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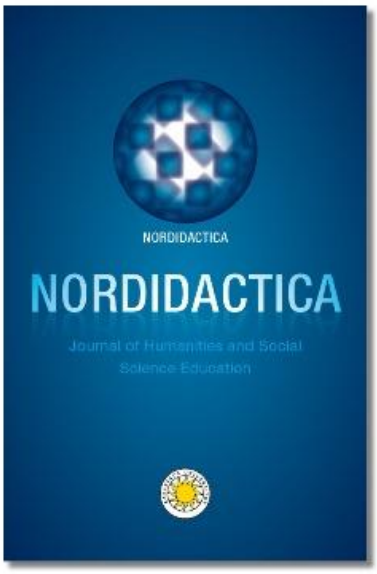

Nordidactica

- Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education

2022:3

Nordidactica – Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education
Nordidactica 2022:3
ISSN 2000-9879
The online version of this paper can be found at: www.kau.se/nordidactica

NORDIDACTICA – JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION
ISSN 2000-9879
2022:3 77-100

"The Trick and How to Do It." Teaching Historical Thinking in International Baccalaureate (IB) Classrooms in Finland

Susanna Soininen

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Abstract: Recent research in history teaching pedagogy considers the analytical use of primary sources to be a key feature in the teaching of historical thinking. This article describes the teaching practices employed by International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IB) history teachers in Finland when using primary sources in history lessons. Six teachers in Finnish IB schools were interviewed between October 2017 and April 2018, and the collected data were subjected to qualitative content analysis. The results showed that the teachers used a variety of teaching practices, both teacher-driven and student-oriented, to meet the requirements of the IB history curriculum and to promote the learning of history by doing history. The teachers in the study instructed their students in the analytical use of sources and appreciated the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) assessment format, stating that the process of preparing students for Paper 1 and using the OPVL method (evaluating sources by their origin, purpose, value, and limitations) facilitated the teaching of historical skills.

KEYWORDS: ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY SOURCES, IB HISTORY TEACHING

About the author: Susanna Soininen, PhD student at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. IB Diploma Coordinator, Teacher of IB History and Global Politics

Introduction

Historical perspective-taking, understanding the unstable past by its own means, working with evidence, developing interpretations, and considering multiple perspectives are all elements of thinking historically, which is considered a main aim of history education (Barton and Levstik, 2004; Seixas, 2015; VanSledright, 2011). History education researchers agree that the practice of analyzing primary, original sources is a key feature of historical thinking, and an essential competency that enables historical reading and discipline literacy (Lightning, 2021; Nokes, 2010; Reisman, Brimsek and Hollywood, 2019; Seixas, 2015; Wineburg, 1991a; 1991b). Analytical use of sources refers to the "practice of determining the usefulness and limitations of a source within a context of inquiry, using sources as evidence to answer a historical question" (Barton, 2018, 10). Furthermore, disciplinary use of primary sources is closely linked to the development of a student's higher order thinking skills and their ability to build conceptual understandings (Lee, 2014; Lightning, 2021; Körber and Meyer-Hamme, 2015; Seixas, 2015), competence in historical reasoning (van Boxtel and van Drie, 2018), and active participation in a democratic society (Barton and Levstik, 2004; Levstik and Barton, 2011). Today, the analysis of sources is more important than ever; the ability to differentiate between fact and fake is a vital skill. As Stanford researchers have claimed, teaching historical thinking in our digital age requires the skills of a professional fact-checker and the ability to teach these skills to students who use online sources for their history assignments. The purpose of this teaching is to create citizens capable of critical reading (Wineburg, 2018).

How can we make sense of history and teach historical thinking efficiently with primary sources in twenty-first century history classrooms? According to Barton, there are four reasons for using sources, which all have implications for classroom practice. The first two reasons, 1) illustration and motivation and 2) evidence for historical inquiry, both consider sources as a means to an end. The other reasons, 3) visual or textual interpretation and 4) source analysis[1], if used in isolation, both represent sources as ends themselves. By reflecting on the purposes of using sources, teachers can ensure that their use of sources deepens and extends students' historical understanding (Barton, 2018, 1–2). In addition, Wineburg (2001) developed three heuristics of discipline-specific ways of historical reading and thinking: sourcing (noting the author, date, audience, and purpose of writing), contextualizing (placing a document in a specific time and place), and corroborating (comparing accounts and evidence across multiple sources). Instructing students in the use of these heuristics enables them to use the same strategies employed by historians; hence, they learn history by doing history (Barton and Levstik, 2004). However, several studies have reported on the challenges that teachers face when incorporating the analytical use of sources into history teaching (van Hover, Hicks and Duck 2016; Reisman, 2012; Brooks, 2013; Grant, 2003; Hicks, Doolittle and Lee, 2004; Levstik and Barton, 2011; Nokes, 2010; Wineburg, 1991a;

[1] Students are presented with a source and asked to "analyze" it without the context of an inquiry. The source is then identified as "biased" or "reliable" (Barton, 2018, 9).

1991b). The author reached similar conclusions in her previous study when comparing US Advanced Placement (AP) and International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IB) history teachers' views on the use of primary sources and teaching historical thinking in practice. In that study, it was found that the IB teachers considered the analytical use of primary sources easier, and despite the requirements of the curriculum, most of the US AP teachers—without the IB experience—seemed to use primary sources as knowledge banks, and students were often guided to answer questions without in-depth analysis or evaluation of the sources. Interestingly, the pedagogical use of sources had become a common practice in one of the school's regular and (non-IB) AP history classes due to the teachers' collaborative approach, which seems to have led to peer coaching and teachers sharing their knowledge and expertise with one another (Díaz-Maggioli, 2004; Soininen, 2022).

This article focuses on IB history teachers' views on the use of primary sources and, hence, the practice of teaching historical thinking in Finland. The research questions of "How do teachers use primary sources?" and "What methods do teachers employ when using sources?" are closely connected to the purpose of using sources, which is investigated in the author's third article[2]. Moreover, the study of teachers' views on using sources can reveal their perceptions of historical knowledge and their understanding of the meaning of history education. Finnish IB history teachers' attitudes have not been researched before, so this study provides new insights into their thinking. Since the majority of the IB history teachers who participated in the study also taught history courses based on the national curriculum, the study provides an opportunity to initiate a discussion on the teaching of IB history versus national history.

Each of the IB curricula and the Finnish national upper secondary curricula of 2015 and 2021, as well as the 2016 National Curriculum for Basic Education, acknowledge critical thinking skills, discipline literacy, and the analytical use of primary sources in history teaching (IBO, 2017b; Opetushallitus, 2015; 2021; 2016). However, even the same curriculum can be implemented in various ways (Davis Jr., 2006; Fan and Zhu, 2000; Schrag, 1992 in Suominen, 2022), and as previous research has indicated, the relationship between intended and implemented curricula can be complex (Cuban, 2016; Vesterinen, 2022) and influenced by many factors, including schools and individual teachers (Husbands, Kitson and Pendry, 2003).

Furthermore, several studies have suggested that teachers are at the core of realizing history teaching, since their epistemological beliefs about knowledge and their attitudes on the purpose of history instruction have a strong effect on pedagogy and literacy-related decisions in the classroom (Kagan, 1992; Muis, Bendixen and Haerle, 2006; Pajares, 1992; Thornton, 1991; Maggioni, VanSledright and Alexander, 2009; Wansink et al., 2017).

[2] Anonymous 1, 2022. "To make them to think"-"Rarely, is it easy." A comparative study of IB history teachers' views on the purpose of using primary sources and obstacles to using the sources in the US and Finnish IB history classrooms.

Therefore, understanding the source-related approaches and the decisions of IB course teachers may further reveal the potential challenges and possibilities associated with the use of sources, the teaching of historical thinking, and the purpose of history education in general. Moreover, the associated findings and conclusions will be of use to future researchers and teacher educators and for the promotion of teaching of historical thinking.

Context of the Study

The IB is a secondary education program for students aged 16 to 19 years that consists of two academic years. IB teaching began in Finland in 1990, and currently there are 16 IB schools in Finland (IBO, 2019; 2005–2022). The IB subjects can be taken at the higher level (HL; 240 hours) and standard level (150 hours). All IB final exams include essay questions (IBO, 2014; Conner, 2008), and there are no multiple-choice questions in IB history exams (IBO, 2017b).

The assessment of IB history consists of an internal assessment component and final examinations (Papers 1–3). In IB HL history, Paper 1 (20–25% of the final assessment) is based on the use of primary and secondary sources, and Paper 2 (20–30%) and Paper 3 (35%) are essay-based examinations. Historical skills are assessed in each IB history final examination paper. The internal assessment (20–25% of the final assessment) is an integral part of IB history courses, and students are required to write a 2,200-word historical investigation using primary and secondary sources. The IB History Assessment objectives are for students to demonstrate understanding of historical sources, analyze and interpret a variety of sources, evaluate sources as historical evidence, recognize their value and limitations, and reflect on the methods used and challenges faced by the historian (IBO, 2017b). Therefore, it can be assumed that teachers are required to take these factors into account when planning lesson activities and assignments so that students can succeed in the final assessment.

As mentioned above, Finnish IB schools follow the global International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) curriculum, and IB teachers may teach both IB history and national history using the respective curricula. The current Finnish national history curriculum acknowledges historical thinking skills and understanding history as a discipline. Despite calls to place more emphasis on "students' ability to reconstruct information about the past and to critically evaluate the information and ambiguity and relativity of historical knowledge" (Rautiainen, Räikkönen and Veijola, 2019, 292; Finnish National Board of Education, 2015; 2021), as Rautiainen, Räikkönen and Veijola (2019) concluded, Finnish history teachers remain hesitant about new objectives, and their views on the purpose of teaching history are not necessarily in line with their daily teaching methods.

IB teaching and learning are based on the social constructivist learning theory, which embraces an understanding that "human activity and mental functioning do not occur in isolation, but rather as people interact" and in a cultural context (Vygotsky, 1978; Schoen, 2011, 16). Therefore, all elements of the social environment impact education

and learning processes in the classroom (Schoen, 2011), and learners should have the opportunity to engage in challenging learning assignments and take responsibility for their own learning (Kibler, Walqui and Bunch, 2015; Walqui, 2006; Walqui and van Lier, 2010). The sociocultural framework for teaching asks instructors to acknowledge various ways of learning and promotes learning by doing history (Levstik and Barton, 2011), which is also highlighted in the IB learner profile (IBO, 2019).

Taking into account the fact that inclusion and analysis of primary sources in history lessons are considered important for teaching historical thinking, and that the IB curriculum and assessment value historical skills, the aims of this study were to investigate IB history teachers' approaches to the use of primary sources and to describe their methods when using primary sources in Finland. The research questions addressed in this study were as follows:

1. How do IB history teachers in Finland use primary sources in the teaching of history?
2. What teaching methods do IB history teachers in Finland employ when using primary sources?

Data and Methods

This study forms part of a larger project being conducted by the author that aims to understand how history teachers both in the US (AP and IB) and in Finland (IB) use primary sources in the teaching of historical thinking in practice. The objective of this research was to gather information related to Finnish IB history teachers' strategies for using primary sources and their descriptions of their understanding of the relationship between the analysis of primary sources and the teaching of historical thinking. Data were collected from audio-recorded interviews with six IB history teachers and from the author's observational field notes made during lessons taught by five of the teachers (N = 5 lessons). The semi-standardized and open-ended interviews were 25 to 40 minutes long and took place before or after lesson observation. The interviews were conducted either in English (2) or in Finnish (4). Lesson observation was conducted to collect additional material to support the interview data.

The data were collected between October 2017 and April 2018. The schools and teachers were randomly selected, and the teachers were informed in advance about the primary source work focus of the interview and observation. The author spent at least a day in each school. Participation in this research was voluntary and based on informed consent. All data associated with the teachers have been anonymized, and a coding system is used in this article to refer to the teachers; for example, the first interviewee is coded as Teacher 1. All interviewees had more than 10 years of experience in teaching IB history, and a majority of them were also teaching Finnish national history courses.

Some limitations of this study should be noted. A sample of six interviewed teachers is not representative of all IB teachers, and only five IB history lessons were observed. Hence, it is not justifiable to generalize the results. However, the work is significant as

an exploratory case study that has generated insights into the use of primary sources and teaching historical thinking in IB history lessons.

The data were subjected to qualitative content analysis that "aimed to provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study" (see Downe-Wamboldt, 1992, 314). The use of content analysis as a research method allowed the author to perform subjective interpretation of the content of textual data, code and classify data, identify patterns and themes, arrive at comparisons and contrasts, and determine conceptual explanations of the data (see Hsiuh and Shannon, 2005, 1278; Miles and Huberman, 2002). The aim was to examine the text for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represented similar meanings (see Weber, 1990).

After careful reading and summarizing of the data, two categories were formed to describe the differences and similarities in the teachers' use of primary sources. The first category was characterized as teacher-driven deductive use of primary sources; this encompassed situations in which contextual knowledge was studied before the use of sources. The second category was characterized as student-oriented inductive use; this encompassed situations in which contextual knowledge was studied at the same time as sources were used. These categories provided a tool to present the phenomena at a general level and defined the themes analyzed in the study (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005).

The analysis progressed in such a way that reading the material revealed points where the interviewees described their practices of using primary sources. The material was then reduced to expressions to categorize the described practices. This categorization proceeded in two stages, with the first involving the creation of subcategories and two broader categories based on them. The following is an example of the analysis process in which data was classified into the upper category.

> *It is not structured, students have to find the sources themselves. I protest strongly to the use of any kind of textbook, I don't teach them anything, no contextual knowledge studies before the source work, we are creating something together* (Teacher 1).

Reduced expression: Students are given the responsibility of the source search, and studying the contextual knowledge; after that, collaborative learning follows. Subcategories: No textbook use in the practice of teaching with primary sources, no contextual knowledge studied in the class before the source work. The main category: Student-oriented source work, inductive learning, contextual knowledge later.

Findings

All the interviewed teachers stated that they used the IB format—the OPVL method (evaluation of the origin, purpose, value, and limitations of the source regarding the formulated research question)—when using primary sources in their lessons. In this study, the OPVL method refers to the analytical use of sources in the teaching of history. Moreover, according to the teachers' descriptions, this essentially involved the three heuristics of historical thinking: sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating. In the

following section, the results of this study are discussed in the context of the two abovementioned categories: teacher-driven use of sources (deductive method, historical context first) and student-oriented use of sources (inductive method, context later). The teacher-driven use of sources refers to the use of sources contained in IB textbooks under the guidance of the teacher or selected by the teacher, which also included student-centric learning methods. Whereas, student-oriented use of sources refers to situations in which the students themselves were looking for suitable sources and their output was based on their preparatory source work.

Teacher-driven use of sources (Teachers 2–6)

Teachers 2–6 mentioned that they used both primary and secondary sources "all the time" and spent around 20–35% of their teaching time working with the sources. During the preparation for Paper 1, the source-based exam paper on a specific topic, the source work took place in every lesson. Teacher 3 was the only teacher who talked about taking "source studies" separately and focusing more on the secondary sources, commenting: "We do spend a lot of time with secondary sources without separately paying too much attention to primary sources." However, like the other teachers, Teacher 3 stressed the importance of using primary sources and appealed to the students "to pay attention to the primary sources, which will give extra punch to your arguments." Furthermore, and again like the others, he emphasized the analysis of primary sources in writing the Internal Assessment Historical Investigation (a 2,200-word research paper) and the Extended Essay (a 4,000-word paper) on history by saying to students, "These are the methods of a real historian, you are now historians" (Teacher 3). These methods of using sources to find evidence associated with a particular historical question and conducting a historical inquiry resonate with Barton's (2005) claim that sources begin to matter when students use sources to find evidence for a specific inquiry. Furthermore, "this includes prior knowledge and a conceptual understanding of the nature of evidence in history" (Pickles, 2010 in Husbands, Kitson and Steward, 2011).

All the teachers described the use of primary sources as "Paper 1: method and a process," meaning that the Paper 1 questions[3] were first studied one by one in isolation[4] and that the IB format was used. As Teacher 2 stated:

> *It is a process. We have to go through the questions little by little so that the source studies won't scare the students. First, we take the comprehension question, then the OPVL evaluation of sources question, after that the compare and contrast question, and finally we come to the fourth question, the synthesis. It is actually kind of a "Trick and How to do it-Method," because the IB assessment guides the methods, you just have to teach the*

[3] Paper 1 is the source-based IB history exam paper. It consists of four questions that are used to assess the student's ability to use historical skills (sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating) and synthesize based on the sources and their own knowledge (IBO, 2017b).

[4] In this context, isolation does not mean that questions were discussed without the given historical question. Paper 1 includes one historical question, which is investigated through four different sources (ibid).

> *students how to answer the four questions to succeed in the Paper 1 exam* (Teacher 2).

Most teachers appreciated the IB history textbooks that contained good IB-style sources and generally supported the teaching of history. In this regard, Foster (2006, 1) noted that "the use of textbooks to support learning is almost universally accepted practice," and as research on national history teaching concludes, the use of textbooks is a common practice in history lessons in Finland (Quakrim-Soivio and Kuusela, 2012). In this sense, IB textbooks seem to have a significant role in the use of primary sources in the teaching of history. Moreover, Teachers 2–6 described going through the historical contextual knowledge first before using the sources. As Teacher 5 demonstrated:

> *Sources should be considered tools for learning, and the IB method OPVL instructs the students to approach the knowledge from the historical thinking perspective. In IB history, we are investigating both contemporary people's perspectives and historians' interpretations of historical questions. However, you cannot study history only by using the sources; it cannot be only practicing the historical skills. If you don't understand the context, it is difficult to analyze the sources. You have to teach the context first (*Teacher 5).

As Husbands, Kitson, and Steward (2011) noted, this is a typical way to begin working with sources. Teachers can also face the challenge of determining how much contextual knowledge they should provide, because "too much contextual information limits the possibilities of sources being squeezed for evidence, because pupils feel they already know all there is to know" (Husbands, Kitson and Steward, 2011, 63). Consequently, a student's lack of contextual knowledge can lead to non-analytical use of sources and using sources in isolation instead of "using the sources as evidence, within a context of inquiry—asking and answering historical questions" (Barton, 2018, 10). The teachers' views on emphasizing the teaching of contextual knowledge first correspond with Skinner's and the Cambridge school's contextualism, as Skinner (1969, 3) pointed out that "religious, political and economic factors determine the meaning of any given text, and so must provide the ultimate framework for any attempt to understand it". Skinner's contextualism has challenged the view that "the texts itself should form the self-sufficient object of inquiry and understanding" (Skinner, 1969, 3), and "that texts should be read for the purpose of shedding light on fundamental concepts" (Lamb, 2009, 56). Furthermore, prior contextual knowledge is considered significant to reading historical texts and analyzing sources (Wineburg 1991a; 1991b; Kuhn, Winestock and Flaton, 1994; Seixas et al., 2013; Reisman, 2015; Wineburg, 2018). In contrast, Fang and Schleppegrell (2010, 588, 596) argued that "with the help to identify language patterns and associated meanings specific to particular disciplines, students can learn disciplinary knowledge and practices through reading of disciplinary texts, so they are learning content at the same time they develop critical thinking skills." This view is further demonstrated in the next section (Student-oriented use of sources).

Teacher 3 highlighted the importance of peer marking as a method for learning and sharing things together and noted: "When there is a good atmosphere in the group,

nobody really minds to look at each other's work." However, source studies in general were always discussed in a whole-class discussion: "We need to come back together on source studies, because some of them won't manage and I need to know that" (Teacher 3). Several studies agree with Teacher 3 on the point that whole-class discussion can provide students multiple opportunities to engage in historical thinking strategies (Havekes et al., 2017; Reisman, 2012; Reisman et al., 2018; van Drie and van Boxtel, 2008).

In addition, Teacher 2 said that they use the think-aloud method to encourage students to share and discuss in pairs or small groups. However, like the other IB teachers interviewed, Teacher 2 valued whole-class discussion and emphasized the importance of sharing things together at the end of the lesson. All the teachers agreed that "the teacher has to instruct the students about how to analyze sources." This is in line with previous research findings that emphasize the importance of proper guidance and instruction in using sources in an analytical way (see Nokes, 2010; Levstik and Barton, 2011; Reisman, 2015; VanSledright, 2002; Yeager and Davis 1996, since this is "an essential part of IB history learning and assessment" (Teachers 1–6).

Teacher 4 mentioned that they regularly used primary sources, in particular, cartoons and pictures "in each lesson in some way, while it takes a long time to learn the skills of an historian." Like Teachers 2, 3, 5, and 6, Teacher 4 also stated that they used sources sometimes to "illustrate a historical topic and to motivate students," and especially "as evidence for historical inquiry," which Barton (2018) defined as using sources as means to an end. The teachers also said that they used sources for visual (pictures and paintings) and textual interpretation (diaries and speeches), interpreting sources on their own terms that required students to already understand the topic or the context (Barton, 2018). Consequently, Teacher 4 emphasized the importance of Theory of Knowledge (TOK) lessons to develop students' historical thinking skills:

> *Also, as a TOK teacher, I often remind students about the effect of emotions, memory, and other ways of knowing on the origin of primary sources and their interpretation* (Teacher 4).

TOK, as a compulsory IB subject, aims to foster the development of historical thinking skills outside the history classroom. Since history is one of the mandatory areas of knowledge in the TOK syllabus, all students (including those who do not choose history as an IB subject) gain basic knowledge about historical thinking skills, sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating (IBO, 2017a; 2022).

The teachers used previous Paper 1 final exam questions to give students an authentic experience and practice in completing this type of source-based and technically demanding paper. Although Paper 1-related source studies were seen as mechanical and technical, the teachers considered source studies as important to teaching historical thinking skills and learning history by doing history, which are clearly related to the synthesis-type fourth question of Paper 1. It is noteworthy that the teachers highlighted how students who did well in Paper 1 did not necessarily obtain the best grades in the essay components (Papers 2 and 3) of the final examination. Teacher 3 defined the IB source study skills as being very different from the traditional

"a good history student skill" as "we move well beyond that." Therefore, according to Teacher 3, they have to spend a lot of time on learning the skills and "build the blocks of our discipline and study the methods of a real historian."

In addition to the methods presented earlier, Teacher 6 said that they used Twitter role play regularly in both the national and IB history lessons. For example, they had studied the contextual knowledge about the Weimar Republic up to the early 1930s, and the IB students were tasked with creating imaginary Weimar characters in small groups. The teacher had searched in advance for primary sources related to the topic, which "guided the students to understand the realities of the time and bring their characters back to life." The teacher led the Twitter role play, and the students developed the imaginary characters and their reactions to events according to the characters' social and political status. The students were also asked to evaluate the sources collaboratively, using the previously learned IB format (the OPVL method). Teacher 6 described this Twitter-based role play as "a good example of bringing the feeling of intimacy in history learning and 'the other perspective' to understand the realities of living at that time."

To enhance students' critical thinking skills, the teachers mentioned that they introduced the key concepts of change, causation, continuity, consequences, significance, and perspectives in the use of primary sources. As mentioned by Teacher 5, teachers should "instruct students in the use of the second-order concepts of historical knowledge, hence, give them tools to approach all knowledge in a particular way" (see Lee, 2014; Lightning, 2021). Teacher 6 had the key concepts listed on the classroom wall to remind students of their use in forming their own arguments. He summarized the relationship between the use of key concepts and primary sources as follows:

> *Historical thinking depends on key concepts. That is what we are interested in in history. That what is happening is the starting point, but it is not yet any historical thinking. Thinking is based on these key concepts; it occurs when you understand causes, consequences, meanings, perspectives, and so on. Primary sources bring the feeling of empathy to this thinking* (Teacher 6).

The teachers' descriptions of perspective-taking and bringing the feeling of empathy to history lessons are considered important elements of historical thinking. Understanding the historical perspective, the meaning of key concepts, and the historical method, inquiring about past, creating hypotheses, and using sources to find evidence about a particular historical question "enable students to interpret and develop their own understanding of the past" (Duquette, 2015, 52–53).

Teaching using primary sources can be demanding, and the teachers commented on this, as follows:

> *Sometimes it is time consuming to find suitable sources if you want to take something other than those in the textbook. You should find sources that take the historical issue forward* (Teacher 6).

> *The teacher training program in my time did not teach me anything about the use of primary sources, and I think IB teachers globally are in a very different kind of situation in this, because of national traditions of teaching history* (Teacher 2).

> *Now, when I reflect on my use of primary sources, I think I could look for more relevant sources outside the textbook itself* (Teacher 4).
>
> *…that requires a lot of time, planning, and courtesy* (Teacher 6).

Similarly, Westhoff (2009) noted that it can be time consuming and demanding for teachers to design activities that promote using primary sources in an analytical way, especially if the national heritage approach to teaching history persists (Puustinen and Khawaja, 2021). Also, the teachers pointed out that before teaching in the IB, they neither had experience nor understanding of the analytical use of sources; however, the IB assessment, Paper 1 format, and IB textbooks provided them with support and encouraged teachers to model historical thinking when guiding students in learning history by doing history. The teacher's own attitude to the development of historical thinking and understanding can be seen as a pathway to advance students' disciplinary literacy, and analytical primary source work can help in this process (Moje, 2008). Overall, Teachers 1–6 raised the importance of the role professional development has in meeting the demands of teaching the history curriculum.

Student-oriented use of sources (Teacher 1)

Teacher 1 said that they used both secondary and primary sources in every lesson and that the sources were always evaluated using the IB format (i.e., the OPVL method), which "directs your focus and the analysis of sources becomes automatic"; hence, it becomes a vital part of studying history. He used primary sources very "unsystematically and unstructured," stating that "I allow the students to use their own strategies." He expressed strong opposition to the use of any type of textbook in history and said, "I will not lead a lesson by using a textbook, because I don't like somebody else choosing which sources we are using, and how we examine the subject." He also mentioned that he sometimes spontaneously used primary and secondary sources during lessons: "We use primary sources as an insight into certain topics and when we want to see whether the historian has interpreted the primary source in the right way." Furthermore, Teacher 1 used sources as both means to an end (illustration and motivation and as evidence for historical inquiry) and as ends themselves (visual and textual interpretation) (Barton, 2018). In contrast to the other teachers, Teacher 1 did not teach contextual knowledge before source searches. However, he emphasized that source analysis was performed in relation to particular historical questions, and not in isolation (see Barton, 2018, 1–2). His method was based on the students having responsibility for doing their homework, "the source search," as preparatory work for the lesson:

> *In our classes, students have to find sources themselves and prepare for 75 minutes for each lesson in order to be able to share and comment on a source in groups of 3 to 5 students* (Teacher 1).

He added that during the students' group discussion, comparing and contrasting occurred naturally when all the students introduced their own sources' views on a particular historical question. He then said:

> *We are able to formulate a certain kind of image, a picture of what maybe was going on. Students are all engaged and they participate, write notes and a lot of time they answer the questions themselves; however, I am also there to offer microlessons, a 20-25-minute lesson on a particular topic, for each group and at the end of the lesson we always have time for questions and answers* (Teacher 1).

Teacher 1 distinguished close reading as a method when using primary sources, thus taking all the words into account, especially "if it is some type of an address to the people because, for example, world leaders are not loose with their language and most of the time they prepare their remarks for a certain reason." He noted that prior to the students undertaking their preparatory homework, there was no joint study of the content knowledge in the class. However, during the source analysis, he said that he used various kinds of scaffolds, such as note-taking, microlessons, text-dependent questions, and collaborative questions, to guide the students in a certain direction. He identified his role as a guide and a facilitator of the learning process and emphasized that the teacher's duty is to promote the student's critical thinking process:

> *This is a skill we historians have to give the students, so they can actually read something. Microlessons and teacher's explanations can bring students a certain kind of security; however, I try to raise these students' ability to see that it does not really matter what the teacher does or does not do. I don't really do anything except create an atmosphere where we are able to look at things and create something together* (Teacher 1).

Close reading strategies can guide students to conduct in-depth analysis of the text and promote a student's wider understanding of the text's meaning (Brown and Kappes, 2012). Moreover, the use of different kinds of scaffolds, such as re-reading, text-dependent questions, and collaborative questions, supports the development of the student's literacy skills (Fischer and Frey, 2014). Shanahan, and Shanahan (2012) also indicated that close reading and analysis of disciplinary texts can contribute to disciplinary literacy, which in history involves three historical thinking heuristics (sourcing, contextualizing, and corroborating) that enable close reading of historical texts (Wineburg, 1991a; 1991b; 2018).

To help the students keep track of the IB history topics, Teacher 1 mentioned that "I have them write down the IB syllabus in their notebooks straight in the beginning of history studies." In Teacher 1's classes, all the topics were investigated and discussed using this same method: inductive learning with unstructured, student-based source studies and creating something together. Overall, Teacher 1 had high confidence in the students' ability to learn by doing history, which in practice meant that the students were conducting a small-scale historical inquiry in every lesson. This involved analyzing sources (sourcing and contextualizing), comparing and contrasting the sources' views (corroborating), and creating a synthesis by including their own knowledge, the sources' views, and sometimes the teacher's microlesson approach to the question.

Clearly, the views that Teacher 1 expressed in the interview coincide with the sociocultural learning theory, which promotes the idea that students are actively encouraged to engage in challenging cognitive assignments and that the responsibility

should be given to the students as soon as possible (see Kibler, Walqui and Bunch, 2015; Walqui, 2006). Teacher 1 described his use of sources and teaching philosophy as a "collaborative learning in order to create something together" (Dillenbourg, 1999). Students were doing the source work individually before the lesson and collaboratively during the lesson, and as Teacher 1 commented: "When they work in groups, students could be saying: 'My source claims this, however, your source points out a different perspective'." At the end of each lesson, the students were expected to present their group synthesis to the whole class, and they were always expected to evaluate sources using the OPVL method.

Dillenbourg (1999) argued that collaborative learning could be considered a kind of "social contract" between learners that involves the engagement of and contributions from all participants to reach their goal. Furthermore, in collaborative learning, there is room for negotiation and modification, and participants are tasked with creating something together in an atmosphere of positive interdependence and interaction (Dillenbourg, 1999; Lin, 2015). Teacher 1 seemed to have a kind of social contract with his students, as the students had roles in both the source work and the whole learning process:

> *I don't force them to do their homework and find the sources. However, they notice quite soon that the lesson is more meaningful if they do so. To develop historical research skills, you are taking a look at the ability to analyze the sources all the time. I do lead them into that. Everything else is up to the students, and historical thinking grows gradually* (Teacher 1).

During the class observation, the author noted that the students were sharing their sources in groups and talking about their sources' content and perspectives. Furthermore, they all evaluated the sources using the OPVL method during a whole-class discussion. The IB history topic "Aggressive Foreign Polices of Italy and Germany in 1930s" was discussed using the following sources: a Punch cartoon about the German–Polish non-aggression pact (1934), a speech by Hitler (1936), an American diplomat's quote from the Disarmament Conference (1933), a photograph of the occupation of Rhineland (1936), and the Versailles Treaty (1919) (School 1, 11.4.2018).

At the end of the interview, Teacher 1 shared the following:

> *I don't care about results, but Paper 1, the source-based exam, has been one of our strongest, and the most surprising thing is that academically some of the weakest students get high marks from this paper. Perhaps they sometimes have problems with the content, but they are able to read the sources as they are; they are able to analyze, compare and contrast, and create a synthesis. So, it seems to work. Why fix it when it isn't broken?* (Teacher 1)

These comments by Teacher 1 bring up an interesting aspect of using close reading and the OPVL as methods in reading historical texts. This could suggest that a student may be able to learn the structure of Paper 1 and the OPVL method for analyzing sources; however, Papers 2 and 3 are essay papers, which require historical writing skills and deep content knowledge to score high marks. This raises the question of: when students learn to follow the concrete steps of source analysis, is that a guarantee for fundamental understanding of historical thinking (Westhoff, 2009)?

Discussion and Conclusions

The aim of this study was to understand IB history teachers' views on the use of primary sources, and hence the teaching of historical thinking in Finland. The findings show that all the interviewed teachers used primary sources in an analytical way, and relied on the IB format, which is based on the OPVL method, to help students prepare for Paper 1 and Internal Assessment Historical Investigation. The teachers seemed to share an understanding about learning history by doing history (Barton and Levstik, 2004), and they all emphasized the significance of analytical source studies to understand historical knowledge, use sources as evidence, and promote discipline literacy (Britt et al., 2000; Montesano et al., 2012; Wineburg, 2005).

Most of the teachers prioritized teaching contextual knowledge before focusing on sources because they felt that students "have to have something to rely on." Throughout the interviews, it became apparent that contextualization was viewed by the teachers as an integral feature of historical thinking about sources (Wineburg, 2018). These views correspond with Skinner's definition of contextualism: the "context of the study providing the framework for understanding of any text" (Skinner, 1969, 3). In contrast, one teacher (Teacher 1) used close reading as the main method when using sources and relied on several scaffolds to support the students' learning when they were collaboratively discussing and learning together. In his teaching, contextual knowledge was studied simultaneously with the analytical use of sources, no background knowledge was taught before the students' own source work (Fang and Schleppegrell, 2010; van Drie and van Boxtel, 2008), and texts formed self-sufficient objects of inquiry and understanding (Lamb, 2009). Teacher 1 noted how close reading, "taking all the words into account," promoted critical thinking and literacy skills, and he also referred to the excellent Paper 1 exam results. While most of the teachers used IB textbooks and relied on sources with them (a practice that corresponds with Foster's (2006) notes on the common use of textbooks to support learning), Teacher 1 stated that he never "led his lesson with any kind of a textbook," and highlighted his own "unsystematic way" of using sources as the start and end points of his teaching. Consequently, Teacher 1 made a social contract with his students (Dillenbourg, 1999) and aimed to help them become leaders of their own learning (Bruner, 1996).

All the teachers used whole-class discussion as a method when teaching students how to analyze primary sources. Collaborative classroom discussion was considered vital to guiding students in how to internalize strategies used by historians and model historical thinking (Beck, 2014; Fogo, 2014; Nokes, 2010; Reisman et al., 2018). Moreover, individual work ("when students had to produce something for assessment"; Teacher 4) and pair work ("to make them speak and think aloud"; Teacher 2) were used in the source work. The teachers mentioned that the source work helped students develop their conceptual thinking, and that the sources provided students with contemporary intimate perspectives and an understanding of the significance of empathy (Teacher 6; Duquette, 2015). Sources were examined, for example, from the perspectives of their causes, consequences, continuity, and changes to promote students' understanding of second-order concepts (Teacher 4; Lee, 2014).

Clearly, all the teachers who participated in this study seemed to value historical skills, sourcing, corroborating, and contextualizing when using sources, and they stressed the role that Internal Assessment Historical Investigation and Paper 1 played in the process of teaching the skills. Preparing for Paper 1 guided the source studies and was considered as kind of a trick they had to teach the students. Paper 1 questions were taken one by one in isolation, starting from the easiest—the comprehension question (students are required to find three issues from a source)—for which the teachers guided students through sourcing. They then taught the students about contextualizing (message of one source and the OPVL of two sources in relation to a given research question), corroborating (comparing and contrasting two sources in terms of a given research question), and finally synthesizing (answering a given question by using all the sources and your own knowledge). The teachers acknowledged the usefulness of previous exam papers, marking schemes, and TOK as an epistemology course to meet the demands of the curriculum. Furthermore, for students to succeed in the final exams, the teachers mentioned that they had an obligation to teach students how to perform in-depth analysis of sources. This approach resonates with Wiliam's (2011) view of assessment being at the core when considering effective instruction.

Continuing on the theme of collaborative work, it was noted across the interviews that relatively small teaching groups, motivated students, and good team spirit were seen as factors that enhanced the culture of learning together.

Unlike the Finnish national history curriculum, the IB does not include mandatory history courses; instead, students choose subjects from the Individuals and Societies subject group according to their own interests. However, history is one of the mandatory areas of knowledge in TOK, and all IB students have to study the basics of history as a discipline (IBO, 2017; 2022).

The views of the IB teachers who participated in this study correlate with the findings of the author's previous research on US IB and AP teachers' approaches to using primary sources in the teaching of history. The interviewed IB teachers in both countries acknowledged the support provided by the IBO and the IB curriculum and assessment methods for the teaching of historical skills, as each seemed to promote analytical use of sources. The Paper 1 exam, Internal Assessment Historical Investigation, and Extended Essay were considered important motives for instructing students on how to develop historical thinking skills. In addition, the IB format (the OPVL method) was acknowledged by all the interviewed teachers in both countries, and a US IB history teacher reported that the "IB teacher knows the format and then you learn how to use the skills" (Soininen, 2022).

The objectives of the IB history curriculum and the Finnish national history curriculum have many similarities, both aim to develop students' historical skills and active participation in society (Finnish National History Curriculum, 2015; 2021; IBO, 2019). However, recent research indicates that Finnish national history teachers struggle with teaching historical skills and implementing the curriculum's aims (Puustinen and Khawaja, 2021; Rantala, 2012; Rantala and van den Berg, 2015). The national matriculation examination is still focused on testing students' ability to memorize content knowledge instead of testing their historical thinking (Puustinen, Paldanius and

Luukka, 2020); therefore, its impact on learning and classroom practices is evident (Rautiainen, Räikkönen and Veijola, 2019). Like Teacher 6, most of the interviewees taught national history courses in their schools, and they all considered the IB style of primary source use to be very different to the style of the national curriculum. Teacher 6 said, "To the very virgin land, these historical thinking questions are dropped" and reported that he had introduced IB-style source analysis into his national history courses. "Without the IB experience," he said, "I most probably would not have done that" (Teacher 6).

This study has shed light on how IB history teachers use primary sources in an analytical way and how they use a variety of teaching and learning practices when using primary sources. Some of the interviewed teachers mentioned that they had transferred the IB format (the OPVL method) to their national courses despite considering IB history teaching as being very different from national history teaching. As Teacher 5 concluded: " Straightforward teaching is not necessary in the IB, the aim is to instruct students to approach historical knowledge in a historical way and sources work is a tool for that." Over the course of the interviews, it became evident that the IB teachers in this study used a variety of ambitious forms of history instruction, such as historical inquiry, conceptual analysis, evaluating sources, debating claims and counterclaims, and constructing evidence-based narratives in their IB history lessons (Levstik and Barton, 2004; Noakes, 2010; van Drie and van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2011; Wineburg, 2001). The findings of this study suggest that the IB teachers had internalized the aims of the IB history curriculum and, although using a variety of methods (Teacher 1 versus the others), had identified historical skills as an important part of their teaching. They taught disciplinary history in the IB, challenging the common understanding of history as a school subject and traditional and national history teaching practices (Puustinen and Khawaja, 2021).

Overall, becoming an IB teacher often means managing major changes in curriculum, assessment, and pedagogy (Ledger, 2017), and this is particularly evident in those countries where teacher training is more traditional and teacher-oriented (Hill, 2001). IB teachers are encouraged and supported by the IBO to adapt their pedagogies to reflect the IB philosophy, where learning is concept-driven, inquiry-based, and student-centric. In this context, other studies have documented how teachers have changed their practices to align with the IB philosophy since becoming IB teachers (Dickson, Perry and Ledger, 2018; Stillisano et al., 2011). However, it should also be noted that some IB teachers, for example those in Turkey, have had difficulty bringing IB student-centric practices into their classrooms, because the IB approach is significantly different from the approach commonly used in their country (Martin, Tanyu and Perry, 2016). It appears that teachers engaged in this study had adapted the IB style of use of primary sources and adjusted their pedagogies to fulfill the IB history curriculum's aims. For one of the teachers, this meant implementing totally student-centric source studies. For the others, it meant implementing teacher-led source studies. However, the IB format and philosophy guided the pedagogy and teaching of historical thinking in practice in all cases.

This study's findings provide insight into IB history teachers' views and practices concerning the use of primary sources and teaching historical thinking in Finnish IB schools. Addressing the study's initial research questions has created an opening for a discussion on national curriculum history teaching and IB history teaching in Finland. Ultimately, teachers play a key role in implementing the aims of the curriculum (Fogo, 2014). Therefore, discussing national curriculum history teaching and IB history teaching could create a fruitful channel through which teachers could learn from each other and promote the analytical use of primary sources and the teaching of historical skills. Both curricula aim to develop historical thinking skills and promote discipline literacy and active citizenship in a democratic society. As Teacher 4 concluded: "Historical skills are universal, and in fact they can be transferred directly to everyday life, to critical thinking in general."

In terms of further research, it would be interesting to examine and compare the historical thinking skills of Finnish IB history students and national curriculum history students (Rantala, 2012). With such information, the field could move closer to answering the question: Does the "trick and how to do it" method of teaching the concrete steps of source analysis result in advanced historical thinking in Finnish IB history classrooms?

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