Temporal orientation in Spanish and Swedish teacher students’ narratives about gender equality

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ABSTRACT
The main objective of the study was to analyze how Swedish and Spanish pre-service teachers’ temporal orientation influences their narratives and moral conceptions about gender inequality. 55 Spanish students and 76 Swedish students participated. The narratives were analyzed through a separate process of coding by both authors and the subsequence crossing of information in order to achieve agreement and reliability for the codes used. The analysis shows differences depending on cultural context, which may reflect the learning of narrative templates in History Education instead of a reflexive and critical learning. Mainly Spanish students described time under the concepts of change and continuity while Swedish students oftener saw time more as abrupt changes when describing the differences of current gender inequality regarding past times. Likewise, in almost all the narratives there is a naive way of understanding the sense of change over time. In the narratives there are no calls for individual action or descriptions of what possible actions there are for us to fight for a better future probably because history education does not provide examples in the past which mirror current social issues. These reflections make us to question why we teach history and how we do it.

KEYWORDS
Temporal orientation, Gender Equality, History teacher education, Moral, Historical consciousness, Narration.

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Introduction and purpose

The fight for gender equality in a broad sense has become a worldwide issue as the MeToo hashtag movement, circulating in almost 100 countries, has demonstrated (Gill & Orgad, 2018). The campaign has provided opportunities to participate in an eager public debate on gender inequality, sexual harassment, sexism and sexual violence (Keller, Mendes & Ringrose, 2018). The intersection of sex and power has been explicitly addressed and has focused on it in terms of morality and justice, and already we have seen proof of organizational, legal, policy and cultural changes (Gill & Orgad, 2018). The movement, finding its force in digital media, has not least engaged young people (Keller, Mendes & Ringrose, 2018). With this as a starting point we understood the theme gender equality as something that engages the students and as something they reflect upon and seek answers for. As they do this, they do it in a wider context, and both history and perceptions of the future as well as ethical values are occurring in this debate.

From the perspective of gender inequality embedded in past structures and cultural behaviors, this paper concerns history teacher students from Spain and Sweden and their reasoning about gender inequality over time. In concrete: how the students use temporal orientation when they reason about a subject deeply influenced by moral perspectives. Such knowledge could not only help us understand how the students orient themselves morally in time, furthermore, it could help the discussion about the connection between history teaching, and the students’ temporal orientation and history as a subject with moral connections. Three overall research questions are examined:

- How do the students orient in time as they reason about gender equality?
- Are there any differences between the Spanish and the Swedish students’ orientations?
- What moral implications are there in the students’ orientations?

The advances in gender equality in both Spain and Sweden are evident both on the legislative and social levels, and that has allowed reducing the wage gap, a greater presence of women in public positions and in companies, as well as a greater awareness on the part of the population, among others. Both countries are among the top positions in the European Union’s gender equality index, issued by the European Institute for Gender Equality (2020). Specifically, Sweden ranks first with an index of 83.8 out of 100, and Spain the eighth place with an index of 72. The different positioning in the inequality index of Sweden and Spain is the result of differences in the conception of the social welfare model, with a more pronounced development in the Swedish case than in the Spanish one. This has had the consequence that the effects of the pandemic COVID-19, for instance, have not had the same impact in both countries. In the Spanish case, for example, there has been an aggravation of conciliation, a greater burden on family tasks that has been carried out by women, mainly, by impacting both on their health and on their labour situation. In part, the existence of different models of social welfare is conditioned by the history of each country, and that is the point we are interested in: the manner in which history education might influence by facing new relevant social issues.

In Sweden, the importance that the teaching of history has acquired in recent decades has been remarkable, becoming a political issue, where it has opted for a more international vision of history and focused on the understanding of processes, rather than a purely nationalist vision. The presence of conflicting issues such as the Holocaust and other genocides, as well as the development of tolerance, democracy, and human rights, plays an important role in teaching issues, as well as the role given to the “forgotten” of history (Nygren, 2016). The fact that the
subject of history explicitly has a place for issues of gender equality is nothing more than the result of the universal model of social welfare that has developed in Sweden since the end of World War II. The Swedish model aims to combine the idea of equality (state monopoly of an interventionist nature and predominance of the public sector in management in the areas of social welfare) with that of equity (co-responsibility of citizens in the taking or adoption of responsibilities, especially at the local level) (Pulido-Montes, France & Ancheta-Arrabal, 2021). The maintenance of broad social coverage, financing the services of the care of dependent persons with public resources, contributed to greater participation of women in the labor market and needed the school world for the creation of a collective conscience that assumed gender equality policies as a key element for the social and economic development of the country. In this sense, sex education is taught at all levels from kindergarten to Upper Secondary School. This subject aims to promote gender equality and equal dignity for all, while aiming to avoid social problems such as sexually transmitted diseases, sexist language, sexual exploitation, gender violence, or oppression. Since 2011, terms such as sexuality, relationships, gender, and gender equality are presented in different subjects of different courses. Thus, these topics must be treated both in subjects of natural sciences (Biology) and in social sciences (History, Religion, Geography, and Civics) as in Mathematics and Language. In all of them, as we say, the contents of the subject must respond at some point to these aspects of gender equality, respect, dignity, and equal opportunities. In the case of history, students should have the opportunity to learn about how the view of gender, sexuality, and human relationships have changed over time (Skolverket, 2014).

On the other hand, in Spain, in recent times, an important effort is also being made to introduce new themes and historical agents in the teaching of history (Estepa, 2017). As in Sweden, this fact is motivated by the need to create a civic awareness that defends the social model of organization. In the early Eighties the current model of social welfare began to develop in Spain, which advocates the universalization of rights such as education or health, and active policies to avoid discrimination based on sex, religion, ideology, etc. However, the Spanish welfare model is not fully developed if we compare it with the Swedish model or other European social democratic models, due to the tradition of Francoism and the national-Catholic ideology that permeated everything. This implies that the role of families (and not so much of the State) is key as the main institution of welfare, and an essential reference for determining class and gender power relations. The scarcity of care and assistance services means that care falls on the family, and within these on women (Pulido-Montes, France & Ancheta-Arrabal, 2021). The educational correlation to this welfare state in progress might be found in how gender equality is dealt with in schools. While it is true that the educational legislation of recent years maintains certain transversal contents that are related to equality policies, the truth is that de facto it lacks formal spaces in the educational curriculum of the subject matters, which means that gender perspective, according to Ferrer and Bosch (2013), is not a reality in the classrooms. This is so, to a large extent, due to the existence of the hidden curriculum that continues to transmit the hegemonic culture (Calvo González, 2021). In the case of history classrooms, the influence of Franco’s dictatorship times still conditions the prevalence of master national narratives and the predominance of a very positivist type of historical agency (Gómez and Vivas-Moreno, 2019). Therefore, despite sharing similar objectives in terms of social and citizen competence development both in Spanish and Swedish curricula, there are notable differences in the apparent teaching of history.

**Theoretical Framework**

History education has a great potential to deal with morality and ethical problems as history has a double condition: First, temporal dimensions can give meaning to humans’ values and therefore guide their moral actions. Understanding these processes may help us to understand what people perceive as moral challenges and what they want to do (Rüsen 2004). Second, traditionally the subject of history has been used to make a sense of citizenship and belonging by
using past behaviors to exemplify and direct contemporary action (Rüsen 2001; Selman & Barr, 2009; Bermudez, 2015). History education therefore implies much more than mere knowledge about the past, namely moral values and civic education. Nietzsche (1980, p. 7.) stated that “history serves life”, and described how history in different manners can be used by humankind to make life meaningful. Other scholars presume that there is no human way of life that does not have a perception of the past that guides their actions in the contemporary. For example, Rüsen (2017, p.13) states that “everywhere and at all times human beings draw on the past to understand the present and to anticipate and plan for the future.” The most common concept to capture this deeply human mental process is that of historical consciousness. There are, of course, related concepts like historical recollection and historical memory. These are also concepts that help us to understand the power of our perception of the past to form our actions in the contemporary society. Historical consciousness, however, stresses the understanding of humans’ being in time: the past, the present and the future. Using the concept of historical consciousness, the human being has been described as partly being history and partly being an emancipated creature able to orient in new directions and to break cultural traditions, and in that way doing history (Jeismann, 1979; Levstik & Barton, 2011). Being history, or being in time, appeals to humanities’ historicity, while doing history can be interpreted as our ability to recognize our own being in time, a temporal orientation, and thereby act voluntarily (Gadamer, 2006; Ricoeur, 1988). Individuals’ understanding of where they come from, who they are, and where they are going are thus part of their historical consciousness, and a more developed historical consciousness is said to be able to link the three time-dimensions as it orients towards the future (Rüsen, 2004). By creating a clear connection over time, our historical consciousness helps us create historical meaning (Ricoeur, 1988). Here is also a moral imperative. If we understand humans as mainly emancipated from the shackles of history and able to do history, they also are more easily dressed in a moral responsibility for their actions. On the other hand, if we understand the human being as mainly a product of history, predestined to handle through an inherited moral code, moral responsibility can be harder to understand.

The temporal orientation historical consciousness gives us, becomes understandable when it takes the shape of a narrative (Ricoeur, 1984; Rüsen, 2005). Historical time, or history, must be narrated to be understandable, Ricoeur (1988) argues. At the same time, a developed historical consciousness that is orienting over time, is also expressed through meaningful and understandable narrative forms, which are culturally formed (Rüsen, 2004; Rüsen, 2005; Straub, 2005). The best way to see expressions of temporal orientations from a historical consciousness would therefore be by narratives moving through all the tenses – past, present and future. Narrations have similarities to historical consciousness in more ways than the diachronic move through time. A narration always starts in a language deeply anchored in a certain culture. In that way language frames our possibilities to narrate as well as our ability to understand others’ narrations (Ricoeur, 1984; Bruner, 2004). This shows that being history frames the abilities to narrate. Wertsch (2008) calls this limitation of narrations narrative templates.

In other words, we can understand historical narratives as an expression of temporal orientation culturally contextualized. At the same time convincing research shows that students belonging to different minorities often react negatively to school history teaching. These students feel excluded by the metanarratives in the school (Nordgren 2006; Epstein & Schiller 2009; Peck 2011; Wertsch 2002; Rosenzweig & Thelen 1998). It is not unreasonable that they may understand, interpret and narrate history in different ways than what is expected from their history teacher. Nevertheless, cultural forms and expressions are not essential, but formable and change over time. Innovative or critical narratives seem to be an effective tool for moving the narrative templates in a certain culture, and both Polkinghorne (2005) and Rüsen (2004) point to this narrative possibility.
Method

In order to answer the overall research questions arisen, the main objective of this paper is to analyze how the temporal orientation of Swedish and Spanish teacher students affects their moral conditions on gender inequality. This is specified in the following specific objectives:

- Identify how time is comprehended in the Swedish and Spanish teacher students’ narratives.
- Analyze the sense of voluntariness of agents involved in the narratives. What is the distribution between being history and doing history for the agents?

To fulfill these objectives a research design based on content analysis has been constructed. All discourses can be interpreted in a direct and manifest way (description of elements) or in search for a latent meaning (Strauss & Feiz, 2014). As we accept that language is the tip of the iceberg that hides a vast body of socially constructed knowledge and culturally shared information (VanDijk, 2016), we understand text and context as two fundamental aspects in the content analysis. The content analysis is conceived as a research technique that allows us to make inferences and identify in a systematic way, specific characteristics of a text (O’Connor 2019). Being aware of the subjectivity that textual analysis implies, an attempt is made to limit this effect through a standardized procedure that allows the text to be converted into data to be analyzed more mechanically. To accomplish this task, the categories used to analyze the narratives had to be designed to conform to criteria of homogeneity, exhaustiveness (they exhaust the entire text), exclusivity (the same unit cannot be at the same time two codes of the same category), objectivity (duly specified), and adequacy (adapted to the content and objectives). Categorization is the basis of the qualitative method in this study. Categories help us to classify or group the units of analysis and understand them in a broader context (Charmaz, 2015). With inspiration from Rüsen’s typology (2018) of narratives we started to categorize four ways of describing time in narratives:

- Continuity by tradition – Time exists, but is not experienced or described.
- Continuity by principles – Looking back in time we find principles that can guide us in time.
- Abrupt change – Time is separated through abrupt changes.
- Change and continuity – Time is interlinked and is characterized by both change and continuity, i.e., being and doing history.

While conducting this categorization, we found new important categories in the narratives (table 2). Inspired of Charmaz’ (2006) methods we followed the steps of initial coding, focused coding and theoretical coding as we further coded and categorized the narratives.

To achieve reliability in the analysis process, we acted through individual and simultaneous coding of all the narratives, subsequently comparing through Excel spreadsheets the degree of similarity in the coding for each of the narratives, proceeding to the discussion of the results until reaching a consensus.

The quantitative procedures have been carried out both through simple calculations of percent and frequencies, and multivariate statistical methods such as correspondence analysis and cluster analysis by using the Jaccard index (values from 0 to 1 where proximity to 1 shows the highest correlation). All the analytical work was completed through the qualitative data analysis software program Nvivo 12 pro.

The selection of participants was intentional 131, 55 from Spain and 76 from Sweden. All of the student participants were newly involved in Education programs. The reason for this was to seek valuable information on prospective teachers’ perceptions, assumptions and values about a relevant issue for the school as well as for historical understanding and its temporal dimension (McMillan & Schumacher, 2005). All the Spanish narratives are written by students from Murcia.
University (N=55), whereas the Swedish narratives are composed by students from the University of Malmö (N=24), University of Stockholm (N=8), University of Uppsala (N=24) and University of Linneaus (N=20). In all cases, the average of age is around 20, and all are involved in three to five-year education programs. The 131 narratives collected were given a code, noticing their nationality (SP=Spanish, SW=Swedish) and in the case of the Swedish narratives the universities of origin, and a correlative number (SP1, SP2... , SWM1, SWS2...).

The students’ narratives were collected through a questionnaire of three open-ended questions which appropriately addressed the specific aims of this research. The heading of the questionnaire contextualized the problem to be discussed - opinions about gender equality in the past, present and future - which was concretized in the subsequent open-ended questions. A few students answered the questions separately whereas the other composed a continuous narrative. But all of them the arguments are connected with the past, the contemporary and the future. The questions were:

- What does gender equality look like in Spain/Sweden [depending on the country] today?
- What was the gender equality situation in the past in Spain/Sweden [depending on the country]? What has led to the current situation?
- What will gender equality look like in the future in Spain/Sweden [depending on the country]?

**Findings**

First, it should be noted that the two types of temporal orientation most codified in the narratives were the so-called Change and continuity, and the Abrupt change, a distinct break with the past (Table 1). Describing time as change and continuity is, however, the most coded category by far. An interesting element is the fact that a national variable seems to influence how time is described in the narratives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spain (55)</th>
<th>Sweden (76)</th>
<th>Total (131)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuity by culture</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abrupt change</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuity and change</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuity by principals</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Types of temporal orientation in the narratives by nationality (per cent)

After analyzing the narratives by these four main categories we were interested in checking out the construction of the narratives by incorporating elements of the narrative structure. For this reason, we decided to check to what extent there was an explicit link between the past, the present and the future, if the narratives described long-run or short-run phenomena, and if the narratives were finished or ongoing with an open future. These categories we then related to the type of time category that we already had coded (Table 2). The result shows that the two most frequent types do indeed present a temporal reasoning consistent with the implications of the type of head-category identified. Thus, the category Abrupt change supposes a temporal inflection, a process of radical change and difference from the previous time, and a predominance of short time for explanation (in terms of what the present means in terms of equality), although without much difference with respect to the long run explanation. For its counterpart, Continuity and change implies a temporal connection, a process still unfinished and an overwhelming predominance of a long run explanation.
Temporal orientation in Spanish and Swedish Teacher students’ narratives

If we check the structure of the narratives by country, we see that in the Swedish students’ narratives, the category of Abrupt change prevails, although very close to the category of Continuity and change. In Spain, on the contrary, Change and continuity clearly dominates.

If we add the element of the voluntariness of the actions together with the category of temporal orientation, we also find an interesting pattern. The category of Change and continuity implies, in most cases, that the will of acting is mentioned (Table 3), while the category of Abrupt change is better associated with the omission of voluntariness. It is very significant too, that depending on the cultural context, the meaning of acting seems to be varied. In that sense, the Spanish narratives seem to indicate explicitly the sense of voluntary action more often than the Swedish narratives do. This coincides with the notion of Abrupt change that the Swedish narratives contain (see Table 1), where a notion of a sudden break between past and present can be elicited. Overall, the Spanish narratives are quite homogeneous in their narrative reasoning and category of sense of time, where the category Continuity and change dominates. A sense of time as an ongoing process, a connection between tenses and voluntariness for actors makes a distinct cluster. The Swedish narratives are less homogeneous, although a tendency can be observed where narratives with a sense of time as an abrupt change are structured coherently in their narrative reasoning and their implications. The Swedish narratives also imply non voluntariness, no links between past, present and future and a narrative that is ended.

Table 2. Types of historical narratives and their narrative reasoning (per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Continuity by culture</th>
<th>Abrupt change</th>
<th>Continuity by principals</th>
<th>Abrupt change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linked</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ongoing</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short run</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long run</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Association between type of narrative and degree of voluntarity (Jaccard index)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Abrupt change</th>
<th>Change and continuity</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non voluntary</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This means that in their narratives, the Spanish students use time/temporality to a greater degree as something that changes over time, but still influences the contemporary through mental, societal and juridical structures. Time is thereby temporalized in these narratives. A starting point that seems to take into account more what Gadamer (2006, p. 336) called a historically effected consciousness – a consciousness aware of both the historicity of the past and that of the contemporary, a consciousness that addresses that we both are but also do history (Jeismann 1979). In the passage below we see a lot of reasoning that is consistent with such a way of understanding history and the meaning of time:

Nowadays, in Spain, women enjoy a lot of equality but some aspects, like the salaries that the companies give to them, are really frustrating. They earn about 30 percent less than men for the same job, besides, if a woman is pregnant, she is at risk of being dismissed. This is another problem since women don’t want to have children because of this. In a lot of cases, if they have children, they are
the responsible person of looking after them, so they are obligated to do it and work at the same time while the husband works or is unconcerned about the homework. However, the women have the freedom to do whatever they want without any problem due to living in a developed country which is within European Union that looks after the women rights. But those rights are still insufficient to secure the full equality between women and men. If we see other countries, like Syria or Saudi Arabia, where women can’t choose their husband or even, they can’t drive! Which is really shocking for us. (SP15)

In the quote we see both change and continuity through time and an awareness of the human being as a product of the history they live in, the culture that is. The narrative contains an awareness of the changes through time in the very first word nowadays, which marks a difference from the past. Things have changed for the better, as we understand the narrative. But the past still strongly affects the contemporary, due to a lot of injustices to women. This is outrageous by contemporary measures of justice and is an obsolete remainder from the past (Koselleck 2004). The women, however, as actors, voluntarily act in the situation they are given and choose not to have children. That means they are history as they act in a context affected by past tradition, but also do history as they act within these structures, continuity, and change. From this standpoint, according to the Spanish narrative, gender equality seems to be moving in the right direction, namely by comparing it to countries where inequality is even stronger. This could be seen as a sense of historicity of the past and the contemporary (Nordgren, 2019). However, to a much greater degree, the Swedish narratives, perceive time with deep disruptions. In these narratives the narrator looks back at history from a position that gives the chance of making judgments about historical events and values:

The present gender equality in Sweden are at the highest point according to me and keeps going strong for better results. If you look at the past not so much. The gender equality in the past was rubbish. It took a long time for women to vote and was abused without justice. As I wrote about the present, I also think about the future we are going strong and the gender equality are just getting better and better. (SWL85)

According to this reasoning, the past was rubbish when it came to gender equality, but the narrator lets us know that today is a clear dividing line to the past where gender equality nowadays is at the highest point. This narrative clearly shows the narrator’s willingness to judge the past from the contemporary. As it is said, future is just getting better and better, a time where fully developed contemporary ideas will be implemented. This narrative has a strong sense of justice, and clearly disagrees with past injustices, but does not contextualize or temporalize time and in that way shows changes in contrast with continuity. There are no actors and naturally no voluntariness, and the tenses do not link into each other.

Discussion

So, what moral implications can we find in these narratives? This reasoning must be perceived as tentative. Still, the way we understand our being in time most certainly has moral implications. The narratives that explain time in change and continuity give more room for the individual actors, both in the past and in the contemporary. With an opportunity to act and influence the processes in time you also have a more moral responsibility. Both the actors in history and yourself as a contemporary narrator can be seen as moral creatures acting in contexts framed by historical structures, but still with room for individual maneuver. This means, that persons can be morally responsible, and must bear this liability. These kinds of narratives, at the same time, show that time and change are intertwined processes. The past, the contemporary, and the future are linked together and there are no abrupt changes. The judgement of the actors takes this process in consideration, telling us that humans both are and do history as the change between the tense is procedural. In this process it is not as easy for an
actor to become an anomaly as in the abrupt change narratives. At the same time, the change and continuity narratives do not close their analyses. This means that the moral responsibility is still current, as history is not at the end. With individual voluntariness and an open narrative into the future you must take responsibility for your own actions, trying to shape the future.

The other main group of narratives, the abrupt change, have other moral implications. The past acts like a mirror to show who you are and what you believe in. You moralize over the obsolete past using contemporary values. Here you must distinguish between using moral perspectives on history and moralizing history. Using moral perspectives still allows you to understand history as another time with another frame for actions but still respect history’s difference, while moralizing history means you compare the past to the (better) contemporary without historizing time or using historical empathy. Instead of empathy, sympathy is used as a historical tool, and the question becomes: Do I sympathize with past values and actions? Most often we do not, and the comparison becomes a division between good and bad, were the contemporary, or the self in the contemporary, almost always is the morally good. The moral implications and the understanding of history can however be destructive. Some historians mean that we live in a time where history has become uninteresting, a time where we have left the history behind us as something archaic and instead the contemporary becomes the verity for everything (Koselleck, 2004; Hartog, 2015). We are what history is not. If we understand ourselves and time like this, we cannot see the processes that lie behind changes. If we cannot do that, nor can we understand ourselves as historized. Instead, we must guard our contemporary values so they will not be contaminated from past times. This moral imperative hinders us from understanding human in time and as a creature both being history and doing history, while the demand is to build a clear dividing line to the past. On the contrary, these narratives describe time as separated structural conserving time capsules, where humans have no moral responsibility. They live in another time with strange and incomprehensible values. The moral imperative must be to never be influenced by this, and therefore these narratives almost always are finished, since the future must be more of the contemporary. People with old and thereby wrong values also become obsolete, a relic from a bygone era, totally irrelevant and uninteresting to talk to.

The differences shown between Spanish and Swedish narratives could be influenced by their cultural context. Taking into account the Gender Development Index (as a part of the Human Development Index) of United Nations Development (2018), Sweden is on top of the ranking of gender equality countries in the world, number 8, while Spain, well positioned also on the ranking at number 25, is nevertheless a bit from Sweden. This of course proves some differences between the two countries regarding gender equality. The Spanish students in their daily lives probably deal more frequently with inequalities than the Swedish ones, which could introduce nuances about the notion of changes and continuities with the past regarding gender inequality for the Spanish students. If so, it would be an outcome of cultural differences affecting the narratives and temporal orientation. Maybe the context that we are in, affects our understanding in time and our temporal orientation.

Nonetheless, in both cultural contexts the sense of permanent progression dominates the narratives (Zerubavel, 2004). As change and continuity is the most coded concept, it could be congruent with history-didactic research that points out that this is an advanced way of understanding time and underpins trustworthy historical narratives (Rüsen, 2005). In the narratives coded as change and continuity there are better foundations for a more advanced historical reasoning. Time is interrelated all the way and an ongoing process, there are also actors that act voluntarily, and this shows the emancipating force in history. Overall, the narratives coded as change and continuity more addresses an awareness of historicity and that we both are and do history.

However, the temporal orientation in either of the categories cannot be considered optimal if there is no deep understanding and critical analysis of the problem addressed, in this case gender inequality. History is supposed to be useful as it provides a tool for understanding and acting in present days. It is not enough to say that the problem existed and that it still persists in
some ways (continuity), and that we are now better off (change), and that it will be better in the future. Consciousness should imply that we know what we are facing up to and what sort of actions this leaves us (Jeisman, 1979; Carr, 1986).

The plot of the narratives shares the narrative template of historical narratives prevailing in the western world, where a long period of time of backwardness is solved by the new forms of thought and organization leaded by liberal nation-states (Castells, 2005, VanSledright, 2008; Gómez & Miralles, 2017). It implies to omit that any revolt (action) that ends in a reform (legislative work that defines a different reality) necessarily requires revolutionary thought (Wangdi, 2017). However, little attention is often paid to the fact that revolutionary ideas are born within a collective memory that identifies the needs of that community along time. This assumption allows us to understand change not so much as an event but as a process. In this way, the idea of spontaneity is avoided and the need to understand moral problems in their complexity (in their long and short run dimensions) is given more meaning. Only in this way, we can manage to solve the problem of exposed presentism, more represented in the Abrupt change narratives. The idea of change as a process also implies didactic approaches that involve displaying information about, and dealing with, relevant social issues that provide the necessary motivation to understand history, also as a tool to act morally in the present (Levstik & Barton, 2011). Teaching the gender equality perspective in history classes, for example, does not only imply introducing historical references, but understanding the problem as a cultural context that has given women and men different power relations in the contemporary. In this way we provide students with the analytical preparation necessary to combat inequality today. On the contrary, if we assume changes as something that just happens, the problem remains (Miralles-Cardona, Cardona-Moltó & Chinter, 2020).

Do we or do we not want history as a subject to prepare citizens who take moral responsibility and act voluntarily? With our current history teaching, does it empower people, or does it just show how things happened, a chronicle of events?

References


**Appendix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal orientation (family of codes)</th>
<th>Links or breaks between tenses (Past, Present and Future)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Linked</strong></td>
<td>Projection on different tenses. The situation described has connection at least with two different tenses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Separated</strong></td>
<td>There are not explicit implications of actions in one tense that influence on the others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Narrative constructions (family of codes)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration (family of codes)</th>
<th>Composer’s narrative reasoning where situations described are expressed to be finished or unfinished, the kind of explanations made and the temporal roots of it</th>
<th>Whether situations expressed in accounts have been fulfilled or unfulfilled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finished</td>
<td>Telling stories, the narrative is closed with a clear start and end</td>
<td>In the future, it is expected that women occupy the appropriate place, for it is intended that laws and equality plans will help to achieve this. It shall promote employment and entrepreneurship feminine trying more education for equal opportunities, greater incorporation of women in society and more support to women living in rural areas. All this accompanied without gender-based violence, affecting women more than men. (SP26)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Narratives actors/actions (family of codes)

| Voluntary | Emancipated actors that can change direction for history | What has led to this current situation have been continuing mobilizations by women who have struggled to achieve improvements in their working conditions, creating even to trade unions, strikes... (SP26) |
| Non voluntary | Actors acting in tight frames predisposed to act in certain ways | Today women are supposed to be as “good” as men, and they are supposed to have the same rights as men, but I don’t really think they do. (SWM19) |

### Narrative time (family of codes)

| Long run | The story begins at least a hundred years ago | Gender equality in Spain has always been a very unfair issue. It has always been a battle for which we had to fight and we keep fighting. (SP17) |
| Short run | The story begins in the 20th century | Well, I think we are going in a good direction. Many other countries in Europe can take a lesson. I don’t feel that there is a lot of woman hatred where I live. But again, I am a man, so yes. (SWS25) |

### Sense of time (family of codes)

| Continuity and Change | Developments in which ways of life change in order to remain dynamic. Time is temporalized as meaning (Rüsen, 2018) | If we consider the situation of women today, they have more privileges on account of the constant protests that people have been involved in. For instance, in the workplace, the differences between girls and boys have decreased throughout history. Nevertheless, men tend to earn more money than women. This also happen with famous people. (SP29) |
| Continuity and change | Timeless validity of rules of human life that encompasses temporally different ways of life. Time is spatialized as meaning (Rüsen, 2018) | Although we are closer to reach a total gender equality, there is still a long way to do since the amount of people who is narrow-minded is huge and it would be needed a mentality change and also a different way of education. So it is very difficult to achieve a society change, therefore gender inequality is something that is always going to be here in Spain. Of course it will continue improving but there are always going to be situations in which the woman will be dealt in an inferior way to the man. (SP27) |

In my opinion, the Swedish society is very forthgoing about gender equality on the brink of stupidity. I think there should be equality between man and woman and different ethnicities, however, quotas just from gender is not the way to go. The expression of the right man/woman in the right place is the way to
Temporality and Cultural Memory: A Study on the Different Temporal Orientations in Spanish and Swedish Teacher Students' Narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuity by Tradition</th>
<th>Abrupt Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time is immortalized as meaning (Rüsen, 2018)</td>
<td>Disruptions, discontinuity, contradictions. Time is assessable as meaning (Rüsen, 2018)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time is but is not experienced or described.</td>
<td>Time is separated through abrupt changes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish gender equality is far come, but not yet there. We’ve have always been leading to a degree, at least in the sense that on awareness of gender roles and their impact. I’m not 100% aware of the earlier history, but today I’d call Sweden leading in the field. However, the patriarchy still exists and gender roles are prevalent. My expectation is that we have reached a dead end. Reactionary politics seems to have halted the feminist movement, or at least slowed it. (SWU52)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Swedish society of today, I would say that we are quite equal regarding many facets of everyday life. Equal pay, equal rights to work/vote and equal right of freedoms and opportunity. There are rising concerns regarding oppression among immigrants from certain areas, but my belief is that Swedish society is well prepared to contain it. Sweden has been very progressive for many years regarding gender. More debates and hopefully rights for trans/non-gender people in the future. (SWU45)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About the Authors

Fredrik Leonard Alvén (1972) has a doctoral degree in history and history didactics and is, since 2017, a lecturer in history and history didactics at Malmö University, Faculty of Education and Society, at the Department of Society, Culture and Identity. His research interests include historical consciousness, historical culture and narratives, history and moral, history teaching and assessment. He has published more than ten peer reviewed articles in national and international journals, written chapters in anthologies published by Routledge and Peter Lang and written textbooks for students at the University. Between the years 2017-2019 he was the project manager for constructing the national test in history for year nine in Sweden.

Jorge Ortuño-Molina (1976) has a degree and a doctorate in History from the University of Murcia (Spain) (1999 and 2003). From 2008 to 2010 he has been a professor of Economic History at the University of Zaragoza (Spain), and since 2010 he has been a professor of Didactics of Social Sciences at the Faculty of Education of the University of Murcia, where he holds the position of Faculty member. The investigations have been plural and interdisciplinary, collected in a wide and varied scientific production as shown by the ten books (seven monographs and three editions) published mostly by publishers outside the institutions in which he has worked; more than twenty articles in national and international journals (United States, United Kingdom, Belgium, Brazil, Colombia) indexed in the main bases of scientific journals (Web of Science; Scopus; ERIH); some thirty book chapters, as well as other invited conferences and participation in congresses in Europe and the United States. His current publications are paying attention to the educational value of social sciences in citizenship and civic education as well as the impact of socio-cultural context in history education.