12th International LAB Meeting - Summer Session 2008
14th International Summer School

European Ph.D. on
Social Representations and Communication
At the Multimedia LAB & Research Center, Rome-Italy

Social Representations in Action and Construction
in Media and Society

"Social Representations, Collective Memory and Socially
Shared Emotions: narrative and experimental approaches"

From 26th July to 3rd August 2008
http://www.europhd.eu/html/_onda02/07/14.00.00.00.shtml

Scientific Material

European Ph.D

on Social Representations and Communication

International Lab Meeting Series 2005-2008

www.europhd.psi.uniroma1.it
www.europhd.net
www.europhd.it

Chapter X

Representation of History in an Increasingly Globalised World. Aesthetical and Moral Aspects in Giving Accounts of the Past

Ignacio Brescó & Alberto Rosa
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain
[in press]

SUMMARY

This paper is about the discursive construction of History. History is a discourse about the past that also interprets the present and sheds some light for the guidance of action vis-à-vis an imagined future. The intrinsic relationship between the moral and aesthetical aspects of History, with a particular focus on the increasing globalisation of the world, is the main point to be developed here. As we view it, History is a disciplined form of knowledge whose final product takes a narrative form. When focusing on the socio-cultural functions of its products, historical narratives appear as cultural mediational tools through which shared representations related to collective identities can be generated. Historical plots have the power of creating representations of scenarios where current political actors and their actions can be appraised vis-à-vis a collective narrative identity. Some issues concerning the consequences of consumption of historical materials and the teaching of History will also be discussed.

INTRODUCING THE COMPONENTS OF HISTORICAL DISCOURSES

History is a word which gathers several meanings together (Rosa, 1993). As Table 1 shows, a common sense understanding of history refers to the events which happened in the past, as if events were natural entities. History as a discipline is also a form of knowledge which studies the material traces, namely monuments and documents, the past has left on the present, giving an account of what happened (*material cause*) and establishing a causal explanation of change (*efficient cause*). Another sense of the term History refers to a story endowed with a narrative-form according to a certain cultural discursive genre (White, 1978), whose function consists of giving a discursive shape to past accounts, providing therefore a *formal cause* for what happened in the past. In this respect it is worth noting that the differentiation between *history* and *story* that exists in English does not appear either in Latin languages or in German, where the words *Geschichte*, the same as *historia*, *storia* and *histoire* gather together both meanings, somehow conflating the idea of fiction with that of representation of the past. Finally, History can allude to those historical discourses which convey a general view of the world. These discourses include not only a version of the past, but also an imagined future which acts as a *final cause*, supplying a moral ending (Popper, 1960).

Table 1
Different Meanings of Term History

Term	Referent	Source	Function
History (the past)	What happened in the past	Reported events from the past	*Material cause* for history ('what really happened')
History (Historiography)	A disciplined form of knowledge	Material traces from the past (monuments and documents)	Description of what happened (*material cause*) and why it happened (*efficient cause*)
Story (fiction, tale, narrative form)	Narrative linguistic production	Cultural discursive genres	Literary artefact for producing meaning (*formal cause*)
General History (Ideology, moral)	What happened in the past and will happen in the future	Imagined events (from the past and the future)	Closure of the narrative (*final cause*)

The aim of showing this classification is only analytical, since all these functions are simultaneously at

play in a historical narrative. Thus, as we point out below, in order to establish the events of the past and their causes a narrative form is required; a narrative form whose coherence and global sense will depend both on the selection of a central theme and the presence of a fixed entity which changes throughout time, or put it in other words, the main character who develops the plot by enacting the story. These two issues are a result of political decision addressed either to justify some current state of affaires or to point out where current action should be focused upon vis-à-vis a desired future. We can see this plainly in the nationalist historiography of the nineteen century where *the nation*, in becoming the privileged subject matter of nationalist discourses, became then "the hermeneutic key of History" (Prados, 2005, p. 55) making past, present and imagined future events to be interpreted in the light of different national themes.

GIVING ACCOUNTS OF THE PAST: THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF HISTORICAL EVENTS

History can then be taken to be a narrative product (Levstik, 1995), endowed with a central theme and a main character by which the events of the past are causally linked with the present ones, creating a dramatic tension towards an imagined future (Rosa, Blanco, Travieso & Huertas, 2000). So viewed, historical narratives are meaning-making cultural artefacts which draw *continuity* between the past, the present and the future, explaining the former, giving sense to the second and projecting the latter. But what is History made of? What is its content? In order to answer these questions we will refer to how historical events are constructed, which, in turn, will lead us to the study of narrative, the main cognitive instrument for historical understanding (Mink, 2001). When doing so we will deal not only with the content of history but also with the narrative form in which historical events are constructed and emplotted.

The Form of the Content: How Historical Events Are Discursively Constructed

Where do events come from? To begin with we can say that anything that happens can become the referent of an event. But there can be no events without a narrative structure, and this has to be added by an intentional action of a speaker. An initial state changes to a different one owing to the intervention of some kind of agent—in the case of human agents, sometimes following a purpose. So, for a happening to become an event, one has to focus on a particular observed change, and bring in some causality and a certain rationalisation. We can see this process working in the accounts of the September 11th terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre, where, in spite of the repeated broadcasting of the images of the plane crushing into the building, few people managed to understand what was going on at the time, or to be more precise, what sort of event was happening then, what its meaning was. For this reason, many specialists were requested on that day to provide a narrative that gave sense to the image witnessed all over the world, by describing its causes, the (supposed) intentions attributed to the agents of this act and, more importantly, offering different future scenarios for action.

Considering this example, it is important to notice that the same happening can have many meanings and so produce different events adapted to the narrative provided; a narrative which in supplying a plausible link between the past, the present and the future, also provides a theme for the story, a plot, as well as setting a stage for the play of its protagonists and antagonists. There is no need to say that the chosen theme will depend on the *explanatory intentions* (Danto, 1985) at stake, which makes the discursively construction of events a moral and ideological matter. This is why happenings can either be ignored or emphasised according to their compatibility with the explanatory intention or perspective chosen by the narrator. It goes without saying that the narrative provided has to supply an account of the observed facts, but this can only be made by resorting to other explanatory devices well beyond them, which are brought into the narrative in order to provide it with verisimilitude. Among them are other reported events, hypothetical causal links between all the events, as well as the attribution of roles to agents who may have not been physically present in the observed happening.

The Content of the Form: The Role of the Plot in the Creation of Past, Present and Future Scenarios

It is the form who adds meaning and rationality upon happenings, and so turns them into events. Events are discursively constructed by means of a plot whose sense and continuity stems from the presence of a certain entity which, sometimes even if it does not appear as an agent in the narrative, is the substance that makes the narrative hold together as the history of *something*. This entity (the nation) is created and imagined (Anderson, 1983), among other symbolic devices, by means of historical discourses, being at the

same time the *raison d'être* of that history. As Hegel (1837/1956) states, this entity "presents a subject-matter that is not only *adapted* to the prose of History, but involves the production of such history in the very progress of its own being" (quoted by White, 1980, p. 16, emphasis in original). It is the "legal subject" (White, 1980, p. 16) of historical narratives, that is, some sort of virtual agent—often metonymically embodied in particular actors as national heroes and institutions—whose main goal throughout the narrative would consist of either defending a certain moral system or fighting for the creation of a new one. By identifying with it, we assume its goals and actions, getting, therefore, involved with the plot and with the moral conveyed throughout the narrative.

In this section we will put forward some concepts regarding the form of History or, borrowing Hayden White's expression, regarding the *content of the form* (White, 1986), which is shaped to perform a moral function. For it is through the narrative form of historical discourses that we not only interpret and appraise past and present events, but what's more important, we also justify and give sense to future oriented actions. A good indicator of that is found in many nationalist discourses or, more specifically, in what Levinger & Lytle (2001) call "the nationalist rhetorical triad" (2001, p. 178) - a narrative template for the production of historical discourses. According to their view, the prescription of oriented future actions in relation to a certain community is rhetorically supported by establishing an opposition between a supposed glorious national past and a present degraded state caused by the action of an external agent. Thus, the form expressed through a classic narrative genre (in this case, a tragedy) would allow the main actor of the story (the nation) to adopt the role of a victim in the historical drama. In this way, the portrait of a tragic past, preceded by a remote golden age, can be used, not only as a criterion for diagnosing the present situation, but also as a moral argument for mobilization in order to reach a certain future goal.

This implies a recursive play between the constructed images about the present, the past and the future; with the effect that an imagined final cause can be turned into an efficient cause for current action, something that Michel Cole (1996) calls *prolepsis*. As far as historical discourses are concerned, this occurs by means of a formal cause, since, as we have seen, the projected future goal defines the explanatory intentions according to which material causes will be selected and interpreted through the setting of a narrative form, namely, a plot; a plot through which past events will be discursively constructed and causally related with the current situation, providing not only an efficient cause to interpret the present but also an argument for the rationalization and justification of certain goal oriented actions. This makes the moral and aesthetic dimensions of historical narratives to be inherently related. As Gergen and Gergen (1980) indicate, "with the creation of a goal condition, the successful narrative must select and arrange preceding events in such a way that the goal state is rendered more or less probable" (p. 175).

Giving New Forms to Old Contents. Reshaping the Past in Facing New Future Challenges

Following on from the argument so far presented, someone may think that we believe the discursive construction of History to be a sort of arbitrary process where the content is tailored to the political purposes at stake. But this is not the case. We believe that the academic practice of History attempts to provide the best possible account given the available evidence and methodology. But what historians produce cannot be taken to be what really happened in the past. We reckon that human actions and goals are mediated and constrained both by the contingencies that come up and by the interpretation humans make when using a wide range of cultural artefacts accumulated over the past of the social group. History, as a disciplined practice, is the means through which we aim to rationalize and interpret such past contingencies in order to "delimit the uncertainty of the immediate future" (Valsiner, 2003, p.12). But this is a never ending process, since as new contingencies come up new forms of rationalization are required.

The activity of rationalizing the past from a constantly changing present implies both the rationalization of new eventualities, according to the existing historical discourses, and the accommodation or reconfiguration of the latter whenever new contingencies break the canonical version of History so far available. New rationalizations of the past are constantly required, so we could have new ways of providing a causal link between the new situation and the past; something which sometimes requires one to look for new evidence which make possible the discursive construction of other kinds of events neglected up to the present situation. This is a continuous process that takes a spiral shape (see Figure 1), since as time goes by and new happenings take place, new explanatory intentions arise, and so do new perspectives through which to look at the past. This requires one to select previously discarded evidence and construct new historical events in order to make sense of the current situation and so get better oriented toward new goals. This happens whenever a situation demands a new rationalization, that is, a new *na-rationalization* (Rosa & Blanco, 2007) of the past in order to orientate actions towards a new imagined future.

Figure 1. History, Time, and Oriented Future Actions

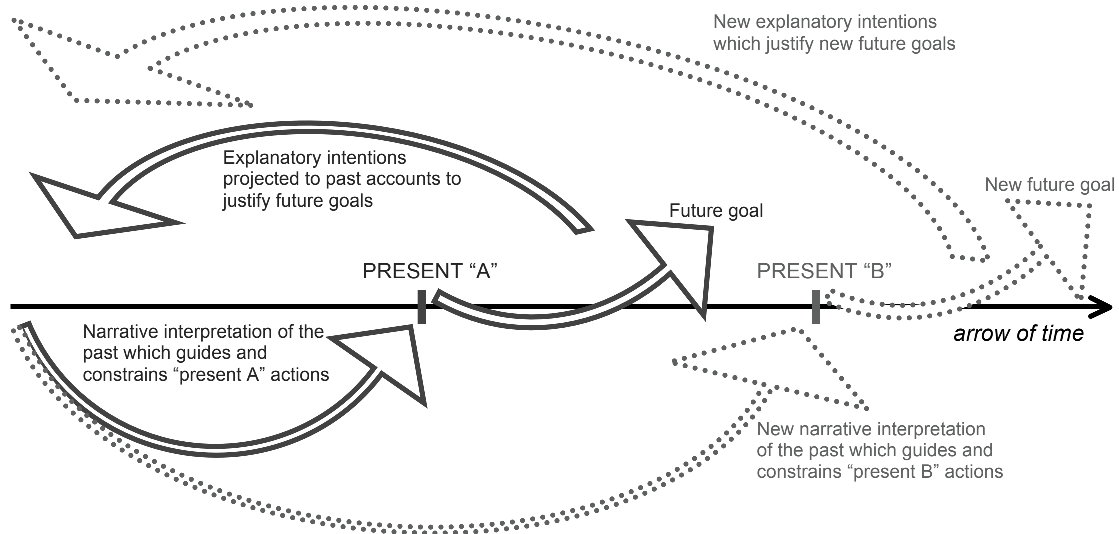

Figure 1 shows how the construction of historical narratives requires one to take into account both the past and the future of an event, vis-à-vis a particular present. It has to be noted that historians have to play with many presents (and their futures)—those in which the actors of the past performed their actions—most of them being in the past when the historian carries out his/her research, which gives him or her an interpretative advantage. But nevertheless the historian’s present also has a future which, once it becomes a new present and a new future is imagined, may affect the validity of the interpretation given to past events.

This picture gets more complicated when the interrelation between content and form is taken into account. On the one hand, events are the content of the narrative and their succession makes the structure of the plot, but on the other hand, the narrative form provides the criteria by which events are formed, as well as projecting a sense upon them. Furthermore, it is important to stress that this process is not only historically situated, but it also occurs within “social contexts of controversy” (Billig, 1991, p. 43), where different versions of the past compete against each other throughout a multivoiced (Luczynski, 1997) and dialogical symbolic battle for the creation of different possible future worlds. As Raymon Martin remarks: “the overriding explanatory objective of historians is to show that their explanations are better than competing explanations; and they attempt to do this by arguing both for their explanations and against competing explanations” (quoted by Roberts, 2001, p. 8).

THE STAGING OF HISTORICAL DRAMAS

So far we have seen that for historical events to be produced, a narrative form is required. This shows the aesthetic aspects of historical narratives not to be a mere decoration added to the documented facts, but an essential tool for the construction and interpretation of reality: past, present and, more importantly, the kind of reality we imagine or plan for the future. Thus, when thinking about the influence narratives exert on guiding, orienting and constraining actions, it is also worth paying attention to the way historical accounts are socially consumed, how they become part of the *personal culture* of individuals (Barclay & Smith, 1992) and so they come to be a useful part of the personal tool-kit for action (Wertsch, 1991).

This can be achieved by resorting to the use of cultural conventionalized forms (Bartlett, 1932), literary genres (Bakhtin, 1986), or schematic narrative templates (Wertsch, 2002) in order to have more persuasive and direct impact on the public. Moscovici’s theory of social representations provides an interesting

perspective to study how initial abstract and complex issues can be converted into familiar and self-evident notions by employing pre-existing cultural forms of mediation. So viewed, social representations of History, including the very idea of nation, are grounded on processes of *objectification* (Moscovici, 1984) or *banalization* (Billig, 1995) which provide a *figurative nucleus*—in this case by means of an understandable and attractive plot with well defined characters—supplying, therefore, a familiar and clear picture of what happened in the past. Similarly it could be said, according to White (1978), that it is through narrative devices that happenings can be domesticated and actions can be justified. When talking about this we go beyond the field of the academic practice of History and enter the realm of the teaching of History and the rhetorical use of historical materials.

What these discursive practices usually generate is the staging of a drama with a story line easy to follow, in which people can understand events, recognize actors, identify with some of them, counter-identify with others and extract a moral lesson. We can see this plainly in the use of historical analogies for political purposes (Gilovich, 1981; Spellman & Holyoak, 1993). One of such cases took place at the time of what later on would be worded as the prologue of the Second Iraq War. When George W. Bush's administration was trying to justify the planned invasion of Iraq, an analogy with the Munich Agreements was staged. Saddam Hussein was pictured as playing the part of Hitler and 'Old Europe' the part of the complacent Neville Chamberlain. This was a clear rhetorical device which projected an old form to new events and, by doing so, conveyed an historical moral to justify the intervention. We see in this case that "form serves as a necessary bridge to new, still unknown content" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.165) or, in other words, how a familiar form of emplotting past events serves as a symbolic mediator to anchor and domesticate current ones, allowing people to judge them and to get emotionally involved in the scene discursively generated. As Gergen and Gergen (1980) stress, "one of the most phenomenologically salient aspects of narrative form [is] the capacity to create feelings of drama or emotion. We may refer to this aspect of narrative form in terms of dramatic engagement" (p. 178).

ACTORS PLAYING IN A READY-MADE HISTORICAL DRAMA

History projects a kind of rationality over the past, the present and the future in order to give sense and direction to our actions. This is done through the use of conventional and attractive narrative forms. The main purpose of this is to involve people in political projects. However nowadays we do not live anymore in a world of nations with clear cultural boundaries between them. If that was ever true, that is not the case anymore. The new media are enabling the symbolic market to become global and accessible to an increasingly greater population, and so making possible new forms of social identification to appear. Now manifold historical narrations can compete in the global symbolic market (Bourdieu, 1991), proposing different scenarios for action, according to different interpretations of the past. Among them we can find historical narrations promising utopias (as Socialism), redemptions (as Nationalism and Fundamentalism of all kinds) or prophecies such as the "Clash of Civilizations" (Huntington, 1996). All these narratives tend to project a closed rationality (Popper, 1960), drawing a continuous line between the past and an imagined future. And they do this by appealing to the existence of historical regularities and laws, with a repertoire of closed and reified historical entities like nations, religious communities or civilizations.

The consumption of these kinds of narratives may generate important consequences. But what is of interest to us here is to highlight the ones concerning moral action. Individuals, if they identify themselves with such reified entities and with their respective roles in an imagined History, may also internalise the moral conveyed through these discourses, and so apply the norms for action implied in such closed plots. As a result, the consumer of one history may then become a ventriloquist (Bakhtin, 1981) of an imagined pre-packaged script that prevents him or her from assuming more than one perspective in relation to past, present and future events. It may come as no surprise then that in such cases some individuals may take upon themselves the duty of becoming actors who perform an assigned role in the on-going drama of the History they believe.

Again, we can see this clearly in national histories, where national entities tend to be objectified and personalized in the shape of national heroes or villains and endowed with the same kinds of attributes used to portray fictional characters. It is by identifying (or counter-identifying) with them that we enter the story. As Oatley (2004) puts it, "first, one comes to like a main character, or narrator; then, by taking on his or her goals […], one becomes like the character, even becomes the character" (p. 111). As the result of this process, the protagonist's values, purposes, victories and defeats are undertaken and felt in first person plural. But so are too the protagonist's enemies and their threats, since, as Billig (1995) states referring to national discourses, "if nationalism is an ideology of the first person plural, which tells 'us' who 'we' are,

then it is also an ideology of the third person. There can be no 'us' without a 'them'" (p. 78). To put it another way, following James's (1890) theory of the self and the way Hermanns (2001) interprets it, we could state that both the entity one identifies with, and the antagonists in the narration, become elements of one's national identity, as something of 'mine'.

EPILOGUE: HISTORY BEYOND THE MORAL OF NARRATIVES

We have been talking up to this point about the relation between aesthetics and moral dimensions in the construction of historical discourses. As the argument goes, both dimensions are inseparable from the narrative form, and play a part in the choosing and shaping of historical events. Furthermore, as we have seen, they are also capable of contributing to the formation of shared positions, emotions and moral lessons (Mathien, 1991) connected with a certain collective. However, these aspects are transparent, that is, non-evident to the unaware consumer of histories. This makes the business of History a potentially dangerous weapon.

Teaching History—religious, national or whatever way of presenting human time as sacred time—is a way of transmitting social values and generating identity and loyalties. But we believe that one of the main tasks in the teaching of History should be to highlight the potential danger of ready-made narratives, so that people can reflect on them. Our proposal is that teaching History should go beyond the task of teaching loyalties to any kind of entity by conveying moral stories. We believe that the teaching of History is a great opportunity for the education of a reflective and responsible citizenry (Rosa, 2006) endowed with the necessary tools to face *prêt-a-porter* historical narratives. Therefore, rather than offering closed and un-ambivalent narratives which convey a moral for group-action, we are in favour of using more open plots which may act as tools for reflection in an increasingly open and complex world.

The aim of History teaching, as we see it, is to contribute to making individual actors to become reflective authors endowed with more agency to co-construct their own historical versions in internal debate with themselves and in open dialogue with the others. Viewed in this way, History can be used as a symbolic artefact to increase the individual's capacity to cope with the uncertainty caused by the presence of multiple voices and moral discourses in the current world. This may stimulate the individual's aptitude to carry out ethical deliberations among these discourses and to assume different perspectives, instead of being *intolerant of ambiguity* (Frenkel-Brunswik, 1949). We suggest, following Kieran Egan (1997), that the citizenry should reach an *ironic understanding* when consuming ready-made historical narratives so that they can be aware of their form and critical of their content. This implies developing their capabilities so as to enter into a dialogue with the text and to answer it back, producing a new one. In our opinion, the teaching of History, far from producing subjects who are simply ventriloquists of an official version, should educate citizens to be capable to actively participate in the interpretation of the historical drama and, more importantly, to use these capabilities for the orientation of their actions in the public realm.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Preparation of this paper was supported by the grant SEJ2005-09110-C03-01/PSIC from the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science. The contribution of the first author was made possible by a scholarship from the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science AP-20040928.

REFERENCES

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.

Barclay, C. R. & Smith, T. S. (1992). Autobiographical Remembering: Creating Personal Culture. In M. A. Conway, D. C. Rubin, H. Spinnler, & W. A. Wagenaar (Eds.), *Theoretical Perspectives on Autobiographical Memory* (pp. 75-97). Kluwer Academic Publishers: Netherlands.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays by M. M. Bakhtin* (Trans. C. Emerson & M. Holquist). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1986). *Speech genres and other late essays* (Trans. C. Emerson & M. Holquist). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bartlett, F. C. (1932). *Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Billig, M. (1991). *Ideology and Opinions: Studies in Rhetorical Psychology*. London. Sage

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Mass. Harvard University Press.
Cole, M. (1996). *Cultural psychology: A once and future discipline.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Danto, A. C. (1985). *Narration and Knowledge: Including the Integral Text of Analytical Philosophy of History*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Egan, K. (1997). *The Educated Mind*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
Frenkel-Brunswik, E. (1949). Intolerance of ambiguity as an emotional and perceptual personality variable. *Journal of Personality,18*, 108-143.
Gergen, M. M. & Gergen, K. J. (1984). The Social Construction of Narrative Accounts. In K. J. Gergen & M. M. Gergen (Eds.), *Historical Social Psychology* (pp. 174-189). Hillsdale (N.J.): Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Gilovich, T. (1981). Seeing the past in the present: The effect of associations to familiar events on judgments and decisions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 40*, 797–808.
Hegel, G.W.F. (1837/1956). *The Philosophy of History*. (Trans. J. Sibree). New York: Dover.
Hermans, H. J. M. (2001). The Dialogical Self: Toward a Theory of Personal and Cultural Positioning. *Culture & Psychology*, *7*(3), 243-281.
Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
James, W. (1890). *The principles of psychology* (Vol. 1). New York: Henry Holt.
Levinger, M. & Lytle, P. F. (2001). Myth and mobilisation: the triadic structure of nationalist rhetoric. *Nations and Nationalism*, 7(2), 175-194.
Levstik, L. S. (1995). Narrative constructions: cultural frames for history. *The Social Studies, 86*(3), 113-116.
Mathien, T. (1991). History and the moralist, *The Monist, 74*(2), 240-267.
Mink, L. O. (2001). Narrative form as a cognitive instrument. In G. Roberts (Eds.), *The History and Narrative Reader* (pp. 211-220). London: Routledge.
Moscovici, S. (1984). The phenomenon of Social Representations. In R. M. Farr & S. Moscovici (Eds.), *Social Representations* (pp. 3-70). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Oatley, K. (2004). From the Emotions of Conversation to the Passions of Fiction. In A.S.R. Manstead, N. Frijda & A. Fischer (Eds.), *Feelings and Emotion* (pp. 98-114). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Popper, K. R. (1960). *The poverty of historicism*. London: Routledge & K. Paul.
Prados, A. C. (2005). *El Nacionalismo. Una ideología*. Madrid: Tecnos.
Roberts, G. (2001). The history and narrative debate, 1960-2000. In G. Roberts (eds.) *The History and Narrative Reader* (pp. 1-21). London: Routledge.
Rosa, A. (1993). La polisemia de la palabra "historia". Historia pasado, historiografía, historia-narración e historia intelectual. *Revista de Historia de la Psicología, 14*, 1-7.
Rosa, A. (2006). Recordar, describir y explicar el pasado, ¿qué, cómo y para el futuro de quién? In M. Carretero, A. Rosa, & M. F. González (Eds.), *Enseñanza de la historia y memoria colectiva* (pp. 37-48). Buenos Aires: Paidós.
Rosa, A. & Blanco, F. (2007). Actuations of Identification in the games of identity. *Social practice/Psychological Theorizing*. http://www.sppt-gulerce.boun.edu.tr/
Rosa, A., Blanco, F., Travieso, D. & Huertas, J. A. (2000). Imaginando historias de España en el tiempo de unas elecciones generales. In A. Rosa, G. Bellelli & D. Bakhurst (Eds.), *Memoria Colectiva e identidad nacional* (pp. 349-384). Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.
Spellman, B. A., & Holyoak, K. J. (1993). If Saddam is Hitler then who is George Bush? Analogical mapping between systems of social roles. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 62*, 913-933.
Valsiner, J. (2003). Beyond Social Representations: A Theory of Enablement. *Papers on Social Representations,12*, 1-16.
Valsiner, J. & Abbey, E. (2006) Ambivalence in focus: Remembering the life and work of Else Frenkel-Brunswik. *Estudios de Psicología*, *27*(1), 9-17.
Wertsch, J.V. (1991). *Voices of the mind: a sociocultural approach to mediated action*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
Wertsch, J.V. (2002). *Voices of collective remembering*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
White, H. (1978). *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins UP.
White, H. (1980). The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality. *Critical Inquiry, 7*(1), 5-27.
White, H. (1986). *The Content of the Form*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins UP.