as French or English (Braudel, 1988; Seton- Watson, 1977; Weber, 1976).

From the analysis of the results and closely related to the romantic notion of the "Reconquest," it is relevant to highlight the manner in which most participants legitimized the possession of the territory under dispute. In contrast with previous conquests by Muslims, those conquests by Christian kingdoms were considered legitimate by 63.3% of the participants. Thus, there is a discernable bias towards the

actions performed by the “national” group, who are judged more positively than those actions performed by the Arab group. This higher legitimacy derives from the participants connecting the national territory with its inhabitants. The "Reconquest" becomes legitimized because the territory under dispute is within the familiar boundaries that constitute the current Spanish national territory. As signaled by Billig (1995), we are accustomed to a world in which national limits are rigorously drawn, even though it was not until the rise and development of nation-states in the 19th and 20th centuries that these borders first made an appearance. Nonetheless, these participants appear to maintain a naturalized and immutable idea of a national border, as is reflected by their arguments regarding the legitimacy of territorial possession.

As we saw in the maps drafted by the participants, 53.6% percent of them applied national characteristics to the territory for dates well before these borders were established. Hence, these participants imagined nonexistent territories preceding the arrival of the Muslims that reflect the existence of the later Christian kingdoms or even the current national limits of Spain, Portugal or France. These imagined territories then, in some way, legitimize the idea of the “Reconquest,” while conferring an ancient origin to the national territory. In this manner, the national territories implicated in the process acquired some static and permanent characteristics that pertain to a romantic concept of the nation.

It is worth noticing that this naturalization of the territory and its atemporal connection with the nation does not appear to be exclusive to the Spanish case that is analyzed here. In Greece, we find a similar phenomenon that refers to the denominated period of the Ottoman occupation and the subsequent Greek "recovery." The Ottoman occupation of the territory currently occupied by Greece took place in the 15th century, when this territory was part of the Byzantine Empire. However, the romantic Greek historiography reinterprets this process as an occupation of the national Greek territory with a recovery that culminates in the beginning of the 20th century. As signaled by Billig (1995), by granting nations a monopoly over the right to violence within their territory, historical conflicts become nationalized. These conflicts evolve into wars amongst nations, instead of counties, nobles or royal lineages. This phenomenon undoubtedly is reflected in the history of many nations today that nationalize territorial conflicts from epochs much earlier than the birth of the nation itself.

Other remarkable data from our study show that 45.2% of participants display an explicit identification with the protagonist group of the "Reconquest" by using first person plural pronouns. It is important to mention that this identification is of a romantic and essentialist nature, as it recognizes a nationality common between the protagonists in the historical events and the interviewed participants. This identification occurs with inhabitants who - from the disciplinary viewpoint - lack this national identity given that the "nation" did not exist until the mid 19th century. A direct linkage is thereby produced between past and present, in this case founded on a supposed, atemporal national identity. This perspective is contrary to that of the disciplinary approach, which is based on the ability to precisely discriminate between the conditions of the past and the present to develop an historical understanding. In addition, through this type of romantic identification, the historical process becomes interpreted as a faceoff between "us" and "them." These results support the tight connection between history and identity issues that is so often remarked upon (Barton and Levstik, 2008; Hobsbawm, 1997; Wertsch, 2002). The relationship found between this national identification and the legitimization of the conquests of the own national group is relevant because it poses a series of questions about the relationship between history and identity: At what point does this type of personal identification make it difficult to take a critical stand regarding historical national events? How difficult does this self-identification make it to consider alternative viewpoints? How does this self-identification influence "other stories" that do not fit in with the official history? The results we obtained indicate a relationship between this type of personal identification and a complacent view regarding the actions performed by the national group, as opposed to those performed by the Muslims.

As we have seen in this study, this romantic perspective regarding the nation is deeply present in the way that people make sense of the historical content being analyzed. On numerous occasions, the participants connected and identified themselves with the protagonists of the historical event through a supposed common nationality. The actions performed by the national group were valued more positively than those by other groups. Similarly, the complexity of the historical period known as the "Reconquest" - which spans almost 800 years - is ultimately simplified into a fight to recover national territory. Many of the groups participating in the process became absorbed and integrated within the national group itself.

This manner for making sense of historical content fits well within the romantic focus of history, which is strongly marked by the attainment of certain objectives of national identification (Lowenthal, 1998; VanSledright, 2008). However, it is evident that this approach to understanding history differs greatly - on occasions, in opposition - from the objectives posed by the current disciplinary approach (Carretero, 2011). These disciplinary objectives are fundamentally focused on the acquisition of critical historical thinking (Levesque, 2008; VanSledright, 2008; Vilar, 1997). This historical thinking is based on acquiring a set of skills that are characteristic of historical experts (Carretero & López, 2010b; Gottlieb & Wineburg, 2012; Wineburg, 1991). Some of these skills include the development of critical thinking, the understanding of historical time and change and historical causality and source evaluation (Lee, 2004; Monte-Sano, 2010). Disciplinary history delves into the past in search of new questions and answers and not with the goal of celebrating or justifying a glorious national past.

Authors such as Peter Lee (2004) have pointed out how, on numerous occasions, learning to think historically entails navigating counterintuitive ideas. Historical thinking is even described as an "unnatural process" (Wineburg, 2001). Nonetheless, as we have been able to observe in this study, many students retain a romantic and naturalized vision of the nation. It is perhaps not surprising that this romantic vision is so powerfully presented considering how contemporary societies present themselves as naturally organized into nation-states. Although the theoretical foundations that nationalist movements are based on seem somewhat obsolete and better suited for past centuries, less visible forms of celebrating the nation are still in existence, in what authors such as Billig (1995) consider banal nationalism.

Perhaps is useful to reflect on the origin of these romantic conceptions of the historical discipline and the concept of a nation. There is likely a dual origin. Within a formal context, traditional instruction in many schools still dominates with explicit or implicit content that is closer to the romantic ideals than to the disciplinary. It is necessary to indicate that history, as an academic discipline, still has advocates for the romantic approach, and many school textbooks and programs emphasize that banal nationalism that Billig describes. Additionally, this banal nationalism is still present on a day-to-day basis in most nations, particularly in the informal context, through national celebrations and rites, movies, novels or mass communication media (Carretero, 2011,

Wineburg Mosborg, Porat & Duncan, 2007). All of these mechanisms are related to the process of production of a narrative around the concept of the nation. This process has been postulated as one of the most influential in the social sciences nowadays and numerous theoretical works have been developed around the ways in which nations are imagined (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1983). However, the process of imagining the nation through the consumption and internalization of the produced narrative by students has not been analyzed. Our investigation contributes relevant data regarding how people imagine and construct the concept of a nation, showing that the concept is somehow naturalized; undoubtedly, this phenomenon needs to be developed further in the future.

Therefore, it is relevant to account for the strong presence of romantic conceptions used by people when facing historical content about their own nation -- conceptions that derive precisely from a romantic perspective about the very concept of the nation. Understanding historical content in a romantic fashion produces a simplified understanding of history and is usually biased in favor of one's own national group. This understanding is distant from the skills and knowledge that constitute historical thinking and that are characteristic of history experts (Carretero & López, 2010b; Lee, 2004; Wineburg, 2001). The concept of a nation appears as a key element when analyzing relationships between the emotional-identity components of historical understanding and the cognitive aspects that comprise critical historical thinking. Both components, cognitive and related to identity, must be taken into account and analyzed in conjunction with historical learning (Polman, 2006). A process of conceptual change (Carretero, Asensio & Rodríguez Moneo, 2012; Gottlieb & Wineburg, 2012) that allows students to understand the nation from a perspective that is closer to those who argue for a disciplinary way of thinking is a key element to achieving adequate historical comprehension. For this purpose, we believe that future investigations are necessary to delve deeper into this problem and into the role played by identity components in this process. Understanding this relationship would promote an historical understanding that would equip students to interpret historical knowledge in all its complexity and, finally, would prepare them to understand the complexity of the society in which we live.

STUDY 4

Students' historical narratives and concepts about the nation

Mario Carretero, César López, María Fernanda González and María Rodríguez-Moneo⁸

History is mainly taught through narratives. Particularly national narratives are central in the educational field (Barton & McCully, 2005; Carretero & López, 2010a). As Ballantyne (2005) notes, nation-states remain the organizing axis of school narratives and historical analyses. In the nineteenth century nation-centered narratives became the basis of national history within the European colonies and in much of Asia (Duara, 1995). The tight relationship between history and the nation continues to be active in the curricula of several countries (see Alridge, 2006; VanSledright, 2008 for the United States. Grever, 2006; Grever & Stuurman, 2007; Van der Leeuw-Roord, 2009 for Europe). Despite the emergence of the disciplinary and civic approaches to history education, the national foundations of curricula and textbooks in Europe have changed little since 1989 (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Van der Leeuw-Roord, 2009). Furthermore, the number of nation-based approaches, which use a traditional methodology of teaching history, has increased (Mak, 2005). National narratives attempt to bring continuity to the past, present and future, making the nation a perpetual protagonist. In such narratives, the stories that are told – and how they are told – are as important as those that must be forgotten. As noted by Renan (1882/1990), forgetting and even historical error-making are essential factors in the creation of a nation.

The influence of the narrative in the field of history is molded by two different processes: the production of historical accounts by historians and the consumption and appropriation of these narratives by students (Wertsch, 2002; Carretero & Kriger, 2011). The narratives produced by historians serve as schematic narrative templates.

⁸ Study published in M. Carretero, M. Asensio & M. Rodríguez-Moneo (Eds.), *History Education and the Construction of National Identities* (pp. 153-170). Charlotte CT: Information Age Publishing.

These are generated in a social context, constituting a fixed model for the specific narratives that people create in the process of consuming them. Therefore, the preexisting national narratives provide the individual with a fixed model for inserting the narratives that he or she constructs. These narratives also explain or discuss historical events. As we have noted thus far, the main characteristic of these national narratives is that they are organized around a continuous and a temporal protagonist, the nation, which is at once the origin and final destination of the narrative (Carretero and López, 2010a).

In several countries, the main objective of national narratives is the creation of a sense of national identity. Epstein and Shiller (2005) underscore how the viewpoints of students, in addition to those of professors and historians, regarding social problems are molded by their identities as members of a family, community, region or nation. These identities influence how students establish relationships with historical content. It is important to take into account that the students' social identities influence not only what they know about their nation's history but also their values and what they are willing to accept about their nation (Hammack, 2011).

Linking identity and emotional aspects with historical events does not necessarily present an obstacle to an adequate historical understanding, as suggested by Bellino and Selman (2012). Nonetheless, the type of national identity pursued by these traditional national narratives seeks to create a positive emotional evaluation - frequently uncritical of the nation's history. From the viewpoint of history education, it seems that these identity-based objectives usually imply successful learning.

Research on history education and school textbooks (Carretero, 2011) shows that history has been recurrently positioned in the school curriculum to instill in the future citizens the symbolic representations that guarantee:

- a. A positive assessment of their own social group's past, present and future; both local and national.
- b. A positive assessment of the country's political evolution.
- c. Identification with past's events and characters and national heroes.

These goals of history education could be considered *romantic* because the emerging of the nation-states cannot be fully understood without the influence of the romantic ideas and their intellectual context. The whole idea of the nation as a specific ethnic group which is under a process of awakening and finally constituting itself in a community of destiny cannot be conceived of without the romantic ideal.

On the other hand, there have been *the enlightened or disciplinary goals* of fostering critical citizens capable of informed and effective participation in the progress of the nation, including a possible criticism to the own local or national community. In general they consist of:

- a. Understanding the past in a complex manner, according to age and educational level,
- b. Distinguishing different historic periods, through the appropriate comprehension of historical time,
- c. Understanding the complex historical multiple causality,
- d. Approaching the methodology used by historians (Wineburg, 2001),
- e. Relating the past with the present and the future.

These romantic and enlightened goals of history education coexisted from the very beginning and developed over time, being the first the most important goals in many countries until approximately 1960. After that, the disciplinary goals started having an increasing importance in many nations. But we think, the romantic goals are still having an important influence on students' historical representations. As it will be shown later in this paper, these romantic goals tend to produce an essentialist understanding of the nation.

Understanding and discussing the past from the national present, in an uncritical and essentialist manner, assumes a nationalization of the events of the past and its protagonists. The essentialist idea of the very concept of a nation is at the core of the national narratives, whereby the nation is seen as an invariable and timeless element of history on which people base their explanations about historical topics. Similarly, the main characters of the story are nationalized, becoming members of the national group,

even if they couldn't have been at a time that the nation did not exist (Carretero, 2011; Carretero & González, 2012).

If we consider the informal sphere of the transmission of historical themes, we find a similar situation. As Michael Billig (1995; also see Hansen, 2012, and Rosa, 2012) indicates, a world order built on nations is part of current common sense, as if it were the only possible order and no others could have ever existed. Effectively, the nationalist idea that solely recognizes a political organization of the world based on the nation-state has become the norm. However, where does this powerful idea about nation originate? How did it become a global norm?

According to authors such as Renan (1882/1990) or Gellner (1978), nations are focused on identity-based aspects related to will, unity and self-determination. The nation is understood as something mutable and negotiable, which depends on the will of its members to continue existing. For nations to be perceived as stable and natural, a group of beliefs, assumptions, rituals, representations and practices contributes to modeling this collective will and developing this idea of the nation as a natural reality. Billig (1995) refers to this process as banal nationalism.

The informal sphere of history education contains several examples of the mechanisms that reinforce an essentialist idea of history and the concept of the nation. Numerous countries have celebrations and patriotic rituals that commemorate historical events, such as Independence Day. These rituals play an important role in the formation of citizens' national identity. In several countries, students begin participating in these rituals from a very early age in school, which fosters an emotional link between citizens and the nation (Carretero, 2011).

As analyzed above, we find different educational mechanisms within both the formal and informal spheres of history through which historical content concerning the concept of nation is transmitted. These mechanisms contribute - according to Benedict Anderson (1983) - to *imagining* the community that we call a nation. The representations of the historical problems and questions are made through both narrative explanation and historical concepts with a greater or lesser degree of abstraction.

Without these concepts, it would be impossible to generate sophisticated historical explanations (Koselleck, 1975).

3.4.1. Conceptions of nation in the context of historical narratives

Most of cognitive analysis of historical thinking and expertise agrees that historical concepts are used by both experts and novices in their historical narratives (VanSledright & Limon, 2006; Voss & Wiley, 2006; Wertsch, 2002). There is no doubt that most of causal explanations of the students about historical problems are of narrative nature. Whether they use abstract concepts (Halldén, 2000; Riviere, Nuñez, Barquero & Fontela, 1998) or concrete ones (Carretero, López Manjón & Jacott, 1997).

Elsewhere (Carretero, 2011; Carretero & Bermúdez, 2012; Carretero, Castorina & Levinas, in press) we have presented a theoretical analysis of the interactive processes of production-consumption of school historical narratives, specifying the role played by concepts in those narratives. That analysis was based on previous work about students' historical master narratives and its cultural and educational significance (Wertsch & Rozin, 2000) and also in our comparative analysis of history textbooks of different nations, most of them from Latin America (Carretero & González, 2012; Carretero, Jacott & López Manjón, 2002). In the present chapter, we try to present an analysis of the historical master narratives features and the way they are related to the features of nation as a concept, showing some of our empirical studies and results. Our proposal distinguishes six common features of historical master narratives:

1. *Exclusion-inclusion as a logical operation contributing to establish the historical subject.* This logical operation is performed in such a way that any positive aspect will be almost always assigned to the national “we”, and any critical or negative aspect will be assigned to “the others”. This logical operation is very critical because it determines both the main voice and the logical actions for that national subject.
2. *Identification processes as both cognitive and affective anchor.* It is very probable that this emotional feature will facilitate at a very early age the formation of the nation as a concept, through a strong identification process, instead of a

cognitive rational understanding.

3. *Frequent presence of mythical and heroic characters and motives.* Myths, mythical figures and narratives are usually beyond time restrictions (Barton & Levstik, 1996; Carretero, Asensio & Pozo, 1991; Egan, 1997). When time and its constraints are introduced, history, as a discipline, is making its appearance.

4. *Search of freedom or territory as a main and common narrative theme.* The narrative is based almost uniquely on the intention of a group of persons to be free from some domination and trying to obtain a specific territory. Usually, the territory is presented as having no differences with the present one.

5. *Historical school narratives contain basic moral orientations.* Of particular importance is the right to the mentioned specific territory that logically includes the various violent acts performed and political decisions made to achieve it.

6. *Romantic and essentialist concept of both the nation and the nationals.* This implies the view of the nation and the nationals as pre-existing political entities, having a kind of eternal and essentialist nature. As it will be shown below, we have studied how the understanding of the nation, as a concept, is very much related to the way previous narratives features are being represented by citizens of different ages.

3.4.2. Learned history: conceptions of students about their own nation

The main objectives of our empirical research in the last years have been to analyze the concept of nation of 12 to 18 year old students and adults (Carretero, 2011; Carretero & Kriger, 2011). More specifically we were interested in analyzing whether their conceptions change as a result of both cognitive development and school history learning. Theoretically our objectives were also related to examining whether both Romantic and Enlightened goals of history teaching were having an influence on students' and adults' conceptions. As stated above, we expected that traditional teaching of national history would hinder conceptual change in historical contents instead of favoring it (Carretero, 2011).

Most of the tasks used in our investigations have to do with national foundational or national historical themes and concepts, particularly in relation to the past of both Spain and Argentina. Yet these themes have clear similarities to those in other parts of the world. We will present some of our main findings as to how participants were employing the concept of nation in their narrative. Some of these uses will be related to the six narratives features previously mentioned. We will not be presenting a detailed analysis of every feature, as it can be found elsewhere (Carretero & González, 2012; Carretero & Kriger, 2011; López, Carretero & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012). We will be focusing in the last feature, about the specific and explicit use of the concept of nation in the context of national narratives.

As has been mentioned, the concept of a nation seems to be one of the central concepts of history education, especially throughout national narratives, both inside and outside of the school. As a matter of fact, about the half of the school historical contents of any nation are about the own nation.

3.4.2.1. Medieval times in Spain. Conquest or Reconquest as a foundational event?

In a study conducted with Spanish university students, we attempted to analyze their ideas about the concept of the nation through the narratives that they generated about one of the foundational events of Spanish history. The main objective of the study was to examine whether their conceptions had romantic characteristics or whether, after completing the obligatory schooling, their conceptions were closer to a disciplinary approach (see López, Carretero & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012a, for details).

Semi-structured individual interviews were conducted about the Reconquest, a period of nearly 800 years during which different Christian kingdoms made a series of conquests in the Iberian Peninsula. The peninsula had been dominated by Muslims since their arrival in 711 and their victory over the ruling Visigoth Kingdom. The Reconquest, which occurred before the existence of the Spanish nation, began in 718 and finally ended in 1492 with the expulsion of the Muslims from the peninsula. This process was reinterpreted by historiography throughout the centuries and converted into an enterprise of national character, through which the monarchy was legitimized and on which Spanish national identity was built (Álvarez Junco, 2011; Ríos Saloma, 2005).

During the interviews, students were asked to indicate the political situation relative to four different moments of the Reconquest on four different mute maps. They were then asked about such topics as:

- a. The inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula at that time,
- b. The causes and motivations of the conquests,
- c. The legitimacy of the conquests and
- d. The possession of territory.

Towards the end of the interview, both participants who had used the term “Reconquista” spontaneously and those who had not were asked about the use of this term.

The results showed that 51.6% of the interviewees constructed a narrative based on a nationalist notion of the concept of the Spanish nation, while 22.6% created a narrative closer to the disciplinary concept of the nation. The remaining 25.8% displayed an intermediate conception.

The large majority of the participants (80.6%) showed a general interpretation of the process based on the loss and subsequent recovery of the national territory. Similar percentages were found while analyzing conceptions of the existence of the Spanish nation and the Spanish people in this historical period. Most (70%) of the participants explicitly used the terms “Spain” and/or “Spanish” to describe the territory under dispute and the inhabitants of such a territory. We find these data particularly relevant because, although the creation of nations did not occur before the end of the XVIII century, most participants considered the Spanish nation and the Spanish people to be the protagonists of the Reconquest.

In addition, nearly half of the participants (45.2%) showed a spontaneous and explicit identification with the national group. These identity connections were reflected in the use of the first person plural to reference the national group.

In this manner, expressions such as “In 711, we were colonized by the Muslims” or “1492 was when we kicked them out of Granada” showed this romantic identity

connection with the national group, which was never used to make reference to the Muslims. Again, although the disciplinary sphere considers national identity to be a modern concept that emerged with the concept of nationalism in the XIX century, these participants identified with the main characters of the historical process based on an alleged common nationality already established from times as early as the VIII century.

Another important result of this study is related to the different ways in which the participants legitimized the conquests made during this period. More than half of the participants (63.3%) considered the conquests accomplished by their own national group to be more legitimate, while the remaining 26.7% considered the conquests made by Muslims and Christians to be equally legitimate. The majority of the participants used justifications such as the recovery of national territory or argued that the Spanish had more rights than the Muslims to occupy such territory “because they had lived there since the beginning.”

The identity connection with an essentialist character - in the sense that it applies a national characteristic to moments long before the very origin of the nation - contributes to the creation of an “us” in opposition to the “them” of the foreign group. This issue clearly constitutes an important element of analysis, along with the different methods of legitimizing the conquests of different groups. Related to the findings regarding the different approaches to history analyzed in this chapter, we can observe how these types of historical arguments adapt to the objectives of the romantic approach. The disciplinary approach would suppose a multi-causal analysis of the so-called “Reconquista,” an analysis of the viewpoints of the different groups participating in the process. However, the majority of participants showed an essentialist narrative scheme based on the recovery of an alleged national territory as the main explanatory argument.

3.4.2.2. An essentialist understanding of nation and independence of Argentina

Another study was carried out in Argentina (see Carretero & González, 2012, for details). The topic the participants were asked about was the Independence, which took place in 1816 but was preceded by an important political event in 1810, usually called “May Revolution”. It consisted of both a meeting and a demonstration against the

political domination of the Spanish Crown. In general terms, it could be compared to the Tea Party events in the United States.

Semi structured interviews were carried out with 80 Argentinean subjects, they were girls and boys in equal proportions. Twenty were 12 year olds in the 7th grade, 20 were 14 year olds in the 9th grade, 20 were 16 year olds in tenth grade and 20 were adults (average age: 35) that did not have any specific education in history. The students came from two public secondary schools from the urban area of La Plata, Argentina and came from middle class families.

The interview had two parts. In the first part we asked the subjects to provide a narrative about the Independence. The following questions were asked: When did this event take place? Who participated? How did it occur? Why did it occur?

In the second part of the interview, we asked specifically about the people who were present at the “May Revolution”:

- a. If they thought these people were Argentinean,
- b. If these people felt that they were Argentinean at that specific moment, and
- c. If they were just as Argentinean as current Argentineans.

With these three questions, we sought to investigate the ideas the subjects had about the process of “becoming Argentinean”. In a strict sense, they were not yet Argentineans as the country of Argentina did not exist yet. The first constitution of the Argentinean state was not sanctioned until 1853. Between 1816 and 1853 several civil wars took place motivated by different forms of organization proposed by different groups of power. It is also important to mention that the Independence was declared by 1816 under the name of the “United Provinces of the South”, which was a territory quite different compared to the present Argentina.

The first question was asked to probe the ideas about the origin and process of creating nationality and national identity. The second question looked to investigate the affective aspects of nationality: to feel Argentine. With this question, the subjects were

asked to explain their beliefs about the existence of a feeling of being Argentine among the people of 1810 and 1816. With the third question they were asked to compare their own 'Argentineness' with that of the inhabitants of the Spanish colony in 1810 and 1816.

Answers to the first question were categorized into two groups:

Affirmative. These subjects considered that the people depicted in the images were Argentines. Therefore they believe that a nationality - in this case the Argentine - existed before the constitution of a Nation State, in this case in 1810 and 1816.

Negative. These subjects considered that the people depicted in the images were not Argentine.

The following results were obtained. At age 12, students gave 65% affirmative answers and 35% negative answers. At age 14, the answer distribution was 70% and 30%; at age 16, 65% and 35; and finally 50% of the adults answered affirmatively and 50% negatively.

The results indicate that the majority of subjects in our study (62%), independent of their age, affirm that the people that inhabited the territory in 1810 and 1816 were Argentine. The adult group was the only group that was different, indicating the same proportion of positive and negative answers. Nevertheless, the difference in the adult group was not statistically significant.

The narrative elements that appear when the subjects have to justify the "Argentineness" of the people are strongly essentialist. Among them, we can consider the following:

a. The metaphor of "blood and spirit". Nationality seems to be characterized as something natural and intrinsic, something *a priori* and without regard to the history of the subjects. As 16 year old Santiago explains:

No, they were not officially Argentine, but, they really were in their spirit because what they wanted was their territory being independent and what they did was to fight for what belonged to them, and anyone who would fight for their territory and for their country deserves to be Argentine... [Some people argued that they were not Argentine because they were from the Spanish territory and Argentina did not exist yet... What do you think?]. Even though Argentina did not exist at that moment, I think that they were Argentine because from the beginning, they rebelled against the established power... and they confronted it to become independent and to be Argentine; and they wanted to become Argentine... and if they wanted to be Argentine more than to be Spanish... they were Argentine in their blood.

b. The territory as a repository of “Argentineness”: the territory is understood as always having been Argentine and transforming people into Argentines, as can be seen in the narrative of 12 year old Nehuén:

If they were born here, it was because they were Argentine, they were born in Argentine territory, not in Spain... it was here, it was owned by the Spanish, but it was an Argentine place.

Or 14 year old Luciana:

No, I think they were Argentine because even though they were born when the Spanish came to take over, if they were born here, in this place, they were Argentine.

c. Nationality is previous to the formation of a nation; nation and nationality are confused and they mean the same thing.

This is the case for 12 year old Jessica who said about the people:

In order to become free from Spain, they had to be Argentine because if not...” [If not?] “Well, how are they going to gain freedom from their own country?”

It is also demonstrated by an adult, Lali:

[Were they Argentine?] *"Yes, from the moment they began to fight for their freedom, yes... "*

Another interesting argumentation given by the interviewees is based on the patriotic feelings that the people in the images had. The question of feelings of national identity also appeared in subjects' narratives as justifying the right of the colonists to become independent. In this sense, our subjects repeat the essentialist ahistorical line of argumentation that is also present in the teaching of national history (Chiaramonte, 1991).

Fourteen year old Constanza responds to our counterarguments in the following way:

[And, some people say that they were not Argentine because the territory was Spanish and Argentina did not exist yet. What do you think?] *Even though it was a Spanish territory, it does not have anything to do with the feelings that someone has. Even though I am living in Spain, it does not have anything to do with whether I feel Argentine and I want to fight for my country.*

Lastly, we have selected the parts of the interviews where the subjects believe that the people depicted are not Argentine and others that show the conflictive character of this essentialist view of nationality.

Among the negative responses, which we consider as disciplinary, is that of 16-year-old Matías, who explains:

They were not Argentine. Some, a large majority, had Spanish parents...they were not yet Argentine...they were...territory of...the territory was called the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, they were from there, born in the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata."

[That was Spanish territory before...]. *Exactly.* [So, we cannot really say that they were Argentine...] *Argentine, no. In order to be Argentine they have to go through an entire process.*

We also found answers that allow us to see the conflict that implies to explain in historical terms the origins of the own nation. Although there are very few of these cases, they are very interesting. Take 12-year-old Juan:

[Can it be said that the people in this image are Argentine?] *No, most of them are Spanish (doubt) the majority were Argentine because the majority were people that...* (He doubts again and repeats with security) *At this moment they were not Argentine. In this moment they were not Argentine because obviously, it was not Argentina, how is it possible to be American if the United States did not exist yet? What was said was quite contradictory.* [So, what do you think? Were they or were they not Argentine?] *“They were not Argentine if Argentina did not exist. It was just a project at that moment.*

Juan is conscious of his own contradiction and he resolves it by taking focus away the formation of his own national identity. He uses the example of the formation of the United States and the formation of national identity in order to understand that one cannot come before the other and, in this way, he introduces the idea of historical process.

In the next case, the construction of identity is understood as a process in which the juxtaposition of different identifiable projects causes a kind of identity crisis in modern Argentine society:

They were not Argentine because...because the Republic was not yet formed but, but they were not Spanish either. They were in a process of formation. [So, you mean that they were not Spanish but they were not Argentine either...] *And they were looking for their identity and we are still looking for it (...).* (Manuel, adult):

3.4.2.3. Natives and nationals. Difficulties understanding historical changes of the own nation

Another particular event we studied in Argentina is the so called "Desert Campaign". This was a national crusade that began 1878 with the primary objective of extending the territory of the nation and finally exterminating the indigenous people who were already living in those areas for centuries.

By the late nineteenth century, the Argentine territory was significantly smaller than the current territory. Among other places it did not include much of what is now Patagonia. The land was inhabited and dominated by indigenous populations. In those days there used to be frequent conflicts over disputed border territory. The Argentine government applied different policies trying to gain territory, and finally conducted a fierce campaign to achieve its goals of conquest.

The investigation considered whether the conceptions of students of the nation and national character were of essentialist nature or disciplinary, according to our previous distinctions.

Twenty students attending the Common Basic Cycle of the University of Buenos Aires were interviewed. They were between 18 and 20 years old with a mean age of 18 years and 8 months. We asked them what they knew about the Desert Campaign. More specifically, what the main goal of the campaign was, what individual and collective subjects were involved, who had the right over the territory and why. Also it was asked whether the conquered territory was or was not part of Argentina and whether or not they were native Argentines and finally they were asked for their overall assessment of the historical event.

We found that 65% of interviewees display an essentialist conception, that is, one that conceives the territory as essentially Argentinean, independently from its historical construction.

Thirty five per cent of participants maintained a disciplinary conception about the territorial construction of the nation itself. This means that they claimed throughout the interview that the territory of the nation was a historical construction, over time, and that Argentinean national territory changed considerably from the Desert Campaign onwards.

Daniela (19 years old), for example, asserts that the territory was Argentina long before the Desert Campaign, and therefore this territory's indigenous inhabitants were Argentinean too. She shows a clearly essentialist conception of the national territory,

affirming a clear historicity with regard to the construction of the nation (Carretero & Kriger, 2011).

[Did the Argentinean State have a right over the territory it conquered?] *Yes, as a State, that is, as an institution, the State itself should have a right over the territory where we live.* [The territory that was conquered in the Desert Campaign, was it Argentinean before the Campaign?] (She thinks) *Yes. Yes, yes. It was Argentinean territory.* [So the territory was already Argentinean. And the Indians, who were born in that territory, were they Argentinean?] *Yes, obviously.*

It is interesting to highlight the time gap in Daniela's account, with reference to identity. When she refers to the conquered territory, she unites two times: the past, suggesting that the State "should have a right"; and the present ("we live"), referring to where she lives today. In this statement, Daniela clearly includes herself as a subject, and this is why she needs to refer to the present when she speaks of the past event. We may infer that the romantic objective is speaking through Daniela's words, and this is how past and present are united in an identity key.

An example of the disciplinary conception is demonstrated by Lautaro (19 years old):

[What do you remember about the Desert Campaign?] *What I know is the basics, the government of President Roca... the three governments and the liberal policies of the guys and the mentality of progress and civilization, all imported from Europe and the vision of the native people... or whatever, and that they mobilized to try to eliminate all... all types of Indian life or whatever, to get new land, right? Expanding that, basically (...).* [Was the territory conquered in the Desert Campaign part of Argentina?] *I guess part of what is now Argentina and what was just forming with [the campaign], right? To end the shaping of the country, they ended up removing everything that was not supposed to be part of the country.* [The indigenous groups living in that territory, were they Argentineans?] *No, they were not Argentineans. They were not recognized as Argentineans by themselves or by others... Only now they can be seen as Argentineans but then ... after it transcended that time, the Desert Campaign. And now that they also understand themselves belonging to what was organized from then onwards.* [What do

you think? At that time, they were or not Argentines?] *No, at that time they were not. Definitely not. [Why?] Because neither they considered themselves as such, nor others considered them as such. That is, the mentality of the moment would not have been considered as such because it was something completely alien to what was to be Argentinean. [The territory inhabited by them was or was not Argentina?] I do not know where you want to reach, but this ... No, it was not Argentina because Argentina had not been shaped yet. To my knowledge Argentina is a modern convention.*

Lautaro has a clear historiographical perspective regarding the Desert Campaign. His narrative shows an understanding of the nation and the national territory as a historical construction developed over time. We can infer from his claims that to be "Argentinean" is a quality that the natives do not have. In other words, Lautaro thinks the natives lack the necessary qualities to be considered Argentines.

3.4.3. Discussion

In the very same days we are writing this chapter, a number of dramatic social, economical and political problems are taking place in the world. The most important economic crisis after 1929 is producing devastating effects on numerous European countries in the short-term, but also forms a much more serious problem for the long term. Would it be possible to understand the EU crisis without considering the very concept of the EU? Is the EU a new concept of nation? Is the EU a nation of nations? What would that mean? What is the role of each particular nation in relation to the whole set of EU?

In the context of this chapter, we would like to emphasize two main issues related to these questions. First, it is important to take into account that fully understanding those, and similar problems, from social, economic and political points of view, implies a historical point of view. For this reason historical knowledge is necessary in our schools and societies. There is no way to understand the present without understanding the past. And there is no way to make sense of the possible future without establishing a meaningful relation with the present and the past (Carretero & Solcoff, 2012). In other words, historical understanding implies social and political comprehension, adding also a unique temporal dimension.

However, according to our studies it looks like the concept of nation is not understood in a proper historical manner. Students have a rather essentialist idea of the nation, closer to a romantic than to a disciplinary conception. The romantic conception has essentialist features, such as an eternal territory, legitimized in a tautological way. Present nations appear in the mind of citizens as immutable political objects whose historical origin is misunderstood, as if they existed “since always”, as some of the research participants would say. The stability of these conceptions appeared very clearly: no differences were found across different age groups of 12, 14, 16, 18 year olds and adults.

In the three studies, participants understood the territory as a natural entity belonging to the nation, which is, in turn, a predetermined entity. This essentialist conception of the territory also promotes an essentialist conception of the whole nation as the unit of unchanging and eternal destiny. The conception of the nation our participants showed is linked to the concept of territory, and that is why the essentialist character that is given to the territory might expand to the concept of nation in general.

We can consider the narratives as expressing the tension between the two types of objectives for teaching history we have outlined above. This is to say, between the enlightened and romantic. As it was mentioned, the first pretends the consolidation of a critical and academic conception of history, and the second relates to the construction of national identities.

There are two probable causes for this romantic understanding of the nation, even though much more research is needed. On one hand, it is important to take into account what Billig (1995) has considered “banal nationalism”, frequent in and out the school. In reaction to an intense process of globalization, in many societies nationalist ideas are even more supported than before. Certainly, any nationalist idea promotes and is even based on the romantic conception of the nation (Carretero, 2011). On the other hand the teaching of history in many schools around the world is still something that should be seriously improved; specifically, the excessive emphasis on national narratives and the romantic manner in which the nation is portrayed in those narratives. A number of significant contributors to history education have been trying to develop new proposals. Most of them are in the line of developing disciplinary historical thinking in the schools.

Peter Lee (2004) has pointed out how, on numerous occasions, learning to think historically (Levesque, 2008) entails navigating counterintuitive ideas. Historical thinking is even described as an "unnatural process" (Wineburg, 2001). This historical thinking is based on acquiring a set of skills that are characteristic of historical experts (Carretero & López, 2010b; Wineburg, 1991a; 1991b). Through these proposals, the complex and dynamic nature of concepts such as nation and national identities are acknowledged. Thus, students are given the opportunity to address these issues in a deep, critical way.

STUDY 5

Telling a national narrative that is not your own. Does it facilitate disciplinary historical understanding?

César López, Mario Carretero and María Rodríguez-Moneo⁹

Abstract

National narratives and national identity are two key elements in the process of teaching and learning history. Our study comes from a theoretical distinction between romantic versus disciplinary understanding of those narratives (Carretero, 2011). The majority of studies examining the influences of national narratives and identities on students' understanding of history have used historical content of students' own nation. These studies reveal a romantic and naturalized understanding of the concepts of nation and national identity and a biased interpretation of events and actions related to their own national group. On the contrary this study analyzed the historical understanding of 34 university students concerning three features of historical narratives about a nation other than their own, expecting to find possible differences. These features were: national identity through the establishment of the historical subject, the moral judgment about the national group actions, and the legitimacy of the ownership of the territory. Our results indicated that participants had a disciplinary representation about the second and third mentioned features, whereas they had a romantic conception about the first one. Finally, some theoretical considerations about the process of learning and teaching history are presented.

⁹ Study submitted for publication

3.5.1. Introduction

Human beings interpret human actions in the form of narratives. As noted by Bruner (1990), people do not understand events as separate entities; instead, they frame events in larger narrative structures. The narrative form is an essential tool for teaching and learning history. Thus, knowledge of history is often addressed in the form of narratives. Von Borries (2009) described the narrative structure as an inevitable condition of history. Cognitive analyses of historical expertise also agree that historical research should produce good narratives (VanSledright, 2008; Voss & Wiley, 2006).

The most common narratives in the field of teaching history are national narratives (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Symcox & Wilschut, 2009). These narratives have several characteristic features (Carretero & Bermúdez, 2012). First, the nation and nationals are established as the main subject of the narrative. Thus, a narrative of a conflict between a national “we” against a foreign “they” is constructed. Second, these concepts of nation and national identity are displayed as timeless entities and applied to every period of history. Third, a conflict over a national territory and its atemporal link to the nationals is one of the narrative’s main themes. Finally, the actions of the national group are always judged morally positively in contrast to foreign actions. In other words, the past is presented in an ethnocentric manner (Dragonas & Frangoudaki, 2001; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). These school narratives reflect national narratives that are partly historical but also mythically developed within the historical discipline. National narratives essentially have two clear objectives. The first objective is legitimizing the creation of nation-states that emerged during the 19th century. As part of traditional 19th century historiography, history was reconstructed as a logical sequence of events that inevitably and naturally led to the creation of the nation-state (Connor, 2004; Wallerstein, 1991). The second objective of these narratives is the construction of a national identity that cognitively and emotionally links the citizens in the present to the actors in the national past. These two objectives have a fundamentally romantic character linked to the acquisition of emotional and affective elements. Cognitive objectives, which are linked to the skills that historians use when attempting to understand the past, are practically absent in these national narratives (Carretero, 2011).

Historiographical analyses of nation-states describe how these nation-states tend to forget and even invent parts of their histories (Hobsbawm, 1997; Renan, 1882/1990). Interestingly, this “omission and invention” is not only metaphoric or generic but is sometimes based on false documents (Escalona, 2004). In this way, it is possible to maintain the community and permanence of nations and national identity. This permanent character, even if invented, has the advantage of providing social cohesion to a certain national community. As indicated by Wallerstein (1991), “Pastness is a central element in the socialization of individuals, in the maintenance of group solidarity, in the establishment of or challenge to social legitimation” (p. 78). The current approaches in historiography that seek a distanced, complex, and objective understanding of history are undoubtedly a threat to these romantic and nationalistic objectives.

In the field of teaching, national narratives have established what Wertsch called schematic narrative templates (2002). These templates are socially shared master narratives that influence the specific narratives that students construct when they learn about their nation’s history both in and out of school in such locations as museums (Asensio & Pol, 2012; González de Oleaga, 2012).

Previous studies conducted with students have demonstrated the problem with excessive emphasis on national narratives for appropriate historical understanding. Alridge (2006) notes that “American history textbooks present discrete, heroic, one-dimensional, and neatly packaged master narratives that deny students a complex, realistic, and rich understanding of people and events in American history” (p. 662). In a study from the United States, Wertsch (1998) shows how most students in the study simply reproduced the official history without introducing irony or conflicting interpretations of the narratives. Other studies in different countries reveal that students normally use first-person plural pronouns, such as “we,” “our,” or “us”, to refer to national past events, linking their own national identities with protagonists from the past (Barton, 2001; Barton & Levstik, 1998; Carretero, 2011; López, Carretero & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012). The importance of identity links demonstrated by the students goes beyond the mere use of pronouns. Indeed, the national narratives that the students are exposed to not only show a clear difference between “us” and “them” but also attribute intentions and value judgments to different groups (Goldberg, Schwarz & Porat, 2011; Hammack, 2010).

In a study with students from Spain (López et al., 2012), it was found that a large majority of students positively judged and further legitimized the actions of their own national group to the detriment of those perceived as “the other”. These results in the field of history are consistent with the theory of social identity, which postulates that people who define themselves in terms of their membership in a specific group are motivated to evaluate their group positively (Tajfel, 1982). As it is well known, membership in a national group defines an individual’s identity such that she internalizes a set of behavioral patterns, norms, and group values with which she fully identifies. This process is associated with motivational and emotional elements and explains the positive judgments towards the actions of the own national group instead of toward the actions of another national group.

Accordingly, similar to its protagonists, history is nationalized. Historical events are simplified to fit the national narrative that is so familiar to students. The result is an understanding of history that is skewed favorably toward one’s national group and exclusive to the “other.” Thus, the students’ narratives reflect how aspects of identity are constructed both from within, emphasizing and legitimizing the elements of their own group, and to oppose the other, creating a clearly differentiated “them” and delegitimizing their actions (Triandafyllidou, 1998).

The main paradox is that this identity connection based on a supposed common nationality even includes past moments in which the nation did not exist. However, as reflected in that research, the feeling of a timeless national community remains notably present in students’ minds (López et al., 2012). This connection between the past and present creates an understanding of the nation and national identity as permanent, natural, and immutable phenomena.

National identity is undoubtedly one of the most important social identities for an individual (Smith, 1991). It is practically impossible to think of a person who lacks a national identity, which creates the impression that national identity is as natural as being men or women. The traditional romantic and nationalist history that resulted from the formation of nation-states in the 19th century attempted to show that in fact, these national identities are man’s natural essence and nations are as old as history itself (Alvarez Junco, 2011; Bagehot, 1873; Calhoun, 1997). The major events since the

beginning of history, including the rise and fall of kingdoms, empires, and civilizations, are interpreted in terms of a supposed permanent, natural, and immutable presence: nations and national identity (Cruz Prados, 2005).

However, in current historiography, both nations and national identities are interpreted as complex modern social constructs (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1983; 1997; Renan, 1882/1990). Additionally, in psychological terms, the learned character of national identity is emphasized. Individuals are not born with feelings about national identity or patriotism; instead, these feelings are learned. Moreover, these ideas and feelings are always acquired (Bar-Tal, 1993). Modern states, which emerged at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, created the nation and feeling of national identity in citizens, mainly by establishing a common and compulsory education, not vice versa (Cruz Prados, 2005). The famous statement of Giuseppe Mazzini, "We have created Italy, now we have to create Italians," clearly reflects this idea (Hobsbawm, 1983). Indeed, according to many current historians, most nations that are highly familiar to us today did not even exist as administrative units until one or two centuries ago (Billig, 1995; Connor, 2004; Wallerstein, 1991). Moreover, the nation and national identity are modern phenomena of the masses, not only of the elites (Connor, 2004). According to different classical meanings, after the political changes that emerged with the French and American Revolutions at the end of the 18th century, this national consciousness among citizens was built, invented (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983), or imagined (Anderson, 1983). With the emergence of modern states, it became necessary for the state to establish the nation and national identity. As Wallerstein notes (1991),

This is not really difficult to understand. The evidence is all around us. States in this system have problems of cohesion. Once recognized as sovereign, the states frequently find themselves subsequently threatened by both internal disintegration and external aggression. To the extent that "national" sentiment develops, these threats are lessened. The governments in power have an interest in promoting this sentiment. (p. 128).

As Connor indicates (2004), for most current nations, national consciousness was not present until the 19th and early 20th centuries. Previously, people identified more in

terms of a village, clan, district, region, or local ethnic identity (Weber, 1976). The disciplinary approach defended by modern historiography differs greatly from the romantic approach that understands national identity as something ancient, natural, and immutable. In modern historiography, these concepts are understood as modern and dynamic social phenomena with an instrumental character. As Benedict Anderson states (1983), these nations are “imagined communities” because “even the members of the smallest nation will never know the majority of their countrymen, will never see or hear or speak to them, but in the minds of each one lives the image of their communion” (p. 5). The fact that nations and national identity are not natural or essential concepts for humans does not mean that they are not real or important. On the contrary, it is because of these concepts that so many people in the past two centuries have killed and have been willing to die (Anderson, 1983). As Peter Sahlins states (1989), “National Identity is a socially constructed and continuous process of defining ‘friend’ and ‘enemy’” (pp.270-271).

To date, studies on the concepts of nation or national identity have revealed that students have an understanding that is closer to the traditional romantic view than to the disciplinary one (Carretero, Castorina & Levinas, in press; López et al., 2012). This romantic view leads to an understanding that is biased and lacks the complexity of historical events.

Nearly all of the previous studies have focused on content related to the history of the students’ own nation. To explore further the influence of identity elements and national narratives on the understanding of history, we think it is important to analyze how students interpret content that relates to a foreign country instead of their own countries. This content was not expected to establish an identity link. Additionally, because the content focuses on a foreign nation, the students have not been exposed to that nation’s national narrative. Thus, by comparing such a study with previous studies focused on one’s own nation, it is possible to more precisely identify the influence of identity elements and narratives on students’ understanding of historical events.

Understanding Others' National Histories

To analyze the ways in which students assign meaning to historical content related to a foreign nation, we analyze the narratives of Spanish students regarding a key theme in Greece's national history. The period analyzed refers to the so-called "Ottoman occupation of Greece" and the nation's subsequent independence. A conflict over national territory and wars of independence are central elements in the romantic national narratives of most countries (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Carretero & Kriger, 2011; VanSledright, 2008). The following excerpt from the Greek declaration of independence perfectly reflects the romantic view of this historical process:

We, descendants of the wise and noble people of Hellas, we who are the contemporaries of the enlightened and civilized nations of Europe (...) find it no longer possible to suffer without cowardice and self-contempt the cruel yoke of Ottoman power which has weighed upon us for more than four centuries (...). After this prolonged slavery, we have determined to take arms to avenge ourselves and our country against a frightful tyranny. The war which we are carrying on against the Turk is (...) aimed at the advantage of any single part of the Greek people; it is a national war, a holy war, a war the object of which is to reconquer the rights of individual liberty, of property and honor, rights which the civilized people of Europe, our neighbors, enjoy today (National Greek Assembly, January 27, 1822. Declaration of Greek Independence) (Lozano, 2004).

As shown in this excerpt, different core components appear in a romantic national narrative. First, the Greeks who proclaim independence are understood as the "descendants of the wise and noble people of Hellas," in a clear interpretation of the Greek identity as ancient and permanent. Second, the main dispute centers on "reconquering" a national territory that has been subjected to Ottoman rule for more than four centuries. Last, there is a clearly positive judgment towards the Greek cause with the use of terms such as "wise," "noble," and "freedom." However, the Ottoman contingent, which is the outgroup, is linked to terms such as "cruel," "terrible tyranny," and "slavery."

A clear reflection of this romantic national narrative was collected by Antoniou and Soysal (2005) in an analysis of textbooks used in Greece:

The Greeks maintained their customs and traditions [from ancient and Byzantine times] and created new ones. They organized their lives significantly differently from those who enslaved them [the Ottomans]. It is through this method that they differentiated themselves and maintained their national consciousness. (p.111)

The Greeks never believed that the Turkish conquest [of Greece] also ended the life of Hellenism. There is further proof that the Tourkokratia [Ottoman rule] coincides with the reshaping of Hellenism. During the darkness of slavery, with tremendous tenacity, the neo-Hellenic consciousness was united, and in 1821, the Greeks took the reactionaries in Europe by surprise [with their liberation struggle against Ottoman rule]. (p.115).

These extracts, which are from the end of the 1990s, clearly have the same ideas concerning the teleological character of the Greek nation and the clearly negative view of the Ottoman “other” that are present in such documents as the aforementioned one from the early 19th century.

3.5.2. Objectives

The main objective of this study was to analyze the narratives used by students to understand key historical events of a foreign nation. Throughout a detailed analysis, specifically three dimensions were considered. First, we were interested in analyzing the concept of national identity as the main subject of the narrative. Second, we had considered the participants’ moral judgments about the main actions of different groups. Finally, we examined participants’ ideas relating to the ownership of a foreign national territory.

Therefore, we aimed to analyze whether students’ narratives regarding a foreign nation had the romantic characteristics reflected in previous studies on their understanding of their own nation (López et al., 2012) or whether narratives about the history of another nation were less romantic and closer to a disciplinary view. As we

had noted before, students tend to understand their own nations through idealized and mythical narratives and not as contemporary historiographical explanations.

3.5.3. Method

Participants

The participants were 34 college students from the Faculty of Psychology from Madrid (Spain) who voluntarily participated without prior knowledge of the study's objectives. These participants had received little or no education in school about the content used. Abundant references to classical Greece are commonly found in Spanish textbooks, but content related to later periods, such as that analyzed in this article, is much more rare. However, it is important to note that in Spain, as in many countries in the European Union, history in primary and secondary education is a compulsory subject that students study for six to eight years, depending on their specialties and regions. Thus, the interviewees had received significant academic instruction in history. The age range of the participants was between 17 and 29 years old with a mean of 19.28 and a standard deviation of 3.11.

Materials

During the interview, participants were provided with three sheets of paper containing maps and information on the historical process analyzed (see Appendix 3). Each sheet referred to a different period of the process. The first period, specifically, the period of the Byzantine Empire, represents the situation prior to the Ottoman conquest (Varana, 2006). The second period represents the situation during Ottoman rule (Miller, 1913; Shepherd, 1923). The last period refers to Greece's independence and subsequent expansion (Whistler, 2010). Each sheet includes a small amount of descriptive text about the period and several political maps.

Procedure

Semi-structured individual interviews were performed. At the beginning of the interview, the materials with information regarding each of the three periods analyzed were provided. Questions were subsequently asked concerning each of the periods in

chronological order regarding such aspects as a) who were the inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula at that time, b) the territorial right of ownership, and c) the legitimacy of the actions carried out by the inhabitants. After the last period, the participants were asked about aspects related to the nature and antiquity of Greek national identity (See Appendix 4 for a written copy of one of interviews).

The answers were coded by a nominal system of categories, which allowed us to categorize the participant narratives with respect to their romantic or disciplinary character; the categories corresponded to the following dimensions: understanding others' national identity, moral judgment of actions, and territorial right of ownership.

To validate the categories, an interjudge analysis was performed for the analyzed dimensions. Two judges independently categorized answers from 20% of the total sample. The agreement index surpassed 85.7% in all of the cases. The discrepancies that were found were used to improve the definition of the categories.

In the next section, the results are shown for each of the analyzed dimensions.

3.5.4. Results

Understanding Others' National Identities

As noted above, national identity is a central element of national narratives. National identity enables the establishment of a continuous subject, the nation, in the romantic narrative and grants national identity a natural, timeless, and permanent character. However, most historians currently understand national identity as something socially constructed in modern times.

The national identity in the historical process analyzed in this study is not the students' Spanish identity but a different one: the Greek national identity. The narratives produced by the students allow us to analyze their ideas about foreign national identity and examine whether they establish a continuous subject in the narrative.

Romantic Conceptions. Most participants showed ideas similar to the romantic approach to Greek national identity. The following excerpts illustrate this conception.

[How long could the feeling of belonging to the Greek nation have been present?] *I think since always. We come back to the same thing; if we forget history... there has always been a feeling of saying I belong to Greece, to ancient Greece (...). And then came a moment in which you say, "From here on!" One or the other spreads the word; (...) they create that feeling until they say: "We have been invaded by the Romans, the Byzantines, the Ottomans; now is our moment." Now in the 19th and 20th centuries, (...) there is not the same thought that "we cannot do anything," and that is when they say, "Now is the time for us to rebel and become independent as Greeks" (María, 21 years old).*

Clearly, according to María, the Greek national identity has always been present. This identity is the protagonist subject in history and establishes the link between classical Greece and the present. In each analyzed historical period, namely, Byzantine, Ottoman, and Greece's independence, the historical subject of the Greeks is always present. The following excerpts from Carlos' and Ignacio's narratives reflect this same idea:

Man, certainly in the Ottoman Empire, there were many who still had the feeling of being Greek. I am sure that it endured since the fifth century until they managed to conquer it (...). Then, possibly yes, the feeling has been dragging on for centuries until the present (...). Certainly, they had to modify thousands of things, but I do think the feelings have continued over the centuries. (...) The feeling is still there. It has always passed from one generation to the other. (...) This feeling arises, you give it to the children, the children give it to their children, until they really achieve this. Yes, it is true that many centuries have passed, and the feeling could have been lost, but it has been recovered later because there was something. Because if not, what is Greece going to be called. What? What? Because if not, it would be called something else (...); that is, it could have been called otherwise, but it wasn't (Carlos, 21 years old).

[From what point in time do you think the people who inhabited the Balkan Peninsula had a Greek national identity? Do you think it is something from the third period?] *No, I*

think since always. (...) I think there have always been people with this type of thinking, but because of the fact that the Ottoman Empire was there and subjected them, it was more soothed and quiet. However, later, they took force and decided to rebel and become independent. In other words, they have always existed, but it was more controlled (Ignacio, 18 years old).

According to these participants, the feeling of Greek identity was passed from generation to generation. The connection between a remote past and the present is established based on this common identity that had been latent for centuries until independence was obtained.

This way of understanding national identity appears natural and inherent to human nature, as shown in the following excerpt from José's narrative:

(...) you always have a feeling of belonging to something before; it is inherent to everyone that we belong... such as we are descendants of the Spanish Reconquest, and, of course, the Moorish culture drowned us, and we have changed from that as well... but even if we have been invaded by them, we have always had the feeling of belonging to something earlier (...) since an unknown time when such a thing was born. The identity of a territory like this... well-defined, a well-defined territory, and you feel like you belong to it, I do not know when it was born, but I think that yes, that there was always something, and also the Greeks now will identify with the previous times, with classical Greece. Modern Greeks try to be descendants of that (José, 17 years old).

This continuous idea of a national identity applies to both the Greek and Spanish cases. However, it is interesting to note the identity link produced when discussing the Spanish Reconquest, when we observe the emergence of “us” against “them,” the “Moors” who were the invaders.

Disciplinary Conceptions. In contrast, some participants expressed ideas about Greek national identity as a recently constructed identity.

I think people felt identified with their... they had an identity according to the historical moment... for example, those in the Ottoman Empire that have been here (...) from the

14th to 19th [century]; during that time, at best, there were generations that identified with this. I do not think that since classical Greece there has been a feeling of classical Greece spreading from one generation to another. (...) I think that it is something that has emerged, in fact, all because of economic interests... in fact, the identity is not what people feel from classical Greece or themselves, that they feel Greek, but it has been imposed. Somehow, Greeks have made themselves see that they must feel Greek, like the Spanish feel Spanish and the French feel French. It is something that has been established (Alba, 18 years old).

Clearly, according to Alba, national identity is not a natural characteristic of human beings but is something that is imposed and established for different reasons. Additionally, the timeless continuity of the Greek national identity from a remote past is not accepted. We can see this same idea in the following excerpt from the interview with Juan:

[The idea that there has been a continuity, that the Greek identity has always been present, somehow descending from the so-called classical Greeks, do you agree with that?] I don't know, but if I have to give my opinion, it is something that emerges at the time, emerges with the currents of nationalism and that maybe did have certain traditions, but the Greek feeling, I do not think that it emerges before 1700 and after... (Juan, 18 years old).

In this case, the Greek national identity is interpreted as a relatively modern factor, and as the following example reveals, something totally different from periods in the distant past:

(...) in the end, they are not really Greeks... (...) I mean, they believe they are something that they are actually not... because obviously after more than 1000 years, they are not Greeks, as much as they endeavor to be. Maybe since the beginning, there were people who considered themselves Greek, but in reality (...) nationalist sentiment is more typical of the 19th century... also the 20th century, and I do not know whether in the 18th century because it takes time to arise. I do not think that it happened in earlier centuries, at least not with such force... (...). [Some historians state that the Greek national identity has been present in all periods since classical Greece; do you

agree with this or not?] Man, I do not think so, as I say, they are as Greeks as me... they are really not Greeks, thousands of years have passed since that time; there is no way for them to be Greeks (Alfredo, 18 years old).

These participants are aware of the historical time that has elapsed and the changes produced during the vast period of time analyzed. The Greek national identity is not something that emerges naturally; instead, it has a constructed and modern character. As we see in these excerpts, the participants deny the continuity of the historical Greek subject from classical Greece until the independence of the Greek nation in the 19th century. The existence of a timeless historical subject, the Greeks, is divided, and the different identities of the inhabitants in different historical periods are taken into account.

Table 9 shows the distribution of percentages for this dimension.

Table 9

Understanding Others' National Identities

	Frequency	Percentage
Disciplinary Conceptions	12	35.30%
Romantic Conceptions	22	64.70%
Total	34	100%

Moral Judgments of Actions Conducted by Different Groups

The national narratives tend to judge the actions of their own groups positively compared with other groups. The participants in this study, who were not Greek, did not have a national identity linked to any of the groups participating in the process analyzed. Moreover, the participants have not been exposed to a national version of the historical process investigated. Consider the type of judgments found.

Romantic Judgments. A portion of participants judged the Greeks' actions more positively than the Ottomans' actions. This judgment was based on a supposed timeless

permanence of the Greeks in the disputed territory. The following excerpts reflect this view:

[We are going to proceed now to the last period. Tell me what has occurred from the previous situation of Ottoman rule to the new situation]. *Well, here what has happened is an uprising of what we were calling pre-Greeks against the empire that has occupied their lands... and then the process of independence began.* [Do you think the people had the right to become independent?] *Yes, I think so because of what I was saying before. If the Ottoman Empire had no right, and the Byzantine Empire either... a moment comes when the people living there have to say, "Hey what's happening here?"* (Luis, 29 years old).

Luis judges Greek independence as legitimate, whereas the Ottoman Empire is "occupying" a territory over which it has no "right." In the following excerpt from the interview with Manuel, we again find this positive judgment concerning the Greeks' actions:

[Good, we are going to proceed to the third period. Tell me what has occurred from the previous situation to this new situation]. *The Greeks that lived in that territory got tired of it, so it is, of Ottoman rule and reclaimed what was rightfully... and here I would say it was legitimate, of course! Because they were who were there before... they had arrived earlier, began earlier; the typical thing from earlier is so important sometimes... here it is considered legitimate and clear; they try to become independent and go on trying* (Manuel, 18 years old).

Manuel's judgment is based on a view of the Greeks' previous existence in the territory that legitimates their search for independence from Ottoman rule. In this way, the Greeks' actions are judged more positively than those of the Ottomans, which we see again in the following excerpt:

[Does it appear to you that [the Ottomans] had the right to conduct these conquests or not?] *I do not think so, (...) it does not seem right to me. The following seems better to me... (...)* [Do you think [the Greeks] had the right to become independent?] *Yes, because they had been subjected to different empires for a long time, and why can't they*

decide? If they were the ones who lived there. [And who were those who had been subjected for so long?] Their ancestors... [But whose, what people?] The Greeks. [Okay, when had Greeks been in that territory since?] I don't know man... I'm thinking, homo sapiens in Greece (laughs), but that does not come out of any time... (Cristina, 18 years old).

Again, the actions of the Greeks are judged more positively than those of the Ottomans, and the legitimacy of the Greeks' actions is established based on the idea of the Greeks' timeless existence in the territory.

Disciplinary Judgments. Most participants in this category did not judge the Greeks' actions to be more legitimate than those of the Ottomans. These participants did not think that the Greeks possessed a historical reason that legitimated their actions. The following excerpts from interviews with Isabel and Elisa reflect this perspective:

[And these conquests from the Ottomans that you have been telling me about, from your point of view, does it seem to you that they had the right to perform these?] Man, the Byzantines did the same thing... one is just as bad as the other... the conquests from the Byzantines are like those of the Ottomans but nothing more... [Okay, in that sense, does it seem to you that [the Greeks] had the right to become independent, that those territories became part of Greece?] Rights?... in that view, the same right that they had and them and them... to conquer what is others as far as it goes (Isabel, 18 years old).

[Now that this territory belongs to the Ottoman Empire, in your opinion, do you think they had the right to carry out these conquests?] It is difficult... I have never considered it. I think so. If everyone has the starting point of making conquests, advancing and stopping the army and power of the previous empire, well, if everyone starts from the same base, it is also legitimate for those who conquered the peninsula. (...) [In your opinion, do you think [the Greeks] had the right to proclaim independence or not?] Well, I guess they did not agree with the rules in force during the Ottoman Empire, which were very strict and didn't allow the country or the empire to develop, and the Greeks fought for independence and better rule, which they have achieved and expanded... (Elisa, 18 years old).

As we observe in these excerpts, there was not greater legitimacy in the Greeks' actions compared to those of the Ottomans.

The following excerpt again reveals this lack of legitimizing the Greeks compared with the Ottomans.

In the 19th century, nationalist movements began to emerge throughout Europe, which wanted to somehow legitimate their ownership over the land... (...) I do not know how society would have been then; maybe the Greeks were discriminated against... but actually, they were about the same as the people they were rebelling against... 400 years have passed between when they rebelled and when they were conquered by the Ottoman Empire. Over 400 years, there is time for people to be integrated and form part of the same society. Of course, like the others, [the Greeks] did not have the right to rebel either, and they were actually rebelling against people exactly the same as they... because they formed part of the same culture. At the end of the day, I think they rebelled against them for their rights. However, after all, the people they rebelled against had the same right to be there as them. They are actually the same people; 400 years had passed; they are the same people as much as they want to say they are different in terms of religion and all that... they were not throwing the same people out that had conquered them... at the end of the day, they were the same descendants; they are the same people... (Alfredo, 18 years old).

In this case, the actions of both groups are judged equally. Additionally, the process is not interpreted as a struggle between two different groups, and the interpretation rejects a static and opposite conception of these identities. Alfredo understands these identities as changing and, with an awareness of the time that transpired, calls into question the permanence of the differentiation between Greeks and Ottomans for over 400 years. Thus, Alfredo does not judge the Greek group more positively because it is not even distinguishable from the other group.

Table 10 shows the distribution of percentages for this dimension.

Table 10

Moral Judgments of Actions Conducted by Different Groups

	Frequency	Percentage
Disciplinary conceptions	24	70.6%
Romantic conceptions	10	29.4%
Total	34	100%

Ownership of the Territory

National territory is a central element of both national identity and a nation. Dispute over territory and the legitimacy of possession generally comprise a foundation of national narratives. It is important to state that these disputes are also reasons for real disputes between nations and can even lead to war. The narratives of our participants allow us to analyze their conceptions of foreign national territory. The two types of conceptions found are discussed below.

Romantic Conceptions. A romantic conception of territory involves understanding it as a fixed, legitimate, and unquestionable property of the national group. The connection between the territory and national group is understood to be established since ancient times. The conversation with Angela reveals these conceptions:

[Since when do you think this territory belonged to the Greeks?] *Well, since the conquests began, since the people began to unite, and... since always, so to speak. It did not belong to anyone else before.* [In that sense, who do you think the territory of the peninsula legitimately belonged to in [the period of the Ottoman Empire]? Who do you think owned it?]. *It was actually the Greeks', so to speak. I mean, it was the Greeks who first inhabited it... who had roots there. Because they can establish your culture, they can take it away from you, but it is really still there in the background and will always come out. That's what I think, really.* [Then, what territory do you think legitimately belonged to them?] *In particular, the first area, the Peloponnesian area, the area here. The area where they have always been, the islands... which are the areas that always had Greek influence. The others have had Greek influence but not as much as these areas have had.* [How long do you think this territory belonged to Greece?] *Since they*

first established themselves there... and they had been there since always (Angela, 18 years old).

In this account, the territory has always been tied to the Greeks, and there is an unchanging, timeless connection. This idea recurs in the following excerpt from the interview with Irene:

[And the territory, do you think the independent territory legitimately belongs to Greece?] *Yes, right? If they have lived there all their lives and believe that it is their land... Yes, I think so. [When you say they have lived there their whole life...?] Well, see, all their life... they have been invaded and such, but I don't know. Greece is supposed to have had a territory since ancient times, and if it has always belonged somehow to Greek people who have settled there, they have not moved from there; well, yes, it is legitimate. [When you say they have been there since... since when, for example, before these periods?] Well, since ancient Greece, yes. They have been losing or gaining territory, but there has always been some kind of core that is maintained. Well, yes* (Irene, 18 years old).

In this perspective, the different peoples who have occupied the territory over time are regarded as invaders of a territory that belongs at all times to the Greek people.

[To whom do you think the territory belongs during this period [the Byzantine period]? *To the Byzantines, the Byzantine Empire, but... I think that the Greeks are there; the Greeks have been there the whole time. They are defined by this territory (...).* [And in the sense of the territory, do you think the territory that became independent legitimately belongs to Greece?] *Yes, but it's that... what I think is that it does belong to them because they are defined by the territory, if they are Greeks because they live in this territory, are located in this territory... because they are from there, they are from the Peloponnesian peninsula, only the Peloponnesian peninsula defines the Greeks, right?* (José, 17 years old).

Jose perfectly shows the connection between land and national identity. The Greeks are defined by the territory they occupy. The Greeks are - essentially - from there.

Disciplinary Conceptions. Most participants did not regard the territory as the Greek nation's unchangeable possession. On the contrary, according to these participants, territory has some dynamic characteristics regarding its possession. In the following conversation with Belen, we find these characteristics:

[Does it seem to you that it legitimately belongs to [the Byzantines] at that time?] *Well, at that time, they had won it, right? So to speak. However, I also don't think that a territory belongs to anyone concretely... (...) but it is not attached to anyone. (...) [In that sense, does it seem to you that the territory [in the period of the Ottoman Empire] legitimately belongs to the Ottomans or not?] No, as with the Byzantines, it is a matter of ambition to have more territories; we are going to conquer more territories, but I do not see that it has to belong to anyone as I said with the Byzantines... (...) but it does not belong permanently to anyone. The territory is there and is managed in the way that the empire that arrives there wants to manage it. (...) [In the period of Greek independence], does it seem to you that the territory legitimately belongs to the Greeks?] No, not to them either. [Why?] I don't know; what I see is that the territories... well, what I have said before, they are there, and an empire that wants to have more territories, well they are going to conquer them, but I don't think that because of this that it always owns this territory and that the territory has always belonged to it, because it is not so. It's supposed to be well-organized, and if they organize it and manage it well and enrich the area, it can be considered theirs, but it is not going to be like this forever (Belen, 17 years old).*

Thus, the territory is not a fixed possession of a nation or people. There is no established legitimacy of territorial ownership. In the following excerpt from Clara's narrative, this disciplinary representation occurs again:

[With regard to territory, does it seem to you that this territory that becomes part of the Greek nation is legitimately Greek?] *Man, if I think from the current point of view... because it is what we've always seen, that Greece is this way! Because it is so! So I say yes, it is legitimate because it is what they put on the map ... but thinking of the past, it is the same as before, maybe yes and maybe no... (...) [When you say that Greece is this way "because it is," to what are you referring?] Typically, when they show you a map ever since you were little, you see the same map... there are very few changes, then you*

think that this territory has always been like that and always has belonged to the same people. However, when you study, you see that this was not so, that things change, that before it belonged to some people, later to others, later to others... until now... (Clara, 17 years old).

In this example, we can clearly observe that Clara was aware of the differences between the present and past and knew that what appears so familiar in the present, such as the connection between a specific territory and a nation, does not apply equally to every historical moment.

Table 11 shows the distribution of percentages in this dimension.

Table 11

Ownership of the Territory

	Frequency	Percentage
Disciplinary conceptions	23	67.6%
Romantic conceptions	11	32.4%
Total	34	100%

To analyze the relationship between the three studied dimensions, a statistical analysis was performed using the software SPSS 18.0. There was a significant association between the dimensions *Moral judgments of actions* and *Ownership of territory* with $\chi^2 (1) = 14.65, p < .001$. This statistic demonstrates a relationship between these two dimensions. Specifically, 91.3% of the participants who showed a disciplinary understanding of the territory’s ownership also showed disciplinary judgments of actions, whereas 8.7% of the participants with a disciplinary understanding of the territory’s ownership reflected romantic judgments of actions. We found that for these two dimensions, the percentage of participants who displayed coherent conceptions, i.e., disciplinary or romantic for both dimensions (85.3%), was significantly higher than those who reflected split categorizations, with one disciplinary and one romantic dimension (14.7%). Thus, the hypothesis holds that these dimensions are related.

There were no significant relationships between the *Understanding others'* *national identity* dimension and any of the other two dimensions that were analyzed.

3.5.5. Discussion

Regarding to the three features of the narratives analyzed, the results show that the majority of the participants (64.7%) created a timeless historical subject based on a romantic conception of Greek national identity. However, with respect to moral judgments about the actions of different protagonist groups in the historical process, a majority of judgments were in agreement with the disciplinary view (70.6%). Additionally, in relation to disputes about territorial ownership, there was also a majority of disciplinary conceptions (61.8%).

National identity was mostly understood as a phenomenon that remains unchangeable through the broad time period analyzed (approximately 14 centuries). Thus, the majority of Spanish students thought that the feeling of Greek national identity has always been present.

Although these participants have never been exposed to textbooks with a clear romantic view of the events analyzed, such as those indicated in the introduction, the students' ideas about Greek national identity are strikingly similar to those reflected in the Greek textbooks. In a cognitive analysis, this conception of national identity enables the participants to organize the historical narrative they construct around a constant protagonist. Thus, the historical narrative revolves around the historical subject of the Greeks. In this way, participants structure their narratives in a way similar to 19th-century historiography. That is, both the students and the historiography of that period regard history as a logical succession of events that naturally and teleologically lead to the constitution of a nation. Thus, according to this romantic view, the Greeks, whose origin is lost in ancient times, suffer from conquests of different empires that occur over time, but without ever losing their identity as a main group. The logical consequence and ultimate end of this story is the establishment of the Greek nation.

This romantic understanding of national identity differs greatly from and sometimes opposes the way in which current historians understand this phenomenon

(Anderson, 1983; Connor, 2004). The disciplinary view that regards national identity as a recently constructed and learned phenomenon, never prior to the 18th century, is notably rare among the participants. The majority of the participants does not understand national identities in this way and do not realize that our current understanding of national identity as a mass phenomenon is difficult to apply to periods prior to the 18th century. However, the participants believe that the inhabitants of so-called classical Greece and those of the Greece that became independent in the 19th century share the same national identity. This view is a simplification and an inadequate understanding of history because the organization of classical Greece into city-states was never related to the nation-states that emerged in the 19th century. This way of understanding national identity ultimately obliterates the complexity of changes in cultural, demographic and political terms produced in a territory over time.

However, the aspects analyzed in this study that are linked to emotional and affective elements, such as moral judgments and a group's ownership rights over a territory, reflect more disciplinary characteristics. Thus, the actions of the narratives' protagonist group are not judged more positively than those of other groups. Most students did not legitimize the Greeks' actions more than those of the Ottomans. Similarly, most students did not establish a permanent ownership link between the Greeks and the territory of the Balkan Peninsula. Most participants viewed the territory as a possession changing over time, not as the Greek nation's unquestionable possession. It is interesting to note the significant relationship between these two more emotional and affective dimensions using the χ^2 test. This relationship reveals consistency in the participants' narratives in these two dimensions, with 85.3% of the participants falling into the same categorization of either disciplinary or romantic in both dimensions. Interestingly, 61.8% of the participants elaborated a disciplinary narrative regarding both dimensions, whereas only 23.5% offered a romantic narrative for both dimensions.

The results of this study reveal important differences from previous studies on the conception of one's nation. Recently, a study was performed on Spanish college students' conceptions of their own nation (López et al., 2012a). The study, using a methodology similar to the one in this article, analyzed the same aspects related to nation and national identity by focusing on a key period traditionally called the Spanish

Reconquest. Both historical periods, the Spanish Reconquest and the one used in this study on the Ottoman occupation of Greece, were interpreted via romantic historiography in their respective nations as a loss and subsequent recovery of their national territories even though, in both cases, the nations did not exist in those periods. This type of narrative, which is centered on the recovery of national territory, is present in most countries (Carretero & Bermúdez, 2012; Carretero & Kriger, 2011). The results from the study on the Spanish Reconquest showed not only a predominant romantic understanding of national identity but also a romantic understanding of national territory and the actions performed by the national group. The study showed a clearly positive bias towards the actions of their own national group compared with those of other groups.

The fundamental differences between the understanding of one's own nation and a foreign nation are rooted in moral judgments and the national territory's legitimacy of ownership. The present study on the understanding of a foreign nation demonstrates that moral judgments regarding different protagonist groups are more egalitarian when one's own national group is not involved. Applied to the understanding of historical content, these results seem to support an idea indicated by several authors working from a psychological viewpoint. These authors noted that emotional implications and motivational characteristics, which influence judgments, values, and individual behavior, emerge from beliefs related to one's national identity. For example, experiencing emotions such as pride or shame is not unlike fulfilling or violating certain norms and values. When an individual is identified with a group, she will justify the actions of her reference group to avoid experiencing shame, and she will not feel obligated to do this when analyzing a foreign group (Bar Tal, 1993; Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Markus & Zajonc, 1985; Rodríguez-Moneo & Carretero, 2012). Also, very well known literature about thinking processes has showed that a "my side" bias will be affecting reasoning operations that human beings apply to tasks which are related to our identity issues. In general terms, we tend to consider logically true statements related to our views and we tend to consider logically false statements opposed to our theories (Kuhn, Weinstock & Flaton, 1994). This particular reasoning process has also been studied in relation to historical problem solving (Limon & Carretero, 2000).

A similar phenomenon occurs in conceptions of territory. Foreign territory that is not linked to one's own national identity is understood as a possession that changes over time and is not exclusively tied to any particular group. In contrast, conceptions of territory associated with one's own national group are predominantly romantic; that is, the territory is regarded as the nation's legitimate, natural, and permanent possession.

Another fundamental difference between previous studies on one's own nation and this study is that in this study, the participants did not establish an identity link with any group in the historical process analyzed. A conflict was not constructed between "we" and "they." As indicated by Tajfel and Turner (1979), the mere awareness of the presence of an outgroup is sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination that favors the ingroup. In this study, the lack of an identity link could justify both the absence of positive biases towards a certain group and the negative bias towards the opposing group.

Additionally, it is important to note that these participants were not exposed to a dominant Greek national narrative about the events analyzed in school. As discussed in the introduction, these national narratives are not only structured around the idea of the nation and citizens' timelessness but also show a biased, positive point of view regarding their actions. The studies on historical content related to one's nation (Aldridge, 2006; Barton, 2012; López et al., 2012) show that students reproduce these master narratives that make it difficult to critically understand the complexity of historical events. The results of the present study demonstrate that students build a romantic narrative regarding national identity, even when the content is related to another nation. In this case, we cannot assume that students are reproducing the official Greek narrative in the textbooks used in that country. Even though a plausible hypothesis would be to consider a possible generalization of their romantic understanding of their own national history (see López et al., for details). However, to organize their narratives, the students constructed a historical subject with characteristics similar to those of the Greek national narratives. In contrast, legitimization of the Greeks' actions and the delegitimization of the Ottomans' actions do not appear in most cases, nor does the idea of Greeks' immutable right over the territory.

This study clarifies and better identifies the influence of identity elements and national narratives on understanding historical content. These elements appear to fundamentally influence emotional and affective elements, such as the students' moral judgments. Most of the students' intellectual distance from the content regarding a foreign nation is more consistent with certain skills that characterize critical historical thinking (Carretero & López, 2010; Lee, 2004; Seixas, 2012). Some of these skills specifically relate to the ability to consider alternative versions of a historical process. The impartial moral judgment offered by most of the students enables them to accommodate different approaches to the same historical event without supporting one of the participating groups. Thus, for example, the majority of students considered each group's different demands over the disputed territory without highlighting a single link between the territory and a certain group. This distanced interpretation of historical events related to a foreign nation is also consistent with fundamental skills associated with historical thinking, such as *perspective taking* or *historical empathy* (Wineburg, 2001; Seixas, 2012). These skills refer to the ability to understand that that people in the past did not all share our way of looking at the world (Lee, 2004). Thus, most participants were able to depart from the modern idea of territories as naturally linked to current nations and their inhabitants. The legitimacy of this connection, which is presented as unquestionable in most current nation-states, was not applied to the foreign nation's territory in the historical process analyzed.

However, this perspective taking was not present in the students' understanding of national identity. Significantly, this study shows that the concept of national identity, which is central in the learning of history, retains a timeless, romantic, and naturalized quality for the students even when the concept concerns foreign identities. This understanding of national identity as natural and permanent throughout history prevents students from understanding these identities' complex, constructed, and changing nature, which is notably central for understanding both the past and current societies in which they live (Gottlieb & Wineburg, 2012).

STUDY 6

Studies in learning and teaching history: implications for the development of historical literacy

Mario Carretero and César López¹⁰

3.6.1. Cognitive studies in historical knowledge

In this article, we will present a general overview of recent studies on the learning and teaching of history from a cognitive perspective (Carretero & Voss, 1994; Lee, 2005; Leinhardt, Stainton & Virji, 1994; Levesque, 2008; Levstik & Barton, 2008; Seixas, 2004; Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000; Voss & Carretero, 2006).

The term “thinking historically” is owed to authors such as Holt (1990) and Pierre Vilar (1997) and since its inception has held the interest of authors who have questioned the way in which history practices its intellectual work. Similarly, this concept has been adopted by educators who are interested in teaching history and determining how to transfer the “epistemic features” of this discipline to education (Leinhardt & Ravi, 2008; Levesque, 2008).

As far as the cognitive characteristics of the various disciplinary domains are concerned, some often utilize mathematics, formal logic, or strictly controlled experimentation in their cognitive operations. In the cognitive literature, these domains are considered “well-structured domains”. These domains are largely characterized by problems that have easily identifiable constraints in their formulation, almost always yield a single solution, and have solutions that are generally accepted by the scientific community.

¹⁰ Study published in C. Lundholm, G. Peterson & I. Wisted (Eds.), *Conceptual change and intentional perspective* (pp. 167-187). Stockholm: Stockholm University Press.

It is well known that domains such as history or political and social sciences do not typically consider employing mathematics or formal logic (even if they make use of them in specific instances) or use strictly controlled experiments. In contrast to well-structured domains, reasoning and problem-solving in domains such as history are typically carried out verbally rather than mathematically. In these domains, the evidence used to reach a solution is presented as an argument, generally bound by interpretation. These problems have more than one possible solution and require the exact identification of the problem's restrictions (which are typically not found in the formulation). In most cases, there is not a consensus for a single solution. Regarding the type of knowledge that history experts acquire, as in all domains, there is much debate over differing types and relationships. Nevertheless, from cognitive psychology, a high degree of consensus has been reached in terms of separating knowledge into two broad types: conceptual knowledge and procedural knowledge (Wineburg, 1996).

VanSledright and Limón (2006) have presented a detailed analysis of the distinct types of knowledge present in learning and teaching history. In doing so, these authors distinguished between conceptual and procedural knowledge, and included two categories within the first: first and second order conceptual knowledge. For these authors, first order conceptual knowledge consists of conceptual and narrative knowledge that answers the “who”, “what”, “where”, “when”, and “how” of history. Examples of first order knowledge include concepts such as “names”, “dates”, “democracy”, “socialism”, “stories of nation building”, “change over time capitalism” and others.

Second order conceptual knowledge, for these authors, involves the knowledge of concepts and ideas that investigators impose onto the past in order to interpret it and thus give it meaning. This knowledge makes reference to metaconcepts, related to the epistemological conceptualizations of history. Hence, concepts such as “cause”, “progress”, “decadence”, “proof”, “primary and secondary sources”, “historical context”, “author perspective”, and “source reliability” constitute second order conceptual knowledge. Second order knowledge also acts as the intersection between first order conceptual knowledge and procedural knowledge.

Procedural knowledge refers to the comprehension and application of specific practices (e.g., reasoning or solving historic problems) that researchers activate when they investigate the past and construct interpretations that result in first order conceptual knowledge. Some examples of procedural knowledge are source evaluation, construction of cognitive maps and models, interpretation of an event within its historical context, argument elaboration, research, and document elaboration.

Studies on learning and teaching history have frequently been centered on evaluating each of the aforementioned types of knowledge separately, neglecting the importance of the relationship between them. A proper historical literacy must take into account both types of knowledge, trying to reflect, as far as possible, the knowledge of experts in the domain of history. But what are the cognitive features that define an expert in history?

In order to answer this question we suggest beginning with the study of Leinhardt, Stainton & Virji (1994) (see also, Leinhardt & Ravi, 2008), which based its methodology on interviews with seven history professionals and two non-university teachers. Based on the interview analysis, these authors state:

History is a process of constructing, reconstructing, and interpreting past events, ideas, and institutions from surviving or inferential evidence to understand and make meaningful who and what we are today. The process involves dialogues with alternative voices from the past itself, with recorders of the past, and with present interpreters. The process also involves constructing coherent, powerful narratives that describe and interpret the events, as well as skillful analyses of quantitative and qualitative information from a theoretical perspective. (Leinhardt, Stainton & Virji, 1994, p.88).

In light of this characterization, Voss & Wiley (2006) elaborated a list of ten cognitive activities that a history expert must possess. These activities are divided into three larger categories: evaluation of evidence in information gathering, analysis and construction of narrative, and reasoning and problem solving. The list is presented in Table 12.

Table 12

Fundamental Cognitive Activities of History Experts According to Voss and Wiley (2006).

Evaluation of Evidence in Information Gathering	Reasoning and Problem Solving	Analysis and Construction of Narrative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on original sources before others • Use of heuristics: corroboration, source and contextualization • Mental representations of events, subtext generation • Selection and definition of the object of study 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of “weak methods” (analogy, decomposition, generation and confirmation of hypothesis) and “compensating for the restrictions” of the problem • Use of counterfactual reasoning and distinction between cause and enabling antecedents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construct valid narrative about specific event • These narratives must possess quality in five areas: coherence, chronology, exhaustivity, contextualization and causation • Possess expository and narrative components • Must gather alternative narratives

3.6.2. Evaluation of historical evidence and reasoning in history

Some of the fundamental skills that students must acquire to achieve an adequate historical literacy - based on, as we have indicated, studies of experts - are those related to problem solving. That is to say, it is not only about students acquiring conceptual components that are later mechanically applied to an exam, rarely to be used again, unless on another test. Here, we are referring to skills that will permit students to solve significant problems in the field of history, and one of the most relevant skills is learning to evaluate historical evidence.

One fundamental aspect of problem solving consists of locating and considering the evidence. As Baron (1990) indicated: “The use of evidence, in light of goals, to strengthen or weaken possibilities, is inference. Inference relies on heuristics and other kinds of rules. Inference is only part of thinking, however, the rest is search.” (Baron, 1990, p.29)

Therefore, the way in which people search for, select, evaluate, and use evidence in problem solving is of decisive importance (Limón & Carretero, 2000). This importance is even greater in the case of history, in which, due to the ill-defined nature of the relevant problems, the possible answers are varied. The work of a historian can be analyzed as a context in which uncertain situations dominate, and in which the selection of evidence, its interpretation, and the capacity for evaluation play a predominant role in the process of historical reasoning (Carretero et al., 1994).

Therefore, skills such as learning to evaluate the credibility of a text, learning to frame the text in its own context, capturing its subtle nuances, understanding that the text cannot be disassociated from its author, and other related issues must be part of a history expert's repertoire. Note that in reality, the idea of considering these skills to be important assumes an understanding that history, as knowledge, implies a process of construction. That is, from an educational point of view, teaching should begin with the assumption that students consider the contents of history as the result of this process of intellectual construction and as something for which the conclusions are open to interpretation, rather than closed. In other words, emphasizing problem solving when teaching history is appropriate because history itself is presented as a dialectical relationship of questions and answers regarding the past and its relationship with the present.

On the other hand, evidence evaluation is critical because it determines whether the "proof" in favor of one position or another, given a particular historic problem, is adequate and whether it suggests one conclusion or another. The process of evidence evaluation in history begins with data, which are frequently incomplete and even contradictory, followed by attempts to reconstruct (after the fact) the goals and causes of these data.

It is evident that one of the necessary objectives that students must achieve in order to carry out an adequate evaluation of evidence is the appropriate use of specific heuristics. It is worthwhile to mention a study conducted by Wineburg (1991a), which analyzed the way in which people evaluate primary and secondary sources when they reflect on historical evidence. The work of this author is quite relevant; not only considering its basic facets, but also in the instructional applications it can have when

using historical documents in class. In a context of transforming the teaching of history, using documents in class would be beneficial. This is especially the case given that an important part of historic work is conducted with texts, based on proof or evidence for specific positions over others.

More concretely, Wineburg's (1991a) study (see also Wineburg, 1991b; 2001) analyzed the differences between one group of historians - history experts - and another group of high school students in their senior year. The fundamental differences found between the group of experts and the high school students relate to the greatest and best use of heuristics by the experts. The use of three heuristics would significantly improve evidence evaluation on the part of the high school seniors and are among the objectives that we must take into account when we refer to historical literacy. The first heuristic is *corroboration* or the act of comparing documents with one another. Wineburg formulated this heuristic as "Whenever possible, check important details against each other before accepting them as plausible or likely." (Wineburg, 1991a, p. 77). The second one is *sourcing*, defined as the act of looking first to the source of the document before reading the body of the text. The last heuristic is *contextualization*, defined as the act of situating a document in a concrete temporal and spatial context.

Likewise, one of the present authors has recently investigated the use of images in evidence evaluation. In several studies, we presented a historic image commonly seen in textbooks to subjects of different ages and asked for an explanation regarding the image. The image, which can be seen in Carretero & González (2006, p. 124), was an engraving of T. De Bry and was also the object of our investigation in a comparative study of textbooks (Carretero et al., 2002). Our results, obtained with adolescents and adults in three countries (Argentina, Chile and Spain), demonstrate that students move from considering the image, at age 12 and 14, in a "realistic" way (i.e., as almost a copy of the reality that supposedly occurred) to considering the image itself as a historiographic product that does not copy a past reality, but is a product of history and, therefore, requires interpretation and analysis from a theoretical and distanced perspective (Carretero & González, 2008, Carretero, 2010). This last conceptualization has only been found in some 16-year-old students and in adults.

After having compared students from different countries and having found the same developmental sequence, we have confirmed that the evolution of this heuristic of interpreting historic images is not dependent on cultural influences. Rather, it responds to evolutionary patterns, determined by cognitive development and, in large part, by the quality of learning in school. Note that in this changing pattern in the representation of historic images, the step from a concrete way of considering historical “objects” to a complex and abstract way is apparent.

Studies conducted by Limón and Carretero (1999, 2006) attempted to shed light on the reasoning processes that are produced in problems of a historical nature. More specifically, these authors analyzed (among other issues) selection processes, evidence evaluation, and hypothesis formulation. They examined university history professors as well as students taking their last course of undergraduate history study; that is to say, experts at different levels. These authors analyzed the process of solving a specific problem: the expulsion of the Moors from Christian Spain by the Hispanic Monarchy as decreed by Felipe III in 1609. The participants were asked to answer the question: Who benefited from the expulsion of the Moors in the Duchy of Gandia (a region of the present Spanish territory)? To do this, they were first given five documents that provided related information. After reading these documents, they were asked to choose between four options and justify their answers, explaining which documents were used. The second phase was conducted similarly with five new documents. Later, based on the answer given, they were provided with arguments that refuted the chosen option and then they were asked the initial question again. Finally, participants were interviewed by the researchers, who commented on the participants’ answers with an emphasis on the facts that refuted their hypotheses. The final stage of this phase consisted in analyzing whether, in light of this information, the participants partially or completely modified their hypothesis, counter-argued to defend their position, or arrived at a different conclusion.

Although there were seemingly no important differences between groups as far as the amount of evidence used and the frequency of use, there were differences in two other important areas: a chronological consideration in their answers and the contextualization of problem content. The more expert group, for the most part, was aware of the time that had passed since the expulsion of the Moors and of the

contextualization of the problem (they did not exclusively focus on the Duchy of Gandia to interpret the evidence and they also accepted the mentality of the time period). Therefore, we reason that both consideration of the temporal dimension and the historical contextualization of information constitute important skills involved in reasoning and solving problems of a historical nature.

Reasoning in the field of history has characteristics of “informal reasoning”, but also possesses domain-specific characteristics (Halldén, 2006). Causal reasoning in history, as indicated by Voss and Wiley (2006), faces at least two great difficulties: the impossibility of using a control group in experimentation and the presence of temporal antecedents. There are no control groups in history, historical events occur only once and there is no way to establish differences with a control group. To address this issue historians use a counterfactual reasoning to develop a hypothetical condition control. In addition, history is accumulative; that is, past actions and events influence current events. The historian is able to differentiate and take into account both the enabling antecedents - more remote in time - of the historical event as well as the direct causes of the event, while novices pay attention only to the latter (Voss and Wiley, 2006).

3.6.3. Analysis and construction of historical narratives

3.6.3.1. Narrative thought and its development

The construction of historical knowledge is intimately connected to the elaboration of narrative (see Carretero et al., 1994; Halldén, 1994). However, the influence of narrative extends beyond the field of history and the learning of history, constituting a basic instrument of human knowledge. Therefore, narration not only comprises a type of discourse and a specific textual configuration, but also a particularly human way of organizing thought (Carretero & Atorresi, 2008). Humans narratively interpret their own actions and behaviors and those of others. Therefore, there is a predisposition for organizing experience using plot structures (Bruner, 1990). As a result, narrative thought constitutes its own universal method of thought that provides characteristic ways of constructing reality. Other authors also come to the defense of this universal nature of narrative thought, such as Egan (1997), who maintains that “we are narrative creatures: we often give meaning to things in the form of narration”. Egan

(1997) posited a cultural development theory of mind in which language is the structure and narration is the central cognitive instrument; the individual mind is considered to accumulate and recapitulate society's stages of history. This author established five progressive stages of comprehension that possess interesting elements for determining how students of varying ages and levels of education can approach history as a discipline and how they can understand it in different ways.

Focusing on linguistic forms of comprehension, the first of these stages, for which oral language is the instrument and the central cultural component is myth, is labeled mythic. This stage extends from 2-3 years old, until initiating alphabetization occurs around 6-8 years old. Its central components consist of binary structures (good-bad, rich-poor) and fantasy, a category that mediates opposites: for example, ghosts as a mediating category between the dead and the living. Therefore, small children are capable of understanding a story or concept that is expressed in binary concepts. As such, they tend to understand historic knowledge in school as a "tale" of "good and bad", and the central aspects of "time" and "space" (as historiographic categories) cannot be understood except in a very basic sense.

Egan's second stage of comprehension, called the romantic stage, is related to the beginning of alphabetization and oriented toward the development of rationality, and takes place approximately between ages 9 and 12. The binary structures decrease to make space for a more complicated reality. This stage's characteristics are associated with knowledge of the limits of reality and identity. There persists, however, a desire to go beyond these limits, a desire embodied by the figure of the hero. This is a stage situated between *mythos* and *logos*, in which individuals and their emotions become relevant. These narrative abilities permit an understanding of historic knowledge closer to historiography. However, several limitations remain due to the tendency towards a heroic and romantic nature of this cosmivision, in which characters and individual figures have great importance in the causality of historic phenomena (see also our related study, Carretero, et. al., 1998).

The third stage, the philosophic, is fundamentally characterized by the search for relationships and can be reached by approximately age 12-15, after having accumulated the abilities from the two previous stages. It involves going beyond the romantic interest

in details to searching the theory, law, and general models. It is precisely this search for integrating and totalizing models that makes youth vulnerable to dogmatism and unconditionally defensive of various “absolute truths”. A risk that characterizes this stage is the rigidity of laws and concepts that sustain general models, such as ignorance of the flexibility and versatility of reality. Another characteristic of this stage is the transition from heroes to the appearance of complex understanding of social agents, thus passing from individual deeds to an abstract representation of social processes.

The last stage of narrative development consists of ironic comprehension, which is characteristic of adult life. It is necessary to clarify that although it is considered “last”, it is not a guaranteed stage of development. Rather, it is reached as long as there is adequate cultural appropriation. Ironic comprehension is characterized by a high level of reflection on one’s own thoughts and by sensitivity toward the limited nature of conceptual resources that can be employed to understand the world. Therefore, the irony consists in having a mind sufficiently open to recognize the insufficient flexibility of our minds. One of the main features of this stage consists of disregarding the concept of a totalizing “truth”, while at the same time developing the capacity to recognize the multifaceted nature of the social world.

Egan’s theory of understanding narrative highlights the influence of the first narrations over the later adult comprehension of the world. At the same time, this theory provides several guidelines regarding the goals that students must achieve when understanding history, principally through its narrative components. Therefore, as shown below, developing a vision that is critical, flexible, and distanced from dogmatism, typical of the ironic stage, and also the improvement of different restrictions from the mythic, romantic, and philosophic stages, constitute cognitive achievements that can establish the base of better historic literacy.

Elsewhere (Carretero, 2010; Carretero & Kriger, 2008), we have analyzed the narrative structure of Argentine students of different ages (between 6 and 16 years old) regarding central themes to their history learning (Independence and the “Discovery of America”). Findings demonstrate that their narratives can be explained, in general terms, according to the previously outlined position of Egan. At this time, we cannot

include examples from the interviews conducted, but they indicate that this author's position constitutes a research strategy that may prove quite promising in the future.

3.6.3.2. Narrative mediation in learning history

As several authors in the philosophy of history (such as Ricoer & White among others) and Barton & Levstik (2004) in our field have emphasized, narratives are a powerful cultural tool for understanding history, even though, as is well-known, the explicative and logical structure of historiographical nature also requires fairly complex deductive and inductive elements. Starting from this point and recognizing that the use of narrative in the teaching of history holds numerous benefits, we must not overlook that its use brings with it several possible problems that complicate the learning of history. Avoiding these problems should be one of the students' goals when we discuss achieving an adequate historical literacy.

As previously indicated, the use of narrative helps employ and manage the concept of causal relationships. Narratives are not a sequence of random events; rather, they are used in an attempt to shed light on how one event causes another and the factors that affect these relationships (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Nevertheless, narratives do not include all of the events related to a theme or all of the actors that participated in these events. Therefore, one of the objectives for students must be the understanding that, inevitably, narrations simplify history, tell some stories but not others, and mention some central characters while neglecting others who are lesser-known and more anonymous (occasionally entire social groups). Teaching that hopes to develop a historical literacy should invite students to avoid these biases and become aware that there are alternative histories, seen from other perspectives, that reclaim other protagonists and must also be taken into account.

Another fundamental objective that our students must achieve when working with narratives is the realization that they are tools for understanding history, but they are not history itself. That is to say, narratives are produced by concrete people who determine which actors take part in them, when and where the events begin, and when and where they end. It is easy to forget that they have been intentionally constructed and are essentially tools that mediate our knowledge of history, but that despite their abundant

use and familiarity, they are not history (Barton & Levstik, 2004; 2008). If students are not able to view narratives as a tool for learning, these narratives become viewed as history itself, resulting in the problems previously mentioned: the simplification of history and the exclusion of other histories and points of view.

Even though history does not require the exclusive use of a narrative format, this frequently occurs. It is primarily in the educational ambit where historical narratives acquire a greater importance, being often identified with the learning task (Halldén, 1994). There are two types of concrete narratives that appear quite often in the realm of education: individual narratives and national narratives (Barton & Levstik, 2004; VanSledright, 2008). Alridge (2006), starting from an exhaustive analysis of American textbooks, revealed that the narratives regarding the “great” men and the events that guided America toward an ideal of progress and civilization continue to be the prototypical way through which many historians and textbooks disseminate knowledge. This observation demonstrates the predominate presence of these types of narratives in the teaching of history. An analysis of its characteristics and its influence over the students’ abilities when learning history can provide clues about some of the skills that students need in this regard.

The individual narratives are those centered around the personal lives of relevant historic figures, in comparison with those in which the focus is on more abstract entities and events such as nations, economic systems, social change, civilizations, and impersonal concepts of this nature. Examples of these individual narratives are easily recalled from our own experiences in school: stories of Columbus, Julius César, and Napoleon are classic examples. Frequently, these figures are on the sidelines of other events and individuals that comprise the historical context, and the most controversial aspects of their lives are generally not shown (Alridge, 2006). However, in the informal ambit, these narratives begin to join other more anonymous narratives, above all those from novels and movies.

The use of this type of individual narrative is justified, in part, due to the fact that the more abstract accounts are identified as likely more difficult to understand and as motivating students to a lesser degree. As Barton and Levstik (2004) indicate, these individual narratives have the power to humanize history. Students may identify with

these characters and put themselves in their place in order to gain an idea of the feelings that guided them and even to imagine how they (the student) might have acted in those situations. Through these narratives, students also learn to value the role that one individual can play in a society and contemplate the possible impact of one individual.

Nevertheless, although these last narratives can be a highly motivating component and more easily understood by students, they also produce a series of characteristic biases that complicate the acquisition of a historic literacy. For example, when narratives are exclusively for individual and personal use, there is an absence of causal explanations of a structural nature based on social, political, or economic factors. At the same time, the impact produced by collective action is unknown. On numerous occasions, the incarnation of a historic event in a historic figure (who is then seen as the cause and the principal actor of the event) occurs, thus emphasizing individual causes (Carretero et al., 1994; Halldén, 1994; 1998; Rivière, Nuñez, Barquero & Fontela, 1998). The case of the “discovery of America” with Christopher Columbus or that of Abraham Lincoln and the process of emancipation are examples of this incarnation (Aldridge, 2006). Naturally, this simplification of history produces its own de-contextualization and, at the same time, neglects other individuals or social groups that participated in these events.

In any case, there are negative effects for the type of causal explanations that students employ when understanding history. When students face more abstract texts that are more difficult for them to understand, they attempt to use individual narratives as a tool for comprehension in order to give meaning to the narration. From there, they search for individual motives or reasons that will allow them to understand what occurred. As noted by Halldén (1986), in an analysis of the explanations given by students about certain historical events, these explanations focus on the actions and intentions of individuals. For these students, the object of study in history is persons or personified phenomena. To Halldén this personification of historical explanations can arise in various aspects:

One aspect of personalization is connected with the view that the course of history is directed by Great Men or Women. A second aspect concerns the personification of the state, political institutions and other organizations. A third has to do with the

tendency of students to transform structural explanations into the kind of explanation where the actions or needs of the people constitute the explanans (Halldén, 1998, p.131).

Therefore, a predominant use of these individual narratives can foster the emergence of these biases in historical explanations, while they develop a vision of history as a fragmented series of stories about celebrities. It seems evident that the predominant use of these narratives can complicate students' learning of a contextualized history, in which there is space for important aspects such as social, political, and economic factors and the role of different social groups. History should provide these students with knowledge of the complexities, contradictions, and nuances of that history, while this type of narrative presents simplistic and one-dimensional portraits (Alridge, 2006).

Another type of narrative that is often found in both the realm of education and that of daily life is the national narrative (Symcox & Wilschut, 2009). In the educational ambit of each country, the study of history typically does not center on random narratives from any part of the globe or necessarily from the geographical area in which the student lives (for example, Europe, Latin America, or Asia). However, there is one theme present in practically all countries when teaching history: narratives that make reference to "our country's history" (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Barton & McCully, 2005; Carretero, 2011).

This is not surprising if we take into account that the teaching of history that emerged at the end of the 19th century was conducted with marked identity purposes, connected to the nations' building, and therefore with the purpose of decisively contributing to reaching the aforementioned goals (Boyd, 1997; Carretero, 2011). This type of narrative substantially influences the way in which students understand and analyze information about the past (VanSledright, 2008). One of the principal difficulties that they face is that which pertains to considering another's point of view. One of the fundamental components of historic literacy must be exactly that: taking different versions of history into account, including other points of view, and making space for "unofficial" histories. Nevertheless, as Wertsch (1998) indicated in his study of stories from U.S. history, few subjects introduce irony into these stories or comments

that account for conflict between interpretations; the majority has appropriated the official version of history and reproduces it almost without nuance. Thus, one of the implications an elevated degree of appropriation of the official narrative might have is fostering an epistemological vision of history as something closed, unique and true (VanSledright, 2008).

This type of narrative, however, not only diminishes the importance of these “other histories”, but it also influences the type of causal explanations students give to specific historic events. Taking the term used by Wertsch (2001) these national narratives become a kind of *schematic narrative template* - more abstract and generic narratives that are socially shared - which influence is fundamental when building specific historical narratives. For example, in the case of the U.S., there are two present *schematic narrative templates* in the vast majority of national narratives, the concept of progress and that of liberty. Therefore, students use these *schematic narrative templates* to explain past events (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Consequently, the resistance of Native Americans facing waves of European colonists is seen as an obstacle in achieving progress and the Vietnam War is justified by the need to bring freedom to that country. We have also found similar results (Carretero & Bermúdez, 2012; Carretero & Kriger, 2001) in Argentine students. Students, due to excessive use of these national narratives, do not have access to the most controversial aspects of history, complicating the development of a more critical perspective that will allow them to consider the difficulties, dilemmas, and, in short, the reality of the democratic realities in which they live (Alridge, 2006; Grever & Stuurman, 2007).

STUDY 7

Thinking historically about national narratives

Mario Carretero, César López and María Rodríguez-Moneo¹¹

Abstract

National narratives are central within the discipline of history and its instruction. Traditionally, these narratives, mainly romantic in nature, depict the nation as a timeless protagonist of history, legitimising its actions and constructing ahistorical national myths. Studies of these national narratives indicate that students have a romantic understanding of the narratives. This study, conducted among 22 historians, analysed the way in which experts think about these national narratives. The results demonstrate a different type of understanding among experts from that of students. The national group disappears as a protagonist in history, the issue of moral judgments is not considered to be part of the work of the historian, and the national narrative itself is understood as an ideological and political construction rather than an historical construction. Finally, the implications for historical thinking itself and its applications in education are presented.

¹¹ Study in preparation

3.7.1. Introduction

History has traditionally been viewed as a subject that is relatively easy to teach and learn. Good history instruction was the equivalent of telling a good story that could be reproduced by a good learner (Barton & Levstik, 2004; VanSledright, 2008). However, research conducted over the past few decades has demonstrated that learning history is more than memorising facts from the past and has attempted to determine what it means to think historically (Lee, 2004; Seixas, 2004; Voss & Wiley, 2006; Wineburg, 1991); that is, what do history experts know and how do they attempt to understand the past? Studies have shown that historical thinking is far from simple and intuitive (Wineburg, 2001). While fruitful theoretical analyses have been conducted on the cognitive characteristics of historical expertise (Carretero, et al., 1994; Gottlieb & Wineburg, 2012; Lee, 2004; Levesque, 2008; Seixas, 2004; VanSledright & Limón, 2006; Voss & Wiley, 2006; Wineburg, 2011), empirical studies with history experts, i.e., historians with extensive experience in historical research, are rather scarce (Limón & Carretero, 1999, 2000; Wineburg, 1991a, 1998). This paper aims to contribute to the development of these empirical studies and focuses on the way that experts think about national narratives. Undoubtedly, national narratives have become - and remain - a key element of modern history as a discipline.

History as an academic discipline was born in the late 18th century, arising from the emergence of nation-states and the establishment of state-wide general education (Hobsbawm, 1997). Undoubtedly, history was, from its beginnings, a legitimising tool of new nation-states (Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). From this period originated what has been called the romantic approach to history (Carretero, 2011), which has greatly influenced the way history is produced and understood. Historiography and the history curricula of each nation were filled with characters, battles, and national historical events to establish the foundations of the present nation in the remote past, i.e., to nationalise history. It did not matter that these events occurred long before the rise of nations or that the protagonists had never heard of the current nation (Berger & Lorenz, 2010). The nation was presented as a natural and timeless element of history (Bagehot, 1873). As Ernest Renan said, "Oblivion, and even historical error, is essential in creating a nation" (Renan, 1882/1990). The pre-eminence of the national elements of romantic historiography was transmitted to the educational

environment. A key goal in teaching history was undoubtedly the construction of a national identity and national moral values for the new citizens (Carretero, 2011; Grever & Stuurman, 2008). History instruction sought to establish an identity link between the present and the past based on the nation.

This national link between the present and the past resulted in the development of a national narrative unique to each nation. These national narratives - often more mythical than historical - were the only true history around which teaching and learning revolved (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Symcox & Wilschut, 2009). The influence of this romantic approach to history extends to the present. Today, it is not difficult to recognise the strong link between history and the nation and the presence of identity and moralistic goals in the teaching of history (Foster & Crawford, 2006).

However, in the last decades of the 20th century, a modern disciplinary approach emerged that focused on defending the importance of the discipline of history and of historical knowledge itself and attempted to dissociate history from political usage (Symcox & Wilschut, 2009). Based on this approach, recent cognitive studies have attempted to analyse the nature of historical knowledge and the characteristics of historical thinking and their application in the teaching and learning of history (Carretero and Voss, 1994; Levesque, 2008; Seixas, 2004; Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000). These studies challenge the effect of the traditional romantic focus on the nature of history itself. Historical knowledge cannot be viewed as given knowledge that is embedded in a truly singular national narrative (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Thinking historically requires realising that knowledge of the past is not a matter of common sense. Indeed, most historians today agree upon the counter-intuitive nature of historical thinking (Lee, 2004; Wineburg, 2001). This unnatural and counter-intuitive nature of historical thinking requires an awareness of the rift between the past and present (Seixas, 2012). As noted by Carlo Ginzburg:

The historian's task is just the opposite of what most of us were taught to believe. He must destroy our false sense of proximity to people of the past because they come from societies very different from our own. The more we discover about these people's mental universes, the more we should be shocked by the cultural distance that separates us from them (as cited in Wineburg, 2001, p.10).

The break between this way of understanding history and the continualistic nature of the nation and national narratives under the traditional romantic approach is evident.

According to the modern disciplinary focus, thinking historically does not consist of memorising a series of dates, characters, or events of a national narrative. Historical knowledge is not just knowledge of a narrative. Several studies have emphasised the need to take into account the central concepts of history, such as nation, revolution, or democracy (Lee, 2005). Modern historiographical analyses of a concept as central to history as “the nation” represent a revolution in the way that history itself is made (Anderson, 1983; Connor, 2004; Hobsbawm, 1997). These studies demonstrate the modern and instrumental nature of the nation concept, placing its origin between the 18th and 19th centuries. Taking this into account, the romantic process of building history through nation-based narratives derived from ancient times seems impossible.

Under the modern disciplinary approach towards history, “the nation” is not the core concept. Other concepts, the so-called second-order concepts or meta-concepts (Lee, 2004; Limón, 2002), have taken on new relevance for historical thinking. These concepts make reference to the methods used by historians to investigate and describe historical processes and periods. Thinking historically presupposes thinking about the past as historians do. From the first studies conducted by experts of history (Voss, Greene, Post and Penner, 1983; Wineburg, 1991) to the present, we find a consensus on some of the meta-concepts that historians use to study the past: *source evaluation*, *identifying continuity and change*, *analysing cause and consequence*, *perspective-taking/historical empathy*, and *understanding ethical dimensions* (Lee, 2004; Levesque, 2008; Mandell, 2008; Seixas, 2012; Wineburg, 2001). These analyses have revealed the complexities of knowledge and historical thinking and therefore the complexities of teaching and learning history.

The relevance of these historical thinking skills to cognitive analyses is far from reflected in history classes. Indeed, national narratives continue to be the backbone of history instruction in the great majority of countries (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Van Der Leeuw-Roord, 2004). The modern disciplinary approach does not deny the importance of the narrative format in the learning and teaching of history. Understanding how historians comprehend, use and produce historical narratives has been emphasised as

part of historical thinking. However, the historian constructs narratives that must be based on evidence to provide a reasonable account of historical events (Voss & Wiley, 2006). Narratives that revolve around national elements to explain periods before the rise of nations themselves do not provide an adequate basis for understanding the past. Modern historiographical approaches have conceived of narratives as tools for understanding history, not as history itself (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Berger, Eriksonas & Mycock, 2008). Therefore, there is no single true narrative - as the romantic approach proposes - but multiple narratives that can be viewed as alternatives or that may compete with or even be opposed to one another (Carretero, Jacott & López-Manjón, 2002).

As noted here, the concepts of the nation and national narratives are key elements in the tension between romantic and disciplinary approaches to history. The different ways of understanding the national phenomenon involve different epistemological choices in how to understand history (López & Carretero, 2012). No doubt, this tension in academia is also reflected in the teaching and learning of history.

Until now, different theoretical works have highlighted the influence of the excessive emphasis on national narratives on the understanding of history by students (VanSledright, 2008). At the empirical level, research has demonstrated that students have a skewed understanding of the events related to their own nations that closely approximates the romantic approach (Barton, 2012; López, Carretero & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012a, López, Carretero & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012b).

Our work with Spanish students on the so-called "Spanish Reconquest" highlights this romantic understanding (López et al., 2012a). The Reconquest - a period in which the Spanish nation did not exist - began in 718 and ended in 1492 with the expulsion of Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula. This process was reinterpreted through romantic historiography and became a national theme based on the loss of Spain to the Muslims and its subsequent recovery; Spanish national identity has been built upon this theme (Ríos Saloma, 2005). In this sense, we can say that the very idea of the Reconquest is an "invented" concept if we apply the essential idea of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) that national traditions are invented solely to give legitimacy to the national past. Similarly, one could also say that "the Reconquest" is an "imagined" concept because it helps to

imagine the nation, as Anderson states (1983). However, the empirical facts of the 800 years of Muslim presence on the Iberian Peninsula and the fighting between Christians and Muslims during that time should instead be defined as successive conquests by different sides. Importantly, there was not a single struggle between Christians and Muslims, but over 800 years, alliances varied among certain Christian and Muslim factions, and there was even infighting among factions of the same religion. It is essential to observe that once the term of the so-called Reconquest has been introduced, only one narrative is possible. This narrative implicitly assumes several conditions. First, the territory of the Iberian Peninsula belonged almost entirely to a single political entity called Spain, and logically, that entity was inhabited by Spaniards. Second, the Spaniards, at least in some significant numbers, fled when invaded by the Muslims and hid in small northern territories of the Iberian Peninsula. Finally, these groups of Spaniards toiled legitimately for over 800 years to regain their lost territory. The major problem with this view of history based on the Reconquest is that these three assumptions - grounded in the existence of the Spanish nation - are strictly false, as can easily be observed in any publication of academic history.

However, participants in the study we conducted established a national identity linked with certain protagonists in the historical process, thus building a narrative of confrontation between "we, the Spaniards" and "them". The terms "Spaniards" and "Spain" were used by most students in their narratives even though this was an historical period in which the Spanish nation did not exist. This way of establishing a link between the present and the past in national terms reflects the tendency of students to understand the past from the national present, demonstrating a lack of historical perspective. It also shows a clear continualistic interpretation of the nation and the national identity as unchanging concepts throughout history. Another important result of the study concerns the development of moral judgments and the legitimatisation of the actions of various groups. Most students judged the actions of the supposed national group to be more legitimate than the actions of what was perceived to be the other group. Finally, the narratives of the students were very similar to the national romantic narrative, which interprets the historical process as a loss and subsequent "Reconquest" of Spain. Importantly, the very term "Reconquest", which was central to the narratives of almost all participants, is a term that did not appear until the 19th century - long after the period to which it refers - on the basis of romantic historiography. Therefore, this

study demonstrated that students understand these national narratives in a biased way that is very much in line with the identity objectives of romantic historiography. This approach to understanding national narratives is very different from the historical thinking proposed by the modern disciplinary approach.

If we want our students to think historically about this type of content that is so common in history classes, it is important to understand how they currently think about it. It seems equally relevant to understand how expert historians think about these national narratives. To date, no empirical studies have been analysed the way in which historians think about these key themes. The present study, focused on the same historical content of the so-called “Reconquest”, aims to shed light on how experts think historically about this subject and to uncover the differences in the ways that students and experts consider these themes. It is also our desire to contribute to the debate on historical knowledge itself by analysing expert thinking on the concept of the nation, which has traditionally been central to history.

3.7.2. Objectives

The primary objective of this study was to analyse the way in which history experts understand national narratives. Specifically, we were interested in analysing the historical thinking skills employed when considering these narratives and their beliefs about key concepts in these narratives, such as national identity and the nation.

Thus, we analysed four central dimensions of the Spanish national narrative of the Reconquest. The first dimension was the construction of the narrative’s protagonist. The second dimension was the role of moral judgments and the legitimatisation of the various groups involved in the narrative. The third dimension examined was the participants’ ideas about the very term “Reconquest”, which is the backbone of the traditional romantic narrative. Finally, to analyse the existing debates within historiography surrounding this term and the national phenomenon, the participants’ interpretations of a romantic excerpt written by a renowned historian were analysed.

3.7.3. Method

Participants

Twenty-two historians were recruited from different institutions in Madrid, Spain (see Table 13). All possessed at least a doctoral degree in history and had taught history at the college level. Therefore, they were all considered to be high-level experts dedicated to both research and publication.

Table 13

Backgrounds of the Participants

Institution	Specialisation (Historical Period)	Degree	Participants (Total= 22)
Autonomous University	Medieval	PhD	3
	Modern	PhD	4
	Contemporary	PhD	3
Complutense University	Medieval	PhD	4
	Contemporary	PhD	1
CSIC	Medieval	PhD	2
UDIMA University	Medieval	PhD	1
Carlos III University	Medieval	PhD	1
Rey Juan Carlos University	Modern	PhD	2
Alcalá University	Contemporary	PhD	1

Materials

During the interview, four unlabelled maps were used that depicted Southwest Europe and Northern Africa. Each map had a distinct header referring to a specific period during the Reconquest (see Appendix 1).

At the end of the interview, participants read an excerpt from a book entitled *La Reconquista. El concepto de España: unidad y diversidad*. [*The Reconquest. The concept of Spain: unity and diversity*] (Valdeón, 2006) (see Appendix 5). This passage was chosen as a historiographical text representative of the traditional romantic view of the Reconquest.

Procedure

A semi-structured individual interview about the so-called “Reconquest” was conducted. After receiving consent from the participants, the interview was recorded. At the beginning of the interview, participants were invited to expound briefly on the main ideas they had about the events that occurred on the Iberian Peninsula from the arrival of the Muslims (711 A.D.) until the conquest of Granada under the rule of the Catholic monarchs (1492 A.D.). Afterwards, the participants were asked to draw the political landscape on each of the four maps described in the materials section above. The maps were displayed in chronological order, with the date in the map header. After they completed each map, the participants were asked for their opinions regarding the following: a) the inhabitants present during each period on the Iberian Peninsula; b) the causes and motives for the conquests; and c) the legitimacy of the conquests. To extract participants’ ideas about the concept of the Reconquest, at the end of the interview, participants were asked explicitly about the term and its use to depict this historical process. Finally, to delve into discussions regarding this concept within the discipline itself, the participants were asked to read the excerpt written by the historian Julio Valdeón in his book “The Reconquest” (see Appendix 5) and express their opinion about it.

To avoid influencing the participants' answers, the terms "Reconquest" and "Spain" were only used by the interviewer at the end of the interview, except when participants spontaneously applied these terms.

The narratives of the participants were examined according to four dimensions derived from the interview questions: construction of the protagonist of the narrative, moral judgments about the actions of the protagonists, conceptions about the term "Reconquest", and the interpretation of a romantic excerpt about the Reconquest.

The participants' answers were coded according to a nominal system of categories, which allowed us to categorise the participants' narratives with respect to those dimensions. To validate the categories, an inter-rater reliability analysis was performed. Two judges independently categorised answers from 20% of the total sample. The agreement index surpassed 84% in all cases. The discrepancies found were used to improve the definitions of the categories.

3.7.4. Results

Constructing the protagonist of the narrative

A key element of the romantic interpretation of the so-called "Reconquest" is to establish the Spaniards as the only protagonists in the historical narrative. In this way, it is possible to establish continuity between the past and the present and to establish a link between the student's identity and the identities of the historical protagonists.

Regarding the construction of the protagonist of the historical narrative, it is interesting to analyse both what historians did and did not do. No historian established an identity link with any participant of the narrative. There was no use of the first person plural, such as "we" or "us", to refer to an identity relationship between the historian and the protagonists of the historical narrative. By not providing this identity link, the historians made a distinction between the present and the past, taking perspective on the differences between the two.

The participants established multiple subjects of the historical narrative that underwent changes as historical time advanced. Therefore, different groups of protagonists appeared in their narratives. As an example, in the following excerpt from the interview with H1, the different groups that inhabited the Iberian Peninsula at different times during the so-called “Reconquest” were listed:

[In reference to the first period analysed, 711 A.D.] *This is very easy to do because they are basically Visigoths (...).* [Around the year 722, what was the situation?] *In these Cantabrian mountain areas, there were towns in the valley considered "independent" that did not assimilate the Visigoth culture. They were not Christians either. (...) The few sources that we have called them Astures and Cantabrians (...); some are reminiscent of Celtic origin, other Basque ...* [and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula?] *The rest of the Iberian Peninsula is a conglomerate of Muslim elites, (...) of Syrian origin, mostly of Egyptian, North African, Berber origin... (...); this population is also dotted with Jewish communities.* [In reference to the third time period, 1212 A.D.] *Let's see, in the early 13th century, Seville is still Almohade, Cordoba, which is Almohade ... (...). Christians, peoples from León, Aragón, Catalonia and initially Almoravids first and then Almohades - they are pushing for what is an intermediate zone ... (...) the northern zone that would divide it from a Portugal that is expanding, (...) Galicia, has always been a particularly development, León, and in León I would separate Asturias, because the Asturian nobility is also very unique (...) Castile and León have never had to do anything. (...) Navarra... even with the French zone, I would also separate it, and then Catalonia and Valencia. And Balears. I mean, look, it is absolute political disintegration. In both the north and south (...).* (H1).

The above example indicates the complexity of the various groups that settled in the Iberian Peninsula during the 800-year process. Some groups, such as the Visigoths, disappeared over the centuries, while others, such as the Castilian, Leonese, or Aragonese groups, arose.

In addition, no historian used the category of “Spaniard” to refer to the inhabitants of the peninsula during the period analysed. This category would not be applicable to this period. The following excerpt from the interview with H1 exemplifies this idea:

[Do you think these people of the Christian kingdoms [in 1492 A.D.] had much to do with the inhabitants of these areas before the arrival of Muslim peoples or did not have much to do with them?] *I consider that they didn't have much to do. I believe this of the Spanish, the English, the Englishness and Spanishness of Spain, all this is nothing, absurdities that we invent ourselves looking back teleologically. (...) I believe that there are not essentialisms of historical continuity that are, shall we say, rooted in ideological genetic issues in any way, nor in cultural homelands. That is, we have interpreted - deriving from the nationalism of the 19th [century] - our history backwards. And then we talked about Spain and Portugal, if we even consider the Portuguese, (...). And, of course, this joy that is seen, for example, in the interpretation of Islam and Islamism is one of our major current problems, "Christianity and Islam have been at war all their lives". Well, this is an outrage, it seems to me as an historian, and atrocious.*

With respect to identifying change and continuity, these historians do not establish a continuous Spanish identity over the period analysed. Instead, they recognise the existence of multiple participating groups, which also changed over time. The historical subject of the narrative is not singular but multiple and changing. This complexity is a clear break between the national group of the present and the various groups of the historical past.

Moral Judgments about Actions of the protagonists

Certainly, traditional national narratives are a legitimising tool for a nation's actions. To this end, the national group's actions are always judged positively, while those of the "out group" are judged as illegitimate or unjust.

In romantic historiography, the "Spanish Reconquest" was a process of invasion of a national territory by the Muslims and a subsequent legitimate reconquest by the Spaniards. The Spanish are presented as the champions in defending Christianity against the infidels. Thus, the romantic narrative defends the unquestioned legitimacy of the actions of "the Spaniards", which are presented as morally positive.

However, virtually no historian established this greater legitimacy of the actions of one group over another. Surprisingly, the few cases of judgments in favour of a particular group were in favour of the Muslims, as we see below.

[Do you think they [the Muslims] had the right to conquer this territory or not?] *And in that respect, I always try to look for something while trying not to make value judgments. I do not know whether they had or hadn't the right to conquer. What happened is they conquered. And then I try not to say, well, unfortunately this happened, unfortunately that happened ... (...). [As we discussed earlier, do you believe that these conquests [of the Christian kingdoms] were legitimate, that they had the right to do them?] So, so as to not answer as before, I would say... to some extent it seems to me as unfair; although I hate to, I would say, what a pity that the Christians won! I'll justify it intellectually (...). While the status of Christian communities in the Muslim invasions was very perpetual and legally hardly affected (...), the deteriorating situation of the Muslim and Jewish minorities under the Christian invasion was rapid. And this in itself is partly an unjust thing I see (...). If I start to analyse it or if I had to write an article, I would not write this, but I do notice that affectively, emotionally, I am sympathetic with those who lost.*

Most of the judgments of legitimacy issued by the historians were contextualised judgments. That is, they considered both the historical moment as well as the group that built this legitimacy. There were no legitimating moral judgments in favour of a particular group. The following excerpts reflect these impartial judgements regarding the actions of different groups:

[Do you think that these Muslim peoples had the right to conquer?] *Within the parameters of that time, of course. Yes, yes, just as other peoples had done so at the time. They were within their parameters, we should not resort to present-day perspectives and attribute other motives. [With regard to the later Christian conquests]. In some accounts, we can find references that the territories were theirs, depending on whether they go back to one point or another, the Visigoth kingdom or other images that interest us .I suppose you will ask if they had the right to or did not have the right to ... The same answer as before. Yes, but not for reasons of country, or all those things. Neither for the reconquest, this is a concept that I do not like. (H8)*

[Do you think that Muslims had the right to make these conquests or not...?] *A conquest is a conquest. Someone forcibly imposes it on another. For the Arabs and the Chinese... it is evident. Here there is a kingdom, which is the Visigoth's, the Arabs invaded and end of story (...).* [And do you consider that the territory they conquered is legitimately Muslim?] *It is as legitimately Muslim, as any conquered territory is legitimate. (...)* [What do you think about conquering these Christian kingdoms? Do you think they were right to do this?] *I say the same as before, they conquered them, period.* [And would the territory be rightfully theirs?] *I refer to it as before. They won.* (H13).

The historians' narratives are focused on analysing the causes and consequences of the actions of different groups and avoid making moral judgments in favour of a particular group. The following example from the interview with H3 exemplifies this preference for analysing causes and the consequences instead issuing moral judgments.

[I ask you now about the legitimacy of the territories occupied by these different realms [of the Christians] that you drew...] *This question that you are asking me about legitimacy never occurred to me because I do not think I can answer it. Was it a legitimate conquest? Well for them yes, but this is not the interpretation that I can make. I do not think about it in terms of what was legitimate or not, because I believe that this isn't the type of analysis that I have to make. I have to make an historical analysis and a critical reflection about certain things knowing the details I know. But I could not get into whether it was legitimate or if they had the right to or whatever. Obviously they are very successful strategies for kingdoms, because Castile becomes a vast territory that will facilitate what will later be the expansion into America, which for Castile is a fantastic thing. Aragon for its part, has all the expansion into the Mediterranean, but is subsidiary to Castile. And Navarra is quickly subsumed into this Hispanic monarchy, which has its own absolutely brutal pillars of legitimacy. (...)* *But I do not get into whether it is legitimate or not - I do not issue that moral opinion.* (H3).

Sometimes this lack of issuing moral judgments is based on a feeling of inadequacy in judging the past from the present position, as evident in the following excerpts from interviews with H2 and H12:

[Do you think that these conquests were legitimate, that they had the right to do them?] *But I think ... there is a question. When we are talking about this kind of thing, conquests, especially in the Middle Ages, I think the word "rights" is not correct. Because does the United States have the right to enter Pakistan and kill Osama bin Laden? We're talking in the 21st century about these rights or non-rights... but at that time, I think we cannot speak of rights at all. Rights have nothing to do with it. But I think they didn't consider if they had rights or not, they wanted to win and advance and gain land. And in conquering more land, they became richer. They did not consider rights at all, and we, when we look at that time, I think it is anachronistic to use current ideas. All that our society understands as a series of reasonable things, at that time, was not considered.* (H2)

[Regarding these Muslim conquests, do you think they had the right to make these conquests or not?] *What happens is that we cannot establish criteria based on our current understanding of what the state is, the defence of the state, the defence of the nation, territorial rights, etc. ... either of the two great ideologies of that time, Christian and Muslim, is considered to have the right to expand its religious model. (...) It isn't something that can be justified on the basis of rights or non-rights as we interpret them (...). So it is not something that one can come to value.* (H12)

Thus, for some participants, the issue of moral judgments is beyond the historical discipline. For them, it is not about making contextualised judgments from a distance but rather about not making judgments at all. The following excerpts illustrate this idea:

[Do you think that the conquests of these Muslim peoples, did they have the right to do them or not? *I think that question cannot be answered. I mean, one can answer, but not as an historian. And moreover, even as ordinary citizens, I think it would be an unfair question. Shall we say that it makes no sense to consider that, they have no more right to conquer than the Visigoths had to keep it. (...) [And the territory they conquered, you think that is rightfully theirs?] The same, I could give an opinion but not a judgment as an historian (...). I plead amoral in that sense, because I do not think it makes sense. I mean, I think for an historian to answer that question in the affirmative or negative ... I would not know what to call that ... an impostor or certainly very outdated. They are concepts that are not handled today.* (H5)

[These advances, these Muslim conquests, do you think they had the right to make these conquests?] *This isn't an historical concept, to have rights or not have rights is not an historical concept. We can utilise it now to assess our current situation. That is, about conquests and invasions produced now or to moralise about past situations. But at the moment when this occurred, there was no such concept. (H7).*

For these historians, such assessments do not fall within the scope of history and even make history difficult to understand. However, as the following excerpt demonstrates, for the romantic nationalist approach, such an assessment is at the core.

[Do you think that Christians had the right to make these conquests? (...)] *Look, we are getting into beliefs. (...) One really justifies the Christian ideology and another, the Muslim. Once conquered, the justification is clear: Muslims have come here, so the Christians have it easy, "They have taken away our territory". But do you really think that Christians in the 12th or 13th century were Visigoths? Raised in this way, history arises only from a nationalistic point of view. And nationalism started in the 19th century and is the evil we suffer today worldwide and especially in Europe. (...) Nationalism is based on the distinction from others. It is taken as if the nation were a person. And from that point of view, it is how history is made today. So the state pays me, for me to do history according to the Spanish state. (...) And those committed to Catalonia and the Basque Country will make history by saying "We are the best" and will make history from the Basque or Catalan point of view. (H19).*

Table 14 shows the percentage distributions of the moral judgments of participants.

Table 14

Moral judgments of different groups

	Frequency	Percentage
Moral judgments in favor of a particular group	2	9.1%
Impartial judgments	11	50%
No moral judgments	9	40.9%

Thus, virtually all narratives produced by these historians are devoid of biased moral judgments. For some, the issue of moral judgments is even seen as external to the discipline. The participants made a clear distinction between how we judge the actions of various groups in the present and the past. For them, the ethical dimensions we use in the present to judge actions as "having the right to" or "legitimate and illegitimate" are modern concepts that do not apply equally to the past. Legitimacy was seen as something that each group constructs to justify its actions. Participants recognised that construction without morally judging it.

Conceptions about the Term “Reconquest”

Undoubtedly, the romantic focus on the Muslim conquests of the Iberian Peninsula at the beginning of 8th century and the subsequent conquest of the Christian kingdoms revolves around the term “Reconquest”. Regarding this term, 19th century historiography built a Spanish national narrative that has been dominant in both school and academic areas until recently. This narrative has been an unquestionable master narrative in the analysis of this historical period. Today, in the discipline of history, various research projects have arisen that challenge the appropriateness of the term (Rios Saloma, 2005). However, the debate and, without a doubt, the usage of the term are both still present today.

Towards the end of the interview, participants were asked explicitly about the term “Reconquest”. The vast majority of them rejected the appropriateness of using the term “Reconquest” in analysing the process.

There is a very recent book on the term Reconquest by Martin Rios, it is his thesis. What he did was try to understand a term that was so ubiquitous in the history of Spain in general and where it came from, and he delved into all the literary works he could find. And he found that it was something that was very recent. I do not remember if the first testimony was from the late 18th century or even the 19th. That is, before that, the concept of the reconquest didn't exist (...). What is important is that the notion of “the Reconquest” has been incorporated into books and historiography. Right now, non-Spanish scholars, European medievalist historians speak of the reconquest of Spain constantly and even periodise it, speaking of the Spanish Reconquest. But in fact, the term “reconquest” is a term that is tremendously loaded from an ideological point of view and forms part of a cocktail of traditional and fairly reactionary ideas regarding the historical identity of Spain. It is no coincidence that when this really exploded was during the crisis of ‘98. When the crisis of ‘98 occurred and intellectuals ground themselves down trying to understand the historical position of Spain and what Spain meant, if it exists or not, and if it exists, what it meant within a European and universal context, the reconquest was one of the key elements of this whole cocktail. And so, its beatification in the Franco era can still be felt in the textbooks that young people study now. (H7).

The term “Reconquest” is considered fundamentally an ideological element. As the following excerpts reveal, the term “Reconquest” is a very *a posteriori* interpretation of romantic historiography, supporting a romantic conception of the Spanish nation:

[In your opinion, what does the term “reconquest” mean?] *The Reconquest is a concept born out of two myths: First, in the 14th century, 15th century it is the myth of sacred Spain. (...) The sovereigns will use the idea of Spain as an element that legitimises their conquests, but we're talking about a very recent period. (...) In the 19th century the idea of a Spanish national identity is being developed and an identity that speaks of the Reconquest is being constructed: we have returned to conquer what was taken from us.*

And in this way, the idea of an eternal Spain becomes natural (...) the land is eternal, the country is the land, and those who live on it pass it on to future generations. The history of Spain therefore dates back to prehistory. It is not seen as an artificial construct - that is what the construction of the nation state in the 19th century is - but as something eternal. And all these myths are recovered. (...) As always in history, it is an idea that is reworked, revisited, and reinterpreted in nationalistic terms. But the idea of nation is much more modern. (H20).

[Do you think that the term “reconquest” would be an appropriate term to describe the process?] *No, it is not an appropriate term. What happens sometimes is that we have become accustomed to certain concepts that we have criticised deeply, we know that they do not correctly describe reality, we know that they are ideological and that they were created to justify something that is anachronistic... but they allow us to communicate. Then there is this thing that is so comical when historians talk among themselves and put in quotation marks. The “reconquest”, in quotes, to say that it isn't a true term but we do not have another way to refer to this complex process. And then it is accepted among historians, as when we say “Spain” in quotes, because if we are talking about Spain in the Middle Ages, Spain did not exist and so on... it's like assimilating a concept that we all know does not describe the reality. The reconquest would be one of those concepts that only the ultra-nationalist historiography, which really has no academic presence, would accept as true. (H22).*

Despite the inadequacy of the term Reconquest, many participants highlighted its usage, both within history itself as well as in education.

We keep talking about the reconquest uncritically. In some ways, this should be blown up. But we do not finish these things. Because they are, I think, conventions that are useful to us in some extent (...). I am aware that they weigh on us without any doubt. Then reconquest... well, the conquest then. The conquest of Christian peoples. There are stubborn people who insist on calling it this (...), who do not feel like making all the criticism that social history has made, and they say, the reconquest, the reconquest and let's talk about the reconquest. And of course all historiography outside of Spain speaks of the reconquest. “Reconquest”. The Reconquest is the Reconquest in Britain and in America and everywhere. It should be qualified. (H1).

[Well, I guess you've heard this term reconquest used regarding this period of time. What do you think about the use of that term, you agree that it was a reconquest?] (...) *It is clear that initially Pelayo and the first kingdoms were not reconquering anything. They were conquering new territory. Because those who began to conquer these territories hadn't had them before, had not possessed them previously. Because of this, the term reconquest would not be correct. Nor would it be in the future. What happens is that it is a term that has been coined in such a way, that when I explain this subject to my students, I tell them this term is incorrect. But there comes a time when certain terms are generalised to the point that it is the way to understand what we mean. (...) It is a term coined from the ideological point of view. (...) History should be de-ideologised, and then one can explain what seems reasonable or rational, not ideological or subjective. Then, it is clear that the term reconquest is an absolutely ideological term and, after explaining all of this, it is still used. (H2)*

Most understood the term “Reconquest” as an ideological term. That is, the romantic narrative that revolves around the “Reconquest” is not considered adequate from the point of view of historiography but is seen as an *a posteriori* reconstruction, mainly with ideological objectives. These goals essentially revolve around the legitimacy of the Spanish and Christian identity. The term “Reconquest” is described as a "cheat", "wrong", or "inappropriate", yet participants recognise it as a key term, both in academia and in schools.

Some participants, when asked about the appropriateness or inappropriateness of the term, limited themselves to confirm its existence but did not address its appropriateness from the point of view of historiography. However, some participants advocated the use of the term “Reconquest” as a proper term to explain the historical process, as in the following example:

It is an accepted term, I have not used it because... well, I do not agree that Reconquest is an ideological term, because there comes a time when it becomes a definition tool. When you don't have a lot of explaining to do, you refer to Reconquest and many aspects that have to do with the Christian advance against Islam come to mind. It is true that here a thesis has been done on the subject and several articles by the same author have shown that the Reconquest is invented as an ideological tool, as an nationalist

instrument ... but I think it is useful especially when talking to foreigners (...). [Do you think then that the term Reconquest is an appropriate term?] To explain certain things I think so. I don't believe that it should be dismissed. When you get in-depth, I haven't needed it (...), but if I were to write an article telling a foreigner all this, it would be much clearer because they understand very well what the Reconquest is. They have been taught in schools. They understand very well what it is. So there is no need to give precise details. The term Reconquest summarises a lot. That it is a modern invention ... well, what are we going to do, also the term "structure" is not used in history until the 19th or 20th century, or others such as "social class". You may say that is ideological, but history is always ideological. (H11).

Table 15 shows the percentage distribution of participants' opinions regarding the appropriateness of the term "Reconquest".

Table 15

Interpretation of the term "Reconquest"

	Frequency	Percentage
Inadequate	17	73.3%
No value	2	9.1%
Appropriate	3	13.6%
Total	22	100%

Interpreting a Romantic Excerpt about the "Reconquest"

At the end of the interview on the historical process under analysis, participants read an excerpt from the book entitled "The Reconquest. The Concept of Spain: Unity and Diversity" (Valdeón, 2006) (See Appendix 5). Certainly, the concept of the nation is central to the romantic narrative of the Reconquest. Defending the permanent and ancient character of Spain enables the romantic narrative of the Reconquest. This book was chosen as representative of the romantic vision and was written by a distinguished medievalist.

The vast majority of participants disagreed with the ideas in the passage.

[The idea that this paragraph addresses, I do not know if you agree...] *No, it is not that I disagree, it is not a matter of opinion, it is that it is wrong. Technically wrong, that is, when it says that the concept of Spain was always present, that requires a lot of nuance. He says "in the area where Christians took refuge", to start, it is not clear that the Christians took refuge. These were Christian areas that were not controlled, but the idea that all Christians went north, hunkered down and then went back for them, that is precisely the ideological construct given in later times, it did not happen that way. (...). "However the term Spain was always present."(...) This idea that Spain is a kind of monolith that has always been there is a tremendous mistake. It is a fundamentally geographical concept that has been reworked and reinterpreted constantly. When it is necessary, it is pulled out like the flag; when necessary, it is minimised and sometimes does not mean the same territory for one as for others. (...) And the rest of the text, again, it is a naive understanding of that ideology. (H7).*

For participants, the narrative based on the idea of a timeless Spain is not acceptable from the point of view of history, but the existence of these narratives whose aims may be more political than historical is recognised. These ideas are again reflected in the following passages:

Well, the term "Spain" was never used, one speaks of Hispania in a geographical sense. In a political sense, it is nonsense. That is, in the 16th or 17th century, one speaks of a nation being born, and the people of Castile felt Castilian, felt Andalusian, felt Galician, but by no means the term Spain. The term Hispania applies in a parochial or geographical sense (...), but by no means as a nation. (...) But it is this, and this is what we get paid for. In France it is even worse because they consider themselves French since the dawn of time. There is no doubt that afterwards it is about identifying or justifying dominion over a territory and society, but by no means does the concept of the state of Spain exist. (H19).

Spain did not exist. The nation state of Spain did not exist until the 19th century with the liberal bourgeois revolutions. This was something else, it was Hispania. It is true that with the construction of nation states, it is necessary to seek legitimacy in the past regarding your origins. These origins can be traced back ... to the Visigoth era and even to Roman times. (...). So what we have here is a search for Spain, myths of origin, the

kings... *But they are rather, from my point of view, 19th century legitimising political constructions. And I was surprised to read it from Julio Valdeón, who is a medievalist and who is pretty leftist...* (H4).

The type of romantic narrative defended in the excerpt from the book is considered a legitimising national and ideological narrative but not an historical narrative. The following excerpt from the interview with H5 exemplifies this perspective:

[What do you think of this excerpt, would you agree with it or not?] *I have two ways of seeing it. One, the simplest, is that in the end one ends up reacting more for ideological reasons than anything else. To me this sounds like Spanish nationalist historiography. Then there is a crucial issue of the controversy in recent years about Spanish nationalism and the national question in Spain. Then there is the issue of from what time is there a national consciousness in Spain. Obviously the national consciousness as the national sentiment justifies the existence of a Spanish nation state even in times in which there was no such thing. So reading it like this, out of context, it sounds to me that this author is defending the antiquity of this national sentiment. (...) My idea is that the national sentiment in Spain or the Spanish state, as we should strictly say, can only be detected in a very clear and undeniable way, from the war of independence [19th century]. This sounds like a perennialist conception about the history of the Spanish nation. That is, a concept that argues that the Spanish nation and national sentiment or both have existed since ancient times. I think modernist historians, and there are many, quote Álvarez Junco, but many more probably contest that claim. (...) I do know that there is an entire literature put forth in recent years, especially during the first two PP [Partido Popular] governments in first decades of the 21st century, an entire recovery of the national historical literature. Which, in turn, is also a literature that reacts against a modernist literature of Spanish nationalism. Anyway, there is a political context for all of this.*

Thus, most participants emphasised the incorrectness of the ideas in the excerpt from an historiographical point of view. It is interesting to note how the participants considered the excerpt as characteristic of a narrative with purposes distinct from historiographical ones. That is, the ideological and political objectives of this narrative

are highlighted. For the participants, these uses that are centred on the concept of nation and Spanish identity are an obstacle to an historical understanding of the historical process analysed.

Again, we found a participant exhibited neither agreement nor disagreement with the ideas sustained in the excerpt. However, some of the participants did express their agreement with the ideas presented in the passage.

[Would you agree with that excerpt?]Yes, and I would say more. Some kings did not completely abandon the term Hispanie. Alfonso VII, who called himself the Hispanie Imperator and demanded that the other kings on the peninsula pay him vassalage, was convinced that that country existed and that status belonged to him. (...) In addition, the peninsular church itself is still considered the church of Spain. (...) I mean, that the term Spain is not abandoned. There is a book by Maravall (...) that is about the concept of Spain in the Middle Ages, in which he delves into the texts and realises that it does not disappear at any time. Above all, why would Gaul not disappear if Spain itself disappears? (...) What we can say is that the sources confirm that in the Middle Ages, the concept of Spain had not disappeared. (...) What the texts say is what they say, and we may like or not, but it is what it is. (H11).

As we see, this participant defends the continuity of the concept of Spain and makes no reference to the differences that other participants mentioned between the geographical usage of Hispania and the more modern usage of Spain.

Table 16 shows the distribution of percentages of agreement with the presented excerpt.

Table 16

Interpretations of the Excerpt on the Reconquest

	Frequency	Percentage
Disagree	17	77.3%
Nither agree nor disagree	1	4.5%
Agree	4	18.2%
Total	22	100%

3.7.5. Discussion

The results of this study show how the vast majority of historians denationalised the historical narrative of the so-called “Reconquest”. Specifically, three elements characterised the narratives of the experts. First, participants denationalised the protagonist of the narrative. Second, participants avoided biased moral judgments of the actions of the different groups present in the narrative. Finally, most of the participants recognised the national narrative of the so-called “Reconquest” as an ideological and inadequate interpretation of the historical process.

The establishment of the historical subject is central in the construction of historical narratives. For the romantic nationalist approach, the nation and the nationals are the timeless subjects of the narrative. This permanent subject provides an identity link between present-day citizens and past national actors. However, historians of this study established an historical subject in a very different way. First, they did not attribute the national adjective “Spanish” to the protagonists or to the territory. Second, many historical subjects were recognised, and the identities of these subjects changed as historical time progressed. Thus, the Visigoths of the 8th century eventually disappeared over the centuries, while new protagonists emerged, such as the Asturian, Castilian, or Aragonese. Finally, the historians highlighted the differences between these various protagonists and denied essential continuity based on the nation. Moreover, none of the historians showed an identity link with the protagonists; they did not use the first person plural, such as “we” or “our”. This is, without a doubt, a complexity of the historical narrative, but it is also a denial of the ancient and permanent nature of the nation and national identity. Undoubtedly, historical thinking skills such as identifying change and

continuity and historical empathy were very much present in the way in which participants built different historical subjects.

Regarding the issue of moral judgments, we also found significant differences between the romantic national narrative and the interpretations of our participants. Romantic national narratives are full of positive moral judgments concerning the national group. The actions of the national group are often judged positively, to the detriment of other groups. However, virtually no historian issued these legitimising moral judgments regarding the actions of any participant. Only 9.1% legitimised the actions of one group over another, but they did so in favouring the group of Muslims, who from romantic nationalist historiography are regarded as the "other". Fifty per cent made impartial judgements when judging the actions of the various groups, without siding with any of them. The remaining 40.9% did not issue any type of moral evaluation. For this 40.9%, such assessments would not have been within the ability of the historian; such assessments are not seen as an historical problem. We can say, therefore, that 90.9% of participants did not legitimise the actions of any group over another and that no historian legitimised the actions of the supposed Spanish national group. Therefore, the objectives related to the transmission of national identity values, so central to romantic national narratives, are absent in the interpretations of the participants. It is interesting to note how the historians in the study highlighted the problem of judging past actions with current moral standards, which is precisely one of the characteristics of romantic national narratives.

Most participants (73.3%) highlighted the inadequacy of the term "Reconquest" in understanding the historical process and stressed the instrumental, ideological and political nature of the Reconquest as a romantic narrative. This involves considering national narratives as tools used to reinterpret the past, in this case, with legitimising ideological goals. However, from the perspective of traditional romantic history, these narratives are considered as history itself. They are singular narratives understood as objective truths. Therefore, for our participants, the romantic narrative of the "Reconquest" is an inadequate tool for understanding the past. Importantly, although only 13.6% of historians considered the term "Reconquest" as appropriate, the participants recognised the term "Reconquest" as widespread and frequently used. This contradiction between the inadequacy of the term from the point of view of

historiography and its common usage in disciplinary and educational contexts reflects the difficulty of contesting these strongly entrenched national narratives.

The historians in our study assessed this type of romantic narrative, such as the excerpt presented at the end of the interview (see Appendix 5), as wrong or incorrect from the point of view of history. In analysing the excerpt, the vast majority of participants (77.3%) disagreed with the romantic conception of the nation, which was presented as the backbone of the narrative. For most participants, the concept of the Spanish nation was not applicable when speaking of the historical process at hand as this concept did not arise until several centuries later. Participants explicitly highlighted political and legitimising present-day usages that this type of national narrative has. These analyses demonstrate that the critical link between the present and the past is also subject to analysis by historians. That is, the historians did not limit themselves to only analysing the negative implications of the romantic interpretation to understand the past but also analysed its political and legitimising implications regarding the present.

The implications of the judgments these experts made regarding these national narratives go beyond the content discussed in this study. As noted, the national narratives of many countries share certain characteristics with those analysed in this study (Carretero & Bermúdez, 2012; Carretero & López, 2010b; Barton & Levstik, 2004), such as the following: the presentation of the nation and nationals as timeless entities, positively biased judgments in favour of their own national group and reinterpretation of the past according to a national code. Considering that these national narratives have traditionally been a central tool in both producing and transmitting historical knowledge, we believe that the experts' critical mode of interpreting these narratives is revolutionary for the discipline.

However, the way in which the experts understand this national narrative about the "Reconquest" is in stark contrast to a study conducted with university students on the same subject (López et al., 2012a). Most of the study participants demonstrated interpretations that were very close to the romantic narrative of the "Reconquest." Of the participants in the study, 80.6% interpreted the historical period as a process of the loss and recovery of a pre-existing national territory, that is, as a reconquest. In addition, 70% of the students established the national group of the Spanish as a

continuous and permanent subject within the historical narrative. In addition, they established an identity link with this protagonist, using phrases such as, “*I think that the Arabs, when they came, what they were really doing was conquering us, getting our lands (...), so we began recovering those (...) and that's why it is a Reconquest. We were recovering them*” (López et al., 2012a). For most students (63.3%), the actions of the "Spanish" were legitimate, in contrast to the actions of the Muslims. This legitimacy was based on the prior existence of a Spanish territory, which was taken from its rightful owners by the Muslims. The narrative of the students, therefore, is a simplified interpretation based on a struggle between "we" the Spaniards and "they" the Muslims in a “Reconquest” process of Spanish territory. For most students, the concept of a nation is understood as something of a timeless nature. The entire romantic narrative of the “Reconquest” is built around this romantic conception of the nation by the students.

Considering the way that historians in this study interpreted this narrative about the “Reconquest”, we can understand the significant discrepancies between their interpretation and that of the students. The experts’ interpretation was not only more complex - as can happen in other areas of knowledge - but also revealed, on many occasions, an opposite way of thinking about these national narratives. While students continue to reflect an uncritical, biased, and romantic interpretation centred on national identity elements, experts denationalised the historical narrative, deploying a number of historical thinking skills such as perspective-taking or the identification of change and continuity.

The present study empirically shows how historians understand and give meaning to historical knowledge. Previous studies have contributed to the analysis of expert knowledge of history, focusing on the interpretation of historical texts (Wineburg, 1991; 1998) or solving problems with historical content (Limón & Carretero, 1999). This article sheds light on defining the characteristics of historical thinking with respect to a key element such as national narratives. However, further studies are necessary to embrace the complexity of expert historical thinking.

With regard to education, until now, a large number of studies have focused on the analysis of the historical knowledge of students, mainly centred on describing their prior knowledge (Barton, 2001; Lee, 2005; Lee, Dickinson & Ashby, 1998). This study,

based on an analysis of the historical knowledge of experts, helps establish the ultimate goals of adequate historical literacy. If we want our students to develop this method of historical thinking about national narratives, it seems necessary to produce an epistemological shift from a romantic to a disciplinary understanding (Carretero, 2011; Carretero, Asensio & Rodríguez-Moneo, 2012; Gottlieb & Wineburg, 2012). To do this, changing the way we understand substantial concepts, such as the nation or the national identity, seems central.

SECTION IV: GENERAL DISCUSSION

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Starting from the tension between the romantic and disciplinary approaches of history, the main objective of this dissertation was the analysis of the concepts of nation and national identity. As shown in studies 3, 4 and 5 students' understanding of nation and national identity is strongly influenced by romantic elements. Their narratives are closely tied to the nineteenth-century romantic narratives that granted the nation and national identity a timeless and natural character. This romantic understanding of historical events is stronger when it comes to content related to the own nation. Students' narratives about historical events relating to their nation are different in nature to those constructed by expert historians. Differences found are not just based on quantitative aspects regarding the complexity of the narrative. Historians' understanding of national narratives reveals some characteristics associated with the disciplinary approach that are qualitatively different from students' interpretations. In many cases, the narratives constructed by students and historians are not only different but opposite.

The results of this dissertation show a gap between historical knowledge in schools and academic settings that certainly seems relevant to consider if we want our students to acquire a proper historical literacy (Carretero & López, 2010). This difference between students and experts is reduced when students are negotiating with historical content regarding to a nation different than their own. In that case, the impossibility of linking national identity to the content seems to favor a distance taking similar to that of the experts.

The study conducted with Spanish students on the so-called "Reconquest" (Study 3), reveals how most of the students built a simplified national narrative centered on the loss and subsequent recovery of the national territory. The use of national features to make sense of a historical process in which the Spanish nation did not exist yet shows identification between past and present. Students apply concepts and characteristics from the present to explain the past. This identification between past and present in a national manner is also reflected in the way participants used pronouns such as "we" or

"our" to refer to people and events from the national past. Thus, a national main character is constructed; in this case "the Spaniards". In addition to this group identification, students attributed intentions and made moral judgments about the actions carried out by different groups. The actions of the own group were judged as more legitimate than the ones carried out by the "other". Therefore, most participants seem to have achieved the objectives proposed by the romantic approach of history. That is, they have built a timeless national group whose existence somehow legitimizes the possession of the territory and the actions undertaken to own it. Most students seem to be very clear about who legitimately owned the disputed territory and who had the right to take the necessary actions to control it. Thus, the disputed territory is not any territory, but a territory whose possession is somehow naturally given.

As shown in Study 4, these romantic interpretations of the national past are not just a Spanish phenomenon. The studies conducted in Argentina reveal strong similarities in the way students and even adults understand these national concepts. Thinking the nation and national identity as permanent and natural concepts seems to be a common interpretation in different nations. This is not to say that these conceptions are context independent. Every nation has its own peculiarities and its own historical development. Acknowledging these differences there are some key elements that become central in many nations. As presented in the theoretical background section romantic uses of national narratives and national identity are two key elements found in many nations (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Foster, 2012; VanSledright, 2008). Although future research is needed in order to explore this phenomenon in different nations, students' understanding of their own nation is in accordance with a romantic interpretation of history.

Students' historical interpretations change significantly when the historical content does not refer to their own nation. In Study 5, conducted with Spanish students using content about Greek national history, the results show relevant differences. It is important to note that although every historical event is unique, both the content of the so-called "Spanish Reconquest" - used in Study 3 - and the "Ottoman occupation of Greece" share common characteristics. Basically, both processes were reinterpreted by each nation's historiography in a romantic and nationalist manner as a process of loss and subsequent recovery of the national territory (Antoniou & Soysal, 2005; Ríos

Saloma, 2005). However, most participants in Study 5 did not attribute a permanent and historical belonging of the Balkan Peninsula to any national group. As seen in Study 3, this attribution indeed happened when the territory in dispute was the own national territory. In contrast to what we saw in the study concerning the own nation, the majority of the participants in Study 5 did not perform biased moral judgments towards any group. For most of the participants, there is not a given legitimacy for the actions carried out by any group over the others. The participants also reflected this identity distance in the absence of the use of terms such as “we” or “us”.

Therefore, through Studies 3 and 5 we can better understand the role of identity and emotional elements in understanding historical events. As we have seen in Study 1, the relationship between identity and the learning of history is complex and still a matter of many discussions. This problematic relationship is a relevant issue even within the academic level of history. From the romantic point of view, the development of national identity is not only desirable but is one of the main objectives of the teaching of history (Barton & Levstik, 2008). On the contrary, from a purely disciplinary approach, these identity elements are left outside the discipline of history and constitute an obstacle to historical understanding (Hammack, 2010). Regardless of the approach, it seems clear that students bring their own identities to the classroom. Therefore, it seems necessary to consider their influence on the learning process.

Taking into account the findings in Studies 3 and 5, it seems clear that establishing a national identity link between the student and the historical content seems to favor a romantic understanding of history. Students’ moral judgments are less biased when there is no such identity link. The link between moral judgments and historical content is a central issue to historical thinking (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Rösen, 2004). The relationship between past and present is often filled with moral issues. Sometimes we judge the present based on past events and others we judge the past from present values. Indeed, from a romantic point of view, history gets all its power and utility when used as a resource for moral behavior. This moral link between past and present is just possible if they are both presented and understood as similar (Nieto, 2007). In this sense, an identity link between the student and historical content is fostering this continuity between past and present. Studies 3 and 5 show how moral judgments are mediated by national identity. As traditionally noted from social psychology (Tajfel &

Turner, 1979) the mere awareness of belonging to a certain group functions as a trigger to assess the own group in positive terms as opposed to the out-group. In the case of history, national identity is a historical group of reference for individuals. Through this historical identity, “the human self expands its temporal extension beyond the limits of birth and death, beyond mere mortality” (Rüsen, 2004, p.68). However, that continuity is based on a romantic and ahistorical view of national identities. Study 5 shows how moral judgments have less romantic characteristics when the link between student national identity and the historical content is broken.

Also, students understand an element such as the territory - which is central in many historical narratives - in a more disciplinary manner when it is not that of their nation. This is important as long as it allows a more complex view of historical events. History, seen from the current disciplinary point of view, must be able to account for changes over time. Students are more likely to consider the territory as historically dynamic and having no natural owner when dealing with a territory different than their own national territory. Most of the students in Study 3 understood their national territory as having a timeless and static national owner from ancient times until nowadays. However, history should be able to analyze that foreign country called past (Lowenthal, 1985). The past is not a copy of the present or vice versa, and therefore looking to the past is complex and full of questions. Taking part of any group uncritically hinders considering other points of view, other arguments and other narratives that give us a more complex and complete understanding of the past. Furthermore, a romantic understanding of the own national history leads, in many cases, to the construction of narratives of confrontation between "we" and "they" (Herzog, 2012; Triandafyllidou, 1998). As we saw in the case of the "Reconquest" the vast majority of the students simplified more than seven centuries in a constant struggle between "we Spaniards" and "they Muslim". In fact, history is full of conflicts and struggles between different groups, which should be part of historical analysis and cannot be ignored. However, giving these struggles a national character and linking them to the current national group could lead to at least two negative consequences. On the one hand, it involves misunderstanding national identities. That is, it involves attributing a national identity to people from a past who were completely unaware of the national phenomenon (Weber, 1976). In doing this, identities different from the national disappear and history becomes inadequately simplified. On the other hand, linking these

supposed national struggles with the current situation could lead to consider them as natural and irresolvable conflicts. Thus, the past and the present are mixed, and these struggles between different groups become somehow historically legitimized. That is the case, for example, of the conflict between Israel and Palestine, in which there are frequent claims based on the ancient biblical past of the Jewish people, which legitimizes the construction of the Israeli state (Sand, 2010). Similar claims and disputes can be found, for example, in the case of Cyprus, historically claimed by Turks and Greeks, or the more familiar case of the disputes between Spain and the UK over the Rock of Gibraltar. Therefore, it seems that building history in terms of struggle between "us" and "them" not only is historically wrong, but it also hinders the education of citizens inclusive towards those "other" groups (Barton & Levstik, 2004). This way of constructing history in its worst form "can create, sponsor, maintain and justify xenophobic hatred, racism and the obscenity of ethnic cleansing" (Foster & Crawford, 2006, p. 7). Understanding history in a disciplinary way could help students to realize that national identities are constructed, inculcated and dynamic. These identities are changeable constructions and not eternal. There are no pure and eternal national identities based on natural elements. The disciplinary approach on these social identities shows how they are not a necessary human condition - since they have not always existed - and how national identities are constantly changing. Therefore, a complex and dynamic understanding of these identities in history could help teachers and students to develop inclusive skills towards others (López & Carretero, 2012).

As seen in Study 5, when students deal with a content of a nation different than their own they build a narrative in a more disciplinary manner. However, there still remain some romantic features. We are precisely referring to their representations of national identity. Indeed, despite dealing with a content unrelated to their national identity, most of them understood national identity - in this case the Greek identity - in a romantic fashion. That is, for most of them, the Greek national identity has existed practically since forever. It is not understood as a recent phenomenon, linked with the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth-century, as it is understood from the current disciplinary approach. On the contrary, the vast majority of the participants constructed a main character of the narrative based on that Greek national identity. Although the students neither legitimized nor made biased moral judgments toward this group, this naturalization of Greek national identity constitutes an inadequate understanding from

the historical point of view. As well as when students deal with the own nation, the past and the present merge. In both cases, the main characters of the historical events are categorized with national characteristics even though these historical events occurred in medieval times or before. For example, in the case of Greece, the participants understood that the Greek national sentiment was already present in the so-called Classical Greece and that feeling, transmitted from generation to generation, transfers unchanged to nowadays. This type of permanent and timeless construction makes it difficult, for example, to distinguish between the ancient and the contemporary world. For instance, for most participants, the feelings of identity of the inhabitants of city-states in Classical Greece such as Athens and Sparta are the same feelings that emerged at the time of the birth of the Greek nation in the nineteenth century.

Therefore, it is important to note that, for most of the students, national identity remains a timeless protagonist of historical narratives even when dealing with other nations' identity. Thus, narratives constructed by participants gain an organization and structure that allow students to interpret history as a logical narrative. However, although this may be useful from the standpoint of building a coherent and homogeneous narrative, it is not so from the point of view of historical knowledge. As stated by Michael Billig (1995), we are so used to dealing with national identities, that we find it hard to think of people who lack them. However, as many historians have shown, these identities are not natural or spontaneous but constructed, imagined or invented, and, of course, inculcated and learned (Anderson, 1983; Gellner 1983, Hobsbawm, 1983). Considering studies such as Weber's (1976), which shows how the consolidation of these national identities in the population did not occur, sometimes even until the twentieth century, we can better understand the historical misunderstanding of applying that concept to centuries or millennia ago.

Framing the results of studies 3, 4 and 5 in the field of conceptual change, we can conclude that both when dealing with a content related to our nation and to others, a conceptual change regarding the concepts of nation and national identity seems necessary. In both cases, the students showed a romantic conception of these concepts, understanding national identity and the nation as a natural and permanent concept. Thus, these main concepts of national narratives are not only understood in a simplified way, but also historically incorrect. It seems clear that there is a need to develop a

conceptual change towards a more disciplinary understanding of these concepts so that students are able to understand them in a similar way as historians do nowadays. However, given the preeminence of identity and emotional features found in relation to the own nation in Study 3, it seems that this conceptual change might be more difficult to achieve when it concerns the own nation than when dealing with a different nation. That is, in the case of a foreign nation, students persist in their romantic vision of national identity, but they neither establish an identity link with that foreign national identity nor make biased moral judgments about it. This does occur when it comes to their own nation, and could become a "protective belt" when changing the concept of nation and national identity from a romantic conception to a more disciplinary one.

Thus, putting in relation the studies conducted on students' understanding about their own nation (Studies 3 and 4) and the one about a foreign nation (Study 5), can shed some light on the role of identity issues for establishing history goals (mainly developed in Study 1). Therefore, if we want to foster historical literacy in our students we should take into account that the identity link between students and content has a strong influence on moral interpretations. This identity link seems to identify past and present leading to a misunderstanding of the past. It could also have serious implications for the civic education of our students as it could imply also misunderstanding struggles in the present (Haste and Hogan, 2012). Yet it seems clear that in order to achieve a historical understanding of concepts such as nation and national identity just breaking this identity link between students and content is not enough. The analysis carried out with expert historians in Study 7 contributes to better establish the objectives for our students when learning about these complex concepts.

The fact that concepts such as national identity and nation are socially constructed does not mean they are not historical concepts (Anderson, 1983). Their presence in the field of history remains central, so it is interesting to analyze how history experts handle these concepts and make sense of national narratives. The results of Study 7 show how a large majority of historians defend a modernist and disciplinary view of these concepts.

Their narratives on the so-called "Reconquest" are very different from the nationalistic and romantic interpretation. The Spanish nation and the Spaniards are not

the protagonists of this historical period. For the vast majority of experts, it is not possible to speak of Spain or Spaniards at that time. Therefore, the narrative of loss and subsequent “Reconquest” of Spain is absent. Different characters emerge, change or disappear during the process. Thus, those different historical characters give complexity to the narrative, allowing for different historical identities to be taken into account. In this sense, there is no "us vs. them" interpretation.

Apart from this lack of identification with the various protagonist groups, most historians did not make biased moral judgments toward any specific group. Many of them thought moral judgments to be alien to the discipline of history. That is, for them the focus of the historian must be on analyzing causes and consequences of events, not making moral judgments about them. In any case, we did not find any romantic legitimacy of the actions carried out by a particular group as it was found in Study 3, conducted with students. It is also important to consider how historians clearly established differences between past and present. Categories so familiar to us such as "having rights or not" do not have the same meaning in the past as in the present. Therefore, we cannot use the same criteria to judge moral actions of the present and the past (Seixas, 2012). That is, experts understand historical changes as a fundamental issue to consider when linking historical content with moral judgments. As discussed by Rüsen (2004), from a disciplinary approach, change is essential in relation with moral values. Change is what gives history its sense. Therefore, moral values become temporalized and contextualized, denying them a static and permanent nature. This way of understanding moral values regarding national narratives should be considered as a tool for thinking historically.

A main difference between students and experts when dealing with national narratives is the conception of the narrative itself. Students understand the narrative as “the History”. That is, the narrative they build has a unique and closed nature and intends to reflect the past as it was. There is no room for alternative narratives or other views. However, experts realize that national narratives are constructed explanations built after the events happened and that these narratives have a specific purpose. That is, the narrative is not an exact reproduction of the past as it was, but a reconstruction made by historians from - and sometimes for - the present. Thus, most experts believed that each of the groups participating in the historical process builds its own legitimizing

narrative of the past. The role of the historian, therefore, is to account for the diversity of narratives, but without taking part for any of them. However, students clearly defended a romantic narrative of the Reconquest to interpret the events. Thus, on the one hand our studies confirm that sometimes students understand national narratives as history itself, excluding critical or alternatives views (Wertsch, 2004; VanSledright, 2008). On the other hand, our studies contribute to empirically determine how experts understand these narratives.

In this sense, it is relevant to discuss how the vast majority of experts qualified the romantic narrative of the Reconquest, and the very term, as historically inadequate. Terms such as “ideological” or “deceitful” were common in their responses. However, they recognized the preeminence of the term even within the academic field. Therefore, national narratives as the so-called "Reconquest" are still operative both in the academic field and in the school. Yet, students’ and historians’ interpretations are often opposite.

4.1. Understanding nation and national identity: An epistemological choice for history

It seems relevant to take into account how the distinction between a romantic and a disciplinary conception of nation implies a difference in the way history itself is constructed. Thus, from the romantic approach, history is a tool for celebrating the national past and claiming the present (Lowenthal, 1998; Foster & Crawford, 2006; VanSledright, 2008). As in the case of the Reconquest, history is reinterpreted to justify the actions of the national past. Moreover, narratives constructed from the national present become legends, myths and unquestionable truths (Alridge, 2006; Wertsch, 1997). History is no longer that foreign past and becomes familiar. In order to learn history we just need to consult that particular narrative. Therefore, these sequences of dates, people and events, inserted in the national narrative, end up forming historical knowledge as a whole. There is no place for confronting sources or historical inquiry. The past is reflected in these narratives and should be preserved as a mirror in which current citizens must look at themselves.

By contrast, the disciplinary approach on the national phenomenon challenges all these ways of thinking about the nature of history (Cruz Prados, 2005). If nations are

social and political constructions of the nineteenth century, it has no historical sense to nationalize the past before their birth. One goal of the current disciplinary approach is to dismantle and demystify those familiar national narratives (Berger & Lorenz, 2010; Foster, 2012). In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to look at the past from the past itself, in a complex exercise that has been called historical empathy (Lee, 2005). Understanding the past from the disciplinary point of view involves raising new questions and finding new answers, not looking into the past to confirm answers given in advance from our present. The results of our study with experts can provide a better understanding of the thinking skills that are needed in order to achieve these objectives. It seems that taking an emotional and identity perspective is one of the elements that characterize this historical thinking when dealing with national narratives. Furthermore, experts' historical thinking relies more on analyzing causes and consequences of historical events, rather than on intentions and moral judgments about the actors of the past. Historians also take into account that national narratives are constructed by certain groups and have specific intentions. That is, they become aware of the instrumental nature of history.

As we have seen throughout the empirical studies of this dissertation there is a significant tension between romantic and disciplinary goals of history. It seems clear that romantic and nationalist history is very present in the students' mind. Most of them seem to have acquired a strong identity link with national history, which from a disciplinary point of view is very distant from what is called historical thinking. This romantic understanding is moderated when it comes to a content related to a nation different than the own. In that case, there is an emotional distance from the content that allows the contemplation of different historical perspectives. In the case of experts, the tension between the romantic and disciplinary approaches has a paradoxical character. On the one hand, most of them consider the romantic vision of national narratives as a fallacious and inadequate vision of history. This romantic vision in many cases goes off the field of history to enter into ideological and political uses. Thus, for our historians romantic history should be left behind, since it leads to a misunderstanding of history and obstacles historical thinking. On the other hand, despite this strong criticism, they also recognize that this approach is still in force both within the academic field and in the way historical knowledge is transmitted at schools.

4.2. Narratives: Cultural Tools or History? Students' and Experts' Perspectives

The permanence of the romantic approach is reflected in the strength of national narratives in and out of schools. These romantic national narratives constitute a frame of reference for students when developing their own historical narrative. These master narratives, as in the case of the Reconquest, are supported from the social sphere. For example, there are many celebrations reenacting the Spanish Reconquest, in the so-called "Moors and Christians" holidays across Spanish towns and cities. These patriotic reenactments of history are frequently carried out in many countries, and constitute an informal tool through which social narratives are constructed and reinforced. It is easy to find these kinds of national narratives also in newspapers, museums (Asensio & Pol, 2012; Gozález de Oleaga, 2012), novels, films (Wineburg et. al. 2001) or in the internet. Even in the political arena many times we find references to such romantic visions of history. Consider, for example, statements by José María Aznar, former Spanish president, on the relation between Spain and Islamic terrorism:

The problem Spain has with Al Qaeda and Islamic terrorism did not begin with the Iraq Crisis. In fact, it has nothing to do with government decisions. You must go back no less than 1,300 years, to the early 8th century, when a Spain recently invaded by the Moors refused to become just another piece in the Islamic world and began a long battle to recover its identity. This Reconquest process was very long, lasting some 800 years. However, it ended successfully. There are many radical Muslims who continue to recall that defeat, many more than any rational Western mind might suspect. Osama Bin Laden is one of them (Aznar, 2004)

I have never heard any Muslim apologizing for conquering Spain and maintaining their presence in Spain for eight centuries, never. Why do we Westerners always have to apologize while they never do? (Monge, 2006, para. 1)

These fragments illustrate the idea that Spain was the same entity in the VIII century as in the twenty-first century. Also, it is worth considering the link between the current national situation and the past through the "Reconquest" narrative. Aznar, as a Spaniard, is considering himself as a continuator of that medieval Spain, thinking that Muslims should still apologize nowadays. These arguments and conceptions about the

Spanish nation and its past are much related to the students' interpretation of the Reconquest shown in Study 3. Therefore these narratives are familiar to individuals and become as unquestionable tales of the past through their use in different social ambits. In this sense, these national narratives don not constitute just a tool for understanding the past, but history itself. Furthermore, Valdeon's (2006) excerpt used in Study 7 (see Appendix 5) reflects how despite strong criticisms, these romantic national narratives and arguments are still at work not only in the informal context but also within the academic level.

These national narratives constitute mediators that instill in students a sense of belonging and give them a specific role in society (Billig, 1995; Bruner, 1990; Wertsch, 2004). It is through these socially shared narratives that individuals acquire - most times incorrectly - the first tools to learn about the past. Each nation provides its citizens, with these specific national narratives - primarily through formal education - as well as controlling access to alternative narratives (Wertsch, 2004). The results in Study 3 show how the specific narrative of the "Reconquest" is a clear reference for the participants when constructing historical knowledge. Furthermore, as mentioned, many narratives from the social and political settings related to the national phenomenon, reinforce what Billig called *banal nationalism* (1995). This banal nationalism is a celebration of the nation in the daily life of societies. Thus, general schematic narrative templates generated through novels, documentaries, movies or patriotic celebrations reinforce the romantic idea of nation. These schematic narrative templates about the nation go beyond specific narratives such as the "Reconquest", but display the same romantic and natural conception of nation. It is worth noticing that these schematic narrative templates and this banal nationalism are often within the scope of implicit knowledge (Ross, 1989). For this reason, these beliefs are seldom discussed, but strongly held in society.

The empirical studies of this dissertation conducted with students and experts shed light on the influence of these social narratives on the construction of historical knowledge. Our studies show how the relationship between national narratives and historical understanding is quite different between students and historians. In the case of students, these national narratives are a reliable source for understanding their own identity. Thus, they become part of the narratives by linking their identities with those

actors from the past. As noted by one of the participants: “I really believe that we come from those who were here, I mean from the Spanish”. That is, national narratives constitute not only a framework to know the past but also to know ourselves. In this sense these national narratives become “our” national narratives and part of “our” history. On the other hand, for historians, these national narratives not only are detached from their identity, but also historians question their validity as a tool for understanding the past. As one of the historians pointed out: “I think that this stuff about Spaniards, English, the Englishness, the Spanishness... these are nonsense that we invent looking at the past from a teleological point of view”. The disconnection between identity and the narratives allow historians to critically discuss these narratives and include alternative narratives. Thus, for historians these narratives are, in the best place, just one possible tool for understanding the past, not the past itself. In fact, these national narratives are also historical constructions that should be analyzed in historical terms and not taken as truth.

4.3. Implications of the concepts of nation and national identity for history

Focusing on the analysis of the concepts of nation and national identity, the results of this thesis make a contribution to the discipline of history and both teaching and learning processes. In a disciplinary level, this dissertation underscores the strong debates currently taking place on the role of the nation and identity in history (Barton & McCully, 2005; Dragonas & Frangoudaki, 2001; Epstein & Shiller, 2005). It is important to recognize the value of concepts like nation and national identity for the discipline of history. In the last few decades, there has been a growing emphasis on understanding historical concepts (Lee, 2005; Limon, 2002). The new disciplinary approach does not focus just on the production of historical narratives, but grants an important role to the study of historical concepts. In this sense, the concepts of nation and national identity are central to the discipline, as the entire discipline of history has been developed around them for many decades.

Changing the way the discipline understands these concepts would cause a change in the way history is thought and produced. From the pioneering contributions of Anderson (1983), Hobsbawm (1997), Renan (1882/1990) and Gellner (1983) on national phenomena, there has been a clear disciplinary shift in understanding the nation

and history itself. Although currently there are still some romantic interpretations, most historians support a disciplinary and modernist approach to understand the concept of nation (Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005). This thesis has highlighted the implications that this disciplinary shift has for establishing the objectives and uses of history. Also, this dissertation has shed some light on the role of the narrative format when analyzing these concepts. The relevance of the concepts of nation and national identity is central to when historians produce historical knowledge and when students generate historical explanations.

In this sense, the results of this thesis emphasize the relevance of understanding these concepts in the teaching and learning of history. Given the central role that these concepts have historically played, their influence goes beyond the conceptual level to include other levels of historical thinking. In recent decades, studies on students' understanding of historical concepts have focused on two different levels. On the one hand, studies have focused on students' understanding of substantive concepts such as revolution, democracy, or state (Berti, 1994; Lee, 2005). However, these analyses have been relegated to a secondary role, taking special relevance the understanding of the so-called second-order concepts, as empathy or change and continuity (Ashby & Lee, 1987; Barton, 2001; Lee & Ashby, 2001). The studies presented in this thesis retake substantive concepts analysis such as nation and national identity, but studying them in relation to second order concepts and the very nature of history. Thus, historical thinking skills such as empathy, identification of change and continuity or contextualizing ethical dimensions seem to be related to the manner in which substantive concepts like nation or national identity are understood. Thus, it is worth noting the relation between these key substantive concepts and the second order concepts. Thinking the nation and national identity as natural phenomena hinders the development of those historical skills, as well as it leads to misunderstanding these concepts. However, the modern disciplinary approach to these concepts fits into the development of historical thinking and the achievement of second order concepts.

It seems clear that this disciplinary shift in the way nation and national identity are understood within the academic field is not reflected in students' thinking. The empirical evidence of this phenomenon, along with the identification and analysis of the elements that reinforce this romantic view, leads towards future research in teaching and

learning history. The empirical studies conducted with students allowed us to detect the influence of identity issues and national narratives on students' historical understanding. It seems clear that an excessive emphasis on both elements plays an important role in developing a romantic conception of the nation and national identity. Studies such as Study 5, conducted on a foreign nation, help us to understand how to produce a better understanding of these concepts. Using historical contents detached from students' national identity and disconnected to an official national narrative, can be an appropriate - although not sufficient - benchmark for history learning. Certainly, the way in which this learning could be transferred to a disciplinary understanding of the own nation is a matter of future research.

In order to define clearly how students can achieve a better understanding of concepts, it seems necessary to understand the way experts think historically about them. In the last decades there has been a growing interest in understanding historical thinking defined as the way in which historians produce and understand history. Recent cognitive approaches describing what concepts and skills are relevant to historical thinking have challenged the romantic manner of doing history. Determining how historians understand concepts such as nation and national identity represents a major contribution to both historical knowledge and educational implications. The analysis carried out in Study 7 clarify on the one hand that experts clearly support the idea of nation as a modern and socially constructed concept. On the other hand, the study allows us to identify second order concepts or metaconcepts that experts use when negotiating with national content. They can be summarized in three actions: deconstruction of a national main character of history, avoidance of moral judgments and understanding national narratives as ideological constructions. These features of the experts' historical thinking applied to the field of teaching and learning can be a good guide for achieving a better historical literacy in students.

4.4. Limitations and Future Research Lines

Studies on the relationship between the national phenomenon and history have been primarily theoretical in nature. This thesis seeks to complement these analyses also at an empirical level. The studies presented here are just a small step forward in the field

that has been opened. In this sense, our studies provide answers, but they also raise new questions that need further research.

The methodology and the objectives proposed in each of the studies are research choices that undoubtedly have certain limitations. Since some limitations affect the three empirical studies presented here, they are discussed together. In every study we chose to carry out in-depth individual semi-structured interviews. Our interest was mainly to analyze the ideas about nation and national identity that participants would generate in their narratives. These individual interviews provided us with information on how the participant understands these concepts. However, this methodology does not cover some important aspects of interest. Although the concepts in which we were interested are ultimately handled by the individual, they also have an important social component. In this sense, phenomena such as national identity is also socially generated and implemented many times in a social context. In order to cover the social components of concepts such as nation or national identity, it would have been interesting to conduct group interviews. Carrying out group interviews could allow us to examine social elements that arise in the interaction between participants. This interaction undoubtedly influences the performances of each individual.

In this sense, people's representations on concepts such as nation are certainly contextualized. National identity is not static in nature, but dynamic, complex and contextual. It is possible that the influence of these identity elements on historical interpretations depends on the context in which the participant is involved. The aforementioned difference between individual and group interview is just one possible modification of the context. For instance, participant's positioning and the ideas about national identity that he or she activates could be different if the participant is surrounded by national fellows or by foreigners. Similarly, if participants' identities are not only different but also conflicting, their representations about their own identity and that of others may be strongly influenced. Consider, for example, a sample comprised of Israelis and Palestinians dealing with a historical content such as the establishment of the Israeli state. There are certainly many examples of conflicting interpretations of history. In this line, other interesting analysis would be considering identities that are not entirely antagonistic but complementary. For example, it would be interesting to

study the relationship between local and global identities. It may be the case of national identities and new emerging identities as European identity.

Nation and national identity, as well as being contextual, are relevant in different fields. In this case, our focus was on the field of history, but there are many others. As well as these concepts are relevant to the field of history, they are also involved in current social events. Consider for example, mass social phenomena such as sporting events. Social political issues such as international migration also involve national identity issues. Nowadays, in a context of deep economic and political crisis we are witnessing the emergence of strong national and nationalist movements, in which no doubt national identity plays a central role. Does an individual experience national identity consistently in these different areas? How do these different areas relate to each other, if they do at all? These are some questions that exceed the contributions of this dissertation, but that certainly could be considered in future research.

Focusing on the field of history, the historical content used to analyze participants' conceptions is specific and as such has its own limitations. The content of the "Reconquest", used both with students and experts, refers to one of the myths of the origin of the Spanish nation. Would we find the same disciplinary and romantic ideas using another historical content? Since it is a historical process that has traditionally been interpreted as a struggle of identities, is more likely than others to promote extreme representations. For future studies it would be interesting to analyze historical contents not so explicitly conflictive.

Regarding the analysis carried out and the evidence examined in each study, they were primarily focused on the distinction between romantic and disciplinary conceptions. As stated in the main objectives section, investigating the tension between the two theoretical approaches was one of our main goals for this dissertation. The studies reflect the empirical existence of these two theoretical interpretations. As shown, participants were not always consistent in their romantic or disciplinary conceptions throughout every different dimension. However, once detected the main differences between disciplinary and romantic conceptions, it would be interesting for future studies to analyze the nuances and intermediate conceptions between the two main categories.

This analysis could help to better understand the progression from a romantic to a disciplinary conception.

The samples used in the studies also set some limitations. In the two studies conducted with students, our goal was testing people without specific training in history. For instance, adding history college students to our sample could provide relevant information regarding the role of the level of knowledge on the concepts discussed. Our studies allow us to analyze participants with very different level of knowledge. On the one hand, Psychology students in studies 3 and 5 can be considered novices in history, although they have been taught history for several years during compulsory education. On the other hand, as shown in Study 7, historians possess a level of expertise that could be considered the highest level. Therefore, for future studies it would be interesting to analyze the same concepts of nation and national identity in samples with intermediate levels of knowledge. This would be interesting if we consider that agents such as school teachers - whose level of knowledge could be considered intermediate - are one of the mediators between academic history and the students.

Our participants' national identity is also a feature to consider. The goals of this dissertation are not tied to any particular nation. As noted before, the relevance of the national phenomenon in relation to history has some general features that can be applied to many nations. However, the peculiarities of each nation and historical content call for future studies that precisely examine these differences. As mentioned before, national identity is a contextualized phenomenon and each nation has its own particular nuances.

Finally, in the three empirical studies presented here we were interested in conducting a primarily qualitative analysis of participants' narratives. We also consider useful complementing this qualitative analysis using quantitative analysis to inform us about the percentage of participants in each category and significant relationships between these categories. In future studies, on the one hand, it would be interesting to go deeper into the qualitative analysis, so that we could detect new relevant elements for understanding the concept of nation and national identity. In order to perform this detailed analysis, it would be appropriate to use a smaller sample size. On the other

hand, increasing the sample size would be beneficial to improve the representativeness of the results to the populations analyzed.

4.5. Conclusion

The concept of nation is still a key element for history. Its influence on the discipline extends from a conceptual level to affect the way in which we look to the past itself. Emotional and moral aspects - so common in history - are especially relevant when it comes to the own nation. Thus, when history becomes a tool for the construction of national identity and national claims about the past, it goes beyond its academic boundaries to encompass social and political aspects. That is when history turns into a powerful tool to build social identities. The relationship between these social constructions and the way in which the individual builds his or her own identity is certainly complex. The mass media, family, memorials, novels, school education and textbooks are among the most common mediators in this interaction between the social and the individual level. As shown in this dissertation, national narratives play a central role when the individual constructs his or her own narratives about the past. These mediators usually transmit a banal nationalism that reinforces the idea of nation and national identity as natural, mythical and immutable realities.

This relationship between history and the national phenomenon has been theoretically analyzed within the disciplines of history, sociology or political science. Many studies have led to a deconstruction of the mythical nature of nations and national identities, bringing a revolution to the way history is understood. The main contribution of this thesis is to add an empirical analysis to the study of the relationship between history and the national phenomenon showing the way the individual actually understands this relationship.

Despite the disciplinary turn adopted by most historians abandoning the nationalist vision of history, this dissertation shows how students' historical understanding of the national phenomenon is still a mythical and romantic one. This romantic understanding of history is emphasized when it comes to historical content related to students' nation. That is, when identity and emotional elements come into play, critical and historical thinking are relegated to a secondary role in favor of

mythical and romantic thought. This thesis shows how students display romantic skills when their national identity is at stake. They build narratives that legitimate and claim their nation history. This leads to simplified, biased, and invented views of history that are fully consistent with the national narratives constructed in the 19th century.

This dissertation has analyzed how students' understanding shows less romantic features when the link between identity elements and historical content is broken. Their narratives are not so focused on claiming and legitimating, allowing for a more critical understanding that includes alternative historical visions. However, this identity breach is not enough for students to denaturalize their conceptions on national identities. Although they are dealing with identities different than their own, the romantic vision about national identity itself remains predominant.

The empirical analysis conducted on experts' understanding of these national contents can contribute not only to the educational setting, focused on students' learning, but also to the disciplinary level of history. The study carried out with historians allowed us to identify some of the main skills that historians use when dealing with national narratives. Fundamentally, these skills can be summarized in three: First, they denationalize the main character of the historical narrative. Second, historians avoid moral judgments that legitimate or claim for any group. Finally, they understand national narratives as teleological explanations constructed with specific purposes.

Certainly, nations and national identities are still central elements in today's society and people continue to be fascinated with them. A better understanding of how these concepts are conceived is not only a matter of interest for historical thinking and the study of the past, but it is also central to comprehend the society in which we live. The results of this thesis are just a first step in this understanding, which can ultimately contribute to view history in a more critical way and also help students to understand nations and national identity in the present.

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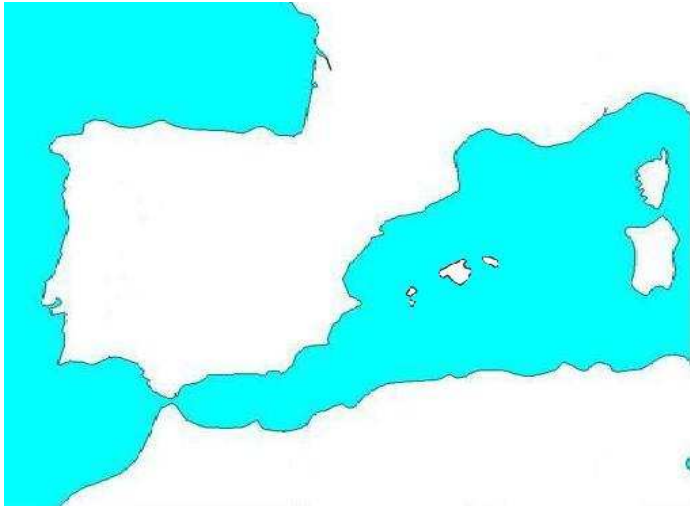
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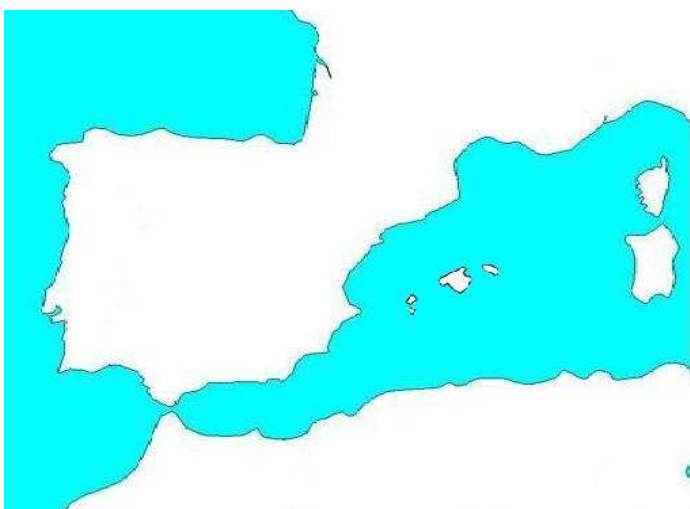
APPENDIXES

Appendix 1. Unlabeled Maps Used During the Interviews in Studies 3 and 7

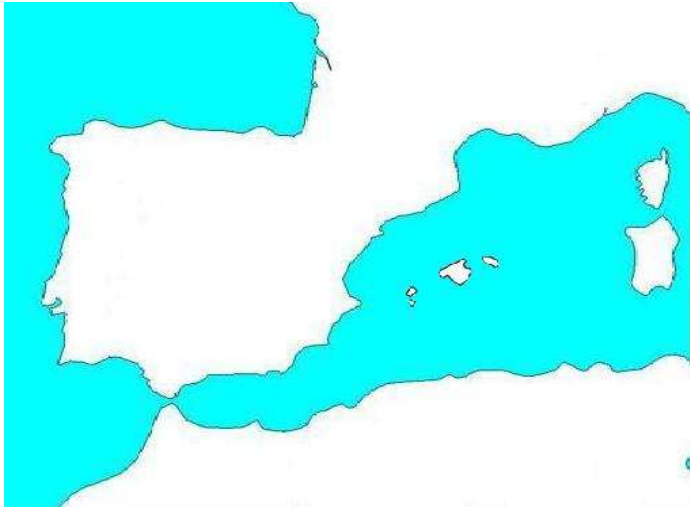
a. The political landscape prior to the arrival of the peoples of Arab origin to the Iberian Peninsula, around the year 700 AD.



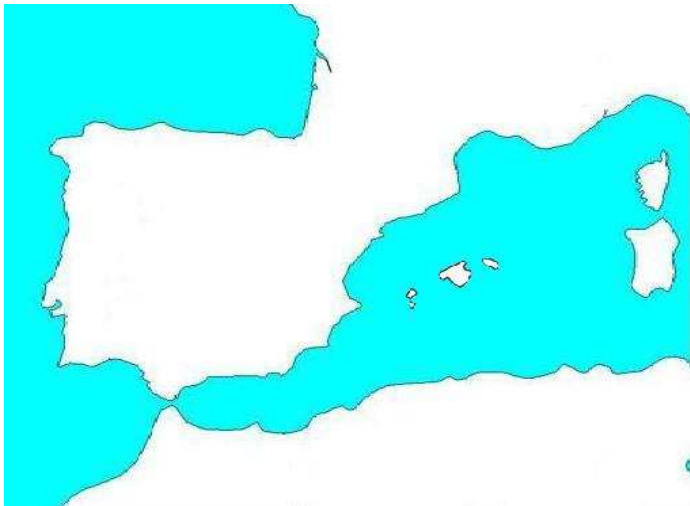
b. The political landscape in the period of the maximum expansion of peoples of Arab origin in the Iberian Peninsula, around year 722.



c. The political landscape around 1212 (Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa)



d. 1492. After the Conquest of Granada and under the rule of the Catholic Monarchs



Appendix 2. Witten copy of one of the interviews carried out in Study 3

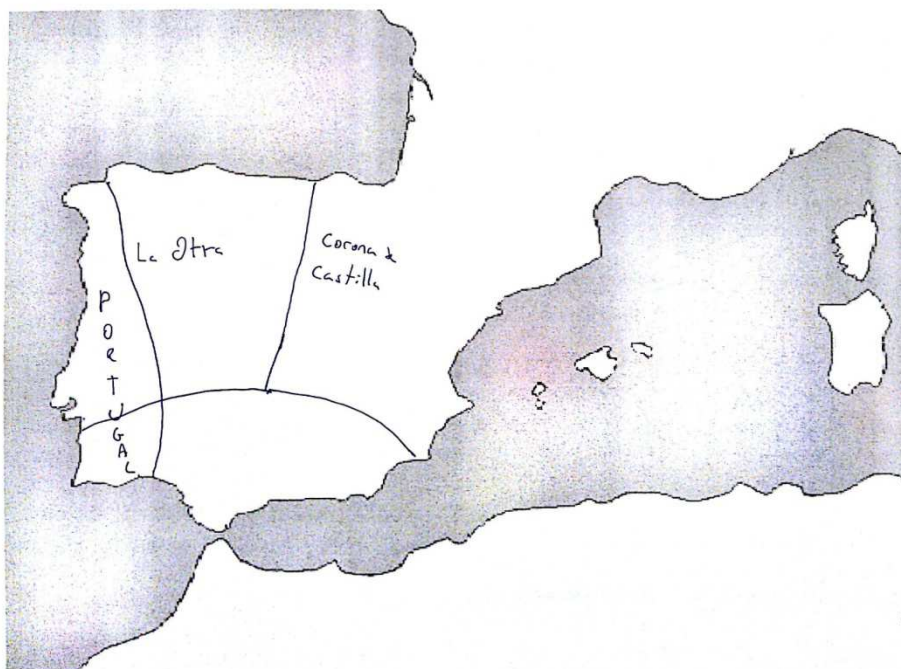
ENTREVISTADOR: Vamos hablar sobre un tema histórico que está comprendido entre dos momentos. Estos dos momentos son la llegada de los pueblos árabes a la Península Ibérica y la conquista de Granada por parte de los Reyes Católicos. Cuenta un poco qué idea tienes tú de qué pasó entre esos dos momentos.

JOSÉ: Pues que llegaron los árabes, que nos invadieron y eso, que empezaron que si con las taifas, que si con las mezquitas y todo eso. Que las construyeron por España, que trajeron cosas importantes, que fueron buenas para nuestra cultura. Luego también lo del Cid y todo eso, las guerras que hubo, que si aparecen los mozárabes y los mudéjares, que eran españoles... Vamos, que eran cristianos que estaban con los árabes y al contrario... Que fueron conquistando toda la península y que luego hubo una resistencia por el norte y luego ya desde ahí los cristianos se fueron reagrupando y ya fueron conquistando para abajo poco a poco.

ENTREVISTADOR: Muy bien, vamos a hacer ahora una serie de tareas. Tienes aquí el mapa mudo y la tarea consiste en que tú intentes plasmar sus ideas de quiénes estaban en ese momento habitando este territorio. Los pueblos de origen árabe llegan a este territorio aproximadamente en el 711. En este primer mapa tú tienes que intentar plasmar las ideas que tú tengas de quiénes estaban habitando este territorio antes de que llegasen los pueblos de origen árabe.

JOSÉ: A mí me suena que estaba la Corona de Castilla y otra, estaba como dividido en dos... Aquí estaba como la corona de Castilla... Luego por aquí algo más debería haber, pero no me acuerdo ahora mismo. Hombre, ¡esto era Portugal!... Lo que me acuerdo es que esto estaba dividido por las coronas y hubo líos con los casamientos para anexar cosas... realmente creo que había tres, pero se anexionaron las de por aquí y se juntaron.

a) Situación política antes de la llegada de los pueblos de origen árabe a la península Ibérica. En torno al año 700 d.C.



ENTREVISTADOR: Háblame un poco quiénes estaban ahí habitando ese territorio.

JOSÉ: Estaba la corona de Castilla, que yo creo que antes se había anexionado, o después, no me acuerdo, con la que estaba por aquí... Y estaban por aquí los otros... tampoco estaban con guerras y tal pero eran como reinos distintos. Entonces, yo creo que tenían sus peleas y tal porque querían como todo el mundo... querían hacerse con toda la península.

ENTREVISTADOR: En ese sentido, en los distintos territorios que tú has dibujado ¿te parece que había una alta cohesión entre ellos, una media cohesión o baja cohesión?

JOSÉ: Yo creo que entre los dos, había como una cierta estabilidad, sí había cohesión, pero creo que también querían juntarse, dominar sobre el otro y demás, conquistar todo.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y con Portugal?

JOSÉ: Con Portugal yo creo que estaban más tranquilos...

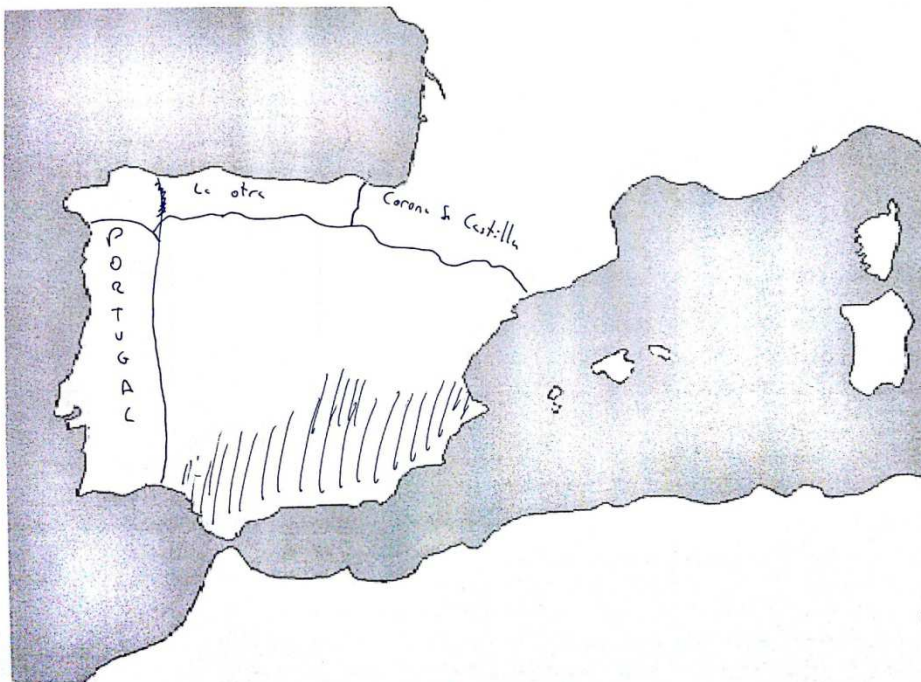
ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Pero habría una alta unión, una baja unión o una media unión?

JOSÉ: Yo creo que media, no lo sé, un trato normal...

ENTREVISTADOR: Vamos a pasar al segundo mapa. Tienes que intentar hacer un poco lo mismo, lo que pasa es que ahora si te fijas estamos en el año 722 que es el año de máxima expansión de los árabes en este territorio. Es un momento de máxima expansión. Intenta dibujar cómo quedaría el mapa en ese momento.

JOSÉ: Pues yo creo que Portugal sigue por su lado, no sé ahora mismo... Yo sé que por Galicia y por la zona ésta, ahí fueron los árabes y ahí era una cosa que visité yo, que era de un monje o algo así. Que había como una cueva y pelearon desde allí y empezaron la Reconquista y todo eso. Entonces, si estaban peleando por aquí debería ser que llegaron hasta aquí, por esta zona...por aquí estaba la resistencia... Y por aquí estaría la zona por donde más fuertes eran.

b) Situación política en el período de máxima expansión de los pueblos árabes en la península Ibérica. En torno al año 722



ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Y ese territorio como lo denominarías?

JOSÉ: La zona donde más fuertes se estaban.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Pero le pondría es algún nombre?

JOSÉ: No sé cómo les llamarían, sé que por aquí estarían las ciudades... No me acuerdo... Es que las ciudades que tenían por aquí no sé si serían los reinos de taifas...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Cómo denominarías el territorio del norte?

JOSÉ: Como la zona de resistencia. Es que no me acuerdo si seguían ya los reinos o los habían destrozado, pero creo que no, porque si luego estaba el Cid y todo eso que estaba con el de la corona de Castilla... Yo creo que todavía debía seguir dividido. Esto debería seguir siendo la corona de Castilla.

ENTREVISTADOR: Has dibujado aquí que ha habido unas conquistas árabes ¿qué opinas de estas conquistas? ¿Qué te parecen?

JOSÉ: Hombre, yo por un lado pienso que no me parece bien, estaban invadiéndonos... Y entonces claro, hubo guerras, que si nos conquistaron y tal... Nos daban libertades y eso cuando nos conquistaban, pero cuando nos habían conquistado ya no podíamos estar como estábamos antes. Pero luego también por un lado era bueno porque trajeron cosas buenas para nuestra cultura... Trajeron como más cultura.

ENTREVISTADOR: Cuando dices nuestra cultura te refieres a...

JOSÉ: A la cultura de los que estaban por aquí antes, a la cultura cristiana por decirlo así, a la española... a la de la península en general.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea, que por un lado hay cosas buenas y cosas malas.

JOSÉ: Claro, porque trajeron cosas buenas, pero malo por cómo las trajeron, que fueron trayendo la guerra y demás para conquistarnos.

ENTREVISTADOR: En ese sentido, este territorio que es dibujado aquí que conquistaron los pueblos de origen árabe ¿Te parece que en ese momento les pertenecía de manera legítima? ¿Piensas que no, que pertenecía otros, a quién?

JOSÉ: Yo realmente pienso que de manera legítima no, porque se supone que estábamos nosotros antes. Entonces realmente, si hubiera sido hablándolo... Pero cuando tú coges algo por la fuerza, yo creo que no es de una manera muy legítima.

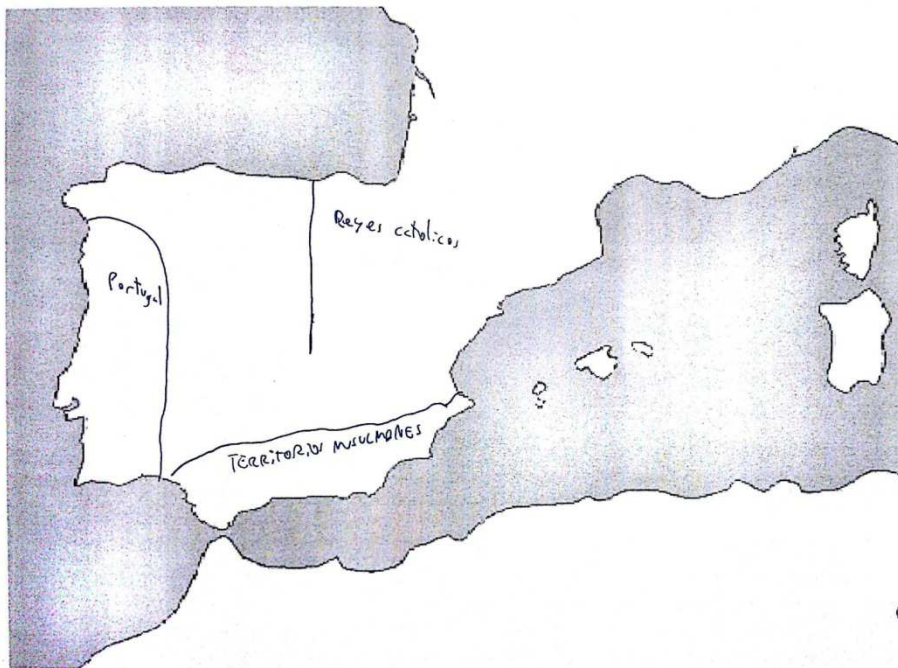
ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Entonces a quién pertenecía, en tu opinión?

JOSÉ: En mi opinión yo creo que les pertenecería antes a los reinos de la Corona de Castilla, a la otra y demás, que estaban antes por aquí. Porque estaban antes, y aunque a lo mejor ellos consiguieran esto también por las guerras... Ya, si lo que han quitado ellos por las guerras, se lo quitas tú con más guerras... Yo creo que todavía es menos legítimo que lo anterior.

ENTREVISTADOR: Muy bien, vamos a pasar entonces al siguiente mapa, si te fijas es el año 1212. La idea es un poco la misma que la de antes, que intentes plasmar la idea que tú tengas de cómo estaba la situación en ese momento.

JOSÉ: Yo creo que Portugal seguía como siempre... Yo creo que aquí los musulmanes ya no estaban... Es que yo creo que la batalla de las Navas de Tolosa fue una batalla que hubo... Pero que no fue entre cristianos y musulmanes... Yo creo que por lo menos teníamos más como antes, esto estaría bastante dividido, pero luego ya con los Reyes Católicos eso era que se juntó algo... Se anexionó algo... Lo de tanto monta monta tanto, eran la corona de Castilla y la de Aragón... Entonces yo creo que aquí estaba el reino de los Reyes Católicos... Por aquí puede ser que todavía hubiera territorios musulmanes, estaban por su zona fuerte.

e) Situación política en torno a 1212 (Batalla de las Navas de Tolosa)



ENTREVISTADOR: Pues cuéntame un poco qué ha pasado para pasar del anterior mapa a este otro.

JOSÉ: Pues yo creo que ya ha pasado lo que te contaba antes de que se empieza con las reconquistas del norte y ya se ha ido reconquistando los territorios y se ha ido arrinconando hacia su zona fuerte a los musulmanes. Por aquí hay ahora más o menos un poco de estabilidad y me suena que hubo poco de estabilidad y entonces los Reyes Católicos... Vamos los españoles, los cristianos, por decirlo así, que estaban ya desde antes, que estaban por esta zona y que también había algunos musulmanes que estaban por esta zona, al igual que había cristianos que estaban por los territorios musulmanes... Y había un poco de paz, pero los antiguos que estaban por aquí, o sea, los cristianos por llamarlo así, todavía querían recuperar estos territorios.

ENTREVISTADOR: Veo que tienes un poco de duda en llamarlos españoles o cristianos ¿Por qué tienes esa duda?

JOSÉ: No sé, porque se... España es España ahora, pero por aquellos tiempos era España pero no es España como es ahora... Entonces, no sé si llamarlos españoles en genérico o llamarlos los de los Reyes Católicos o los de la corona de tal... No sé. Como estaba un poco dividido...

ENTREVISTADOR: En tu opinión, ¿Tú les considerarías españoles en ese momento?

JOSÉ: Yo creo que sí, más bien. Porque realmente creo que venimos de los que estaban por aquí, o sea de los españoles. Hombre, también de los musulmanes, pero en cierta parte menos, porque claro, como luego les echamos y eso... Realmente creo que hay más de los de los Reyes Católicos, de los españoles.

ENTREVISTADOR: Bueno, entonces estas conquistas que han ido haciendo ¿Qué te parecen? ¿Por qué crees que querían realizar esas conquistas?

JOSÉ: Hombre, un poco como todo, por temas de dinero, políticos y demás. Pero luego también porque éramos cristianos principalmente y los musulmanes como que era como un choque, y por aquellos tiempos, antes que si guerras santas y demás, había como un clima de tensión... Entonces claro, se juntaba todo... Y además, que nos habían invadido ellos antes y nosotros queríamos volver a recuperar todos nuestros territorios.

Todo esto comenzó cuando ya querían conquistar todo, que estábamos sobre todo ya con los núcleos de la resistencia por el norte y demás. Pues ya claro, comenzamos a reconquistar...

ENTREVISTADOR: Entonces, por motivos religiosos, territoriales, económicos... Muy bien. En este momento, esos territorios que has dibujado ahí como territorio musulmán ¿Te parece que les pertenecían de manera legítima?

JOSÉ: Hombre, como ya dije antes, realmente creo que no. Pero en cierto modo llevaban bastante tiempo ya en estos territorios, con lo cual ya formaban parte de ellos, en cierta forma... Entonces, no me parece que estuvieran de forma legítima, pero también después de llevar tanto tiempo ahí y de haber llevado tantas cosas buenas, hasta hace que sí que tenían cierto derecho a estar ahí, pero no como invasores, sino que yo creo que deberían de haber llegado a un acuerdo para poder seguir por ahí, pero no en plan... Como los jefes, por decirlo así, sino haber llegado a un acuerdo con los Reyes Católicos para seguir estando todos juntos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y estos otros territorios que has dibujado que han sido conquistado por los Reyes Católicos ¿Te parece que eran legítimamente de ellos?

JOSÉ: ¿De los católicos o de los musulmanes?

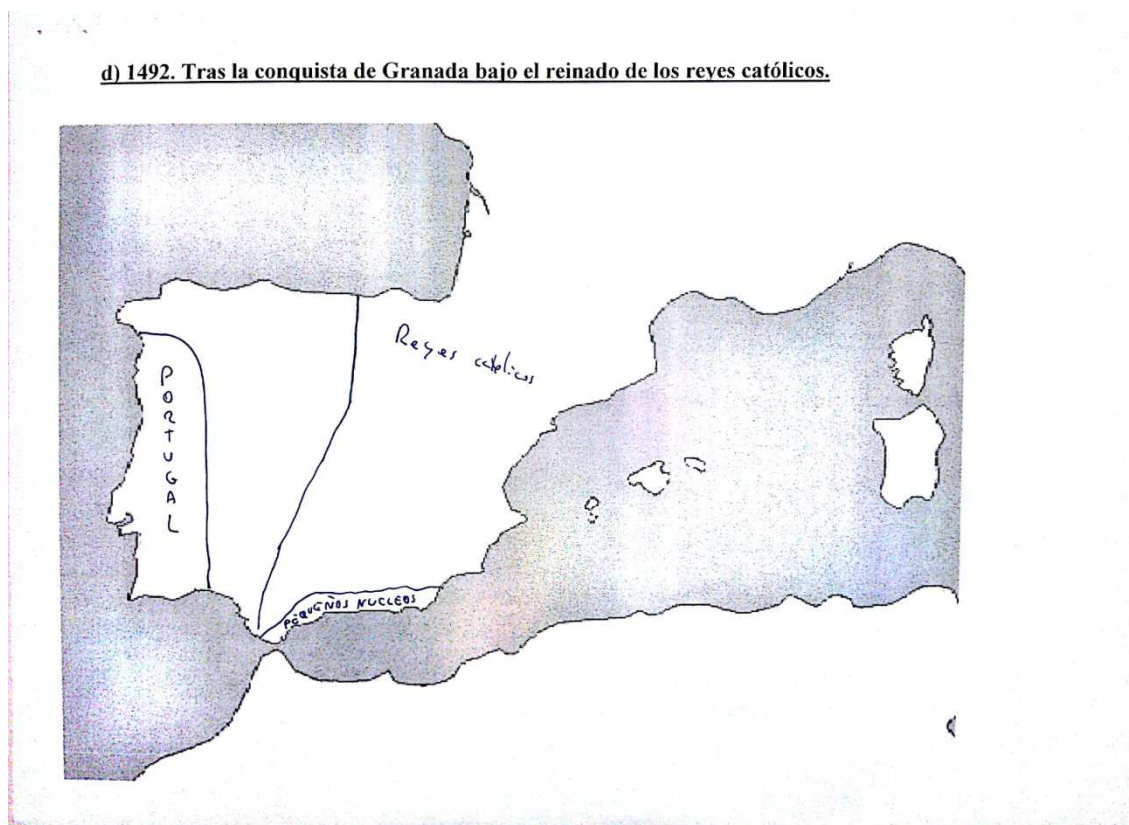
ENTREVISTADOR: De los católicos.

JOSÉ: Es que yo realmente creo que sí, porque estos territorios en un principio sí eran suyos y se los quitaron los musulmanes, aunque trajeran cosas buenas y en estos territorios creo que tuvieron menos influencia los musulmanes... Hombre, tuvieron influencia pero menos que en su zona fuerte como yo la llamaba... Porque aquí estábamos más con guerras y aquí estaban como las cosas más tranquilas y pudieron hacer más cosas buenas por decirlo así.

ENTREVISTADOR: Vamos a pasar ya a este último mapa. Tienes que dibujar la situación en 1492, después de la conquista de Granada.

JOSÉ: Después de la conquista de Granada los territorios musulmanes estaban ya casi en las últimas, entonces no sé cómo estaría. No sé si todavía continuaba la división pero

creo que sí. Me suena que me explicaron que principalmente éstos fueron los que más colaboraron con la guerra, los de Castilla, los Reyes Católicos, pero que los de aquí también hicieron un poco y que con la Reconquista los católicos se fueron quedando ese territorio del que tenían antes con la Reconquista y demás. Creo que todavía quedaba por aquí cierta resistencia musulmana, pero no sé en qué grado.



ENTREVISTADOR: Hemos estado viendo los distintos habitantes que ha habido desde que llegan los pueblos de origen árabe. Tú en este sentido, ¿Te parece que los habitantes que hay ahora en este territorio son de alguna manera los continuadores de aquellos que había antes de la llegada de los pueblos de origen árabe? ¿Te parece que tiene mucho que ver, que no tienen nada que ver?

JOSÉ: Yo creo que en cierto modo no, porque ya después de todo el tiempo que ha pasado, toda la cultura árabe, ya no éramos como antes. Nos habían influido y nos habían cambiado, que ya las cosas no eran como antes, con todas las cosas que nos habían traído, rasgos de su cultura, avances técnicos por decirlo así, habían traído muchísimas cosas. Entonces, ya no éramos igual que los de antes. Estábamos ya

influidos por la cultura musulmana. Entonces realmente sí es una continuación pero distinta. Habían cambiado las cosas bastante

ENTREVISTADOR: Hemos visto que han aparecido distintos grupos en todo este proceso que hemos estado hablando, ¿Tú te sientes vinculado o identificado con alguno en especial o no?

JOSÉ: Hombre, yo me siento más cercano con los de los Reyes Católicos, porque ahora mismo si por ejemplo me pasara eso a mí no me gustaría que me invadieran por la fuerza, que me quisieran imponer una serie de cosas por la fuerza. Entonces, como lo hicieron los árabes, aunque trajeran cosas buenas, no me gustaría. Porque aunque traigan cosas buenas en el fondo es una invasión.

ENTREVISTADOR: Bueno, en la conversación que hemos tenido ha surgido un poco el término de reconquistar, de recuperar. ¿Para ti qué significa el término de reconquista?

JOSÉ: Pues para mí, reconquistar... Yo creo que los árabes cuando vinieron realmente lo que estaban haciendo era conquistarnos, consiguiendo nuestras tierras, las tierras de los que estaban por ahí en aquel entonces, estaban conquistándolas. Entonces nosotros cuando empezamos a recuperar los territorios donde estábamos antes... Pues por eso reconquista. Estábamos recuperando también.

ENTREVISTADOR: O sea, qué piensas que es un término que se adecúa bien a lo que hemos estado viendo.

JOSÉ: Sí.

ENTREVISTADOR: Muy bien, yo te voy a contar ahora un poco que entre los historiadores hay dos opiniones o dos enfoques de lo que hemos estado viendo. Hay unos historiadores que no utilizan el término Reconquista, sino que utilizan el término de “conquistas musulmanas” para denominar un poco las conquistas primeras que hemos visto y después denominan “conquista cristiana” o “de los reinos cristianos” para denominar esta segunda que hemos visto, pero no utilizan este término de “Reconquista” para no dar la connotación de que los Reinos Cristianos estuvieran recuperando algo que les pertenecía previamente, si no que lo ven como dos conquistas

más independientes. Sin embargo, hay otros historiadores que sí que utilizan ese término de “Reconquista”. Piensan que los musulmanes realizan unas determinadas conquistas sobre unos habitantes que después vuelven a reconquistar lo que les pertenecía a ellos. Éstos son digamos dos enfoques diferentes que existen, ¿Con cuál estarías tú más de acuerdo?

JOSÉ: Hombre, es que en cierta forma realmente la península no era nuestra desde un principio, o sea, no era realmente de nadie. Estábamos ahí y nosotros también tuvimos que conquistarla desde antes, entonces realmente reconquista y tal... Pero yo pienso que realmente sí estaría bien, porque aunque nosotros hiciéramos cosas para conquistarla antes por decirlo así, sí la teníamos antes...

ENTREVISTADOR: Cuando dices que nosotros tuvimos que conquistarla antes, ¿A quiénes está refiriendo?

JOSÉ: No sé cómo decirlo, por la península han pasado muchísimas culturas, por los distintos... Entonces realmente los pueblos más importantes que había por aquel entonces, que si los Reinos Cristianos y demás... Antes tuvieron que convertirse o tuvieron que pelear hasta unificarlos todos, por decirlo así. Entonces realmente en cierta forma, nosotros... vamos, los cristianos, tuvieron que conquistarla antes para tenerlo como estaba en un principio. Pero una vez que teníamos ya esto, yo creo que sí estaría bien Reconquista, porque una vez que lo teníamos, por decirlo así, de una forma u otra vinieron los musulmanes y nos conquistaron todo el territorio. Entonces como nos conquistaron... Si nosotros volvemos a recuperar el territorio que teníamos antes de la conquista, yo creo que sí que es una reconquista.

Appendix 3. Maps and Description of the Three Periods Used During the Interviews in Study 5

First period. Byzantine Empire: 4th to 14th centuries.

Since the fall of the Western Roman Empire (fifth century) until the mid-14th century, most of the Balkan Peninsula was under the rule of the Byzantine Empire.

Byzantine Empire. 550 A.D.



Byzantine Empire. 1025 A. D.



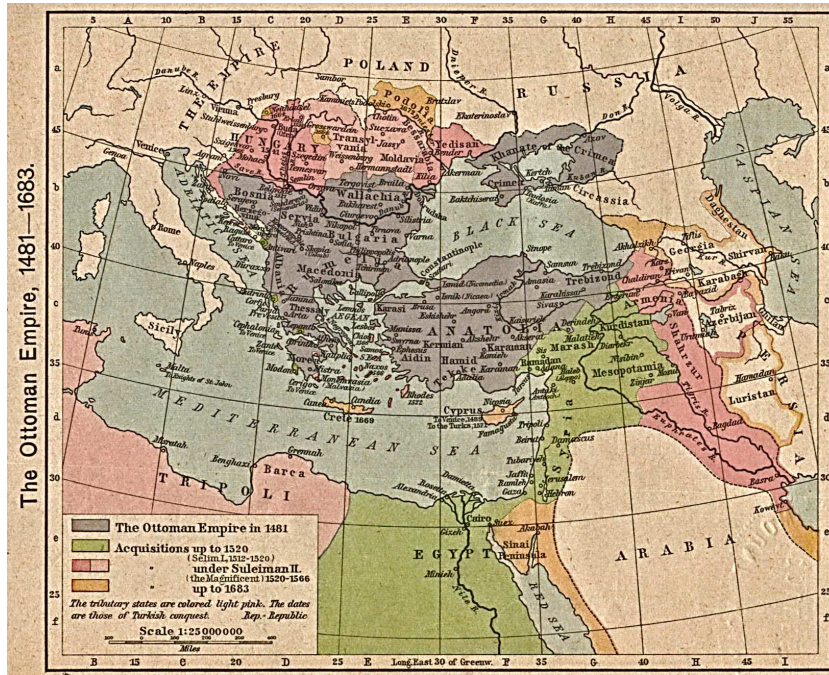
Byzantine Empire. 1270 A. D.



Second period. Ottoman Empire: 14th to 19th centuries.

In the 12th century, the Byzantine Empire began a long decline during the wars against the Ottoman Empire. In the 14th century, a series of Ottoman conquests of the Byzantine territories in the Balkan Peninsula culminated in the capture of Constantinople in the mid-15th century. These territories formed part of the Ottoman Empire until the 19th century.

The Ottoman Empire. 1481 A. D.



The Ottoman Empire in 1801



Third period. Greek independence and expansion: 19th and 20th centuries.

In 1821, the Greeks rose up against the Ottomans and declared their independence after many victories. Subsequently, the Greek territory was expanded until it reached its current configuration.



Appendix 4. Witten copy of one of the interviews carried out in Study 5

ENTREVISTADOR: Vamos a estar hablando de acontecimientos históricos que han ocurrido en la península de los Balcanes, que es ésta de aquí. Este es el material que tú vas a tener, se trata de tres periodos que están ordenados cronológicamente. Como ves, cada uno tiene un pequeño texto explicativo y unos mapas. Los tres hacen referencia a acontecimientos que han ocurrido en esta península de los Balcanes. Simplemente se trata de que los leas y de que los entiendas, no de que los memorices. Léelos ahora y si tienes alguna pregunta me consultas. Fíjate sobre todo en lo que va pasando la península de los Balcanes.

JOSÉ: (Lee los documentos) El Imperio Bizantino aquí ha quedado reducido... Porque si lo verde es todo el Imperio Otomano... ¿Ya lo han eliminado completamente?

ENTREVISTADOR: Claro, en ese período ya no existía el imperio bizantino...

JOSÉ: Claro, lo han conquistado los otros y ya pertenece a ese territorio...

ENTREVISTADOR: Bueno, si te parece vamos empezar por el primer periodo. Vamos a estar hablando de lo que ha ocurrido en esta península de los Balcanes. ¿Quiénes crees, qué habitantes crees que habría durante este primer período en esta península, cómo les llamarías a sus habitantes?

JOSÉ: Bueno, pues aquí dice que el Imperio Bizantino... Y que luego poco a poco... Bueno no, te dice que se va reduciendo su territorio. Todo esto es territorio bizantino y, poco a poco, con el paso del tiempo lo van conquistando los otomanos...

ENTREVISTADOR: Vale, durante este primer período, ¿Quiénes estaban ahí habitando?

JOSÉ: Los bizantinos

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Se te ocurre algún otro grupo de gente?

JOSÉ: No sé, aquí no dice nada, pero parece que la cultura bizantina, aunque supongo que dependerá de la zona, todas las zonas son diferentes según su evolución. Aunque todos estén bajo dominio bizantino supongo que no será igual aquí que aquí o aquí...

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Pero centrándonos solamente la península...?

JOSÉ: ¿Centrándonos solamente en la península griega no? Es que luego cuando habla ya de los griegos, se refiere a la gente que vivía ya en ese territorio, ¿no? No es una cultura nueva, sino que es la gente que vivía aquí... No es un imperio nuevo. Me refiero, es el imperio que ya había ahí. O sea, la cultura es lo que forma... Habla de imperio griego... Al final... Dice directamente “los griegos”, o sea, que todo el rato siempre ha habido griegos ahí porque es la península de Grecia, o sea la península del Peloponeso... Supongo que siempre han sido griegos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Vale. Y lo que es el territorio, hablando de este territorio de la península de los Balcanes, ¿A quién crees que pertenecería ese territorio durante este periodo? ¿De quién es ese territorio?

JOSÉ: A los bizantinos, al imperio bizantino, pero... Es que yo pienso que ahí están los griegos. Han estado los griegos todo el rato. Se definen por ese territorio.

ENTREVISTADOR: Vale. Vamos a pasar ahora al segundo período. Cuéntame un poco, en tu opinión, qué es lo que ha podido pasar para pasar de la anterior situación que hemos visto a esta nueva situación en este segundo período.

JOSÉ: Bueno, pues que el Imperio Otomano terminó por conquistar todo el territorio que tenía el Imperio Bizantino. Al menos colonizándolo e introduciendo unas nuevas costumbres y todo lo que significa una nueva cultura... Cambiando un poco a la gente, a los griegos que vivían en la península del Peloponeso. Introduciendo nuevas cosas, pero lo que tenían en el Imperio Bizantino no tenía por qué ser eliminado. O sea, todo eso quedó igualmente.

ENTREVISTADOR: Vale, muy bien. Igual que más comentado que estaban ahí los bizantinos en el primer periodo ¿Quiénes estarían ahora en este segundo periodo en la península de Peloponeso?

JOSÉ: Siguen siendo griegos, lo que pasa es que están adquiriendo una nueva cultura. Y nuevas costumbres, y no sé si nueva lengua y todo eso. Es su periodo de evolución, pero siempre han sido los griegos. Y luego ya, bueno, antes de pasar a la última parte,

supongo que aunque haya conquistado el Imperio Otomano todo lo que tenía el Bizantino... Lo único que significa eso es que ha habido guerras, que han ganado los otros, pero lo importante es que han introducido una nueva cultura en los griegos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y estas invasiones que me están contando del imperio otomano, desde tu punto de vista ¿A ti te parece que tenían derecho a realizar esas conquistas, te parece que no?

JOSÉ: Sí, desde mi punto de vista la guerra es algo que está en nuestra naturaleza y si han conquistado este territorio pues, no sé, es parte... Lo que yo pienso es que la guerra está justificada si vas a unificar un territorio para que no... Es algo normal en la naturaleza humana... Y no sé, a mí no me parece malo que lo hayan conquistado, no me parece que sean malos por haberlo hecho ni nada parecido. Al revés, es un proceso de evolución, es algo que siempre pasa.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y ese territorio, ya te digo siempre centrándonos en la península de los Balcanes, ¿Durante este segundo periodo consideras que pertenecería de manera legítima a los otomanos o por el contrario piensas que no, que pertenecía a otros?

JOSÉ: Sí, si lo han conquistado sí. Bueno, sí, sí claro, porque siguen siendo territorios... Han ampliado sus fronteras y ya está, pero todo... Pero luego se ve más adelante que siguen cambiando las fronteras, que es todo el rato... Siempre cambia, nunca te quedas con unas fronteras establecidas, porque las guerras son inevitables, está nuestra naturaleza... Y claro, yo pienso que al conquistarlo lo único que introdujeron fue nuevas culturas, nuevas costumbres y un poco lo que he dicho antes... Que la gente que es griega ha pasado por eso, pero son un poco de todos, el resultado de todas esas culturas.

ENTREVISTADOR: Vale, muy bien. Vamos a pasar ahora al tercer periodo. Nuevamente, cuéntame qué es lo que ha pasado para pasar de la anterior situación del período dos a esta nueva situación.

JOSÉ: Supongo que ha sido una especie de... Guerra civil o algo así, porque si los griegos de la península del Peloponeso, o sea... ¿Eran otomanos no? Supongo que claro, es como una guerra civil, que tendrían otros ideales porque allí ha sido así la evolución de su cultura... Porque se hayan ido viendo diferenciados... De una serie de

pueblos diferentes a lo que tenían, o sea, no les gustaba quizás por las normas que tuvieran, por cualquier cosa. Porque no estuvieran de acuerdo con lo que hubiese establecido el Imperio Otomano en ese territorio y ellos se sentían otra cosa... Y querían darle sentido a lo que ellos eran, y por eso quisieron quedarse su propio territorio y dividirse del imperio...

ENTREVISTADOR: Vale, esto que me has estado comentando de que se independizan ¿Crees que tendrían derecho a independizarse los griegos, crees que no?

JOSÉ: Sí, porque es como su libertad. Si no te sientes algo, de un grupo, pues lo que haces es, para sentirte tú mismo, es irte de allí... Y ser auténtico y ser lo que ellos son. Si ellos se veían diferentes a los otomanos, pues a ver, la solución que tenían... No me parece que es algo que haya estado mal hecho, pero no sé, supongo que sí que tenían derecho y no es algo malo.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y en el sentido de lo que es el territorio, ¿tú consideras que el territorio que se independiza pertenece de manera legítima a Grecia?

JOSÉ: Sí, pero es que... Yo lo que pienso es que sí que pertenece porque, si se definen por el territorio, si son griegos por qué viven en ese territorio, se localizan en ese territorio... Porque son de allí, son de la península del Peloponeso, solamente la península del Peloponeso define a los griegos, ¿no?

ENTREVISTADOR: Para ti, ¿cuál es tu opinión?

JOSÉ: Que no, que una misma cultura puede estar en diferentes territorios. Pero si aquí sí que se definían por eso... Supongo que aunque hayan pasado por diferentes culturas, sí se sentían diferentes. Han hecho bien en independizarse.

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Pero el territorio era legítimamente griego?

JOSÉ: Sí, yo creo que sí... a ver, no creo que sea nada legítimo en realidad, porque no te pertenece algo porque sí... No creo que fuese legítimo, no creo que les perteneciese legítimamente... Se lo ganaron ganando las guerras contra los otomanos... Entonces sí que les pertenecía cuando ganaron las guerras, no antes.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y, digamos, esa identidad griega que estamos viendo principalmente en este tercer período, que la gente se ha independizado y que tendría ese sentimiento de identidad nacional griega y de pertenencia a la nación griega... Ese sentimiento de que la gente tuviese esa identidad nacional griega ¿desde cuándo crees que eso ha ocurrido? ¿Crees que es algo que surge aquí o que ya existía en estos períodos o incluso antes o no...? ¿Desde cuándo crees que la gente que habitaba ahí tenía ese sentimiento de identificación con Grecia?

JOSÉ: Supongo que no mucho antes de esto, no mucho antes del último período, porque... No sé, porque podían haberlo hecho en cualquier momento ¿no? ¿Qué diferencia hay? Si lo hicieron entonces es porque ya había mucha... Estaban disconformes con eso, porque si de verdad hubieran estado tan mal aquí, pues ya lo hubieran hecho antes. Lo hicieron en el momento... Vamos, creo yo, no sé lo que pensarían en el momento... Pero si lo hicieron entonces sería porque ellos no podían aguantar ya más. Se verían completamente diferentes al imperio otomano...

ENTREVISTADOR: Cuando me dices que no podían aguantar ya más, ¿consideras que antes estaban ahí aguantando? ¿Pero en estos períodos consideras que habría ese sentimiento de identidad nacional griega también?

JOSÉ: Es que me pregunto que antes del imperio romano, qué es lo que hubo en ese territorio... Pero antes del imperio romano, el territorio griego estaba como... Eran griegos, o sea, antes del imperio romano... Lo de las polis griegas y todo eso, ¿esos ya se definían como gente griega?

ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Tú qué crees, crees que se definirían como gente griega?

JOSÉ: Es que no me acuerdo como era... Si de verdad ya había un pueblo griego formado antes, que sería el que hay después de todo, el que se ha quedado después de todo, o si no estaban tan unidos y quizás, el pueblo griego quedó unido después de esto, cuando se rebelaron todos los que tenían las mismas ideas diferentes a las de los otomanos y entonces fue cuando se creó el Imperio Griego. Pero quizás si siempre ha habido una identidad griega desde antes de los romanos y luego ya se conquistó el imperio romano, y ellos se sentían griegos y romanos, y han pasado por todo este período con esa disconformidad hasta que vieron quizás la oportunidad en el Imperio

Otomano. A lo mejor era un momento de declive del imperio y por eso utilizaron ese momento para independizarse...

ENTREVISTADOR: Vale, bueno, te cuento: como sabes, en las ciencias experimentales como matemáticas o física, los científicos, cuando trabajan con un concepto suelen tener una definición y la mayoría de ellos suelen estar de acuerdo en torno a esa definición. Sin embargo, en ciencias sociales, en historia en concreto, eso nos suele ocurrir así, sino que no todos los historiadores opinan lo mismo sobre un mismo concepto o incluso sobre un mismo acontecimiento histórico. En ese sentido, según un enfoque de todo esto que hemos estado viendo, algunos historiadores opinan que estos griegos, estos habitantes del tercer periodo, serían de alguna manera los continuadores o los descendientes de lo que se denominaba la Grecia Clásica. En ese sentido, consideran que este sentimiento de identidad nacional griega es algo que, digamos, ha estado de alguna manera presente permanentemente en estos territorios y que la gente se ha identificado con Grecia a lo largo de todos estos periodos. Consideran que estos griegos son continuadores o descendientes de la antigua Grecia clásica. Por ejemplo, se consideran descendientes de estos griegos y en parte del Imperio Bizantino, pero, sin embargo, consideran el Imperio Otomano como una ocupación extranjera del territorio nacional griego. Este periodo otomano es visto como un período de ocupación hasta que en este último periodo recuperan de alguna manera el territorio que siempre ha pertenecido a los griegos. ¿Estás de acuerdo con esto o no estarías de acuerdo con esto?

JOSÉ: sí, si de verdad se refieren hasta el imperio otomano, que ellos habían estado a gusto, se sentían identificados...

ENTREVISTADOR: Lo que se refieren estos historiadores es que este sentimiento de identidad nacional griega que hemos visto aquí, lo que dicen es que eso viene de la Grecia Clásica. En ese sentido se consideran descendientes, que esa idea de identidad nacional griega se ha ido transmitiendo y que de alguna manera el imperio bizantino seguía esas identidades, sin embargo el imperio otomano...

JOSÉ: O sea, que estaban más emparentados...

ENTREVISTADOR: Sí, como dices, consideran que hay un cierto parentesco con el imperio bizantino y sin embargo el imperio otomano se considera como una ocupación extranjera de algo ajeno... Y que ocupa el territorio que siempre había permanecido de alguna manera los griegos.

JOSÉ: Claro, es que supongo que los únicos que lo sabrán son los que se independizaron... Pero yo creo que es bastante probable, porque siempre tienes un sentimiento de pertenecer a algo anterior, es inherente a todos que pertenecemos... Como que somos descendientes de la España de la Reconquista y, claro, la cultura de los moros nos empapó y hemos evolucionado a partir de eso igualmente... Pero aunque hayamos sido invadidos por ellos, siempre hemos tenido el pensamiento de pertenecer a lo anterior, a lo que era realmente definido ya desde no se sabe cuándo nació una cosa así. La identidad de territorio así, bien definido, un territorio bien definido y que tú te sientes perteneciente a eso... No sé cuando hubiera nacido eso. Pero yo creo que sí, que siempre se tiene algo y que, además, los griegos de ahora sí que se sentirán identificados con lo anterior, con la Grecia Clásica. Se pretenden descendientes de eso.

ENTREVISTADOR: Bueno, en ese sentido, estos historiadores que te estaba comentando de esta segunda opción, al considerar que estos griegos son continuadores de la Grecia clásica y del imperio bizantino, consideran que, por ejemplo, la ciudad de Constantinopla, la actual Estambul, debería pertenecer a Grecia ya que en su momento perteneció al imperio bizantino. ¿A ti eso qué te parece, estás de acuerdo o no?

JOSÉ: Yo creo que no,... que Constantinopla no pertenecía a la Grecia clásica, ¿no? Que Constantinopla ha sido como la ciudad más importante porque la división de Edad Media, con Edad Moderna, creo que se hacía a partir de la caída de Constantinopla, del imperio romano de oriente. Fue a partir de entonces cuando se dividió la historia y en un momento tan importante pertenecía a los romanos... No creo que ahí Grecia tuviese nada que ver. El imperio romano es lo mismo, los italianos o al menos... También se sentirán identificados con eso. Quizás yo creo que la identidad del pueblo nace en el momento de mayor esplendor, cuando más orgulloso puedes estar de pertenecer a eso. A lo mejor los españoles pues nos pasa con la época de los Reyes Católicos y ahí surgió lo de ser español... Aunque bueno, la Reconquista fue anterior a eso... Así que supongo que sería otro anterior. Bueno, habría nacido antes el concepto de español. Pero hablando de esto, supongo que los griegos, si nació el sentimiento griego con la Grecia

clásica no creo que Constantinopla... Además Estambul ahora mismo... No me acuerdo a qué país pertenece, a Turquía. Lo que yo me refiero, no tiene nada que ver, no creo que tenga mucha cultura griega.

ENTREVISTADOR: Vale muy bien. Esto, ya te digo, es lo que opinan algunos historiadores, pero como te decía hay otro grupo de historiadores que tienen un punto de vista diferente. Consideran que estas personas que hay en este tercer periodo y ese sentimiento de identificarse con la nación griega y de tener una identidad nacional griega, consideran que es algo que surge en este periodo, a mediados del siglo XIX, mediante un proceso de cambios económicos, cambios políticos, con el auge de los nacionalismos... Consideran que esa identidad nacional griega surge en ese momento, y consideran que no se puede aplicar a períodos anteriores a este siglo XIX... Es decir, que durante estos períodos anteriores no consideran que la gente tuviese una identidad nacional griega, porque consideran que eso se construye de alguna manera en este tercer período. En ese sentido, rompe esa continuidad con la Grecia Clásica que veíamos antes, sino que consideran que es un proceso relativamente moderno que serán más en este siglo XIX. En ese sentido, ¿estás de acuerdo con eso?

JOSÉ: ¿Que es cuando nace allí la cultura griega?

ENTREVISTADOR: No la cultura, sino el sentimiento de identidad nacional griega, que es cuando allí la gente se identifica con la nación griega... Estos habitantes se comienzan a identificar con Grecia, que tengan ese sentimiento de identidad nacional griega...

JOSÉ: Pero ¿y por qué entonces el nombre, que ya venía de antes, el de los griegos de antes de los romanos? ¿Y por qué se pusieron también el nombre de Grecia?

ENTREVISTADOR: En ese sentido, ¿tú estarías de acuerdo con esta otra explicación?

JOSÉ: No, yo creo que es imposible que no haya influido, siguen siendo... A lo mejor no los descendientes directos, pero sí que tienen que tener... Sí, el sentimiento de que tengan que pertenecer, pero estar completamente más emparentados con la Grecia Clásica. Es algo que... Vale que hayan pasado por el Imperio Bizantino y por el otomano y hayan adquirido todo lo que significa vivir en otro lugar prácticamente... Coges todas las costumbres nuevas y cambias, aunque sí que hayan surgido en este

momento, después del Imperio Otomano, yo creo que ya solamente por llamarse también Grecia...eso significa que sí tenían el sentimiento ese.

Appendix 5. Excerpt of “*La Reconquista. El Concepto de España: Unidad y Diversidad*” Used in Study 7

“After most of the Iberian Peninsula was conquered by Muslim invaders, in the area where Christians took refuge various political centers were gradually developed, starting with the Kingdom of Asturias and followed by the Kingdom of Pamplona. Nevertheless, the term <Spain> was always present, either as a reference to a past of unity - unity lost after the defeat and death suffered by the Visigoth King Rodrigo in the Battle of Guadalete in 711 - or as expectation of a future project and, of course, a project of unity. Certainly in medieval times it was hoped to achieve someday the reunification of the various Christian groups, constituting what was called nothing less than <the whole Spain>. This is demonstrated by various medieval chroniclers from the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon as well as from the Crown of Aragon, the Kingdom of Navarre or the Kingdom of Portugal.”

Appendix 6. Written copy of one of the interviews carried out in Study 7

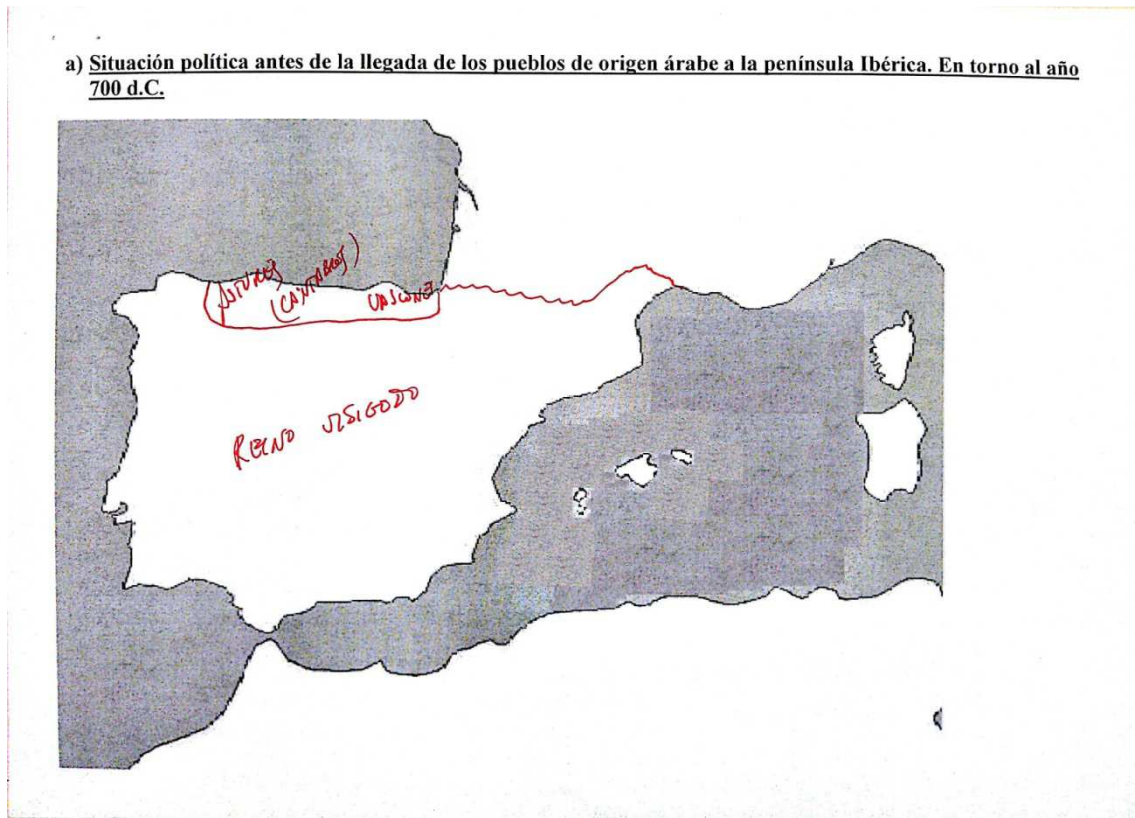
ENTREVISTADOR: Vamos a hablar de los acontecimientos que ocurrieron en la península Ibérica desde la llegada de los pueblos de origen musulmán hasta la conquista de Granada por parte de los Reyes Católicos. Muy brevemente, ¿me podrías decir que pasó en ese período, desde que llegan los pueblos de origen musulmán hasta la conquista de Granada?

H2: Bueno, muy resumido, en primer lugar que llegan los árabes, se produce esa conquista, que no invasión, esa conquista del territorio, que termina con la monarquía visigoda y comienza una organización del territorio, en el cual, en contra de las teorías tradicionales de que vienen en una mano con la espada y en la otra con el Corán y obligan a la gente a convertirse... Pues bien, se sabe que no es así, sino que hay el estatuto de dignis, o de protegidos, que son los judíos y los cristianos, que mantienen su religión... Pero bueno, organizan una sociedad en la que, por supuesto, ellos son dominantes y hay unos dominados. No hubo mucha resistencia, la resistencia es muy pequeña. Y en la parte norte pues comienzan, hay unos grupos, los astures, que vivían ahí de manera independiente en la época visigótica y ellos, posiblemente por razones de carácter económico y social empiezan a organizar el territorio de manera administrativa y política y comienzan a organizar un reino. Lo mismo va a ocurrir en la zona del Pirineo donde hay determinados núcleos, el núcleo de Pamplona y el núcleo de Aragón y el núcleo después de la Marca Hispánica, que depende de la monarquía franca. Bueno, pues a partir de ahí hay una evolución muy importante tanto en la zona de los árabes como en la parte cristiana, en la que distintos reinos, distintos núcleos que están en el norte, van haciéndose cada vez mayores y van a intentar conquistar el mayor territorio a los árabes. Van tomando fuerza al mismo tiempo que hay una debilidad cada vez mayor, por problemas internos, dentro de los grupos de poder musulmanes y cada vez los musulmanes quieren más terreno, más terreno, hasta que los reinos del norte son cada vez más fuertes, los del sur son cada vez más débiles y llega un momento en el que los Reyes Católicos, Isabel como reina de Castilla, Fernando como rey de la corona de Aragón, plantan cara final a los árabes que están en el reino de Granada, que conservan solamente el Reino de Granada y conquistan el reino de Granada. Hay una cosa que no he dicho, pero que es importante y es que en determinado momento va a surgir el reino de Portugal. Durante bastante tiempo hay un equilibrio de poderes, aunque el reino de

Castilla termine siendo dominante... Pero bueno, de manera muy breve, muy breve, muy breve... Lo que pasa en ocho siglos.

ENTREVISTADOR: vale, perfecto. Vamos a hablar un poco de este periodo. Como ves, aquí hay un mapa mudo. Se trata de que intentes plasmar un poco, en tu opinión, cuál sería la situación política en este momento. Como ves, antes de la llegada de los pueblos de origen musulmán a la peninsular Ibérica en torno al año 700. No se trata de que seas muy minuciosa ni muy precisa. Sino que plasmas la idea general.

H2: La situación política, creo que era muy simple. Hacia el año 700 lo que tenemos aquí es una franja, en la que estaban los astures, los cántabros, aunque los cántabros estaban... Prácticamente estaban asumidos por los astures y los vascones... La frontera tendría más o menos por aquí y esto sería la Septimania. Y tenemos el Reino Visigodo claro.



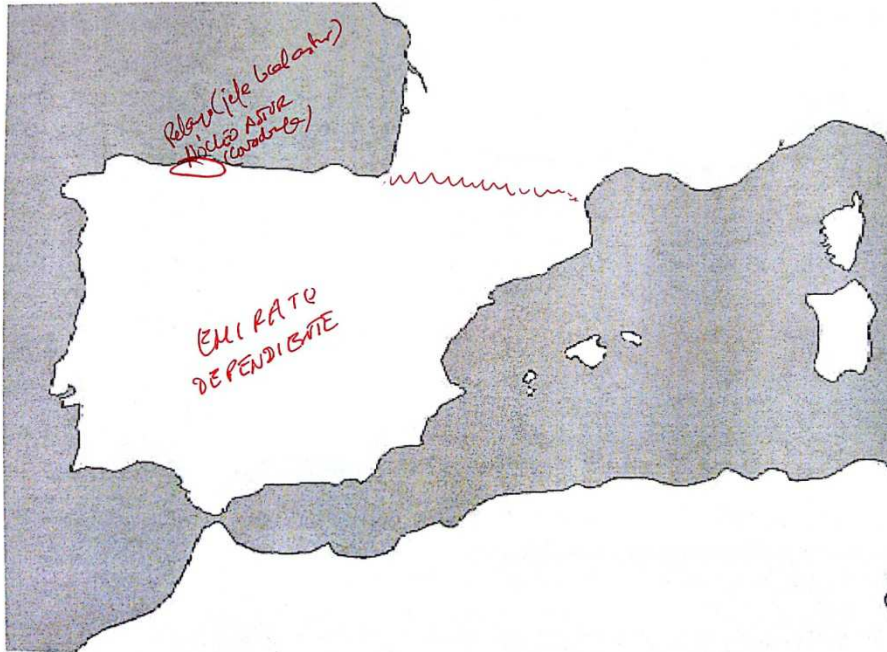
ENTREVISTADOR: En ese sentido, ¿te parece que habría mucha unidad entre los habitantes, que habría mucha cohesión, o no...?

H2: Yo nunca he creído en el alto grado de cohesión del territorio hispano hasta muy, muy avanzada, hasta bastantes siglos más tarde... Lo único que sí está claro es que el Reino Visigodo, la autoridad, los reyes, en la monarquía visigoda tiene un objetivo claro, y es hacer de la península Ibérica su espacio político. Y sí que tiene unas ideas de ir logrando esa unidad del territorio, terminando con el reino de los suevos e intentando conquistar el mayor territorio posible. Exceptuando con esa franja norte con la que no se atreven... Bueno, con los vascones tienen algunas escaramuzas... Pero, quitando eso, quieren conseguir una unidad desde el punto de vista religioso, desde el punto de vista jurídico, que tarda mucho en que haya una unidad jurídica, legislativa, pero desde el punto de vista de los habitantes. ¿Qué se sienten hispanos? Pues lo dudo. Claro, como no tenemos datos tampoco para ello, es muy difícil saber qué se sentían o no.

ENTREVISTADOR: Vale, muy bien. Pues vamos a pasar ahora a este segundo momento, la tarea es un poco la misma, pero ahora el momento sería el momento de máxima expansión de los pueblos de origen musulmán. En torno al año 722, ¿cómo quedaría la situación en ese momento?

H2: Pues aquí lo único que tenemos es como núcleo político, es este pequeño núcleo del núcleo astur. En el 722 es la batalla de Covadonga, por lo tanto tenemos a Pelayo, que no sabemos qué es. Es un jefe local de los astures probablemente. Y el resto, pues vamos a llamarle emirato dependiente. Están en los momentos de formación del emirato dependiente. Que más o menos sería una cosa así, porque claro, la Septimania no está muy claro que entre a formar parte... Yo lo dejaría así.

b) Situación política en el período de máxima expansión de los pueblos árabes en la península Ibérica. En torno al año 722



ENTREVISTADOR: Muy bien. Y estas invasiones que me has estado comentando, ¿qué te parecen desde tu punto de vista, te parece que tenían derecho a realizar esas conquistas de ese territorio o no?

H2: Bueno, pues esto es como ha ocurrido siempre en todos los pueblos. Se expande, se expande, se expande a través de conquista. ¿Qué derechos tenían los visigodos de haber entrado antes y de quedarse con el territorio del Imperio Romano? ¿Qué derecho tenía el Imperio Romano de haberse hecho con el territorio hispano? Pues con el mismo derecho que habían entrado los visigodos y habían entrado los romanos, llega un momento que llegan los árabes. Yo aquí creo que no se puede hablar de derechos.

ENTREVISTADOR: Muy bien, perfectamente. Este territorio que hemos visto aquí que han conquistado los pueblos de origen árabe, ¿a quién pertenecería? ¿Les pertenecería a ellos, pertenecería a otros? ¿A ti te parece que legítimamente, quizás de facto sí, pero legítimamente no era suyo...? ¿Cómo lo ves?

H2: Una vez que lo conquistan es suyo, una vez que lo conquistan. Como todas las conquistas militares, ésta además fue una especie de paseo, porque si a los romanos les costó 200 años conquista del territorio, a éstos les costó diez como mucho, por echarle

largo. Una vez que una persona conquista del territorio, es suyo, se lo queda. Es suyo, lo organiza y lo controla políticamente, económicamente y toda esa serie de cosas.

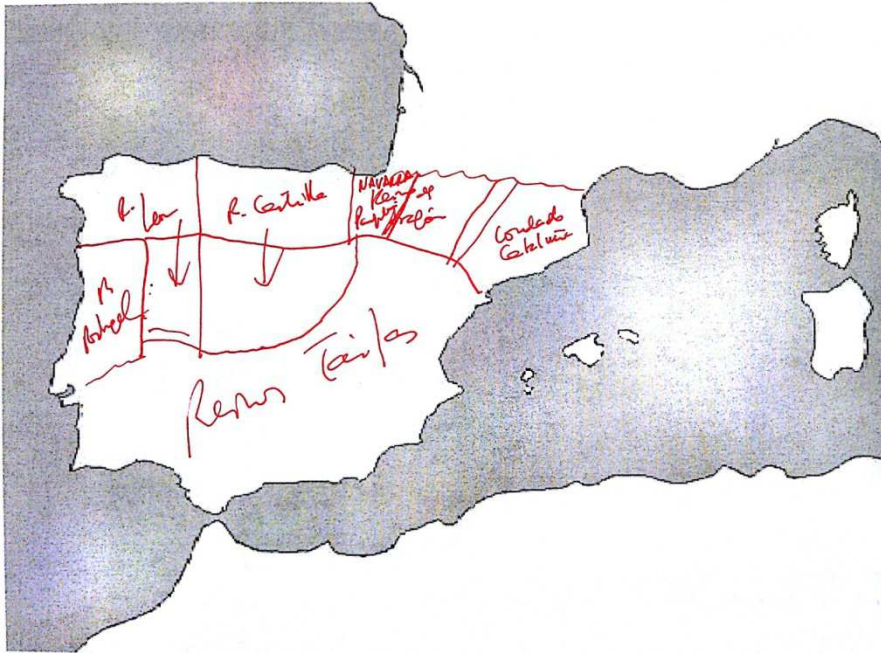
ENTREVISTADOR: Muy bien, y en ese sentido, ¿Cuáles eran sus motivaciones, porque querían conquistar esos territorios?

H2: Hay varias teorías, la primera es la expansión, la expansión, la expansión... Una fuerza expansiva del islam, que organiza un gran ejército y entonces necesita seguir conquistando para poder pagar a sus soldados. Si no tienen un botín no van a poder pagar soldados, evidentemente. Un imperio como el Imperio Árabe que empieza a expandirse de una manera tremenda, por supuesto que le interesaba tener tierras, ¿cómo no? Y después hay otra teoría, que no sé cómo calificarla, desde luego poco creíble, y es que los árabes, ante el fracaso de conquistar Constantinopla, que es el imperio dominante y que si no conquistan la capital no van a conquistar el imperio, y fracasado el intento por mar, la teoría dice que quieren llegar a Constantinopla por tierra. Es un poquito estirar demasiado el asunto, me parece a mí, pero bueno. Ellos siguen y entran en Francia, y de no haber sido por la batalla de Poitiers, pues realmente hubieran continuado y hubieran conquistado todo el territorio posible lógicamente.

ENTREVISTADOR: Vale, muy bien. Vamos a pasar ahora a este tercer mapa, es un poco la misma tarea y en este caso es el año 1212.

H2: Bueno, aquí ya tenemos a Portugal. En 1212 tenemos el Reino de León, Reino de Castilla. En 1212 tenemos Reino de Aragón, y aquí tenemos... Me he comido Pamplona... Reino de Pamplona, Reino de Aragón... Esto sería condado catalán. Bueno, el reino de Castilla estaba mucho más abajo porque ya habían conquistado Madrid, habían conquistado Toledo, así que todo estaba mucho más abajo... No me acuerdo de Portugal honestamente por dónde podrían llegar, pero ya podrían llegar por aquí. Y claro, todos estos ya son reinos de taifas, que no los voy a dibujar, porque claro...

c) Situación política en torno a 1212 (Batalla de las Navas de Tolosa)



ENTREVISTADOR: En este sentido, estas conquistas que me has estado hablando para pasar del anterior mapa a éste, ¿por qué crees que querían estos distintos reinos realizar estas conquistas, cuáles eran sus motivaciones?

H2: Pues lógicamente, por lo mismo. Hay unos reinos que se están organizando y sobre todo en esta época que estamos hablando. Todos los reinos que pueden expandirse se expanden, tienen más tierras. Esto es una tarea colonizadora importante que no sólo lo vemos en esta época. Lo vemos hoy en día. Aquel que tiene un territorio y puede expandirse, se expande. Entonces yo creo que tienen unos intereses de carácter económico-social, político también, que les mueve a hacerse con más tierras, evidentemente.

ENTREVISTADOR: Y en ese sentido, ¿A ti te parece que esas conquistas eran legítimas, que tenían derecho a realizarlas?

H2: Es que yo creo que... Hay una cuestión. Cuando estamos hablando de este tipo de cosas, de conquistas, sobre todo en la Edad Media, yo creo que la palabra derechos no es correcta. Porque ¿tiene derecho Estados Unidos a entrar en Pakistán y matar a Osama bin Laden? Claro, estamos hablando en el siglo XXI de esos derechos o no derechos...

Pero, en aquella época yo creo que no podemos hablar de derechos para nada, no tiene nada que ver. Es que yo creo que nadie se planteaba si tenía derecho o no, ellos querían conquistar y avanzar y hacerse con tierras. Y al conquistar más tierras se hacían más ricos. Ellos no se planteaban para nada los derechos y, nosotros cuando miramos esa época, yo creo que es anacrónico utilizar ideas actuales. Todo lo que nuestra sociedad entiende como una serie de cosas razonables y en aquella época ni se lo planteaba.

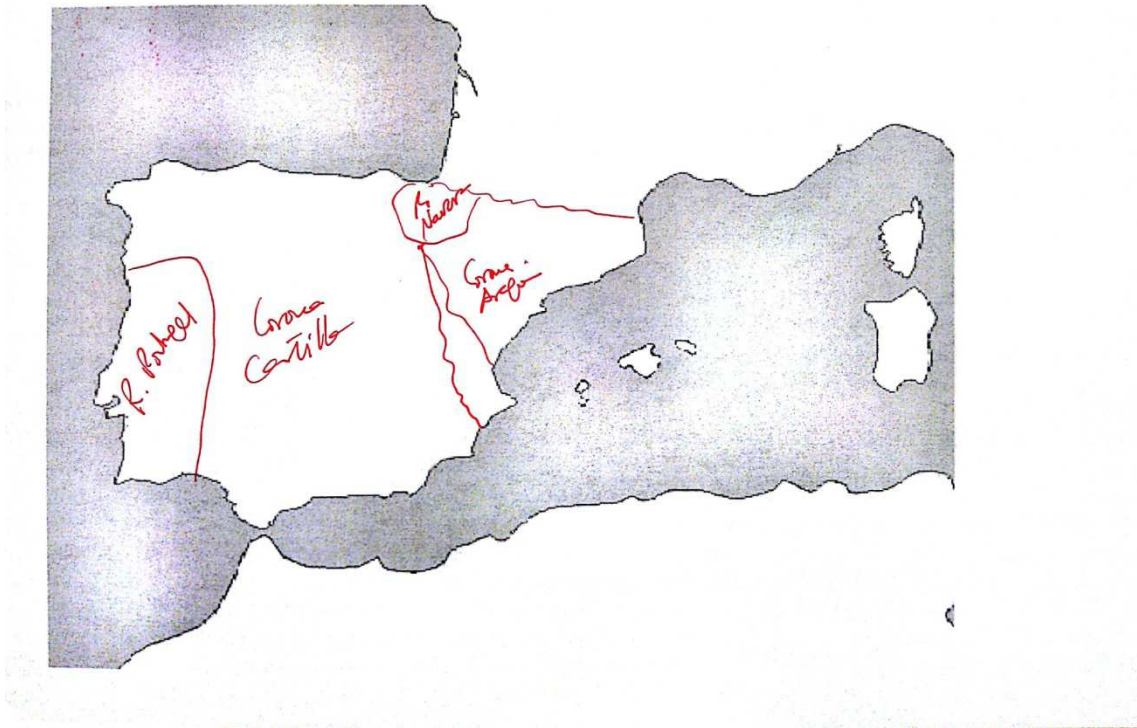
ENTREVISTADOR: ¿Qué opinas del territorio que han conquistado? ¿Consideras que les pertenecía de manera legítima o no a estos Reinos Cristianos?

H2: De la misma manera que era, por decir, legítimamente visigodo cuando llegan los árabes, es legítimamente árabe cuando llegan estos grupos, que además, estos grupos probablemente no tengan nada que ver con los anteriores que vivían aquí. Es decir, que se consideren legítimos dueños de ese territorio, para nada. Claro, en el tema de la legitimidad también hay que tener mucho cuidado a la hora de utilizar el lenguaje de épocas pasadas de nuestra historia. La legitimidad se puede aplicar a ciertas cosas, pero ¿quién tenía los títulos de propiedad aquí? No había títulos de propiedad. Llega un momento en el que empieza a haberlos. Pero en esta época que estamos hablando... En algunos monasterios empiezan a escribir y conservar documentos de compra y venta, pero no hay un título de propiedad, entonces...

ENTREVISTADOR: Vale, perfecto. La situación que quedaría un poco en este último momento. Una vez que ha sido conquistada Granada.

H2: Pues aquí tenemos el reino de Portugal, aquí tenemos el reino de Navarra, aquí tenemos la corona Aragón aquí tenemos la corona de Castilla.

d) 1492. Tras la conquista de Granada bajo el reinado de los reyes católicos.



ENTREVISTADOR: Bueno, supongo que habrás oído utilizar referente a este período el término de Reconquista. ¿Tú qué opinas del uso de ese término, estás de acuerdo que fue una reconquista?

H2: El término Reconquista, yo creo que el que mejor ha explicado todo este asunto del término de Reconquista ha sido Barbero en alguna de sus obras y, en concreto, en la de *La formación del feudalismo en la península Ibérica*. Entonces, está claro que en un principio Pelayo y los primeros reinos no están reconquistando nada. Están conquistando un nuevo territorio. Porque los que comienzan a conquistar esos territorios no los habían tenido antes, no habían sido poseedores previamente. Luego, por tanto, el término reconquista no sería correcto. Tampoco lo será en el futuro. Lo que ocurre es que es un término que se ha acuñado de tal manera, que yo cuando explicó este tema a mis alumnos les digo que este término no es correcto, pero llega un momento en el que determinados términos, que se generalizan hasta tal punto que es la manera de entender de qué estamos hablando. Entonces hablamos de reconquista, probablemente de manera impropia. Yo lo utilizo así, creo que es un término impropiaemente acuñado. Es un término acuñado desde el punto de vista ideológico, porque hay que tener en cuenta que estos términos los utiliza gente que lo que quieren demostrar es que este es un territorio

cristiano. Y lo que ha sido la teoría tradicional, es que los cristianos que están en el norte tienen que resistir al musulmán y tienen que echarlos. Entonces para echarlos se ponen a reconquistar el territorio para los cristianos. Pero claro, lo que no sabemos es si Pelayo era cristiano. Se trata de desideologizar la historia, entonces uno explica lo que parece razonable o racional, no lo ideológico o lo subjetivo, evidentemente. Entonces, está claro que el término reconquista es un término absolutamente ideológico y que, explicado todo esto, se sigue usando.

ENTREVISTADOR: No sé si has leído la obra de Julio Valdeón que se titula precisamente *La reconquista*. (Lee el fragmento de la obra de Julio Valdeón, ver Apéndice 5). Como ves, precisamente habla de que siempre hubo deseos de recuperar, incluso él comenta esa idea de recuperar la unidad de España. ¿Estarías de acuerdo con esa opinión?

H2: Julio Valdeón, le conozco muy bien... Entonces cuando él escribe este libro de *La Reconquista*, parece como que había empezado a perder el norte. Una persona brillantísima y un hombre inteligentísimo. Y había evolucionado desde el marxismo inicial, que practicó durante muchísimos años y luego, después, se volvió hacia un campo muchísimo más conservador. Entonces, yo creo que ese libro responde más bien a una idea conservadora. Que no hay que perderla de vista tampoco. Es decir, que llega un momento en el que comienza a existir una idea de que mejor unidos que separados. Yo dudo mucho, además no tenemos datos para confirmarlo, por ejemplo, ¿qué pensaba la gente? ¿La gente que vivía en Castilla quería tener una unidad de España? Nadie hablaba de España. Últimamente han salido algunos libros que muy correctamente hablan de las Españas. Y bueno, esto sí, las Españas. De hecho desde el exterior, sobre todo en documentos del siglo XVI, cada vez que se habla del rey, se habla de los reyes de las Españas. Yo cada vez estoy más convencida, pero tampoco me he puesto a estudiarlo con detenimiento, y es que se identifica a Castilla con España y entonces España es Castilla. En los documentos se indica muy claramente, cuando se habla de Castilla se la llama Hispania. Y en mapas del siglo XIV y XV, aparece Hispania y Aragón, e Hispania es Castilla. La palabra Hispania está encima de Castilla. O sea, que es una cosa que parece que habría que ver clara. Que Hispania era Castilla. ¿Se entiende que España tenía que ser todo el territorio? Pues yo no lo tengo seguro. Y es una cosa que también les digo a los alumnos: el no tener las cosas claras, el no defender

determinadas cosas desde el punto de vista ideológico, no nos hace ser peores españoles, sino que tú explicas las cosas cómo crees que han sido de manera objetiva. Y entonces no te puedes inventar que los españoles querían la unidad porque, ¿qué sabían ellos? Ellos dependían de un rey que era el rey de Castilla. Los que vivían en Zaragoza dependían de un rey que era el rey de Aragón. Yo creo que, dadas las pocas facilidades de comunicación de aquella época, lo que ellos tenían más claro era la autoridad que tenían por encima. En Zaragoza podía ser el virrey de Aragón, en Cataluña el virrey de Cataluña y en Valencia el virrey de Valencia. Yo no creo que ellos tengan conciencia de unidad. Los únicos que pueden imponer conciencia de unidad, porque la unidad se impone, son los monarcas, y los monarcas no fusionan los reinos. Está claro que hay un mismo rey que es rey de Castilla y Aragón, pero el rey de Castilla y Aragón, ¿qué hacen para fusionar aquello? ¿Tienen las mismas leyes? No. ¿Tienen las mismas cortes? No. Cada uno tiene sus cortes. Entonces es evidente que en aquella época, ni por parte del pueblo ni por parte de los reyes hay esa idea de unidad. Hay gente que piensa que cuando no sé quién se casa con no sé quién, ya se unen. Pero es que no era así.