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EDITORIAL

INTRODUCTION

The International Journal of History Teaching Learning and Research has established itself over the past decade as a medium for reporting research and developments in History Education from around the world. As an aspect of its activities we developed a complementary organisation, the History Educators International Research Network [HEIRNET]. HEIRNET holds an annual international conference. In 2011 HEIRNET 8 met in Portugal, in 2012 we will convene in Brazil for the ninth time.

HISTORY, IDENTITY AND HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS: BRAZIL AND PORTUGAL

IJHTLR is catholic in the areas and issues it addresses, although there is a set of consistent themes that emerges from the international discourse that it reports. A crucial, central element is the issue of History and Identity, with specific reference to the role of *History Education for Citizenship* within the overall pattern of the 'received wisdom' of a country's political establishment. A consistent thread in discussion and debate about identity is Jorn Rüsen's ontogenetic typology of historical consciousness with its distinction between a view of the past [substantive/propositional knowledge] and an understanding of history's disciplinary nature [syntactic/procedural knowledge]. The Rüsen paradigm has been a key element in research into History Education that originated in the Institute of Education, London and has involved a number of countries, with Peter Lee as 'the onlie begetter'.

Accordingly, we are republishing a seminal paper that Peter wrote on Rüsen to provide the context for the five Brazilian and Portuguese papers in this edition; presented in draft form at HEIRNET 2011. The five articles mainly relate to the *Historical Consciousness Project—Theory and Practice II* [HI-CON] that is grounded in Rüsen's epistemology. HI-CON investigations range across different aspects of historical consciousness reflected in history education, drawing mainly upon Rüsen's oeuvre.

1. The historical consciousness conceptions of Brazilian high school students
2. analysis of the multiple and complex elements of Portuguese pupils' historical narratives that embed and encode their historical consciousness
3. the interface between politics, citizenship and history in the legitimation of the political establishment's view of the past via the main channel for transmission of historical consciousness—school textbooks;
4. the role of other disciplines such as music in the history curriculum, with reference to initial teacher education
5. the relationship between history theory and practice in Brazil. The focus was the development of *Laboratories for History Teaching* as an element in overall government curriculum research and development involving teaching laboratories for the arts, chemistry, physics, biology and history. The context was Brazil's development from the 1980s of a democratic pattern of government.

CONSCIOUSNESS AND IDENTITY: *CONFLICT, DEBATE AND THE HISTORY CURRICULUM: HISTORY WARS: HISTORY WARS & THE CLASSROOM: GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES*

IJHTLR has consistently argued that History Education is Political Education in the widest meaning of those words. History Education provides the temporal dimension of citizenship identity, and crucially, the historical understanding that underpins values, beliefs, attitudes, actions and behaviours. History consciousness plays a role in the evolution of all polities and the policies and practices of government. It is a major element in the cultural capital of ruling elites; cultural capital that can be as much an arena of conflict as consensus. Conflict can take the extreme form of revolution and civil war as we are witnessing in the Arab Spring of 2011–12. The contested nature of history within a polity's cultural capital is the central element in the second section of this edition: a report on a major publication *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives* (Taylor & Guyver, eds, 2011). This timely volume presents ten papers from ten national authorities on the often fiercely contested nature of history & the curriculum in their respective countries:

1. Argentina
2. Australia
3. Canada
4. Germany
5. Japan
6. New Zealand
7. Russia
8. South Africa
9. United Kingdom
10. United States of America

These debates are not abstract academic posturings: they are real, live, dynamic issues that underpin key aspects of each country's educational system and the form and nature of teaching in their schools.

ISLAM, TEXTBOOKS AND ENGLISH HISTORY EDUCATION

The final section of this edition, published as a separate download, is the first in a series of monographs on History Education; Fiona Kisby Littleton *Representations Of The Islamic World In History Textbooks For English Schools, 1799–2002: A Case Study Of The Crusades.* Fiona's monograph takes many of the elements that the Brazilian and Portuguese papers and *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives* raise and examines them in the specific context of textbooks and one area of teaching. The preface to the monograph summarises the issues and concerns that her research addresses:


'A clash between Saracens and Crusaders'

"Constituting 20% of the world's population, Muslims have played a key role in human history. Yet, recent events around the globe have meant that they have received unprecedented media attention in 'the west' resulting in unfair, inaccurate and unreasonably negative representations. These discourses form the hidden curriculum beyond the classroom from which studies have shown many pupils learn. As Muslims now constitute the largest non-Christian religious group in the UK, this fact has implications for debates about the shaping of the formal curriculum and the skills and knowledge needed by British pupils for their future successful political, social, cultural and economic functioning as citizens in an increasingly diverse nation at the heart of a globalised world.

In the light of this, this work seeks to investigate the messages which school History textbooks—key but often overlooked components of mass media—have disseminated about Muslims during the period 1799–2002. Focusing on a small case study of the Crusades—a ubiquitous topic and itself a frequently occurring symbol in current political discourse—it uses a qualitative content analysis to form a hypothesis about textbook portrayals of them which can subsequently be used and/or tested in future quantitative studies on the broader Islamic world. Not only does it shed light on how some Muslims have been portrayed in History textbooks, and thus goes beyond usual debates on Islam and education in Britain which are limited to school organisation and Religious Studies. It also makes observations and recommendations about the utility of strategies for textbook analysis, a complex method of educational research in its infancy. In addition, it uses insights gained from longitudinal analysis to make general recommendations about how History textbooks in current use can be evaluated, and how conflicts in general could be more fairly and objectively presented in future textbooks to meet UNESCO goals for education to promote international understanding and world peace."

CONCLUSION

IJHTLR's view of History Education reflects both the macro overview and the micro detailed investigation of specific issues and concerns. The importance of History Education research is reflected in the recent changes to IJHLTR. The *Historical Association of Great Britain* is now its publisher, we have restructured and reorganised the journal to reflect the interests and concerns of international research.

THE CONCEPTIONS OF OBJECTIVE HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE OF BRAZILIAN HIGH SCHOOL'S YOUNG STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT
This paper investigates how young students from two Brazilian High Schools—one public, another private—understand what historical knowledge means. This article describes an investigation into how these students grasp the ideas of objectivity and truth from historical comic books. It relates to investigations into historical objectivity by Barca (2000) and theoretical considerations of philosophers of history (Dray 1969, 1980 Walsh 1979; Mccullogh 1984, 1998, Martin, 1989, 1993, Rüsen 2001). A pilot study aimed to diagnose how young people understand the relationship between comic books and historical objectivity. But in this paper we present the high school students' answers from a research question: "What is history for you?" This question seeks to understand what ideas the young students have about whether there is 'an epistemic access to reality' or there is an 'epistemic cut' between knowing the subject and reality. (BARCA, 2000). It intends also to find out whether these students understand that history is a discipline that organizes the sense orientation of time (RÜSEN, 2001, 2009, 2010). Consequently, as a result of this investigation it was found that many youngsters understand that history is a discipline which involves knowledge of the past and that it is possible to relate orientation of time to their practical lives.

KEYWORDS
History Education, Historical truth and objectivity, Conception of history.

INTRODUCTION

Aiming to investigate how historical comic books provide a link with historical knowledge and the way the Brazilian young high school students see historical truth and objectivity, we sought to understand how research into history education is using comic books to understand how the past is present in the ideas of historical subjects. Within this study I asked these students what they understand by history (Fronza 2010: pp.73–80, 151). I aimed to understand how these youngsters define history and to try to see whether they can take into account ideas related to realistic conceptions about how we can access the past and if history helps these students to develop a sense orientation of time.

I am following the ideas related to research by Barca (2000) about how young people build explanations about the past, as it is one of the first research studies of history education that addresses empirically the ideas of young students concerning historical objectivity and truth. With respect to discussions concerning concepts of truth and objectivity in historical research Barca (2000, pp.68–69) points out that there are controversies that surround their theoretical frameworks: the first refers to 'the possibility of truth in historical knowledge'. What are the evaluation criteria and meanings related to historical objectivity? These controversies involve scepticism and perspectives which are articulated in concepts such as positivist, subjectivist, relativist, and objectivist.

From the path proposed by Barca (2000), I engaged with the work of philosophers of history: Dray 1969, 1980, Martin 1989, Walsh 1951, Behan McCullagh 1998, 2004. These researchers, in particular Walsh and Martin, directly influence research on historical truth and objectivity because they posit ideas that come closest to those posed by Rüsen (2001) relating to the criteria for truth in historical narratives. Rüsen (2001, pp.91–92) proposes that historical narratives structure the search for truth and make a claim for validity, and therefore objectivity. There are three criteria for truth: 1) Relevance of empirical evidence, where the facts narrated are based on past experience. 2) Normative relevance, when the facts narrated are based on shared meanings and values. 3) The relevance of narrative, where the orientation of meaning between past experiences and the meanings and normative values of the present are 'presented in a continuous flow of time' by narrating history, linking these criteria to the practical life of the subjects.

The relevance of a narrative approach to the past is only on a higher plane because it involves intentional human action in time. This makes it possible to construct forms of narrative which determine the limits of youngsters' ideas about historical truth and objectivity. Indeed this knowledge provides the possibility that these students grasp the relationship between the idea of history, the past and the sense of time.

THE STUDY

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aims to find answers to the following research question: *What are the meanings that young high school students give to ideas of historical objectivity and truth when they read historical comic books?*

METHODOLOGY

The subjects of this research are 53 students, from 15–18 years old, in two second grade classes of secondary education, one a public school in the state of Paraná (29 youngsters) and one a private school (24 youngsters) in Curitiba, Brazil, on March 29 and April 16, 2010, respectively. For this, we produced a research tool based on the criteria of qualitative research methodology, supported by the work of Michelle Lessard-Hébert (Lessard—Hebert, Goyette and Boutin 2005). We intend to investigate the meanings given by individuals to the decisions they made about practical life. The research instrument is a questionnaire with open and closed questions. It is a pilot study which sought to diagnose how young people understand the relationship between comic books and historical objectivity. But, in this paper, we intend to present the high school students' answers to a research question: "What is history for you?" In accordance with my teacher advisor, Prof. Dr. Maria Auxiliadora Moreira dos Santos, this question was formulated as follows (FRONZA, 2010, pp.73–80, 151): I asked the students to order numerically from 1 to 4 possible answers to 'what is history?'. These are the questions: (1.) a discipline like others that you have studied; (2.) important knowledge for your life; (3.) a discipline that tells how the past happened; (4.) a discipline related to the past. I asked them to justify their answers.

MAIN RESULTS

Students responded to the question *"From 1 to 4, order the options, 1 being the most important and 4 the least one: History for you is …"*.

Here are the responses of Brazilian high school students: The answers to this question required the construction of three tables: all in relation to the degree of importance. (Table I combines the responses of the public and private schools, and on tables II and III each is separate.)

TABLE I—ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS' RESPONSES

Definition of History	1st place	2nd place	3rd place	4th place	Total*
A discipline that tells how the past happened	25	15	8	3	51
A discipline related to the past	12	18	14	5	49
Important knowledge for your life	13	12	19	7	51
A science like others that you have studied	2	5	7	37	51

** This numerical discrepancy occurred because four youngsters chose only one option and another one indicated the number 4 for all options.*

The data in Table I shows that youngsters from combined public and private schools indicated that the most important definition of history is "a discipline that tells how the past happened". The second most important definition is "a discipline related to the past". The third was " important knowledge for your life". However, the most surprising result was the choice as the least relevant option, with thirty-seven citations, "a discipline like others that you have studied". These responses showed that young people understand that the object of history is the study of the past.

TABLE II—DEFINITION OF HISTORY (PUBLIC SCHOOL)

Definition of History	1st place	2nd place	3rd place	4th place	5th place
A science that tells how the past happened	11	11	5	1	28
A science related to the past	8	7	10	2	27
An important knowledge for your life	10	7	8	3	28
A science like others that you have studied	0	2	4	21	27

** This numerical discrepancy occurred because two youngsters just chose one option.*

Table II shows the importance, among public school students, of the view that history is "a science that tells how the past happened". This was dominant in first and second place in this school.

TABLE III—DEFINITION OF HISTORY (PRIVATE SCHOOL)

Definition of History	1st place	2nd place	3rd place	4th place	5th place
A science that tells how the past happened	14	4	3	2	23
A science related to the past	4	11	4	3	22
An important knowledge for your life	3	5	11	4	23
A science like others that you have studied	2	3	3	16	24

** This numerical discrepancy occurred because two youngsters chose only one option and another one indicated the number 4 for all options.*

Students in the private school followed the same trend as in the public school, selecting one as the most important definition, that history is "a science that tells how the past happened".

From these empirical data I can point out how young students understand what the object of historical knowledge is: the study of the past. This view is related to the ideas espoused by historians. According Rüsen (2010, p.135), in the view of the historian von Ranke, this conception prevails among most professional historians, because they believe that 'with certain rational procedures, human intelligence would be able to discover the history as the actual structure of the human world, the time, course of events and changes in the past'. Barca's investigation (2000) in relation to young Portuguese students' ideas about provisional explanations also showed predominantly realistic views about how to the access to the past. These ideas appear more strongly in the justifications that these youngsters gave for their choices.

To explain these results it is really important to take into account the question "*Justify your choice in relation to the most important and to the least important:*"

The responses to this question revealed surprising data on the responses of Tables I, II and III because the most common justification given by youngsters in the public school was that history is 'important knowledge for their lives', especially with regard to their expectations of the future. But they also point out that knowing what happened in the past, is important for the world and culture. They understand that the idea that history is "a science that tells what happened in the past" and "a science that is related to the past" are claims that indicate there is a relationship between present and past, and it allows us to learn from the past. Just two youngsters justified their responses by referring to the relationship between history and other sciences.

Here are the answers of the public school's students:

> History talks about everything that happened in the past, but most of what we learn we will only use for the exam, not for our lives. A lot of things can help, but there are things that we will never change anything in my life.
> Pedro—16 years old

Pedro's response points to the idea that historical knowledge is useful only to pass exams to enter university, and can't change your life. This youngster understands that history is the knowledge to be used for a specific social purpose. His response reveals a practical conception of the past, which, according Walsh (1978, p.107) and Oakeshott (2003, p.60), predominates in a sceptical view of history. However, other types of response are provided by the students:

> 4—They (other sciences) are much generalized, and history is not. 1—The concept of history is to learn from past mistakes without judging those who made them. The same precept appears in several books and in the Bible.
> Regis—16 years old

Regis points out that history is not a generalizing science like the others that he has studied, because its function is to make people learn from past mistakes, but not to judge the people who made them. With this statement, the student points to three characteristics that are, according Rüsen (2001, pp.140–141), inherent in relation to an objective historical knowledge: retrospectivity, selectivity, and particularity.

Retrospectivity 'can be called the open door through which non-empirical elements—subjective interests, norms and values, desires and threats—' are present in the historical relationship between past and present. The claim 'to learn from past mistakes without judging those who made them' expresses this understanding. Regis has proposed a selection that breaks away from the criteria for objective historical investigation: 'The same precept appears in several books and in the Bible'. However, the normative significance of values is presented in his affirmation. Particularity reflects the limitation that historical science has to face in the confrontation between historical interpretations and empirical evidence of the past. But this also defines their identity: "They (other sciences) are very generalized, and history is not."

Another justification is made by João and Nicolas who affirm that history is important because it allows a relationship between present and past.

> It's important, the option that says 'a science that tells how the past happened' because it is very important for everyone in the world to know more about our predecessors.
> João—15 years old

> History is an important subject for me and it is as important as the other sciences that I have studied. Throughout history we see how the present connects with the past, and, finally, it tells how it was in the past.
> Nicolas—15 years old

These responses show that both youngsters are conscious of history as a narrative way of thinking, which allows them to build a sense of orientation in time. Rüsen's idea

of historical remembrance (2009, pp.6–7) as the means of expressing the historical culture of a society, takes into account the conception that historical memory goes beyond an individual's autobiographical memory. This can be overcome in two ways: one occurs when we use models of historical interpretations that "encompass the temporal interrelationship between past, present and future"; the other way happens when one "surpasses the boundaries of temporality" when we bring, in our present memory, a specific "past reality, which is older than ourselves". This allows a way of remembering our own past with the effect of temporal orientation in practical life, as suggested by João: 'It's important the option that says 'a science that tells how the past happened' (…) to know more about our predecessors'.

In the same way, Leda proposes that all human actions are historical while they are related to the past.

> I think history relates to the past because I think that everything we do belongs to history. So, we can cite our Brazilian laws with which we live with today; someone there, in the past, approved this law, i.e. there is a relationship with the past.
> Leda—15 years old

She gives an example: the Brazilian laws, were adopted by someone in the past and because of this we live with them today. I also understand that, in relation to this point, the young Leda presents an historical consciousness that approximates the ontogenectic type (RÜSEN, 2010, pp.54, 63, 68–70), because she grasps the historicity of the Brazilian laws, for whom these laws were built, by men in a given moment that left traces in our present: 'So, we can cite our Brazilian laws with which we live today; someone there, in the past, approved this law, i.e. there is a relationship with the past'. This youngster understands that the past leaves evidences in our present, and the laws are examples of this historical relationship.

It is very important to understand that the relationship with the past which is argued by these young students is linked to historical significance through norms and values, as Dray (1969, pp.61–62) and Rüsen (2001, pp.88–89) have claimed. They argue that some of the criteria that make history objective are judgments of values mediated by the evidence and the past experiences. These elements make up the significance of historical narratives.

Students in private school mostly justified that history is a science which tells about the past and that it is important because the past helps us to understand the present and the future. They grasp the idea that history is important knowledge for their lives in two ways: a positive one, because it is relevant to the future; and in a negative one, due to the fact the technology and lack of interest diminish its importance as a professional study. Some youngsters justified their view that history may or not be more important than other sciences.

Here are some of the responses of students in the private school:

> History tells us how the past happened, but it isn't so important, because, with the advance of technology, it isn't a priority today to know about the past in order to grasp the future.
> Maria Joaquina—15 years old

Maria Joaquina says that technology reduces the value of history as a subject which can help for the future. I believe that is possible to compare this idea with Pedro's claim, (a student from public school), despite the differences in their arguments. He was worried about the vestibular [exam], and she thought that technology makes historical knowledge irrelevant to practical life. This position is clearly sceptical about the role of temporal orientation to the practical life related to historical way of thinking.

Nevertheless, Felipe, Inácia and Mileva claim that history helps you to understand the present and the future because it tells how things happened before their births or that people's present resulted from things which had already occurred.

> History is important because it tells us how things happened even before we born. But I think that we learn, at school, many things, many details which don't need be learnt
> Inácia—15 years old

> History aims to teach the past. Many things cannot make a difference in our life, but a lot of knowledge from the past can help us in situations at present and in the future
> Felipe—16 years old

> History is important in our lives to grasp today's world; everything that happens and everything which will happen. Just as things are the way they are, they are the result of things that already occurred, things which we study in history
> Mileva—15 years old

Felipe, Inácia and Mileva's claims resemble those of João, Nicolas and Leda, from the public school, due to the fact that they value the constituent epistemological function of historical thinking, which is the relationship between past and present.

Even the response made by Inácia makes it very clear that the concept of a historical memory retrieves a past which goes beyond her own life. Indeed, I understand

that her criticism against the history which is taught in school—"(…) we learn, at school, many things, many details which don't need be given"—takes place on account of details that do not take into in consideration the historical memory which students face when they are in contact with the media, family, or even their religion, such as I verified in answers to other question from my research. Felipe and Mileva's claims, in a different way, also provide great value for the function of temporal orientation to the practical life from historical knowledge.

Indeed Felipe points out the didactical function of history: 'History aims to teach the past.' According Rüsen (2010, pp.130, 133), '*historia vitae magistra*'—history is the teacher of life—, also called by this author "pre-modern discourse", was the first way to grasp history, which was guided by a moral commitment to the truth. Nevertheless, this student goes on to state that "a lot of knowledge from the past can help us in situations in the present and future". Here he approaches the current Didactics of History conception based on history education which indicates that history has the function to orientate in the temporal flow of past, present and future in order to understand our identity in relation to others and to act in practical life. Mileva express with conviction that 'History is important in our lives to grasp today's world; everything that happens and everything which will happen.' Here she points out that she includes the existence of a temporal continuity which enables individuals to orient themselves in their practical life.

CONCLUSIONS

It is possible to say from the empirical evidence of this study that the high school's Brazilian young students understand that the past is the object of history. And they develop this understanding by claiming that it has the function of temporal orientation of the subjects' practical life from continuity related to past, present and future which organizes their identities and their historical ways of acting and thinking. This way of thinking concretizes, through historical narratives, the process of the historical consciousness of these subjects.

According to studies by Barca (2000) in relation to the historical ideas of Portuguese students and also the analysis by Rüsen (2001, 2009, 2010), Brazilian students grasp the idea that is possible have a real access to the past, but this access is inferential, i.e. it involves on the one hand, the process of historical remembrance present in historical memory which organizes the historical culture of one society by means of monuments, family, religion, the circle of friendship and conviviality, political places, and the media, including historical comic books; on the other hand, it has to involve the process of methodical operation which must be developed by professionals dealing with the scientific production of historical narratives so that they can be understood by youngsters.

I notice that some of these statements made by Brazilian youngsters who leaned towards sceptical or relativist conceptions regarding knowledge of historical science, for example Pedro and Maria Joaquina's, that the importance of temporal orientation in practical life based on historical knowledge is weakened when we take into account the examinations, employment or emergence of new technologies.

However, this is not the prevalent conception among young students from the public and private schools investigated. It was not difficult to find sophisticated ideas about what history is when one verifies Regis' answer that takes into account the cognitive processes of historical objectivity linked to retrospectivity, selectivity and particularity (RÜSEN, 2010, pp.140–141). Claims such as those of João and Nicolas, which value historical remembrance as relevant to the temporal orientation of their practical lives, shows that knowledge of the memory of their predecessors beyond their own lives is central to the formation of their identities (RÜSEN, 2009, p.7).

The historical ideas of these students help us to understand that their concepts of history are very similar to those of teacher-historians and historians. The difference is in degree of complexity in dealing with the past methodically, based on criteria of objectivity from historical science. My investigation indicates that these scientific criteria of history, that these professionals must master, can provide ways for the high school youngsters to build their own complex and sophisticated historical narratives which consider their identities and their ways of acting and thinking in history.

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[1] Vestibular is a test which all Brazilian universities do for students from high school to enter in this institutions.

YOUNG PORTUGUESE HISTORICAL NARRATIVES[1]

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ABSTRACT
Held under the Historical Consciousness Project—Theory and Practice II (HICON II), the results of the study presented is a second phase of data collection, by employing the instrument previously designed (HiCon I). The results are in line with those obtained in former data collections and continue to suggest a greater complexity of national narratives compared to global narratives, constructed by other samples of Portuguese students in the 10th grade.

KEYWORDS
Historical accounts, Portuguese students' ideas

INTRODUCTION

The study presented here refers to a second phase of collecting data on how young Portuguese students think about Portuguese history and the world history of the twentieth century.

The study retrieves the research questions and conceptual framework that guided the previous collection of historical narratives of Portuguese students of the 10th grade (Barca, 2007; Magalhães, 2008; Barca, 2009; Magalhães, 2011, in press).

EMPIRICAL STUDY

METHODOLOGY

The conceptualization of this phase of the study complied with the guiding ideas generated in the first data categorization, the analysis of which revealed similarities, in many respects, with those of Wertsch (2004). According to this author, we searched for the possible existence of a nuclear narrative structure in the texts students wrote. By nuclear narrative we mean a basic story line present in several narratives of a group, which may be more or less structured and may refer to concrete historical agents.

As in previous phases of data collection, the research questions in this study were:
1. *What types and levels of narratives about the history of contemporary Portugal do young students construct?*
2. What temporal marks do they identify?

The sample consisted of 44 students from two 10th grade classes of a school of the urban area of Lisbon. Data was collected in May 2008. The students were between 15 and 17 years old, with the following percentage distribution: 15 years old—27.3% 16 years old—52.3%, and 17 years old—20.6%, indicating an educational background without stories of school failure for most of the students. The sample comprised 38% of boys and 61.4% of girls, which is broadly in line with the gender distribution at this level of schooling in Portugal (GEPE, 2010, p.66, www.gepe.min-edu.pt/np4/?newsId=543&fileName=PerfilAluno0809.pdf).

Participants were asked to perform the two paper and pencil tasks, previously drawn under the HiCon Project I:

> Task 1
> Imagine you are at a summer camp with young people from around the world. One day each of them was challenged to tell the story of their country. How would you tell the history of Portugal in the last hundred years?
>
> Task 2
> After hearing the story of several countries, youngsters thought it would be interesting to hear how each one told the story of the world. How would you describe world history in the last hundred years?

The researcher explained the tasks to be performed and these were completed during a 90-minute lesson, having been allocated 30 minutes to perform each task.
Data analysis followed the procedures previously used and described in detail by Barca (2007).

MAIN RESULTS

The analysis of written narratives revealed that, regardless of the degree of sophistication of each production, students tended to have a vision of the history of Portugal, with a common basic plot, present in a nuclear narrative—*"In Portugal we won freedom and democracy*

(but now we also have an economic crisis)"—, while *"Worldwide there is technological progress, but there is also war and terrorism"*. It is also important to underline the continued emphasis on political and economic aspects of the history of Portugal, and the importance (if apparent) attributed to technological progress in the world, to which students refer, although they oppose the existence of war.

Data analysis verified the existence of a set of temporal landmarks of the Portuguese twentieth century. Although with significant differences in emphasis, the majority of students identified as landmarks of the Portuguese twentieth century, the establishment of the Salazar dictatorship and "April 25 1974". Other landmarks were also identified, albeit with fewer references: the fall of the monarchy / establishment of the republic and the country's entry into the European Union or, more accurately, in the European Economic Community. A first reflection shows that these ideas appear focused on situations or events of a collective nature and that individual subjects are rarely referenced.

In the world history narratives, the historical markers that emerge were the Second World War, September 11 (attacks in New York) and the Madrid and London bombings. If the first of these milestones coincides with the history taught at school, the other events are mainly related to the present "lived" through the media. Also in these narratives situations or collective events dominate, though there is almost no reference to individual protagonists.

The conceptualization of past data gathering has been incorporated in the analysis of this data and we can see specific narratives, that is, those who *"have temporal and spatial boundaries and involve specific collective actors"* (Wertch, 2004, p.54) with different degrees of completeness and sophistication. According to the categorization defined in other data collection (Barca, 2007, Magalhães 2008, Magalhães, in press), it was possible to find new examples to support the main ideas of previously established categories.

The following example illustrates a narrative included in the category, general considerations

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

> History has been evolving every day. Wars are no longer constant in most countries. Everything has evolved, cultures, religions and even art. Man has learned new techniques for everyday life and not only I can say that the world remains in great change; the only thing that does not evolve is the ability to help others, everybody wants the best for themselves and others are forced to live alone without help.
> Joana—16 years old

As in other data collections, we could not find full narratives on the history of the world. However, José, 15 years old, gave us his version of world history, included in the category of **emergent narrative**. In this text, some timeframes and explanations for the facts are stated:

> In 1914 the 1st World War started, which lasted until 1918. This war has brought huge consequences for all countries involved in it, including social, economic and political consequences. In the 30s, in some countries, extremist regimes emerged,, as in Italy, Germany, Spain and Portugal, respectively led by Mussolini, Hitler, Franco and Salazar. The other side of Europe (Russia) had a communist regime, ruled first by Lenin and then by Stalin. Between 1939 and 1945 came the 2nd World War. After that, there was the process of the reconstruction of Europe. In recent years we live in a climate of terrorism caused by the al-Qaeda attack in 2001 on the twin towers in New York. After that, there has been a war in which the U.S. got involved, specifically in Afghanistan and Iraq.
> José—15 years old

As for the history of Portugal, it was possible to find texts that can be categorized as **full narratives**, as exemplified by the following two excerpts:

> I would start by talking about the birth of the Republic, October 5 1910, which put an end to the monarchy and to the reign of King Manuel II. In 1926, a dictatorship began. When Salazar established the regime of the Estado Novo, Portugal lived through a time of sadness, with it's 'voice' censored and banned; the only outbreaks were counted by intervention singers such as Zeca Afonso. When Salazar died and Marcelo Caetano replaced the dictator, the Portuguese had hope of a 'spring time'. Instead of change, censorship and imprisonment continued. In 1974, at dawn of April 25, the soldier Salgueiro Maia led a revolution against the regime and freed Portugal. The Portuguese 'Carnation Revolution' gave back freedom. We still live in a Republic … The Expo 98 served to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the discovery of sea route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498. The discoveries are our 'pride' because it was

> Portugal who led them. Another landmark year was 2004, for football. Euro 2004 was an unusual success and united the whole country, football fans or not, to support the national team.
> Manuela—16 years old

> In 1926 … There was a military dictatorship … that made this country economically and socially fragile, and social inequalities were clearly visible. Portugal was a country uneducated and subjected to oppression … This government (by Salazar) was marked by wars in the colonies … which led Portuguese people to think of revolution. 1969 … was also the year of the academic crisis ... From this date (1974), Portugal has grown at various levels, as in music … at the sports level we have now an international tennis tournament …
>
> I have no more time to continue. But most important was 1991, when I was born.
> Luís—16 years old.

In these narratives, we find sets of relevant timeframes and a plot explaining the events. The emphasis on the personal life of the last example in the transcript should be noted.

CONCLUSIONS

Some similarities and some differences were found, regarding data collected in the former application of the same tasks to different groups of students, at a different time.

Thus, from a global point of view, we can say that both the overall structure of narratives and their levels of sophistication are similar, particularly regarding the higher level of sophistication of narratives of national history. As for the narratives of world history, the texts that fall into a category of "general considerations" are predominant, although, in contrast to previous data collection, the concerns about environmental issues are virtually absent from these narratives.

We should also record that, although references to characters like Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar or Saddam Hussein are repeated, these references are fewer in number; are fewer references to specific characters. However, there is, for the first time, a clear association of April 25 with a specific character —Captain Salgueiro Maia.

We can also say that these narratives emphasize the weight of information coming from media in the world history narratives, as is explicit in the words of Maria:

> Given the situation described, my answer would be based on television news, in newspapers and magazines.
> Maria—16 years old

From a global point of view, we can say that the narratives we gathered have a lower level of sophistication in world history narratives.
Change is seen mostly as positive, either in a linear way or on a pendulum, as had happened previously. However, it is also possible to detect a cyclical view of change, as it appears in the following extract:

> It's always the same, some bombs here, some attacks there, a few revolutions here, books there, nothing new.
> António—15 years old.

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[1]Study implemented under the Project HiCon II—Historical Consciousness—Theory and Practice II (2007–2010), funded by Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT)—PTDC/CED/72623/2006.

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[1]The following categories have been then established:

- General considerations—evaluative comments about the state of the earth without any concrete timeframe
- Lists of events—sets of events, without any chronological order
- Timeline—chronologically ordered sets of events
- Emergent Narrative—a narrative based on some milestones, often the beginning and end of the story, linked together by a description of what happened and / or an explanation of causes and consequences
- Full narrative—a narrative based on a significant number of milestones longitudinal interrelated in a plot in which situations are described and explained in terms of causes and consequences

THE CONCEPT OF THE PAST FOR TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND THE HISTORY TEXTBOOKS OF PNLEM[1]/2008

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AND
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ABSTRACT
This study is examines the concept of the past of history high school teachers' in the city of Curitiba, Parana / Brazil and the concept of the past presented in the textbooks selected and received through the "Programa Nacional do Livro Didático do Ensino Médio (PNLEM/2008)"—(or High School Textbook National Program). The research involved 53 individuals, in thirty-four schools, who had selected and used a history high school textbook, between 2008 to 2011. There was a preliminary questionnaire for collecting information about the process of choosing a textbook, how the choice was made and who makes the selection of textbooks used in high schools. There was also a structured questionnaire with questions on semantic differential scales and multiple choices to analyze data about the work of the history teacher at public schools in the state of Parana, why the textbook was chosen and what the concept of the past is for these teachers. The papers presents the results of exploratory research between April and November 2010.

KEYWORDS
Past. History Teachers. High School. Textbook. PNLEM.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of the past is one of the most important in the construction of the epistemology of historical science and so in learning in history. Therefore, it is pertinent to ask what is the meaning of the past in history education.

The past is the subject of research for the historian and the professor of history and it is possible to say that a theory of historical learning passes through a variety of the meanings. This is because the past is in the present. We cannot understand the past except by studying it based on evidence in the present. The past has significance only as guidance in practical life (Rüsen, 2001). We cannot escape from the past; it is necessary for the continuity of life.

The past can be understood in two ways: the practical past, which Oakeshott (2003) subdivided into the remembered past, and the consulted past, which is part the recorded past.

The concept of the practical past is understood as the one that can be manipulated by human action aimed at the achievement of vital goals. It consists of objectives that are assessed in terms of practical purposes, occupying a concrete existence in everyday life, being essential to a civilized and articulated life. The practical past can be understood as *encapsulated,* composed of memories retrieved unconsciously. The *remembered* past is considered involuntary memory. The *consulted* past can be raised up by a deliberate effort as in psychoanalysis.

The historical past is the past addressed by the historian, through a specific methodology. The recorded past is what provides the whole of historical research, as it allows the access to documents, but this is not immediately synonymous with the historical past. This past should be inferred, to be constituted as science and in this sense the records of the past are important for the construction of history. Knowing the past (Lowenthal,1989) is a conscious, deliberate work; the researcher should see it in the present, being part of it, but not like it. The historian must go this way in the past to make it exists as history.

Hayden White's work 'Tropic of Discourse' (2001) states that the past pre-exists and you can only reach it from the fragments, remains and ruins it leaves, from which the historian builds an interpretation. Considering that the past is going to build a relationship between past and present, the work of the historian in seeking to understand the past is analogous with the custom of the ancient Romans who made offerings to the gods on the occasion of the inauguration of bridges, because for them, the men were joining what the gods had left separate, hence the need for ceremonies and offerings. Understanding the character of the selection that we give to the study of the past, it is possible to say that we do not study the PAST, but a particular past and the meanings we give to it should come from questions about the motivations that lead the historian to select what s/he seeks in it, or following the analogy, to choose a certain bend in the river to build the bridge.

The work of the historian and teacher is to seek perspectives on the experiences of the past; it is not to play with it, filling the emptiness of curiosity, but to

translate the past into the present and to raise future expectations (Medeiros, 2005). From this statement, it is pertinent to question how the history teacher understands the past and if this concept interferes or assists educational work.

The professor of history can be understood as someone historically situated and with specific ways of seeing and understanding the world around him. So, studying the ways he understands the epistemology of reference, helps in understanding his work and what his pedagogical choices are.

In this sense, the history textbook available, chosen and received by the teacher can help thinking, from ideas that were present, the concepts of the past which the teacher considers valid and which are inserted into their teaching. This research seeks to understand the epistemological concepts of the past of history teachers in high schools in Curitiba city.

It can be questioned whether there are concepts about the past in history textbooks used by teachers and if these ideas helped them to choose and also to use the book. These aspects are what this research seeks to understand, since as Forquin says, (1993) the understanding that the teacher has about epistemology is fundamental in making pedagogical choices.

The initial discussion of the research took place after the teachers in twelve high schools in Curitiba had chosen, received and used a textbook from those available at the PNLEM/2008.

The history book can be regarded as the most important influence in the history class. Teachers are very interested in the textbooks and use them intensely, (Rüsen, 2010) but at the same time teachers have no effective participation in the debate about the history books available in schools.

As a result, it is believed that the ideas of past/present in the textbook provided by PNLEM and used by history teachers in high schools in Curitiba, may reveal clues about how these professionals understand the epistemology of history and how they use their knowledge in their teaching.

Understanding the ideas of history teachers reveals their positions and comprehension of the world around them and in the past is the raw material for their professional performance. This paper seeks to grasp the concept of the past which history teachers have, in this group of schools, the concept of past which is presented on the textbook chosen and received from the PNLEM/2008 and the relationship between the teacher's ideas of past and present and the ideas in the books they chose. It is believed that these ideas can interfere with the way this material is understood and used for the teaching of history in high school.

STUDY

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aims to provide answers to the following research questions:
a) What are the concepts of the past held by history teachers in public high schools in the city of Curitiba?
b) what are the ideas of the past presented in the textbooks of the "Programa Nacional do Livro Didático para o Ensino Médio" (PNLEM) available, selected and received from the year 2008 and used in this research?

METHODOLOGY

The study conducted was an empirical research study undertaken at 34 high schools in the city of Curitiba, Parana, with a total of 53 tenured professors of high school education of the state of Paraná, in the discipline of history. They made the choice of a history textbook by the 'Programa Nacional do Livro Didático para o Ensino Médio'—PNLEM/2008 and have used it in their teaching activities from 2008 until 2011. The basic survey was developed from a preliminary questionnaire the answers of which determined the selection of teachers participating in the survey. They were sent a structured questionnaire with questions about semantic differential scales and multiple choices to analyze the ideas of teachers about the past and present in the textbook selected, received and used by them.

MAIN RESULTS

After applying the 'Preliminary Questionnaire' in each of the thirty-four schools involved in the study, it was decided that fourteen schools would not participate in the study due to the fact that teachers have not received the chosen book in PNLEM or were no longer teaching at the schools in the study. After analyzing the 'Preliminary Questionnaire', a structured questionnaire was used, consisting of six questions with semantic differential scales and multiple choices. Semantic Differential scales or Osgood Semantic Differential scales (Osgood et al. 1957) were used to make the interviewees reveal their views about the subject of the research in a gradated way that reveals the strength and direction of attitudes along a continuum based on a pair of polarized adjectives or adjectival statements. Basically, this method consists of a bipolar scale of extremes defined by an adjective or adjectival phrase. After the desk research it was verified that 18 works were recommended as curricular components of history and a work of history and geography curricular component for PNLEM/2008 of history.

It was observed that 106 schools received books from PNLEM, together with the 'Secretaria do Estado de Educação do Paraná—SEED' (or Secretary of State for Education of Paraná), also a participant in this process of choice.

For the development of this research two works were selected to be considered from among the books chosen in the city of Curitiba. The single-volume collection, *'História'* (Seriacopi and Seriacopi 2007) was received by 37 schools. And, Nova *Historia Integrada*, (Ferreira and Fernandez 2005), was received in only one school.'

The option for the two cited titles was because the first had been used by a significant number of schools, and the second, by only one school. The concepts of the past presented in the books were analysed in order to investigate which ideas of the past pervade the textbooks chosen for further investigation.

The preliminary research parameters relating to the schools that received these two collections respond for 35.8% of the total in the city of Curitiba according to an investigation done, which shows a statistical significance for further study. These data can be seen in the chart below.

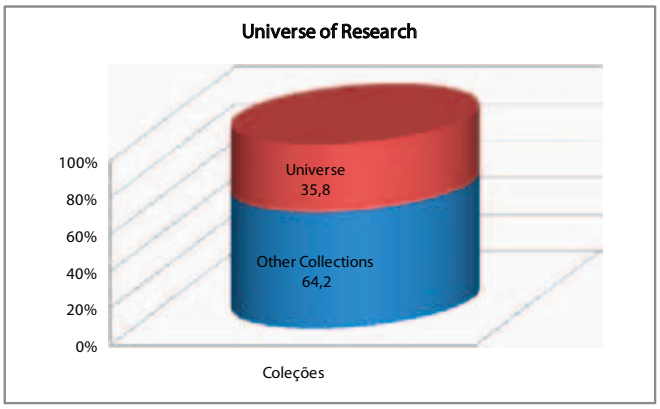


Fig. 1: Universe of research
Source: the authors, based on data from 'Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação' (or National Fund for Educational Development). Monitoring the distribution of PNLEM/2008.The survey of 106 teachers, who taught in high schools in the city of Curitiba, amounted to a universe of 376 teachers of history.

The criteria adopted for the continuity of the work were: teachers by competition, i.e., the so-called Quadro Permanente do Magistério—QPM's (or Magisterium Own's Framework) of High School, who had worked at the same school and used the same textbook for history since at least 2007. The results of the Preliminary Questionnaire expressed the views of a very high number of subjects (198). The "Preliminary Questionnaire" was applied to directors and teachers of 34 schools that participated at the time of the survey and consisted of seven questions in order to obtain confirmation of the data obtained in the previous step of the research.

After applying this questionnaire the cohort in the next stage of the research consisted of 20 schools and 53 teachers. In this study the research instrument was called, 'Questionnaire Pilot 1' It was applied between the months of April and October 2010 being a questionnaire structured in two parts. The first part consisted of informative questions and multiple choice questions aimed to collect data about how long the history teacher had worked at the school in teaching and research, participation in the process of choosing a PNLEM/2008 textbook, the use of the 'Guia dos Livros Didáticos' (or Guide of Textbooks) in the process, if the received book was even the one chosen and with whom the teacher made the choice. The second part of the questionnaire was a question based on the Likert scale and aimed to study the ideas of the past of history teachers included in the survey.

The analysis of the responses from the first part of 'Questionnaire Pilot 1' showed that all teachers participated in the selection process of PNLEM/2008 high school textbooks and all said that they received book they had chosen.

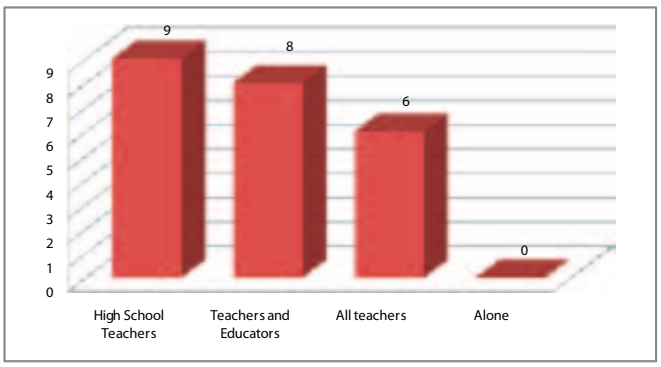
The average length of time the teachers in this research had been teaching was more than sixteen years. Two teachers had been working for 26 years and two teachers for eight years.

Most of the teachers had worked in the same school for average of nine years. One teacher had been in the same school for over twenty-two years while five other teachers had been working in the same school for five years.

Only one teacher said he had not used the 'Catálogo do Programa Nacional do Livro para o Ensino Médio' (or The National Book Program for Secondary Schools Catalog) (Brasilia, 2007) to assist in the selection of material. This data shows how important the guide is to the selection process.

All the teachers said that they use the textbook in their pedagogical work, which shows the importance of this cultural artifact for the development of pedagogical work and the use of a collection selected and actually received by the teacher can assist the classroom work.
The issue No. 5 of the first part of the questionnaire sought to survey those who participated in the selection process in a multiple choice question and the result can be seen in the chart (right).

Fig. 2: The process of choosing the textbook
Source: Empirical research



The second part of 'Questionnaire Pilot 1' has been structured from sixteen statements about the past and the answers were recorded using the Likert scale.

The results of the survey statements are presented in the following table:

After analyzing the "Questionnaire Pilot 1", the universe end of the study was restricted to 23 history teachers who teach in 12 high schools in the city of Curitiba. The analysis of responses to the survey is based on the proposed conceptual references. But it is valid to say that the answers are not mutually exclusive; these categories were observed through the pattern of responses from teachers.

TABLE 1—Concepts of the past
Source: Empirical research

	1	2	3	4	5	S/R	D/R
1—The past is used by the historian to make it exist as history.	12	3	0	4	2	2	
2—The past is necessary to know the present.	17	3	1	0	1		1 & 2
3—The past is part of the present, but it is not like it.	10	9	1	2	0	1	
4—Distance is needed to explain the past, and the historian has this ability to study it from a distance.	8	6	3	3	3		
5—The past is distant and its record is related to those who write it.	3	6	5	2	6	1	
6—The past should be interpreted, represented, and communicated.	16	1	4	1	1		
7—The past is not linear.	12	6	0	1	4		
8—The past is memory.	14	5	0	3	1		
9—The past has to be relevant and meaningful to the teacher.	13	7	1	1	1		
10—The objective is to study the past to understand the relationship with the present; it is to realize that things are getting changed in society.	17	5	0	1	0		
11—The past is recollection. Recall is to to avoid forgetting.	6	4	4	4	5		
12—The past portrays things as they really happened.	2	4	1	5	11		
13—The past must be better understood than explained.	5	11	1	3	2	1	
14—The past is what happened and should be interpreted from the views and opinion of the historian.	2	6	1	6	8		
15—The past can only achieve plausibility, but not objectivity.	3	7	3	3	6		3 & 5
16—The past is within everyone.	5	5	5	0	6	2	
	145	88	30	39	57	7	4

CONCLUSION

This paper is a report of an ongoing investigation into the concept that teachers have about the past and ideas about the past of the PNLEM/2008 history books. From the reflection about the teachers' ideas about the past, the results of this study show a set of conclusions:

- The nineteen selected collections were published by eleven publishers, of which only five account for 68.4% of the publications. This demonstrates the interest of the publishing market in government programs for the textbook in Brazil.
- It is observed that there is not a high turnover of teachers in public schools in the state of Paraná and they work an average of nine years in the same school, although some teachers remain in those schools more than twenty years.
- It was observed that the teachers say that they use the textbook for their pedagogical practice. This use observed in this study is consistent with other research results that have occurred in other countries, like Mexico and Spain, where teachers also claim to use the textbook, as the considerations expressed in the III Ibero-American Didactics of Social Sciences Seminar, by Arista, Bonilla and Lima, when referring to the free book in Mexico and Valls, when it discusses the ways to use the book in the classroom.

The statement that "The past is used by the historian to construct as history" was fully accepted by twelve teachers; four teachers partially disagreed with this statement. Two teachers did not respond to any of the items. Teachers in the research show that historical knowledge is differentiated and believe that studying the past is the basis for the construction of history, which encounters the idea of Oakeshott (2003) that history is a specific modality of knowledge.

Greater acceptance by sixteen individuals received the statement that "The past should be interpreted, represented, related and (re)signifying", which may suggest a belief among teachers in the important work of the historian to the rescue of the past, but also that inference, as says Oakeshott (2003), is necessary for understanding the past. If these responses are compared with those of another statement, "The past is what happened and should be interpreted from the views and opinion of the historian," which had fourteen responses partially or totally in disagreement shows that both issues, despite different approaches, show the character of inferential knowledge. The interpretation of the past must be made by the historian, which corroborates the idea of the importance of the historian as a builder in writing it.

The statement 'The past is not linear, it is studied' shows that teachers do not believe it possible the rescue of all the past. This statement serves as a counterpoint to the claim discussed in the preceding sentence, for which teachers rejected the idea that the past is what happened, as eighteen teachers fully or partially accepted the assertion and accept that the rescue of the past is done with sources that demonstrate choices, as the importance of the past is directly related to the present. The answers continue to reflect the assertions of Oakeshott (2003) that locate in the present the beginning of the historical past.

As for the statement 'The past is far away and its record is related to who writes it', this was the statement that had responses indicative of a more neutral position. One hypothesis that could be raised about these responses is that the statement does not reflect the record of the past expressed to the historian's work, since the last issue of distance was accepted in other statements.
The agreement with the statement that 'Distance is needed to explain the past, and the historian has this ability to study it from a distance', has explained that the rescue of the past is the historian's task, because the phrase associates with the idea that it is up to the historian to explain the past and that he has skills for analysis and distance. Fourteen teachers have accepted these statements completely or partially.

These six statements about the historical past and the historian as responsible for the cut, rescue and writing of the past show that the teachers in this research understand that the past can be considered as the raw material of the historian's work. This is compatible with the assertions of Oakeshott (2003). "The present of the historian consists of regular and professional interaction with the vestiges of the past or, as he would prefer to say, with their sources."

The concept of the practical past was entered in question six of the 'Questionnaire Pilot1' Answers show how the teacher understands the nature of the practical past. The statements about the practical past had few discordant responses and also only two neutral responses. The statement 'The goal is to study the past to understand the relationships with this, to realize that things will be changing in society' was the one that had greatest acceptance. Twenty-two responses fully or partially agreed with the statement and only one partially disagreed.

It can be noticed that the teacher understands the practical past as important for pedagogical work. He understands that the past has the character to provide answers to the practical needs of students and this information inferred in the questionnaire must be in-depth in the interviews to be conducted.

The statement 'The past is a need to know the present' was accepted by all or some 20 teachers, two of whom

pointed to the two alternatives. Again we see the aspect of the need for answers to life today as they look for to understand the past.

The differentiation between the present and the past, which is necessary for life, was accepted by nineteen teachers when they agree with the statement 'The past is part of the present, but it is not like it.'

The concept that recognizes the encapsulated past as '[…] the totality of all experiences of the individual" can be perceived in the statement "The past is memory' that had nineteen responses with full or partial agreement. The responses demonstrate that memory is an important component to the rescue of the past by these teachers. Information to be investigated in further work is how the memory is embedded in the pedagogic work of the research professor and how (if it occurs) its presence is reflected in the textbooks selected for the survey.

'The past is recollection. Recall is to achieve a sense, to avoid forgetting'. This conception had similar responses in the Likert scale. While the concept that memory is important, as can be seen in the responses of the foregoing statement, perhaps we can see that memory as a concept that can help in understanding the past is not seen by teachers as capable of making the learning about the past operational. It will also be necessary for further clarification on this issue.
The statement 'The past is within each one' was a question not answered by two teachers and which had balance between the total agreement and total disagreement. It may be noted that teachers accept that memory is important, but they do not recognize a component of personhood in the concept.

The last question examined concerns the question of the importance of the past for the teacher. "The past has to be relevant and meaningful to the teacher" was a statement that was approved by twenty teachers. They demonstrate understanding that the concept of the past is really significant for the teacher's pedagogical work. Therefore, further research should discuss how they understand the past and how the relationship of the past with the pedagogical work can be performed as well as the idea of how the past was represented in the textbook can assist the development of historical learning.

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THE LINK BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE TRAINING OF HISTORY TEACHERS: THE EXPERIENCE OF HISTORY TEACHING LABORATORIES (1980–2010)

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ABSTRACT
This study takes as a principle the understanding that the 'Didactics of History' contributes to the education and training of history teachers. It builds on the work of the German theorist, Jörn Rüsen in an attempt to analyse the role of History Didactics in history education. Parallels are drawn between issues concerning the teaching and learning of history in Germany and in Brazil: the gaps between the aims of history education and the theory of history at an academic level and the practice of teaching in schools. It is suggested that a new concept of both academic and school history which includes historical consciousness may make history more relevant to everyday life.

Rüsen (2006) reveals the historical trajectory of the teaching of history in Germany from 1960–70, the transition from the pragmatic discipline external to historical studies to a reflexive perspective of society and historical knowledge. At this point in time Germany began to analyse the discipline of history and to build a space for self-awareness in this field. Rusen uses this analysis to illustrate a discussion about how the story is designed in Germany and other Western European countries (for example in England, France, Spain and Portugal), what the origins of the story are in human experience, and what its uses are in human life. For him these are basic questions that a valid teaching of history should consider and which could make narrative an integral and important dimension of historical studies. This paper also reports the current state of history education, its new objectives, themes and future prospects.

INTRODUCTION
Rüsen writes that the teaching of history is traditionally understood as a discipline which is part of the training of history teachers and mediates between academic knowledge and the teaching of history in the elementary school. That is, it has made only a limited contribution to the teaching of history in school. This limited scope sets it aside from the work of historians in their own field of study. This interpretation is defined by Rüsen (2006) as misleading because it fails to connect what is taught in history with the needs of practical life, to make a connection between history in schools and the discipline of history.

Rusen recalls that, before history became thought of as an academic discipline, based on research, the issue discussed was the role of history in teaching and learning, the aim being, from antiquity to the eighteenth century, that history should be a guide for the moral and practical problems of life. In the nineteenth century, the science of history lost sight of the importance of the issue of social education and increasingly emphasised research methodology, separating the dimensions related to practical life and the academic discipline of history (Rüsen, 2006:9), narrowing the perspectives, purposes and aims of history. Rusen regards the focus on academic history as irrational because he perceives it as separating history from the practical life of societies. For him academic methodology limited and confined the aims of history by considering only the history that is produced inside academia.

This situation can be applied to the reality of higher education in Brazil and is found in a significant number of history courses in higher education institutions (HEIs). There one may perceive a gap between the training courses and their graduates, especially when they are already in the profession. The university trains teachers in the discipline of history but rarely demonstrates any interest in their professional development in schools. On this issue the author, who taught masters' degrees for more than a decade identified, in the master's theses, a significant difference between the undergraduate degrees and masters' degrees of staff teaching history in schools (Marin, 1997).

The reality has not changed in the last decade. There is still a prevailing view amongst graduates that work in primary education is not related to the methodology of academic history, which is confined to the academy.

Rüsen (2006) draws attention to the need to reverse this situation. He said this is already happening in Germany, where the teaching of history—originally interpreted as not related to the professional writing of history—has been gaining ground and status in higher education, in order to improve pupils' historical understanding in its academic form.

According to Rüsen, this change in teacher training occurred at two levels, first the methods of teaching and second, the purposes of teaching and learning history. According to him, the purposes should precede the teaching methods, so that teaching about history education is developed to consider the political, social, cultural and institutional dimensions. The second level would be the methodology of instruction in history, which defines the teaching approaches necessary to achieve the intended goals.

Therefore it is considered that it should be compulsory that teacher training in Brazil should prepare teachers to translate knowledge learned in the academy into ways appropriate for children, particularly children in the final years of elementary school (6 to 9 years) and at secondary school level (three years). In this discipline, the "training" of teachers, which Rüsen calls the 'methodology of instruction in history' (ibid.: 9), happens on two levels; theories of history and teaching methods. Here is how.

At the level of theories of history and education, an initial reading of the history education courses which are part of this study suggests that, at present, the 'training' of teachers focuses on theories of history and theories of education. Theories of teaching methods courses are guided by pedagogical and psychological theories. Teaching methods are understood in general as something that is constructed in practice and that teachers improve during their lives as practising professionals. The predominant belief is still that it is solely in planning and execution in the classroom, that the methodology of teaching is learned, through experiences and practices, which reinforce the idea that the academy in no place to be thinking about practice.

This way of understanding and developing teacher training, its limits and contradictions, helps to understand the rationale for creating Laboratories for Teaching History (LEH). These were established in some Brazilian public Higher Education Institutions, from the 1980s, in the context of transition from military dictatorships to democracy, LEH served the purpose of facilitating dialogue between higher education, elementary and secondary school teachers and university students in training. Their existence made contact possible between experiences, methodologies, techniques and resources that contributed to the initial and continuing training of teachers in translating academic skills into school contexts and consolidation of the relationship between theory and practice.

However in some experiences of LEH, there is still little emphasis in the courses on teaching students how to teach the academic content in ways appropriate in a primary school. There is still a view that you learn to do it by doing it, and that this is the responsibility of those who choose to take a degree.

This is likely to be an important cause of a split between academic knowledge and its usefulness in practical life, between academy and institutions of basic education, between degree courses and their graduates. The pedagogical application of knowledge learned in the academy is not understood as an area worthy of academic study. In this sense, it refers back to Rüsen (2006:8), when he criticizes the traditional conception of the teaching of history in Western Europe as 'a discipline that mediates between history as an academic discipline and historical learning and school education. Thus, it has nothing to do with the work of historians in their own discipline.'

This means that when finishing college the teacher begins to tread a lonely path. S/he is reluctant to undertake graduate studies that include research into pedagogy. It is understood that this is what Rüsen (2006) calls the 'irrationalization' of history. The result of the 'scientification' of history, this 'irrationalization' results in the exclusion of the competence to reflect rationally on dimensions of historical thinking as inseparably combined with the practical life.

The main thesis of this paper of Rüsen is the reversal of the recovery of the teaching of history as a means to 'facilitate and improve historical understanding, which is now only recognized in its new academic forms.' (Ibid: 9) According to Rüsen this occurred in Germany from the decades of 1960–70, through a 'major cultural shift' (ibid.: 10), and the expansion of the university system, encouraging a new generation of historians who sought to establish and legitimize themselves in the field of education. They opened the debate on 'important issues concerning the basic task of historical cognition and the political function of historical studies' (Ibid.: 10). New content and new approaches were introduced, and what happened can be seen as a paradigm shift. The teaching of history had its conception altered and transformed; it was no longer limited to the simple translation of forms,

content and academic values to the classroom. The basic question was whether the emerging historical knowledge and the thinking about history education considered the relationship with historical reality. To the challenge of legitimizing the role of history in school and in real life, the German historians responded by expanding the field of self-reflection and historical self-understanding, beginning with the forgotten practical dimensions of historical studies. The reaction of European historians to the persistence of the application of pedagogy to the teaching of history was to press the 'peculiarity and originality of thought and historical explanation and to seek to differentiate it from other forms of thought in other social sciences' (2006: 12), bringing the didactic to the center of historical debates. According Rüsen (2006:12) the 'teaching of history was linked to other issues linking the practice of teaching and learning in the classroom with a theoretical perception of the processes and functions of historical consciousness in general.'

These conditions and prospects, according to Rüsen, gave a new dimension to teaching history which extended beyond the problems of teaching and learning in school, expanding to the analysis of forms and functions of historical knowledge and reasoning in everyday life, opening new fields of work for historians. However the study of history in this context, in Germany and other countries in Western Europe, as already mentioned, is still on the first steps with unreliable results.

Rüsen's references concerning the teaching of history are similar to the Brazilian experience, which can be situated in historical, political and educational time in the decade of 1980–1990, when facing the changes brought about by the transition to democracy in Brazilian education spread to legislative reforms and curriculum. Brazilian educational thought reached effervescence in a new context which led to the drafting of the new Federal Constitution, the new Law of Directives and Bases (LDB no. 9394/96), the National Curriculum Parameters (PCN) in 1997, and a flurry of curriculum reform, as well as the resumption of relations between HEIs and basic school. In this context, the proximity between teachers of different educational levels, it was critical to get closer to innovative research in the teaching of history and the new literature which, in large part, helped to stimulate Brazilian educational thought. The approach, the exchanges, the continuing education training courses promoted the continued need to create spaces for these exchanges. Many teaching laboratories of various disciplines had their origins in this context, in the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s. In basic education schools laboratories of the arts, chemistry, physics, biology and history were created and in these laboratories teachers and academics circulated, studying, debating, formulating and revising interpretations and practices of teaching.

Research so far carried out with sources of LEH which are part of this study allows us to infer that originally they relate to the educational and political effervescence of the period between 1980 and 1990, with the demands for the continuing education courses coming from graduates of History HEIs, public or not, and the need to create spaces for debate on the teaching of history. Historians, facing the teaching of history in the field of pedagogy, supported the debate and the creation of the teaching laboratories. In the Brazilian case, and in the case of LEH in the study, the results of interviews show that the approach is not related to a wish to improve the of history teaching by enhancing its significance as a historical social science, but by the urgent need to rethink the teaching of history and its significance in the context of school and in students' lives, but still related to pedagogy, the general didactics of education and educational psychology.

Even considering such limitations, it is understood that originally the creation of teaching laboratories for history was essential for teachers and academics of higher education and primary school teachers to rethink and discuss issues about the meaning of teaching and learning in history. It was especially important to put the debate on the difficult relationship between the theory of history and the practice of teaching history on the agenda, including scientific knowledge learned in the academy and the process of teaching and learning in school. In this sense, it is reasonable to say that the laboratories helped to promote elements of a break with traditional history teaching which was essentially factual, linearly chronological and with references to heroic characters, a common occurrence in the Brazilian context. Discussions on teaching history at the LEH, so far investigated in the period defined in this project, even if guided by the most general and didactic pedagogical concepts, contributed to debates and new approaches that have created new opportunities for considering other agents of social change.

About the new approach to the teaching of history in his and in other western European countries Rüsen draws attention to what he considers to be insufficient human resources. For him it is still an open question whether debates about the teaching of history will have a positive outcome. 'What should be clear is that the normal skills

[1] Laboratory of History Teaching/Estate University of Londrina/Londrina/Paraná; Laboratory of History Teaching /Federal University of Santa Maria/Santa Maria/Rio Grande do Sul; Laboratory of History Teaching / Federal University of Uberlândia/Uberlândia/Minas Gerais, all in Brazil.

acquired by a professional historian are not sufficient to perform this mediation.' (2006: 12–13)

These statements call attention to the reality of the initial and continuing training of teachers in Brazil. The crisis through which the degrees pass, and which became stronger in the second half of the 1990s, manifests itself in the progressive fall in demand for places in higher education, public policies that minimize the importance of the teacher in various ways, including low wages, excessive numbers of students, courses and excessive workload. These factors are usually the most clearly recognized, but it must be considered that the work of professional education has revealed limitations. Although not considered the best way to measure quality in education, assessments conducted through the National System of Higher Education Assessment (Sinai), the National Survey of Student Performance (Enade) and Evaluation System of Basic Education (SAEB), contribute to relative perceptions of levels of education, marked by low performance rates and growing evasion. The publication of these results, regardless of merit, fuels debates about the work of teachers and their training.

Thus, reflecting on the Brazilian context related to the expansion of the 'field of self-reflection and self-understanding in history', and 'respect for the practical dimensions of historical studies', referred to by Rüsen (2006: 11) it is understood that Brazilian historians need to add to the debate that has occurred since the mid-1980s, a reflection on concepts and practices in respect of the training process. That means breaking with the romantic idea of training students in history research with no connection to research into the training of teachers. It is also of interest to address, in the analysis of Rüsen, topics currently debated about the teaching of history in Germany, which he describes as: instructional methodology; functions and uses of history in public life; setting goals for history education in schools and verifying that these have been met; and overall analysis of the nature, function and importance of historical consciousness (Ibid.: 13).

Considering methods of instruction, Rüsen says that teaching in German schools has been a mechanical activity, centered on the curriculum. 'It is not yet resolved how the peculiarity of historical consciousness—those mental structures and processes that constitute a specific form of human cultural activity—can be integrated into this pattern of education.' (Ibid.: 13). He says this is because there is a gap between the teacher's planning and the training he receives, seeming to refer to the gap between academia and primary school, between the ideal and real. He also claims that discussions about historical consciousness are distanced from classrooms and the teaching and learning that occurs in them. He exemplified as follows: at the abstract level it is known how history is written, but it is not known how it is perceived by pupils or the effects their learning has on the practical world, that is, how students learn history or how they use what they learn.

This situation certainly refers to the dichotomy between theory and practice. In Brazil, this situation can be perceived in the insecurity demonstrated by teachers about the results of their work with students. How can this issue be seen in daily school life? Some considerations may throw light on the question, for example, planning objectives or competencies—the most commonly used in Brazilian schools today. Teachers are not always able to assess who achieved which competences. This is most likely due to gaps in the training process, where the importance of training for teaching is minimized, due to working conditions in schools, little time is dedicated to the development of content because of large classes and so on. These are some factors that make it difficult for many teachers, minimally, to know their students and consequently to develop an evaluation process on the implementation of planning. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the activities of teaching in Brazilian schools, as Rüsen said (2006) of the German schools, are also restricted in the development of curriculum content.

On the analysis of the functions and uses of history in public life, that is, on the role of knowledge and historical explanation in everyday life, Rüsen says there is still little produced that allows us to elucidate this topic in discussions about teaching history. We are still taking the first steps in defining the discipline, what the problems are, what can and what should be done. For this he points to the dialogue with other curriculum areas and that would be subject to this approach to writing history. However, if this proposition is well understood by the historian, it is understood as fundamental that the field of historical writing is the field of experts in history In Brazil, the dialogue been concerned, timidly, with other fields of the social sciences and includes areas such as sociology, anthropology, paleontology and psychology.

Concerning setting the goals of historical education and finding out how these objectives have been reached, according to Rüsen, 'Since this discussion is yet to be resolved about how history as a subject to be taught and learned. (…). we must examine the textbooks.' (Ibid: 14)

In analyzing the nature, function and importance of historical consciousness, Rüsen defines historical consciousness as a category which not only relates to the learning and teaching of history; its analysis serves historical studies and the role of history in public and private life . Deepening the analysis, Rüsen mentions three points that he considers relevant.

First, historical consciousness can't simply be regarded as the simple knowledge of the past, that is available as a set of data to know the past, since it, 'gives structure to historical knowledge as a means of understanding the present and anticipating the future.' (Ibid: 14) It combines complex understanding of the past with the need to understand the present and to assume the future. The perception, on the part of historians, the connection between the three dimensions of time in the structure of historical consciousness, could overcome the mistaken idea that history is only the past, has nothing to do with the problems of the present and much less the future.

According to, Rüsen, 'historical consciousness can be analyzed as a coherent set of mental operations which define the peculiarity of historical thinking and the role it plays in human culture' (Ibid.: 14), and these mental operations are manifested in the historical narrative. To address the narrative structure of historical explanation, Rüsen uses contemporary thinkers such as Hayden White (1984) and Ricoeur (Ricouer and Blamet 1988), who see the historical narrative as a 'basic mental procedure that gives meaning to the past in order to guide practical life through time' (Ibid: 15). Rüsen's defense, supported by the thinkers mentioned above, suggests that the peculiarities of the historical narrative approach, the concept of the discipline of history, which was prevalent in the past, and which is to play a central role in the process of reflection on the activity of historians, will overcome the split from the needs of practical life. It is possible that overcoming of this division contributes to the writing of history and makes it consider structures of thought that contribute to historical consciousness, in order to give meaning and orientation to the present life and future prospects, from the historical knowledge of the past.

Third, through 'the guidance of life through the structure of time, the teaching of history can bring new insights into the role of historical knowledge and its growth in practical life' (Ibid.: 15), that is, Rüsen understands that it is possible to learn, considering the temporal structure of past, present and future, that historical awareness can play an important role in the elaboration of thoughts that organize the identity of human beings, enabling their to self-preservation through social interaction. In this matter of historical identity, the teaching of history and history education is a 'deliberate and organized process of identity formation that recalls the past to understand the present and anticipate the future, then (…) cannot be set aside as being extraneous to the concerns of professional historians'. (Rüsen, 2006:15)

Considering this argument reflects that professional historians, in the process of research and writing of history, would no longer have a reason to ignore that teaching and learning of history are part of the construction of the identities of individuals involved in the educational process. Then it would be the transactions involved in the construction of historical consciousness, supported in the use of reason, which ensure that humans, facing changes, persist in their goals. And he concludes that 'The reason can be applied to all forms and uses of historical thinking where arguments, not power and domination, could solve problems.' (Ibid: 15)

Rüsen's contribution to the role of knowledge and its relation to practical life has been consistent with reflections that are part of the educational debates in Brazil, and specifically, the role of historical knowledge and its practical meaning in life—backed by legal instruments such as, in general in the LDB. 9394/96, and specifically the National Curricular Parameters (PCN) for the History of Basic Education.

However, even considering the contributions and legal variables suggested by the NCP and the debates and discussions that accompany the training processes, the actions that could include the relationship of knowledge to practical life, in school, still require much thought, discussion and especially initiatives guided by the awareness of what really is this relationship and the clarity of its real meaning in the lives of students. For a better understanding on the issue, Rüsen (2007) proposes to address the practicality of knowledge developed by research and historical production of knowledge in the process of writing history. That is, in the teaching of history, what is the contribution of research and historiography in the practical application of that knowledge. What Rüsen conceptualizes as praxis, because the effect on daily life is crucial, should be integrated with concepts and ways to develop the historical content.

Rusen (2006), idem (2007) argues that historians, have always intended to have an effect on the practical life, through what they write. However they never do so with sufficient clarity. As there is no neutrality, historians have their work invariably permeated by intentions related to practical life. He believes that these relationships should be managed with a conscience, away from the barrier of neutrality, which does not mean under any circumstances; 'open wide doors of specialized reasoning to political ends.' (2007b: 86).History should be able to

[2] Without denying the importance of dialogue in other areas, I mean professionals of journalism who have been producing the writing of history in Brazil, without clearly defining search criteria, seeming to be more interested to work with a certain speculative segment in the editorial market.

[3] This is about chapter 2—Teaching—Functions of historical knowledge, the book Living History. Theory of History III: forms and functions of historical knowledge.

preserve itself, sustaining itself under the authority that comes from the knowledge of history, knowledge that is essential to support policy decisions on practical life with seriousness and responsibility.

Thus, the understanding of praxis, for Rüsen, comprises the relationship of historical knowledge to practical life which enables subjects to know how to act in reality and for this work to be supported in self-knowledge, that is, the clarity of the identity of the subject.

Thus 'historically oriented' means a double movement: inwards, which concerns the identity, and outwards, in relation to practice, and this double movement order is the logic and dynamics of any historical thinking. This explains the responsibility of historians in their work, and the very crisis that accompanies the teaching of history, which is expressed in questions raised by students: Why do I study history? What use is it? Why should I learn this or that content?

About this Rüsen (2007b) states the importance and the central question of the didactic component of a scientific curriculum to which it is intended to make this link between historical thinking and practical life; this achievement happens in the course of the learning process. Teaching, learning and writing history was, until the end of the Age of Enlightenment, related to teaching.

Mediation assumes that the content is unchanged from that produced by historians. 'The only adaptation that is accepted depends on the capacity of gradual or reduced absorption of the recipients (…)". (Ibid: 89)

This harsh, but real, interpretation that Rüsen makes about the role of teaching today reproduces the major condition of this representation of the teaching of those historians who assign to themselves the exclusive right and authority of clerks of the story. It is assumed that what is a very particular context of educational institutions in Brazil has its roots in the old continent. It is worthy of reflection that the origins of this kind of thinking in academia and Brazilian schools have crossed the seas from the east, and here find ample scope for expansion.

As to understanding the relationship between theory and practice in teacher training, history is believed to be of fundamental importance in deepening a continuation of this work, understanding the concept of teaching history and its role in constructing knowledge and the relationship of the latter to practical life. It is understood that this is the path that will enable understanding of the LEH as spaces of reflection, debate and actions that facilitate the process of historical education from the relation between historical knowledge and its practical applicability, between the formation of an academic historian and an expert in teaching the history.

In this sense, Rüsen (2007) points to the theory of mutual engagement between history and didactics of history, considering that 'learning is an elementary act of practical life, which implies historical knowledge and in which it plays (or can play) its own role. '(ibid.: 92). That is, one cannot dismiss the other. Rüsen noted that in general, courses in history, working with the teaching of history, begin with the study of theories of history, and this means 'the fundamental original dimension in which historical learning takes place, is set aside too quickly '(ibid.: 92). Considering this observation, it is recalled that this practice has is existed in history courses in Brazilian universities. The approach begins with the knowledge and study of theories of history (in which the biggest part of the workload of the course is invested), followed later by the study of knowledge and theories of education. Then the few hours remaining, are designated to the approach to methodologies, techniques and resources that can be used in classroom teaching practices. It is important to note that there is, among academics—then teachers, clarity about the ideas that guide theories of history, but a cloud of inaccuracies surrounds their relationship to the teaching process . This cloud will follow the teacher, usually, for most of his professional life, hence the desire of many for continuing education.

In this article it is concluded, in part, that the relationship between the theory of history and the teaching of history should be interdependent.

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[4] The understanding of the subject of Rüsen approaches significantly the concept of subject of Paulo Freire. To see more search Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed, chapter 2.

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"I LEARNED TO THINK THAT MUSIC IS ALSO HISTORY" THE SONG GOES TO SCHOOL: PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORICAL EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT
This paper presents partial results of an exploratory study conducted within the context of a Teaching Practice and Supervised Internship in our History Project. It investigates the teaching practice of a doctoral student in history education, in the second half of 2010, in Curitiba, in a public school in the state of Parana, Brazil. The theme of the project was 'History Education and the youth culture: music as a source for teaching history and the formation of historical consciousness of young high school students'. The aim of this paper is to share the theory and methodology underpinning this study which explores the teaching and learning of history through reading the lyrics and listening to the music of folk songs.

KEYWORDS
Popular song, Historical education, Youth culture

INTRODUCTION

The so-called situated historical cognition (Barca, 2004; Schmidt, 2009) is based on the epistemological foundations of the discipline of history and on the specific situations in which individuals experience teaching and learning in history. Its main object is to investigate the relationship students and teachers establish between historical knowledge and the formation of historical consciousness. When a young person goes to school he or she doesn´t stop being a young person. He carries with him his ideas, concepts and points of view, his multiple juvenile identities which constitute his practical life. This should not be ignored nor considered a barrier to learning. Rather young students' common sense should be regarded as a starting point for forming, training, and developing historical consciousness. The historical ideas of young students are constructed from the ideas of everyday life, so history should be meaningful to those who learn. Ideas are historical, not because they refer to the past, but because they deal with the intrinsic relation that exists between memory of the past and the expectations for the future in actual, practical life (Rüsen, 2007, p.92).

Firstly, Rüsen contrasts historical concepts in proper names and historical categories, and then he synthesizes them in a broader concept, which aims at an interpretation of facts occurring in sequence over time. In a similar way, but with different terminology, Peter Lee (2004) distinguishes between *substantive concepts* and *second order concepts*. In summary, *historical concepts* and *historical categories* are intrinsic and inseparable, like two sides of same coin; when it begins to rotate, each side contributes to the ultimate goal of interpretation and orientation of human experience in time.

This exploratory study was conducted in the second half of 2010 in a public high school in Curitiba, Parana, Brazil. Eight trainees on the course, Teaching Practice and Supervised Teaching in History in secondary school participated. They were taught by Professor Maria Auxiliadora Schmidt from Universidade Federal do Paraná. The course on Teaching Practice and Supervised Teaching had as its main goals to consolidate the principle of initial training of the history teacher as a teacher-researcher; to approach and to relate the school culture to the youth culture of the young students investigated; and to undertake a teaching practice project using the lyrics and music of a popular song, as an appropriate historical source in teaching and learning history for young high school students.

Among the theoretical perspectives involved were those of:

- Dubet Martuccelli (1997) which aims to create bridges between the gaps observed between learning history in school, *the culture of the school* and *youth culture*;
- Camacho (2004) who raises awareness of the invisibility of young people in school life and states that the condition of being a young person actually precedes the condition of being a young student;
- Napolitano (2002) and Azambuja (2007) who used the song as an historical source which could be interpreted. The song can be interpreted in three ways; the history of the song, the history in the song and the song in history. The practice reflects the theory of Rüsen (2001, 2007), particularly in relation to historical consciousness, historical narrative and historical sources. Historical

consciousness is established in and informs daily life, historical narrative constitutes and expresses historical consciousness, historical sources form the basis of the methodology of historical research.

METHODOLOGY

The eight students selected for the investigation did their training in a first, second or third class in a high school with 189 students, boys and girls aged between 14 and 17 years old. The trainee teachers were instructed in the first contact with the class to hold a brief discussion about the importance of music in young people´s lives, and to ask about the students' musical tastes and interests. This discussion revealed the following data: the vast majority of young students, both boys and girls, preferred *rock* music, a genre that spans different styles, brands and trends such as *heavy metal*, *hardcore*, *pop rock*, *rock and roll*, *alternative*, *emo* and *surf music*. They also referred to pop genres, classical music, electronic music, *rap, reggae, hip hop, funk*, and *jazz* in decreasing percentages. There was a predominance of foreign music in the Anglo-American tradition. It is interesting that a small sample of students, who identified themselves with eclectic musical taste, seemed to bridge the gap between foreign music and *Brazilian* music, as identified by Brazilians, because their taste is diverse and open; they like "a bit of everything." Despite the dominance of Anglo-American foreign music, Brazilian music has a significant place in the musical tastes of these young students. The following sub-genres in order of frequency of citations are noteworthy: *sertanejo, pagode, mpb, gospel, rock Brazil, pop Brazil, samba* and others genres like *rap, reggae and funk*; it can be seen that there are a number of foreign products that are Brazilianized and that they constitute dictions that become part of Brazilian popular music. Among the groups, singers and foreigners the following composers stood out in a descending order of popularity: Iron Maiden, Metallica, Green Day, Never Shout Never, Paramore, The Beatles, Nirvana, Bon Jovi, Avril Lavigne, Ramones, Oasis, Panic at the Disco, among others. Among the groups, Brazilian composers and singers, stand out Legião Urbana, CPM22, Detonautas, Charlie Brown Jr, Exaltasamba, Capital Inicial, Victor e Leo, Titãs, Raul Seixas, Cazuza, Chico Buarque and Caetano Veloso. There is a predominance of Rock *Brasil*, coexisting with *sertanejo* and *pagode*, and with very little incidence of the MPB.

Based on this investigation of musical interests, trainee teachers were instructed, between them, to choose some songs that could be used as material in history lessons. Among the various songs suggested one was selected "*Eu Nasci Há Dez Mil Anos Atrás* (I was born ten thousand years ago) written by Raul Seixas and Paulo Coelho.

MAIN RESULTS

The objective of the project was to present a brief comparison between two different experiences of working with the same song. Luiza was a first year trainee teacher and Ligia was a second year trainee.

LUIZA: MONOTHEISTIC RELIGIONS

Proto-narratives

The first step was the preparation of a proto-narrative of the song, written by young students after a first reading of the song, and listening to the song. The student-teacher developed the following activity. She asked the students, after listening to the song and reading the lyrics of *Eu nasci há dez mil anos atrás* (I was born ten thousand years ago), and also drawing on your personal experience, to write an historical narrative on a religious theme, based on the song.

Given the predominance of a Christianity theme that emerged from the students' proto-narratives, the aim of the educational intervention was to work with three monotheistic religions, taking into account both differences and similarities. The objectives of the lesson plan defined by the trainee teacher were: "to use the song as an historical source; to show the origins of each monotheistic religion and to clarify the common points between them." Judaism, Christianity and Islam were the religions selected. The proto-narratives were shared by the students, in order to link the musical source with their biographies, and to establish a relationship between the proto-narratives and the range of differences in their narratives.

Then some images of churches, synagogues and mosques in the city of Curitiba were shown to the students and were recognized by most students. The trainee teacher presented a lecture on the theme of the three religions, to inform the next activity, analyzing primary sources. The sources consisted of three fragments of the Torah, the Bible and the Koran. The students were asked to list the similarities found in the texts, including common words and ideas then to discuss whether there is a common feature in the beliefs of the three religions, such as believing in one God and explain why this might be? The activity using the fragments of the Torah, the Bible and the Koran revealed the following categories of answer: 25 students mentioned the word "merciful God", 17 mentioned "one God", 12 mentioned "protection to the faithful"; 3 referred to "equality between the three religions" and 1 mentioned the "superiority of God".

EVALUATION

An evaluation and metacognition activity was conducted subsequently. It was applied to 27 students and it contained the following questions.

- What have you learnt?
- What did you already know about the subject?
- What else would you like to learn?
- What else would you like to know more about?
- Did you like the lesson? Why?
- Have you struggled to perform some tasks? Which ones? Why?.

Here are examples of their answers.

- What did you learn: "About the three monotheistic religions: Christianity, Judaism and Islam," "I have learned to think that music is also history," "I´ve learned more about other cultures I had no contact with."
- What did you like to learn the most: "It's always good to know more about things that are not connected even though they are so close"; "about the stories of the past brought and revealed in the music …";" we can use the music as a learning resource.
- Did you like the kind of this lesson? Justify: "Yes, most students indicated they enjoyed the class taught by the trainee teacher: "It was a way to break the routine of the classroom, then we can acquire more knowledge", "It is different and much more interesting and it makes us a little more curious and wanting to learn". Partly yes: "a little, because even using the music wasn´t part of our day-to-day"; No: few students disapproved of the class taught by the student-teacher; "Not much, it is always the same music, many texts and few dynamics".

LIGIA: HISTORICAL SOURCES AND FICTIONAL SOURCES

Another trainee teacher taught a second year class in a high school, composed of 25 students, aged between 14 and 16 years old. In the initial discussion of their interests and musical tastes she found that music is seen as entertainment and that their preferred genre is rock. The most frequently mentioned group was again Legião Urbana. The group chose the song *Eu Nasci Há Dez Mil Anos Atrás*

PROTO-NARRATIVES

The next step was for the students to write proto-narratives after reading the lyrics and listening to the song. Then the students were asked to answer the following questions:

- Do you think that only those who witnessed certain times can speak truthfully about them?
- In your opinion, does knowing the experiences of the past help to understand the present better?
- Do you think all those who lived through some events of the past will narrate them the same way? Why?
- Do you think you can have access to and know about the past without having lived it? How?

18 students participated in this activity.

- Regarding the first question, asking whether only those who witnessed certain times can speak truthfully about them, 14 students answered 'no' and 4 students answered yes. Two of these students said that "only those who experienced a time can tell how things really happened", and only one student said, "In the present you cannot judge the past. Only people who have lived it can talk about it". Regarding the negative responses, 6 students stated that "one can know more about these times through the records left (photos, written records, books and others)", 5 students said that they knew about the past "by studying", 4 students commented on how "people can invent", "fantasize", "exaggerate", these events or 'do not speak the truth", 4 students said that "people who have lived in other times may help others to understand it, but you can not only rely on this to understand the past".
- Regarding the second question, does knowing about the past help you to understand the present? 17 students answered yes and only 1 student said no; 8 students expressed the idea of cause and consequence, "a causal relation between past and present", about 6 students said that the experiences of the past "help us to understand current events" and 3 students expressed the idea that "past experiences can modify the present". The only negative response was: "one cannot know about past, present and future, although it is interesting to know how things happened in the past".
- Regarding the third question, asking the students whether they liked this kind of lesson, the survey was totally the opposite to the first question: 17 students answered no, and only 1 student answered yes and then replied that he thinks that everyone who lived through certain events in the past will narrate them in the same way, because "The events are stored in their memory". The vast majority of the students said no, because "everyone has a different way of seeing what happened", that "people could have different interests at the same time"; "each one adds something to a story, even if it isn´t true", and "one can forget about some detail".
- The last issue related to accessing knowledge of the past; 19 students agreed that you can have access to the past in several ways: sources (photos, newspaper articles, magazines, movies, books of the time, reports, painting, sculpture, music), books, study, internet, people who lived in the past, teachers, archeology, among others.

HISTORICAL AND FICTIONAL SOURCES

This activity was followed by work on historical sources and fictional sources, focusing on the analysis of historical as well as fictional characters. The objective was to guide students in how to interpret sources, in order to contest views expressed by different students and to emphasize the possibility of ideas accessing the past through historical sources. The aims were to enable the students to prepare questions about sources, using the methods of historical research, then to return to the music presented, linking it to the life and work of the authors, the conditions of creation and production of the song and the historical context in which the song was created and to introduce two new problematic sources.

The trainee teacher asked students about the characters expressed in the song in preparation for the next step in the lesson plan: an activity involving two visual sources which involve two characters who were referred to the song: Count Dracula, depicted in an advertising poster of the Dracula film of 1931, and a photograph showing Adolf Hitler making a speech in 1935.The trainee teacher tried to problematize the sources through a debate to find out, for example: Do students distinguish the nature of the sources? In this case, do they take into account that one source is historical and the other is fictional? When was the source produced? For what purpose? By whom? Who appears in the two images? What can one learn from it? What is the content of the picture? What are the meanings attributed to it? The trainee teacher tried to mediate the students' answers by comparing them with the methods of historical research in order to distinguish the respective natures of historical sources and fictional sources.

Then students were asked to do two things. First, they were asked to look closely at both pictures and ask three questions about each of the pictures, taking into account their personal interests and curiosity, then to write stories about the pictures, trying to answer the questions they had prepared.

After this task an assessment activity was given to the students. It consisted of the following questions: What are the similarities and differences between the two sources? What are the differences and similarities between history and literature? Can literature and music be used as historical sources in order to have access to the past?

METACOGNITION

After this activity, one more activity was introduced, the task of metacognition. This consisted of only two sentences.

- What is the most important thing that you have learnt from this history class in which we used song?
- Considering your experiences in the classroom, develop either a historical narrative or the lyrics of a song entitled: Eu NÃO nasci há 10 mil anos atrás, mas não tem nada nesse mundo que eu não possa saber um pouco mais. (I WASN´T born 10,000 years ago, but there's nothing in this world that I cannot learn a little bit more about).

Of the narratives produced by students form their own questions 3 of them highlighted the "analysis of the impact of the movie at the time of its release", the meaning of the Dracula character at that moment, and the "beauty of the actor as an incentive to watch the movie". Regarding the problem of Hitler's speech photograph of 1933, 4 students mentioned the "domination over others," 3 of them focused on the analysis of the image of Hitler, and the rest of the students talked about "who Hitler was" and the power and fear regarding Hitler.

The evaluation activity showed the following results for the three questions.

- Regarding the first question about the "similarities and differences between the two sources", 6 students identified the difference saying that "one is fictional and the other historical", 2 students argued that "both can be used as a historical source"; 2 students identified the similarity between the two images as a representation of "feared men", 1 student pointed out another similarity: "the two are dated". Another student stated that "just one song isn´t enough as a source".
- Regarding the second question about "the similarities and differences between history and literature" 4 students related history to "reality" and literature to something "fictional"; 2 stated that "literature can be based on historical sources". In answer to the third question, can literature and music can be used as sources, 6 students wrote "yes, because they are expressions of a moment"; 3 students addressed the questions of "study" and of "surveys"; 2 students highlighted "context analysis" and historical response to the sources.

And finally, the metacognition activity which was answered by 6 students, asked students if they learnt something meaningful in this class, and asked them to write a historical narrative or a lyric from a suggested title. In relation to what they have learnt they highlighted: the "use of music in history classes", the "new way of learning" and the realization that "music is an historical

source". In written narratives or lyrics some ideas were expressed such as "It isn´t necessary to actually live through an event to know it", "through the use of sources you can have access to the past", "through technology, access to the past is facilitated", and "dated documents are sources".

CONCLUSIONS

This exploratory study confirms and reaffirms the structural assumptions of the doctoral thesis in Historical Education that is being developed by this researcher: the urban folk song, a product and cultural process of the recording industry and part of daily life, is present in the schooling processes and is one of the significant elements in the constitution of multiple juvenile identities. Incorporating youth culture as a structuring principle of historical school culture, is an exciting prospect to overcome the still prevalent "traditional teaching of history," and also to promote the expansion of history education. The popular song as an appropriate historical source, or in other words, the *source song* can be significant in the teaching and learning of history and in the underlying formation, training and development of the historical consciousness of young high school students. However, it should emerge from the musical interests of the students, and not to be imposed by the musical tastes of teachers or by the "illustrations" of school textbooks. This research indicated that the preferred music genre of young high school students, between the ages of ages between14 and 17 is rock, either national or international. Working with music in the classroom requires the historical, theoretical and methodological literacy of teachers and students in order for students to use the source song to write narratives. The source song can and should be approached from the perspective of historical concepts and historical categories, preferably in an articulated way, intrinsic and inseparable.

It can be concluded that the proposed exploratory study on *Historical Education and youth culture: music as a source for teaching and learning history and the formation of historical consciousness of young high school students*, has achieved its objectives, as well as has shown itself to be very significant and exciting from the point of view of students taking the Practice of Teaching course, in extending their expertise. More than that, it exceeded all expectations by causing a shift in the route of the doctoral thesis and pointing to new horizons for investigation in the field of historical education.

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'WALKING BACKWARDS INTO TOMORROW' HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND UNDERSTANDING HISTORY

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ABSTRACT
This paper, which should be viewed as work in progress rather than as a research report or a finished conceptual argument, examines some elements of Jörn Rüsen's theory of history and historical consciousness. It makes a preliminary and tentative attempt to tease out the ways in which Rüsen's theory may be helpful or problematic for thinking about history education's role in orienting young people in time, and in particular the extent to which his typology of the ontogeny of historical consciousness may be useful for researchers.

It is suggested that any theory of historical consciousness and its development in students should pay attention to students' metahistorical understanding—of the discipline of history—as well as their conceptions of the past. A strength of Rüsen's theory of historical consciousness is that it demands attention to both these two kinds of ideas, and points up the relationships that must exist between them. However, the ontogenetic typology offered by Rüsen needs to be treated with care by researchers. This is because its very attempt to provide an all-encompassing account of the development of historical consciousness, whether or not it is seen as exhaustive, compels it to conflate matters that demand differentiated analysis. Rüsen himself recognizes that the development of historical consciousness is an empirical matter, and a consequence of this stance is that whether or not ideas develop together or are decoupled is for research to determine, and that there are many ways of conceptualizing the basis upon which such ideas may be grouped. As with history, these will depend on the questions researchers are asking.

It is argued that Rüsen's account of history and historical consciousness gives us strong reasons to think more carefully about the kind of past available for students for purposes of orientation. Rüsen emphasizes the importance of existing narratives, which must be taken seriously in history education, but the focus of this paper is on the possibility of open frameworks of the past that allow students to generate alternative narratives in response to their questions and interests. It is suggested that such frameworks demand powerful metahistorical ideas about the nature of the discipline of history if they are to allow the kind of orientation that Rüsen requires.

Finally, some very early exploratory research is discussed, not because it can 'show' anything at all, but because it suggests directions for research that can profitably pay attention to Rüsen's theory. Among these are questions about how far and in what ways students' metahistorical understanding affects the kind of framework available to them, and about the extent to which any kind of recognizably historical past figures in orientation to the present and future. If research is to make progress in understanding historical consciousness it will need more sophisticated conceptual tools as well as empirical work.

> *I'm going to call it … 'Walking backwards into tomorrow'. I think it's less of a UK specific thing, more a comment on how, going into the future you can't obviously see what's ahead of you, because in my analogy you're walking the wrong way; you can only see what you've been through, and try to interpret that as the way the path is leading, that you're going to. You can see bits of what's at either side of you, so you can see fragmented bits of what's going on now, but you've got nearly the whole picture of what's gone before, but tomorrow will maybe still be a bit of a mystery, but at least we have the freedom to walk into tomorrow …*
> *Andrew—year 13*

KEYWORDS
historical consciousness, metahistory, ontogeny, usable historical frameworks, change

INTRODUCTION

From time to time an idea appears that seems to offer the possibility of reconceptualizing an area of academic study and research. (I was tempted to say academic field, but in our own area of history education this seems a touch grandiose. 'Patch' might be more appropriate.) Jörn Rüsen's idea of 'historical consciousness' is, on the face of it, just such an idea.

'Historical consciousness' hints at an integrative theoretical perspective capable of subsuming two related trends, and perhaps one rather different tradition. It offers the prospect of linking the increasing interest shown by many historians in what tends to be called 'memory', and the focus of history education on students' pictures of the past.1 Just as historians are exploring narratives beyond the output of academic history, so those concerned with history education are looking beyond school for the ways in which the past figures in youngsters' views of the world (to the extent that it figures at all).

If we also bear in mind Rüsen's interest in the 'ontogeny' of historical consciousness, we can begin to perceive the prospect of an approach with the potential to integrate a third, slightly different, strand of research. A theory of the development of historical consciousness can also perhaps be sufficiently inclusive to subsume research on students' understanding of the discipline of history.

My ambitions in this paper do not run to anything so grand as a critique of Rüsen, let alone an attempt to use his ideas to forge an integrated theory. Instead, I will briefly consider what I take to be some central features Rüsen's account of historical consciousness, and then explore aspects of it that may be useful for those concerned with history education. Finally I will discuss two issues that any account of historical consciousness set in the context of history education must take seriously, whatever view is taken of Rüsen's work: historical consciousness as orientation, and the ontogeny of historical consciousness.

JÖRN RÜSEN'S ACCOUNT OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Rüsen's account of historical consciousness is—even in the brief works translated into English—a sophisticated and complex theoretical account, covering many different conceptual and empirical matters. I have approached it from the perspective of history education, and it hardly needs saying that what I find in it may not be what Rüsen would accept as central, let alone recognize as a balanced survey of his views. But since Rüsen clearly feels that history education is important, perhaps he will forgive my little foray into his wider world.

For Rüsen history education is part of the much wider idea of historical consciousness. In schools, students learn history. That is, they learn ways of thinking about the past that (it might be hoped) will help them to orientate themselves in time, bringing past, present and future into a relation that enables them to cope with living their lives as temporal beings. In short, school history should develop historical consciousness.

For Rüsen the kind of history we have—the academic discipline—is closely related to the ways in which we live our everyday life (lebenspraxis). Nevertheless, academic history and lebenspraxis are not the same. It is not that academic history simply 'informs' lebenspraxis, but that human interests (both senses) and the need for orientation in time associated with these interests lead history to develop theories of how the world works ('leading views concerning experience'). These, in conjunction with appropriate methodological rules and practices, structure the forms of representation characteristic of the discipline. This output from the discipline feeds back into the world of everyday life, fulfilling the function of orientation.

The key idea here is that of the disciplinary matrix, which Rüsen illustrates in a diagram, Fig.1. The notion of a 'disciplinary matrix' is developed from Kuhn, and is used by Rüsen to deal with questions about why and how changes in disciplinary paradigms take place, and the way in which, despite such changes (exemplified by the Enlightenment and nineteenth century Historicism), history can still be considered a rational approach to the past (166–7).[2] Our concern here is with the matrix as a means of understanding Rüsen's conception of the relationship, within the wider umbrella of 'historical consciousness', between the discipline of history as a historical product at any particular moment, and the everyday life world (162).

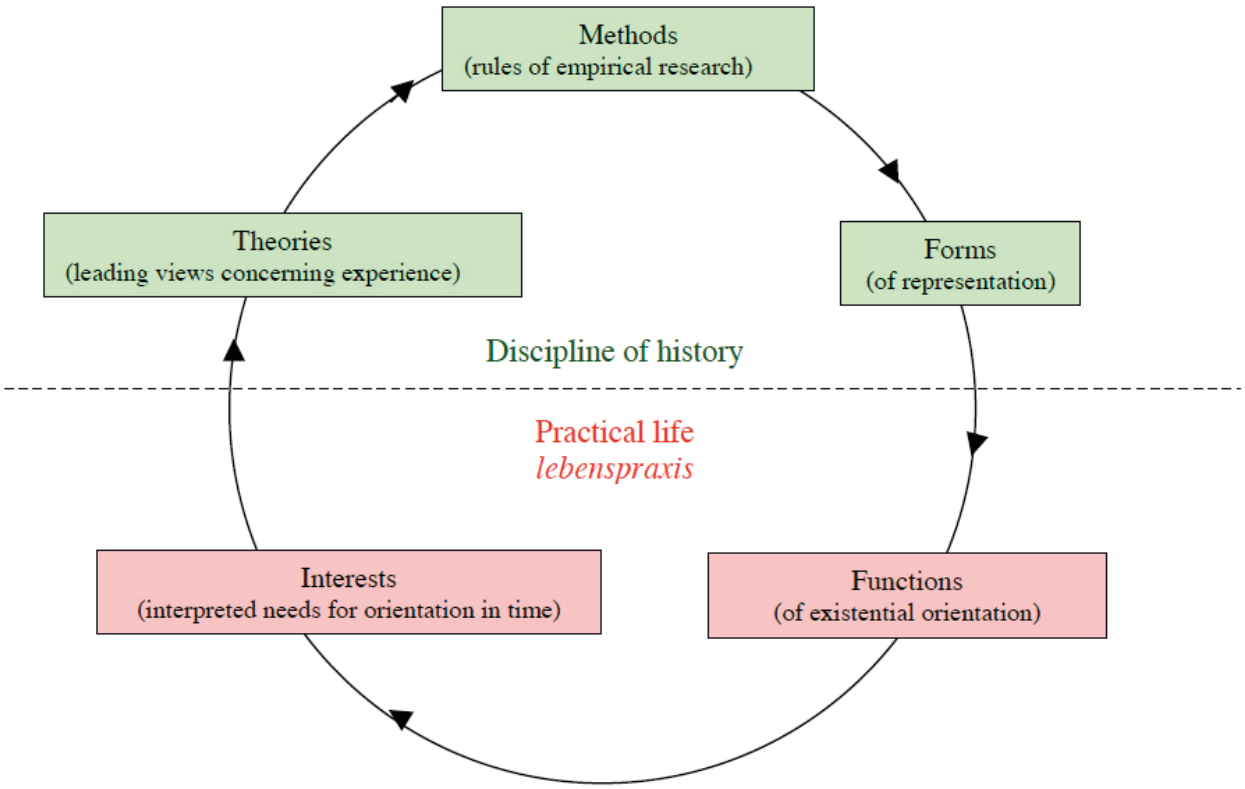


Fig. 1 Jörn Rüsen's Disciplinary Matrix

It is tempting to say that the matrix as presented in the diagram suggests that *lebenspraxis* 'informs' history just as much as history informs lebenspraxis. But this 'informing' is not a mere response by academic history to demands from the world of everyday life for the support of national identity. This is because academic history 'produces a theoretical surplus beyond the need for identity of acting subjects' and 'this theoretical surplus must be seen as the distinctive rational achievement of research-oriented historical narrative.' History therefore 'transcends the particularity of the "commonsensical" orientation of action within the life-world.'[3] History is itself a historical achievement, with its own methodological rules and practices, guided by theory, and can therefore take a critical stance toward the interests and demands of *lebenspraxis*.[4]

Given this view of the disciplinary matrix, it is not surprising that Rüsen wants students in school to have to think about their history. He develops this point in terms of his distinction between the 'objective' and the 'subjective': students should make their history part of their 'mental furniture', and it must not remain at the level of inert information (87). To the extent that the 'objective' history provided by the academic discipline is internalised as something students can use in orientating themselves in time for practical life, it has become, in Rüsen's usage, 'subjective'.

The use of 'subjective' here is not a shift into postmodern thinking; in many ways Rüsen remains firmly a modernist, although he is happy to consider current candidates and future prospects for a historical consciousness that might supersede modernity. History demands a dialectical approach to different perspectives, not the kind of 'lazy pluralism' that talks about multiple perspectives but allows 'no possibility of deciding between perspectives in an "objective", i.e. intersubjectively obligatory way' (53). For Rüsen the tension in historical studies 'between constitution by standpoints and interests and value freedom by methodological corroboration is transformed into a sequence of stages in the historian's work.' Historical knowledge is not to be treated as 'a fixed, static, given matter of human consciousness and cognition, but as a dynamic process' (53).

Nor is historical consciousness itself static, but something that develops, and this development may be summarized in a typology that Rüsen provides (explicitly as an ontogeny, but perhaps also implicitly as a phylogeny). The typology is especially relevant to our concerns as history educators because it not only fills out Rüsen's ideas about historical consciousness, offering a hypothesis about the ways in which we relate to and make sense of the past, but also claims to suggest an ontogeny for the development of historical consciousness. He sets out four different types of historical consciousness: *traditional, exemplary, critical* and *genetic*.

Traditional historical consciousness is a stance toward the past in which traditional narratives are pre-given and furnish us with the origins of our values and our form of life. These latter are in turn seen as permanent and obligatory ways of living, providing us with a not-to-be-questioned morality fixed by a stable tradition. Time is experienced as origins and repetitions.

Exemplary historical consciousness takes the past as embodying rules of change and human conduct that remain valid for all times. This widens our stance toward the past, allowing us to make sense of more than a fixed tradition. Instead we treat past occurrences as cases or examples, providing lessons for the present, including moral ones, and morality itself has a timeless validity. Time is experienced as change, but changes follow timeless rules.

Critical historical consciousness challenges stances taken in either of the first two types. It challenges traditional narratives, and it draws attention to deviations from exemplary rules: it uses these to deny the truth of a story, or to show how timeless rules do not stand up. The critical stance demarcates itself from other historical standpoints and stories by producing counter-stories: 'By means of such critical stories we say no to pre-given temporal orientations of our life' (74). These counter-stories provide a critique of moral values, displaying them as having immoral origins or consequences. Culture is relativized to time, which is experienced as subject to judgement.

Genetic historical consciousness takes a stance beyond the affirmation or denial of the previous three forms of historical consciousness. Change is central to the past, and gives history its meaning. Differing standpoints are accepted by being integrated in this perspective of temporal change.[5] Permanence and continuity are themselves temporalized. People and things survive by, as well as through, change. Moral values are no longer static, but are pluralized through the acceptance of 'otherness', and change with time. Indeed arguments for their validity are dependent on a temporal perspective. Time is experienced as itself temporalized.

Rüsen is very clear that these types may co-exist in any particular encounter with the past (9, 76). If they can be said to represent stages, it is not in the strong sense in which one stage succeeds and displaces another. We are not being offered a ladder-like progression in which we move from one stage to the next, leaving the first behind. Nevertheless Rüsen seems to intend there to be a progression here of some sort. There seems to be a dialectic at work, for example, in which critical historical consciousness negates traditional and exemplary types, and genetic historical consciousness is able to explain the changes that result (9).

It would be foolish to deny that people live their lives as temporal beings. Backward reference is built into the very language with which we try to make sense of our world: 'scars', 'widows', 'broken promises', 'old buildings', 'art nouveau windows' and 'policies of appeasement' may refer to the past in different ways, but all carry temporal luggage.[6] Clearly Rüsen is correct in insisting that orientation in time is not an optional move. But what counts as orientation? Does orientation in time demand a past beyond personal memory? What sort of past will fill the bill?

Here we confront matters of central importance to history education. Is there not something else lurking below the line in Rüsen's disciplinary matrix, the line that divides history from lebenspraxis? Is it indeed only history that can fulfil the function of providing the temporal orientation that we need? If we treat Rüsen's typology as in some sense a phylogenetic schema as well as an ontogenetic one, we have to ask how far we can sensibly imagine anything above the line when temporal orientation is 'traditional'. We can clearly talk of historical consciousness even when continuity is construed as the 'permanence of originally constituted forms of life'. But how far can we talk of methodologically explicit and theoretically equipped history when historical consciousness is like this? And even in an age when history exists, it belongs above the line. Below the line, are there not temporal orientations that pay no attention to history? By this I do not mean simply that such orientations are utterly detached from the narratives that history provides, but that they conceive of the past in ways radically different from the discourse of methodologically explicit historical studies (the discipline of history).

Jörn Rüsen gives us possible answers to what counts as orientation, but his work (in English translation at least) is not so sharply focused on questions as to the kind of past at issue.7 He places ideas (theories) as leading views on experience of the past above his line. But much of everyday life might be thought to appeal to ideas below the line. Such ideas may owe very little to methodological studies of the kind above the line, and Oakeshott's notion of the 'practical past' is suggestive in this context. It may be instructive to consider Oakeshott's position.

Whatever else our understanding of historical consciousness may encompass, it must include some account of people's ideas about the discipline of history. Put like this, the assertion may be far too simple: to talk of 'the discipline' of history as though it is easily pinned down, or indeed unitary, is to beg some of the most important and interesting questions about historical consciousness. However, there are, in the western world at least, people who call themselves 'historians'. They claim to operate with more or less systematic and methodologically explicit ways of looking at the present as evidence for what has happened, as a historically constructed past. There seems to be some reason for taking these claims seriously. Michael Oakeshott chooses his words carefully.

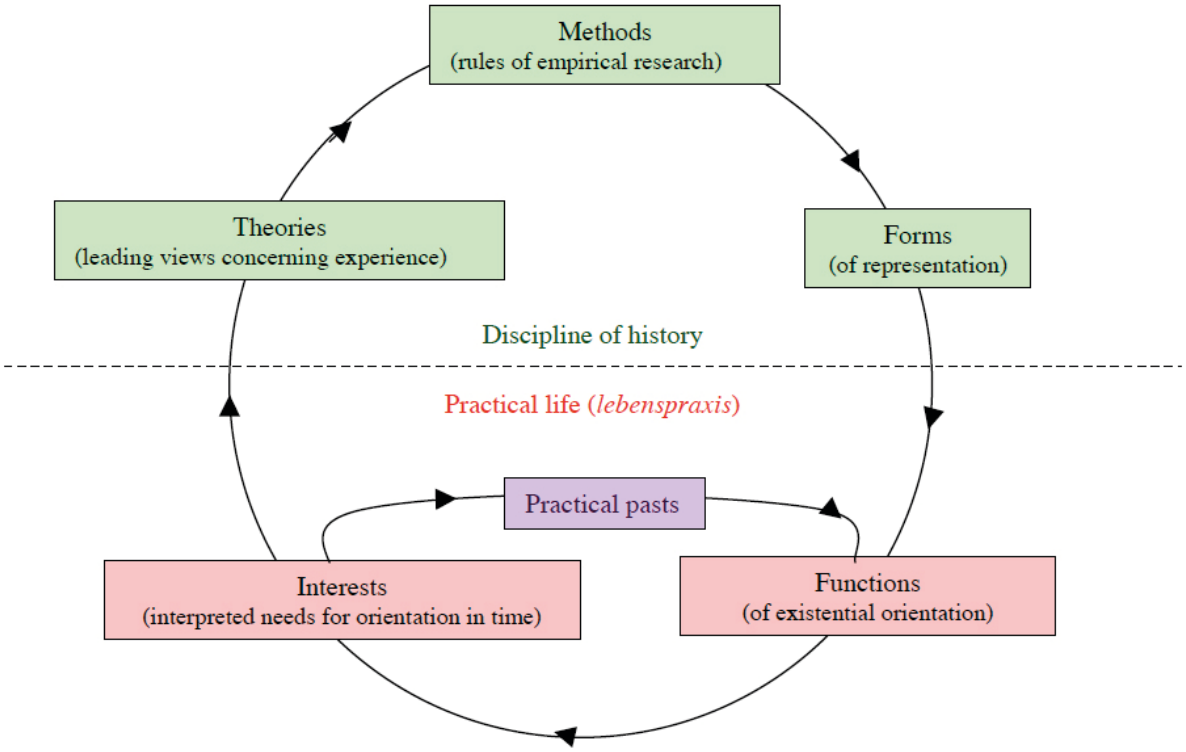


Fig.1 Jörn Rüsen's Disciplinary Matrix:
Historical Consciousness 'Below the Line'?

> The word 'history' denotes an engagement of enquiry which has emerged without premonition from the indiscriminate gropings of human intelligence and has come to acquire recognizable shape. Like other such engagements, its shape is somewhat indistinct. Its practitioners are notoriously generous; they have been apt to keep open house to all who have seemingly similar concerns, to welcome and accommodate a miscellany of intellectual enterprises and to find virtue in their variety.
>
> Nevertheless, taken at this level, and even when it is recognized merely in terms of the directions of enquiry followed by writers commonly alleged to be historians, it is not an entirely indiscriminate engagement. It has some identifying marks, some characteristic organizing ideas and a vocabulary of expressions to which it has given specialized meanings: 'past', 'happening', 'situation', 'event', 'cause', 'change' and so on. As they come to us, these marks of identity are often obscure and ambiguous. Nevertheless, to recognize them is to make our first groping attempt to distinguish and take hold of a current manner of enquiry.[8]

We do not have to accept the entirety of Michael Oakeshott's argument in The Activity of Being an Historian to agree with the opening sentence of his summary position.

> 'History', then, is the product of a severe and sophisticated manner of thinking about the world, which has recently emerged from the naïve interest in what surrounds us on account of its intimations of what is no longer present. It represents neither an aesthetic enjoyment, nor a 'scientific' recognition, nor a practical understanding. Like these, it is a dream; but it is a dream of another sort.[9]

Oakeshott's position may be controversial, particularly in the relationship it draws between the 'severe' category of the 'historical' past and the very wide notion of the 'practical' past, but in emphasizing that history is a hard-won and even strange way of approaching the world, his views touch closely on our concerns, and at the same time recognize that there are different kinds of pasts, based on different ways of reading the present.

> There is a past, that of legend and saga, which is a drama from which all that is causal, secondary and unresolved has been excluded; it has a clear outline, a unity of feeling and in it everything is exact except place and time. There is a past in which contingencies have been resolved by being recognized as products of necessary and sufficient conditions and as examples of the operation of general laws. And there is a past in which every component is known and is intelligible in respect of its relation to a favoured present. But the 'historical' past is of another sort than these. It is a complicated world, without unity of feeling or clear outline: in it events have no over-all pattern or purpose, lead nowhere, point to no favoured condition of the world and support no practical conclusions. It is a world composed wholly of contingencies and in which contingencies are intelligible, not because they have been resolved,

> but on account of the circumstantial relations which have been established between them: the historian's concern is not with causes but with occasions. It is a picture drawn on many different scales, and each genuine piece of historical writing has a scale of its own and is to be recognized as an independent example of historical thinking. The activity of being an historian is not that of contributing to the elucidation of a single ideal coherence of events which may be called 'true' to the exclusion of all others; it is an activity in which the writer, concerned with the past for its own sake and working to a chosen scale, elicits a coherence in a group of contingencies of similar magnitudes.[10]

There is something startlingly contemporary in Oakeshott's account of history, which, despite carrying different metaphysical luggage, has some almost postmodern resonances. The point here, however, is that Oakeshott, like Rüsen, suggests a way of conceptualizing approaches to the past, and that his categories may be suggestive for our understanding of historical consciousness 'below the line'.

Crudely, it might be said that the discipline of history in its current form posits a past about which true statements may be made on the basis of inference from traces surviving into the present, but at the same time conceives the accounts that it produces as constructions, not copies. The stories it tells are not to be understood as 'a single ideal coherence of events which may be called "true" to the exclusion of all others'. But this engagement, even in the transient and contested form in which it is currently practised, is hard won, and very different from the past as it is often construed in everyday life. In the daily commerce with the past that our students experience, it is something that legitimises, proves, shows and warns. Lawyers, politicians and priests plunder it for practical and professional purposes, and in order to do so, organize it in ways that point to desired presents and futures. Educationists tell us that it should be taught in order to produce patriots and democrats.[11]

In these circumstances it is not surprising that students' ideas about how we know the past and what may be said about it tend to be based on common-sense everyday encounters with it. It comes to them as the given past they know existed (because they have just experienced it) and the contested past of TV, film, newspapers and 'memory'.12 The contest is all the more serious because many of the conflicting or competing claims demand to be recognized as 'the truth', and because they are frequently justifications for a particular present or intended future. A disjunction between 'historical pasts' and pasts devised, organized and employed for practical present ends need not be rigid or clearly marked by some notional dividing line to be important for history education. If the discipline of history is sufficiently different from everyday commerce with the past, we might expect students to find history in conflict with commonsense. There is evidence to suggest that this is indeed the case, and I will return to this possibility later in the paper, when I discuss the development of historical consciousness. Before I do so, it may be useful to set out the two main questions that organize the rest of the discussion.

SOME PROBLEMS OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND HISTORY EDUCATION

Historical consciousness covers, or can be made to cover, a wide range of issues that bear on history education. I want to focus here on two central matters: orientation and ontogeny. In the area of *orientation*, what kind of usable historical framework should history education try to provide? What can we say about students' use of the past? In the area of *ontogeny*, what kind of understanding of history should we try to help our students develop? There is more to orientation and the identity project than the substantive picture of the past in which students are placed, or place themselves. As Rüsen's disciplinary matrix implies, the kind of past that students work with helps determine the kind of orientation available to them.

WHAT KIND OF HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK SHOULD HISTORY EDUCATION TRY TO PROVIDE?

As already indicated, central to Rüsen's account is the notion of orientation in time. Temporal *orientation* is not optional. 'People's self-understanding and the meaning they give to the world always have specifically historical elements' (90). This centrality of orientation extends to learning too, since historical learning is 'human consciousness relating to time, experiencing time to be meaningful, acquiring the competency to attach meaning to time, and developing this competency' (85). Rüsen distinguishes three dimensions of historical learning, which he sometimes calls three 'operations' (88). First, 'historical learning is the growth in experience gained from the human past' (88). Second, it 'increases the competency to find meaning', in which 'the increase in experience and knowledge is transformed into a productive change in the model or pattern of interpretation' (89). Third, historical learning 'is an increase in the capacity to orientate' (90). These three dimensions or operations are closely related. 'There is no such thing as historical experience which is without meaning, or historical orientation which is without experience; also every model for interpretation is at the same time concerned with experience and orientation' (91). The three operations produce 'a double process of learning within the acquisition of historical knowledge through experience and self-realization' (88).

As we have already seen, Rüsen is keen to emphasize that historical learning cannot just be a process of acquiring history as 'objective' facts; it must also involve historical knowledge beginning to 'play a role in the mental household of a subject' (87). In other words, such knowledge must not be inert, but must play a part in the learner's life; and the part it plays is that of providing orientation in time. 'All three dimensions of time are themes in historical consciousness: through memory the past becomes the present so that the present is understood and perspectives on the future can be formed' (85). Put another way, 'memory is closely bound up with future expectations. One's own present is seen, interpreted and acted out as an ongoing process within memory's close relationship with future expectation' (85). Hence 'historical consciousness has a practical function' (67). Historical interpretation 'must enable us to act' (66).

There are important questions here. Can we say that the function of academic history is to enable us to act? And what about school history? Why can't history make it harder to act? Can it not either make us more uncertain, or alternatively more cautious in the face of complexity and unintended consequence? But if we put such problems aside for the moment, it is not hard to agree with the broad thrust of Rüsen's argument. Historical consciousness involves temporal orientation, a meaningful connection between past and future. If students are to have a meaningful connection of this kind, they will need some sort of framework of the past to form one element in the relationship. It might be thought that this is exactly what school history gives them, but this may be a questionable assumption (see below). In the first place, we need to ask what such a framework would be like, and what it presupposes. And in the second place, we should ask ourselves whether we have the kind of evidence required to decide whether students have such a framework.

What kind of framework should we be thinking of? If it is to be usable it must have some degree of coherence so that it can be meaningful. A collection of discrete pools of brighter or dimmer light in a long tunnel of darkness will not serve for orientation. How can we achieve something like this without sliding into a single narrative, some version of what the Russians called Party History?

Perhaps a short diversion is in order here, if only to register some of the questions I am begging. The assumption in my argument is not only that there are obvious dangers in the idea of a single correct narrative, even one that claims to be a simplification of an agreed scholarly consensus. It is that there are indefinitely many stories we can tell about the past, just as there is an indefinite number of questions we can ask, all of which will be founded on our present interests and framed in terms of our current conceptions. Our present interests and conceptions, of course, are not all below the line in Rüsen's disciplinary matrix. Rüsen's English publications are perhaps rather quiet about the way that, as we take on board an identity as historians, our interests and needs for orientation change. We must not make too much of this: the questions we ask of the past as historians may be more detached and less directly related to the everyday life-world than those we ask as parties in a lawsuit, or partisans in a political struggle, but they are never without consequences of some sort for how we see that world. Nonetheless, whatever the relationship between our questions and our interests, history above the line can never be limited to one story.

Not only are there are always further narratives to construct on the basis of new questions, but since Danto's work on narrative sentences in the mid sixties, we are only too aware that with the passage of time what can be said about any element in a narrative may change.13 Consider some statements about the significance of nuclear power in the light of actual and possible future events.

1. The introduction of nuclear power in the 1950s has made it possible to produce clean electricity.
2. The introduction of nuclear power in the 1950s led to ever more severe problems of nuclear waste disposal.
3. The introduction of nuclear power in the 1950s meant that it was possible in the 21st century to avoid the worst impact of the greenhouse effect.
4. The introduction of nuclear power in the 1950s created the opportunity for nuclear proliferation, which led in the mid 21st century to the destruction of civilization for several hundred years.

The first statement was true in 1960, but would have been misleading if made in 1980. The second statement is currently true, but events could make it false if uttered in 100 years time. The third statement cannot yet be truthfully made, but events may allow it to be asserted at some time in the course of the century. Statement four cannot be truthfully made for several centuries, and whether it can so be made will depend both on what happens in the next half-century or so, and what happens in consequence over a much longer period. Our narratives are not rewritten only because our interests change, but also because what can be said even about the already elapsed past is changed by the future.

None of this is to say that we have to abandon the idea that stories should be congruent rather than conflicting, at least as a regulatory principle. (There are, of course, many further issues here that go far beyond the scope of this paper and even further beyond my abilities. Can narratives compete, for example, without necessarily contradicting each other? We desperately need some hardheaded logical studies of the possible ways in which

historical narratives may be related.) It may be worth noting that Rüsen's commitment to a single version of the past is a regulatory idea, something we can edge towards through dialectical processes of discussion and negotiation, not something we can easily achieve in reality. He defends the universalizing commitment as part of his adherence to rationality and intersubjectivity, but not as something we can impose.

Perhaps then, despite the begged questions, I can be allowed to assert here that our current understanding of what can be said about the past precludes the possibility of a single accepted school narrative, not just because, contingently, we don't happen to have one, but because to hope for such a thing as a practical achievement is to misunderstand history (the ways we can conceive of the past). If this is so, what form can we expect to find for a coherent framework of the past suitable for meaningful orientation? It must presumably be capable of organizing multiple narratives without imposing on them a fixed 'grand narrative'. Shemilt draws our attention to the difficulties.

> Such a project has obvious dangers. By accident or design, pupils might be taught to accept a privileged 'picture of the past', rather than how to construct and use meaningful narratives of their own devising.[14]

The point is to enable students to achieve their own meaningful framework. This is not to imagine that youngsters can make better sense of the past than historians, but to recognize Rüsen's point that students must make whatever versions of the past they encounter part of their mental furniture, so it is important to give them some means of doing this. Leaving them to their own devices here is abandoning them precisely where they need help.

At this juncture we must switch focus from the substantive to the disciplinary, from any particular ordered past to the way we order our pasts in history. 'Progress and enlightenment', the 'road to freedom' or the 'triumph of the workers' may provide story lines for coherent narratives, but only at the expense of holding students in tutelage to ready-made versions of the past. If students are to understand history, an all-embracing order with a fixed theme and plot, however multi-stranded, complex and well–supported cannot serve as a framework for historical consciousness. Instead, we have to give students not a preformed grand narrative, but an apparatus for making sense of what narratives are and do in history. This is not an argument for teaching philosophy of history instead of history, but for teaching history with a degree of reflexivity, so that the moves we make in giving and assessing interpretations are themselves also scrutinized. We cannot have a standpoint outside history from which to judge alternative narratives, but we can ask what we are doing in asking this question rather than that, choosing one timescale rather than another, conceptualising our theme thus and not so, and what other alternatives there might be.

It is possible to construe a framework of the kind we are discussing here as a product of historical studies falling (at least in part) under 'forms of representation' in Rüsen's disciplinary matrix, although we must recognize that Rüsen's notion of forms is wider in scope, since it is not concerned only with history education. But there is more to be said about students' historical consciousness than the form of representation of any particular historical content that they have learned. Rüsen's matrix includes—above the line—an element he calls 'leading theories (or views) on the experience of the past'. Ankersmit suggests that:

> … when Rüsen speaks of "theory" he above all has universal concepts or principles in mind … For Rüsen, these universal concepts or principles are concepts like "progress", "decline", "development", "individuality", "process", "structure", "transformation", "tendency" or "(r)evolution"—but the overarching concept "humanity" subsumes them all. When taken together these concepts embody what Rüsen calls "historical anthropology". Since Rüsen stresses the applicability of these historical concepts to every conceivable historical period, the term "transhistorical anthropology" might have been more suitable in order to bring out their nature.[15]

Underlying such ideas is Rüsen's decision to take history seriously, and begin from its assumptions.[16] Among these the

> … most important assumption is that there must be a common world of meaning that is shared by the historian and the human beings who lived in the past. … If this assumption were to be abandoned the result would be that the philosopher of history would … be condemned to what one might call "the perspective from Mars".

As Ankersmit points out, this assumption has implications for methodological matters, since 'if one consistently rejects "the perspective from Mars" it becomes virtually impossible to avoid a hermeneutic conception of how historical knowledge is gained.'[17]

It is central to Rüsen's position that, in Ankersmit's words,

> … history has the task of giving us a sense of our own identity and should ideally do this in such a way as to stimulate and facilitate our co-operation with other people, other nations, and other cultures … Since humanity in the largest sense of the word is the stage

> on which interhuman relations are enacted, humanity ought to be the background against which all history is written.[18]

If we take this seriously, as I think we should, the implication for history education in general and a framework in particular is clear. A framework has to be at the level of humanity, not of individual collectivities or groups, whether the nation state, ethnic or religious groups, or social classes.

What would a framework look like in practice? Shemilt approaches the problem with characteristic penetration and honesty. The danger of handing on a privileged version of the past

> is all the more real since an initial framework must be directly taught and will, of necessity, favour certain mimetic possibilities while pre-empting others. We can aim to teach an elemental and elementary framework that will serve pupils as a scaffold, not a cage, but the contents and configuration of the scaffold will make it easier for the pupils to construct some narrative frameworks rather than others. The best we can hope for is constructions of the past that are meme-dependent but not meme-dictated. In order to maximize opportunities for pupils to develop valid and usable narrative frameworks while minimizing the likelihood of prescribed or privileged 'pictures of the past' being taught with intent or learned by default, it is necessary, first, for history syllabuses to address the human past in general, and, second, to revisit this general framework throughout pupils' historical education. In short, whatever history we decide or are compelled to teach, some time should be spent each year for the development of a conspectual framework within which other outlines and topics can be located and from which they can derive meaning.[19]

No worked out example of such a framework yet exists, but it is possible to set out criteria that any framework whatsoever must meet.[20] These should be treated as provisional, more like first moves in a design than a finished specification, and until some philanthropist, foundation or government funds a large-scale project we will lack a demonstrator.

First, any framework must be taught within a metahistorical context: that is, it must equip students to understand the different kinds of claims we make about the past and the relation of these claims to the questions we ask and the evidence we adduce. Key concepts here will be (historical) *change, evidence, explanation* and *accounts*. The aim is to allow students to understand (for example) how significance is attributed to events and processes in the past so that they can evaluate such attributions and relate them to their own questions and interests (in both senses of that word), not to teach them a given 'grand narrative'.[21]

Second, a framework must be an overview, composed of revisited patterns, not a mere *outline* story skimming the past, touching and illuminating only a few peaks. It must be something that can be taught rapidly, into which other history can fit, either by being assimilated to the existing framework, or by adapting and changing the shape of the framework. It assumes a pedagogy in which teachers quickly sketch a shape and then return to it at intervals, instead of one in which chronological progress grinds steadily on, and different periods are dealt with in different grades and then overlaid by the next one. A framework should be metamorphic rather than sedimentary.

Third, following both Rüsen and Shemilt, the subject of a framework should be human history, not some sub-set of it. If any encounter with history is to be related to a framework, it cannot shut out sections of humanity as irrelevant. This suggests that it should be thematic, and follow its themes through long spans of time. The patterning it provides will initially follow broad developments in human societies, material, social and cultural. It will not try to weave the complex interactions characteristic of full-blown narratives that simultaneously invoke the intentions, purposes and values of key figures, groups and institutions, referring them all back to the prior actions or policies of other agents and institutions. Indeed, first moves in building a framework will content themselves with asking questions about (for example) what patterns we can find in human subsistence and material reproduction, and asking what the changes and continuities mean. With thematic patterns of this kind it is possible for students to make their own moves in thinking about the significance of changes like the switch from hunting and gathering to farming, or the mechanization of agriculture. Does the significance remain the same as we ask different questions? What is the effect of asking how many people could be supported in a given area, as opposed to asking what impact these changes had on the environment, or what variety of food was available to the mass of ordinary people? Students can suggest their own criteria for assessing change, and see the ways in which the 'story' (however simplified) changes. In other words there is immediately room for manoeuvre for students to arrive at their own interpretations, not on juvenile whim, but as part of patterning themes and assessing the significance of change.

Fourth, a framework should be a progressive structure, allowing students to elaborate and differentiate it as they revisit it in the context of encounters with new passages of history. The aim would be to strengthen

the internal coherence of the framework, making the linkages between different themes more complex, at the same time subdividing and recombining them for different purposes. Once again, this would be done as the framework is repeatedly revisited.

Fifth, any framework must be an open structure, capable of being modified, tested, improved and even abandoned in favour of something else. Students should be encouraged to think reflexively about the assumptions they make in testing and developing their framework, and this takes us back to the first criterion: what is to be taught here is as much ways of thinking about history (the discipline) as ways of thinking about the substantive past.

History teaching that adopted the idea of a framework would still be free to teach whatever stories it chose, and it would indeed be essential that some of these were detailed, complex and resistant to easy categorization. Depth studies would test students' developing frameworks, as well as thickening them. As teachers continuously revisit and renegotiate a framework, students have a chance to begin to see why any broad picture is in danger of being systematically misleading, but how we can hardly make a move in history without assuming one. In constructing their own frameworks and reconstituting them as they collapse under the impact of new knowledge, students can see the provisionality of history under the aspect of continuous rational assessment on the basis of new questions, new approaches, new evidence and the remaking of the past by present and future action.22 If we are to take the notion of historical consciousness seriously, and with it the central idea of orientation in time, essential for living out our practical lives, then we will have to face afresh the problems of giving students some sense of where they stand towards the past and the future, when history is abandoning its grander claims to offering a single, scientific story. The key point is to recognize that in abandoning the single scientific version of the past, history is not abandoning its claim that any version must meet certain standards, follow certain rules. We may not be able to codify sets of rules, but this does not mean we cannot recognize infringements of rational, intersubjective procedures in history. Rüsen is right to insist on intersubjective agreement as at least a regulatory principle in history.[23]

One other practical issue must briefly be addressed if we are to be realistic about the possibilities of adopting this kind of approach in schools. Frameworks of the kind at issue here have to survive the educational and social demand for assessment. How can we assess a framework that is in its nature shifting and differs from student to student? Above all, how can we recognize what students know, without trying to fix the content of a standard story? One possibility is to test the framework as a framework, by grading it against criteria of the following kind. The expectation would be that there would be progression in these areas as students moved through school.[24]

PROGRESSION AND ASSESSMENT CRITERIA FOR A FRAMEWORK

- Field
  The ability to incorporate wider areas and longer time-spans.
- Coherence
  The ability to make internal connections, including explanatory ones, within strands.
- Dimensionality
  The ability to make connections between strands—parallel developments, disparate changes, and causal links.
- Resolution
  The ability to expand sections of the framework to show how far the overall picture stands up to detailed study.
- Mobility
  The ability to move up and down the temporal scale and across a spatial range, making long-term links or comparisons.
- Revisability
  The ability, when faced with new material that does not easily fit the framework, to show pinch points and change the structure or alter assessments of importance to allow a better fit.
- Morphic flexibility
  The ability to generate alternative accounts in response to different questions and parameters.

The suggestions here are again meant only as a starting point for thinking about how this might be done. If it were to be made to work in practice, specially targeted tasks would have to be designed. These might ask students to fit material that they had studied in detail into a wider pattern, and perhaps also to relate new, unseen material to their framework. Students might be asked to suggest the significance of particular events in certain themes, or to propose indicators of change and assess its direction and pace in delimited—longer or shorter—passages of time. They might be asked to relate different dimensions of the framework to one another. They could be asked to suggest what was misleading in patterns at one level of generality when the resolution alters as the historian zooms in on a short period for depth study, but why the pattern might nevertheless be defensible as the best generalization (given certain starting questions). Students could be asked to relate recent or current events to their framework, perhaps suggesting ways in which possibilities for action in the future might be opened up or constrained by the past. (The assessment here would not, of course, be in terms of the futures they

proposed, but of their use of, and argument from, their frameworks.) Finally, they might be asked to produce valid alternative stories for the same passages of the past, but designed to answer different questions.

There is, of course, more to students' temporal orientation than the kind of framework so far discussed. They also have 'theories' and assumptions of their own about the way the world works, and indeed about how we can know the past. Ankersmit's warning about the loose use of 'theory' in German philosophy of history, and his cautious suggestion that we judge whether such usage is a weakness or strength when we see what emerges from it, are both pertinent at this point.[25] It is possible that Rüsen would want to locate some of the matters discussed below in his category of 'Methods', but from the point of view of history education, we might take advantage of the openness of the notion of 'theories', and adapt the idea to cover what may be thought of as students' theories both about the past and about history. What is at stake here?

Students' 'leading views' (in this usage) will come in logically different shapes and sizes. Some provisional possibilities, intended as examples rather than as an exhaustive list, might include the following.[26]

Dispositions

Basic propensities: if students do not acquire these they have not begun to understand history. Examples might include:

- Commitment to truth/validity, at least as regulating principles
- Respect for the past—however strange and unsympathetic it seems

Structural concepts of the discipline

Key understandings and the abilities that go with them. Some central ones are:

- evidence and fact
- reasons and causes
- continuity and change
- story, account and narrative

Structural generalizations

That is, principles and heuristic devices for handling the past, not laws or lessons of history, or statements about the past. Examples might include:

- Facts are of many kinds: statements about events in the physical world (the death of Charles I) are different in kind from statements about societal events (Pride's Purge); singular statements about particulars (the killing of Watt Tyler) are not equivalent to generalizations (peasant involvement in the Peasants' Revolt).
- Different kinds of facts require different kinds of validation, and have differing status.
- Beliefs and practices that seem illogical or impractical are usually intelligible and rational within their own frames of reference—they may be judged mistaken, but not usually written off as irrational.
- Actions and policies have unintended consequences
- What is 'normal' in human affairs is to be defined by reference to predecessors as well as contemporaries. Early twenty-first century Britain (or America) may be untypical.
- The past is a potent source of myth: careful selection of facts and partial interpretation of evidence allows 'the past' to prove any case or support any argument.

Substantive protocols

That is, sets of ideas or generalizations about key areas of human experience. Such sets of ideas are not mechanically applicable: they require judgement and experience. They are not 'lessons of the past', but heuristic devices, starting points to be elaborated on, modified, and, if necessary, discarded. History is uniquely qualified to increase and enrich the stock of ideas that adolescents draw upon when thinking about the contemporary world—it offers vicarious experience. Examples might include:

- Political power depends on the degree and quality of access to information, relative command of resources, perceived legitimacy of authority, and so on.
- Wealth is not equivalent to money, although economies can work despite operating on this and other fallacious assumptions.
- The complexity of social systems is closely related to the size of disposable economic surpluses.
- Political consciousness is shaped, in part, by a sense of history. This may apply to relations between peoples (e.g. the Irish and the British), or to the interpretation of actions and events (e.g. Munich and the Falklands).

Substantive concepts

Different concepts will be appropriate and central to any particular historical topic, and will also be useful in understanding the present. Examples include: *government, revolution, budget deficit, trade, bureaucracy, providence, class, status, mullah, bishop.*

Historical Particulars

These are organizing 'colligatory' concepts employed in particular periods to link and at the same time explain discrete phenomena. In many ways they are more like the names of historical particulars than what we would normally think of when we call something a 'concept'. Which ones students encounter will, of course, depend on what is being studied. Examples include: *The Renaissance, The Industrial Revolution, The American Constitution, The Enlightenment*

These very different kinds of 'leading views' are all likely to form part of the apparatus that students will bring to their attempts to give meaning to the past, and are all likely to be modified in important ways by history education, whether formal or informal. Students' 'theories' about what humans are like, what processes are to be found in human activities, how we can know about the past, and how we can give it meaning are all deeply implicated in any account of what historical consciousness can be, and how it may develop. Once we start to think about frameworks and theories as components of students' historical consciousness, we are drawn into a consideration of the nature of the discipline of history—history above Rüsen's line. An obvious question that immediately arises from an exercise of this sort is the degree to which we can separate the structural, disciplinary ideas (about history) from the theories students have about the past and human behaviour in that past. Can we distinguish the metahistorical from the substantive in a clear way?

Ankersmit points out a feature of Rüsen's account of historical consciousness that is of particular interest in this context.

> The forms or ideas that determine our ideas of the past objectify, show, or substantialize themselves in the products of historical research and, thus, by a peculiar inversion, themselves become objects of reflection and investigation. Studying the past also means studying these forms or ideas. Thus historiography almost automatically changes from accounting for the past into thinking about how to account for the past, and thus automatically acquires a theoretical dimension. As soon as history objectifies itself in historical accounts it becomes self-reflective and, therefore, 'theoretical'.[27]

As we have already seen, this metahistorical level seems already presupposed in Rüsen's 'leading views on experience', which encompass both substantive and disciplinary elements. But Rüsen places another other category, 'methods—'the rules of empirical research', above the line between the discipline of history and lebenspraxis. How do these enter into history education? Here students' ideas about the nature of history must take centre stage. This leads us naturally into questions about progression and historical consciousness. But before we turn to these matters, we must consider what can be said about the degree to which students' pictures of the past play a role in their ideas about the present and the future. How far and in what ways do students operate with anything resembling a coherent framework of the past?

WHAT CAN WE SAY ABOUT HOW STUDENTS USE THE PAST?

We need to understand more about the degree to which young people relate their view of the present and their expectations for the future to any coherent picture of the past, and indeed how far they consciously refer to the past at all. This will require some very provisional 'trawling', using small-scale exploratory research to begin to get a sense of what questions are worth asking about these issues, and what approaches are likely to be most successful in probing them. As with the conceptual and theoretical discussion so far, anything said about empirical work in this paper must be treated as a commentary on work in progress, not a report of conclusions. The nature of the empirical evidence is such that caution is required at every step.

Given that there already exists a ground-breaking large-scale survey, the Youth and History project, directed by Bodo von Borries and Magne Angvik, it may appear odd to talk about provisional 'trawling' at this stage. Youth and History collected responses from almost 32,000 students in more than 25 countries (this latter figure is approximate for the typically historical reason that what counts as a 'country' is contested).[28] This research is clearly of considerable importance, but there were weaknesses in the questionnaire design, and the data does not seem to be as strongly structured as one would have hoped. Inter-correlations between items within many item blocks were rather low, although with the large numbers involved most such correlations were statistically significant. For many items the modal response on the Likert type items was in the central 'undecided' column, and some of the items were double-barrelled, making interpretation insecure. Partly for these reasons, but mainly because of other commitments, the British team has made only an initial foray into analysis of the English and Welsh data, although elsewhere in Europe there has been a great deal of work.[29]

Some countries ran a 'piggyback' questionnaire in the form of additional, locally designed questions, administered along with the main questionnaire. In Britain the additional questions (which were, of course, entirely the responsibility of the British team) were printed on pink paper at the end of the booklet. The English and Welsh responses for both the main questionnaire and the piggyback questions were drawn from a structured sample of students aged 14–15, and there were 979 valid responses to the piggyback questions.[30] The data here was slightly better structured than the main questionnaire data, but the problem of the mode for some items falling in the 'neither agree nor disagree' column was still present and it is now some time since the data were collected. There are some suggestive patterns that may be worth pursuing further, but it would not be right to treat them as in any way secure findings.

Taken as a whole, then, the *Youth and History* survey is a pioneering, ambitious and valuable piece of research, but it seems to us that if we are to begin to explore some of the key questions about historical consciousness, we need many more smaller scale qualitative studies so that we can understand better what questions are worth pursuing. We have therefore begun to interview students about the changes they have seen in their lives, or think have been important over the past four decades, and their expectations for the future. At this stage we are content with opportunity samples, since our purpose is to develop our own understanding of what may be at stake rather than to produce generalizable research findings. Pilot written data was obtained from 60 high ability students in years seven and nine, all from a selective boys school. Following this 30 students, male and female, were interviewed in groups of three. Seven interviews were conducted in a mixed comprehensive school, and three in the school in which the written pilot data was collected. Both schools draw on an urban intake, and both are in Essex.

This kind of very tentative exploration is not entirely a Baconian exercise, as will be clear from the earlier discussion of historical consciousness. Our initial interest is in two broad areas:

1. the ways in which students explicitly and implicitly refer to the past, and what kind of past it is that they use;
2. the ways in which students' structural disciplinary ideas relate to their substantive pictures of the past, and to their ideas about how things happen.

For both these areas we can draw on a range of perceptive and instructive studies in North America and Britain. A far from exhaustive list of examples might include Jim Wertsch's pursuit of the narratives available for mediated action, Sam Wineburg and Susan Mosborg's studies of 'how ordinary people conceptualize their lives as historical beings', Peter Seixas' exploration of the way in which students make sense of the past offered to them in films, and more recently, his work with Penney Clark, of their views about how to treat the pasts enshrined in public art. Of particular importance to the second question is Keith Barton's exceptionally interesting research with Alan McCully on youngsters' ideas about change in the US and in Northern Ireland.[31]

Considerations of space and the infancy of our work both preclude more than a brief comment on either area of questions. We must stress that nothing here is more than conjecture, the kind of speculation that drives research in one direction rather than another. And this implies that we may at some point have to reverse and head off on an entirely different route.

It is easy to assume that because students can make pronouncements about the past, or implicitly refer to past states of affairs in what they say, they have available some sort of overall picture of the past to which they make reference as required. This may not be the case. It seems at least as likely that they may have one or more plots, which can be 'applied' on demand to almost any problem. Wertsch draws our attention to the importance of narratives as tools for action, and this is a valuable way of approaching students' past-referenced thinking. But in dealing with some students' thinking it may be useful to think in cruder terms, in which the notion even of a 'plot' is misleading. The tools in question may be more like a standard picture of how things happen than a narrative plot derived from the study of any passage of the past. For younger school students at least, we might do well to ask whether the tools are actually narratives at all, or whether there are other possibilities. Alternative ways of conceptualizing what students have available to them might include (for example) principles of action, causal generalizations, or identity stereotypes. These, of course, might be suggested by Rüsen's 'exemplary' category of historical consciousness (but, less helpfully, it is not easy to rule out their congruence with 'traditional' or 'critical' categories).

It is important to emphasize that, in raising at least the possibility that students do not necessarily draw on coherent narratives, but rather approach the past opportunistically with pre-existing principles or generalizations, we are not joining in the complaints so brilliantly debunked by Sam Wineburg about what students do not know.[32] The question is how we conceptualize what they *do* know.

NARRATIVES AND FRAGMENTS, STORIES AND LESSONS: ORIENTATION AND PLUNDERING

In the ten interviews, all 30 students made reference to the past when asked about changes in their lifetime or in the past 40 years, but much of the interview discourse addresses the present or the very immediate past, which seems to be construed as 'what we all know', having only to be mentioned to be accepted. A large part of the justification for assertions about the present or the future was in terms of everyday knowledge of human motivation, enlarging on what sort of expectations are plausible, given what human beings are like. Of course, these assumptions and 'theories' may be tacitly grounded in views about the past, but direct requests from the interviewer, such as 'What makes you say that?' or 'What clues have you got that make you think that?' usually failed utterly to elicit any explicit reference to the past. (See, for example, the interview response from Tim quoted later in this paper.)

Even this initial exploratory interview data is very rich and reveals a wide range of different kinds of appeal to the past. Unquestionably there was a strong element of what Rüsen would call 'exemplary' historical consciousness. However, the category of 'exemplary' as employed by Rüsen covers several different kinds of ideas, and it may also be easy to mistake law-like generalizations and principles of action on the one hand, for summative generalizations and—more importantly—summarized narrative trajectories on the other. It is important to emphasize that the point here is not that Rüsen fails to make key distinctions, but that, precisely because of the attempted synthesis that is central to his work, his typology is in some cases not concerned with such distinctions, and in others is not drawn with sufficiently high resolution to pick them up. These distinctions may nevertheless be crucial for researchers, who cannot assume that ideas joined in the typology necessarily go together in any account of the development of students' ideas.33 Hence the typology in its present form cannot simply be 'applied to' and 'tested' against the data. This is not a 'fault' in the typology as such, but an indication of the consequences of pursuing different kinds of questions.

A high proportion of what students said about change was predicated on the assumption that it was driven by technology, and was largely—with reservations—a story of progress, itself construed in terms of technological improvement in living conditions or style of life. Over and over again in talk about change in their own lifetimes and during the past four decades, students made reference to cars, computers and mobile phones. They sometimes tied these to changes in other aspects of life (particularly education and health, where again technology is seen as being an important driver of change). However, older students, and in particular those who had continued to study history after 16, more frequently went beyond technology to discuss moral change, and change in expectations about social behaviour, including attitudes to family, sexuality, marriage, alcohol and drugs, talking of liberalization in these areas. Political changes were also picked out more often by those who had continued history beyond age 16.

Most of the students interviewed viewed the future as being a continuation of the present, often extrapolating current trends, usually technological. Although they saw technology as having important effects, they envisaged a future in which existing patterns of life would continue. Several argued that there would be no changes to rank with the introduction of computers. This view seemed to be based on the idea that 'beginnings' and 'firsts' were the important changes, so that any subsequent change must be less significant. Hence future change must be 'smaller' than what had already occurred.

However, simultaneously with this expectation of life now becoming more 'steady', as one of them put it, some of the responses showed a belief in the fundamental unpredictability of change, which was usually expressed in the context of possible disasters. These included asteroid impact, dire consequences from genetic engineering, war, and, less urgently—and mainly understood only in terms of sea-level changes and mild increases in temperature —global warming. In the interviews, unlike the written questionnaire, the students were not directly asked about the usefulness of history in making decisions about what to do. (The written responses to this kind of question are discussed later in this paper.)

There were, of course, some relatively sophisticated ideas about change, both at the metahistorical and at the substantive level, and these tended to be offered by students still engaged in history. Geoff, for example, an A Level history student responding to another student's claim that general life is likely to stay the same in the next forty years, drew attention to the skewed expectations of change in the 1950s. He added that it is harder to predict revolutionary changes, as opposed to trends.

> It's very difficult to work out what the revolutionary changes are going to be when you can say there's going to be an evolution in technology. If you look at, like, the 1950s view of how the year 2000's going to be, you had all these images of gleaming, futuristic homes, with still the woman at home doing the cooking, with the help of all these wonderful fantastic devices. They never anticipated the social changes that would change the role of women in society. So, it, although we can say, yes, the kind of technology will get better, we might get more connectivity through the internet, we can't say what the revolutions are going to be in our lifetime that will reshape the world rather than just refine the edges.

Later he pointed out that our ideas of 'the worst that can happen' have changed since the disappearance of Mutually Assured Destruction after the end of the Cold War. However, the kind of sophistication displayed by Geoff is unusual in our interview sample.

The written questionnaire, having first asked students to respond to some Likert items derived from the Youth and History piggy-back questions, but with no middle column, offered students the chance to write in their own thoughts about what history definitely or probably shows. This is a leading question, of course, in terms of Rüsen's schema, because there is a danger that it might press students to respond in terms of generalizations. It must therefore be regarded as very much a trawling device, not something that should appear in any final research design unless it generates responses that other types of

questions also elicit. At best it should be regarded as part of a triangulated approach. The range of responses was nevertheless wide, and some students did not confine themselves to generalizations or principles, but gave something more like a plot or trajectory for history. Chris, year seven, offered a relatively sophisticated multi-tracked account, in which different themes took positive or negative values.

> What history definitely shows
> History shows that the human race is evolving into something that will be big, but humans will never live in a state of perfection, for we have never lived in a state of coexistence with the people of the world.
>
> History also shows how greedy the human race is, over long periods greedy power-seeking leaders fought over petty differences, wealth and power. It also shows that humans have not changed just themselves, they have taken their surroundings with them, sometimes forcibly.
>
> What history probably shows
> History probably shows us that although we can be great, intelligent people we will always fight and kill each other over land, we create horrible weapons of mass murder and turn them on innocent people.

Despite the variety of responses, the data tended to confirm what interviews and Likert items also suggest, namely that however else it is seen, history is widely understood to be a story of technological progress.

Ron, year seven, declared:

> History definitely shows that people have evolved and have become more advanced, being able to build machinery, and people inventing more useful things, such as Alexander Graham Bell (telephone) etc.

Stephen, year seven, suggested:

> History shows how civilizations have grown or shrunk over the past. It also shows that technology is always getting better and better.
>
> History probably shows that people are probably getting more intelligent.

Do students have access even to a localized coherent past, a version of British history, perhaps going back before the British state? It is not at all clear from the interview data that students operated with a picture or framework of the past that was more than episodic and ad hoc. Any attempt to answer this question will need careful conceptual clarification (what counts as a 'coherent' past?) and sensitive instruments. But while most students in this initial exploration do not seem to be able to draw on anything resembling even a single-track story, let alone a sense of patterns of change, this did not stop some of them from appealing to particular events to bolster arguments that seemed only loosely related to the past. Sometimes the events were iconic, but at other times short narrativized passages were mentioned that seemed to be derived from school history.

In response to direct questions, memories of what had been studied in school did not give much sign of access to an overall framework. Take these three very able year 13 students, all university candidates, some likely to be destined for Oxford or Cambridge. Of the two now studying science subjects for A Level, Roger abandoned history at 14 and Don continued to 16. Geoff is studying history at A level (i.e. up to age 18).

> Don: I think we started off with the Roman Empire, and moved on, did something on the Middle Ages, then mostly since about year nine it's been more modern stuff: we did something on Nazi Germany, and then for GCSE [age 16] I think it was the Cold War, Russia itself before that …
>
> Geoff: Yes, we did the Cold War from the perspective of Russia, as opposed to like the Western view, which I found interesting.
> Int: Right.
>
> Roger: I only studied to, up to the start of GCSE [i.e. to age 14] I didn't do it at GCSE, so as Don said …
>
> Int: [To Don] But you did it at GCSE level?
>
> Don: Yes.
>
> Int: And you did it to year nine?
>
> Roger: Yes.
>
> Geoff: And I'm still doing A Level history, er …
>
> Int: [To Roger] What's, what's your picture?
>
> Roger: Well, doing mainly things like the Romans, and, that sort of history.
>
> Int: Can you remember anything other than the Romans? I mean, what happened after the Romans?
> Roger: Second and First World War …
>
> Int: So it was the Romans, then the Second and First World War?
>
> Roger: I'm trying to think, obviously it was quite a few years ago, over four years ago …
>
> Int: Anything happen between the Romans and the Second World War, apart from the First World War?
>
> Roger: No, that's about it [laughs].

Geoff: The entire scope of the A level course we've been doing has been Korea, Vietnam, Nazi Germany, about the furthest back we go is 1850 with British political history.

While the National Curriculum in England can hardly claim to be highly coherent, it is much more comprehensive than this excerpt suggests. But in the interviews so far conducted it is unusual for 17 or 18 year olds to be able to remember much about British history. Some (like the group in the excerpt) complain that 'earlier history' was eminently forgettable because it was 'fact based' and not 'analytical'. Unlike recent history it did not (in Geoff's words) deal with 'forces that shaped the present'.

A group of year 12 comprehensive students, also of above average ability, were even less clear.

Paul: Modern or Twentieth Century for GCSE, and in the lower school we did sort of Tudors and Stuarts, things like that.

Int.: Do you remember anything else?

Eddie: Romans.

Paul: Yes. Romans yes.

Int.: Anything else?

Eddie: I can't even remember any stuff before GCSE.

Int.: Can any of you remember pre-GCSE? [All laugh.]

Paul: I can remember doing a bit on the Industrial Revolution in year nine …

Eddie: Oh yeah!

Paul: And like in the trenches, the First World War, did that as well. They're a couple of things that stand out.

Int.: Anything else? [Silence]

If anything, the 14 year olds could remember more of what they had studied, but it tended still to be produced as a very disjointed list, often involving a considerable struggle. The World Wars were accessed first (not surprisingly, given that the second was still being studied), but sometimes primary school topics like Ancient Egypt seemed almost as salient. The Romans were invariably mentioned, with less frequent allusion to the battle of Hastings (rather than the Norman Conquest as such), the Tudors, the Civil War and occasionally the Industrial Revolution.

Following the question about what they had studied in school, students were asked 'If you had to sum up the story of British history so far—from what you've done at school or from home (including TV, movies, books, or anything else)—what kind of story would you say it was?' This was followed up, usually immediately, by prompts to indicate the kind of thing that might count as an answer. 'What title would you give it? What title would sum it up? What was the plot (or plots)? What are the themes?' The question is a difficult one, but responses to it were congruent with those given to less challenging requests elsewhere in the interviews. (See Appendix 2 for the main interview questions.) The three year nine students in the following example are now nearing the end of their compulsory study of National Curriculum history.

Tim: It's mixed, because there's lots of different things England is famous for, they're famous for the war, obviously, but they're famous for Guy Fawkes night when they [inaudible], and they're famous for their democracy …

Ellie: Mmm, like they do different tactics each time like they, even in World War One they had the same sort of tactics as they did last time, like the old ones, like when they used to have olden wars, and like further back they just used to stand there [laughs], and like shoot, and then the next lot would shoot, and now they're sort of changed and they like dig trenches, and keep out of the way and sort of, more violent, it's always been violent, but … Hard to explain, right …

Int.: So that's a story of how, what the things have been for military things, for fighting, yeah?

Ellie: Yeah.

Int.: Helen? Anything?

Helen: Well, I sort of agree with Tim, I think it's sort of like, mixed, we done sort of all sorts of little things, and, sort of, they were all different, you know, you got this fighting and you got all this peace treaties and things going on as well, which was like totally contrasted, sort of thing.

Int.: Right, so, but are there any particular things that stand out, I mean, by saying mixed, you're saying there are lots …

Tim: Yeah lots of different kinds …

Int.: Can you, well, we've had one on fighting, any other things that … I mean, British history is the story of? I mean you said we're famous for democracy, I mean would that be a story? [Long pause.]

Tim: Well … [Very long pause while he thinks.] I think Britain has um, learnt with the democ … has, um learnt to um, since, well not recently but quite a long time ago, it was, they learnt to be democratic because people saw how unfair they had been on the lower class, so as it's gone on, and gradually and gradually there's been, it's, there's been less and less difference, and I think soon, it's going, in the next forty or fifty years, going back to the one at the beginning, I

reckon that, um, there'll be equality soon. There'll be no difference between, well there will be differences, but they won't be, I don't think there'll be, um, as many homeless people, or I don't think you'll be able to tell the class of people. So say you saw two different people, now you'd probably be able to tell what kind of class they were in, but I reckon in the next forty or fifty years there won't, you won't, you won't be able to tell the difference between the two classes. I think there'll only be one class. That's a hard one! [All laugh.]

Int.: Do either of you two want to say anything about, about what Tim said? Are you happy with that, or are you …

Helen: Yes.

Int.: … not sure, or?

Ellie: I think there'll always be, like, some difference like, some people will want to be better than every, like the other person, like how much money they've got or whatever, 'cos they always want to show off, but most of them, I don't think they will … There might be much more control, like prices might go down, and then people will buy the same clothes as other people … Hopefully! [Laughs.]

Helen: Yes, I think everybody will have the same sort of financial sort of level, as well …

Tim: Yes. That's what I meant.

Helen: You know, they'll have the same sort of money, and they'll all sort of, live in the same thing, I mean some of them will still consider themselves to be higher up …

Ellie: Yeah.

Helen: … than the others, you'll still get your odd homeless person, but I think more people will be more generous.

Int.: And why do you think this will happen, by, I don't mean explain, give the causes for it, I mean what, what's your basis, what's your clue that's making you say that?

Tim: Well, just the way it is at the moment really, because everything seems to move forward at the moment, nothing seems to take a step back, it always seems to move forward, so, if they're, if um, like giving to charity now, people will still be giving to charity later, but also going back to everyone being equal I reckon that if, because now, there's less and less of a gap, really, between upper and middle class really, and, um, I reckon soon, if the change keeps on coming, if it keeps on moving forward, there just won't be any difference.

The responses demand careful analysis, which they have not yet received, but it is perhaps worth making some tentative and provisional remarks. There is a kind narrative here, but Tim has to struggle painfully to produce it, and it seems as much a current trajectory projected into an indefinite past and then forward again as a narrative leading from past events. When Tim is asked directly about its basis, it is not the narrative that figures in the response. Instead he bases his picture of the future on a slightly extended present, eked out with fragments of the past, and coupled with a substantive assumption about the nature of change: the trend is forward. There are also signs that his understanding of how things change mirrors Keith Barton's findings: the introduction of democracy was a consequence of people realizing that they had been unfair to the lower classes.[34]

Much of the justification for assertions about what has changed came from references to what parents had said about their past, not from reference to school history. Clearly there could be many reasons for this, among which difficulty in drawing on a framework of the past is only one possibility. More analysis of the data we now have and a great deal more in the way of careful exploration and piloting of instruments is needed before we can be sure whether this is a hypothesis worth pursuing. However, other evidence in the interview and written responses suggests that it would be unwise to ignore the possibility that students have only the sketchiest kind of usable conspectus of the past.

There is space only for one more example, but it raises some similar issues. This is a group of year 12 students who had achieved high grades at 16 in the GCSE examination.

Paul: I think it's more self-defence really, against people who are trying to invade the island. Germany in the Second World War, you've got raids from Vikings previous to that, I'm not sure how well that was defended, but … then only recently I think people have started to go out to other people, over the other side of the water really. Its' more like a [inaudible] …

Int.: More like a … ?

Paul: More like a genre of a film …

Int.: Right.

Paul: That's what I would think, personally.

Int.: Right, OK.

Grace: Yeah, I think it's definitely war and stuff …

Int.: So the history of Britain is mainly the history of war?

Grace: Well, not like war and fighting and that, but

like, kind of like, we've been on guard, from other countries and stuff, and we've been involved in the First World War and the Second World War and previous things to that.

Int.: So …

Paul: I was just going to say we've got to look after our own self-interests [inaudible] with the islands. Joining Europe might, sort of, guarantee more safety, but people, well they were looking to add us to their collection, like Germany trying to invade us, so they had the sort of complete set of Europe …

Int.: [Laughs.] Right. [To Eddie] Anything you'd say about the story of British history? So far …

Eddie: Don't know, [inaudible], I'd say we've always been seen, leading in some ways, always involved in the big things that are going on, we don't seem to sit back much, and like just keep watching at the sidelines. We're always involved in what's going on.

Int.: Right. Any other plots? Because it is a broad question, and maybe if you think you can see more than one … [long silence.] What about internally? Because you've all talked about Britain and its relations to other countries, any internal plots, themes, or?

Paul: One of success really. Industrial Revolution, becoming industrialized, and it was Great Britain, one of the major powers, or the greatest power, it was. So it could be success …

Eddie: Been a sort of, been a sort of continual evolution, like, to reach a point both politically, sort of industrially I think, we've kind of reached a steady point now, of what we wanted, and we'll probably just stay like that now.

Int.: That's an interesting thought. Can you just say a bit more about what you mean by that?

Eddie: Oh, well, if, for example, the monarchy always used to have the power, and then obviously Parliament came in and then things like the Civil War and stuff, and eventually this led to the democratic system now. We're just one of the forefront, sort of leaders of democracy, and I'd say that seems like the sort of goal we've been leading to; and I wouldn't say that's going to involve any more, apart from maybe, I mean the royal family has already lost a great deal of its power, and I suppose that could disappear, that would be about the only change, I'd say. And then, industrially, there was the Industrial Revolution, we've been continually at the forefront of that, and I'd say now, although I don't think there can ever be a steady point industrially, because obviously technology's always changing stuff, I'd say we were fairly steady …

The three strongest themes available to these students are at the same time broad and sketchy. The first is 'self defence against invasion' (characterized as 'being on guard' by Grace), with the recognition that later 'people have started to go out to other people, over the other side of the water'. The second is being at the forefront of the Industrial Revolution, which is—perhaps causally—linked to being 'the greatest'. The theme expressed most clearly (but only after pressure from the interviewer) is the growth of democracy, which is 'the goal we've been leading to', and will therefore not go much further, except possibly to end the power of the royal family completely. Britain has reached a 'steady point'. Industrially too, Britain's story seems almost to have culminated in a present 'steady' state, but since technology always changes the 'steadiness' is qualified. Eddie does seem to have an organized plot for his story, which is one of continual political and industrial evolution, and Paul and Grace seem to share a similar narrative.

As narratives of British history these stories are fragmented and skeletal, and call on very limited specific references: the Vikings, World War Two, the Civil War, the Industrial Revolution, and joining Europe. There is little sense of the themes relating to one another, or of different directions of change in different themes. Even allowing for the difficulty of the question, the framework these year 12 students can call upon does not appear to be a very powerful or flexible tool for orientation. A few of the year 13 respondents appealed to rather more complex versions of the past. But the interviews taken as a whole (not just the direct questions like this one) are consistent in suggesting that access to a usable historical framework cannot be assumed to be common even among students specializing in history up to age 18. However, it must be emphasized once again that this remains speculation: much more carefully targeted work is needed before we can make secure comments on what is happening.

ORIENTATION THROUGH HISTORY AND CONCEPTIONS OF CHANGE

Our interest in the relationship between students' structural disciplinary ideas and their pictures of the past may need a brief explanation. In the UK we tend to deal with change and empathy as second-order, structural, metahistorical concepts.35 Historians have tacit understandings about the explanation of human action and mentalités, and about what counts as change in history. They do not usually write books about the logic of explanation, or about the concepts of trend, turning point, false dawn and dead end: they simply use them as they think fit in writing about the substance of history. For this reason it is natural to think of students' ideas here in terms of their understanding of the kind

of discipline history is. But of course this is one-sided: students' ideas about change and empathy are also based on their idea of what happens in history. If their study of the events and processes of history seems to show them that changes are random explosions rather than gradual processes, and they have a picture of the past in which the fabric of time is shrunken, then this will reinforce a particular idea of the kind of thing a change can be. One can see relationships of this kind in Barton's work on change, which sheds important incidental light on 'empathy' and also on the relation between empathy and change.[36]

Indeed we can say much the same thing about empathy as about change. If, in studying the periods they do, students meet people who seem to be the same as us, but wearing fancy dress, then their conception of what is at stake in explaining people's beliefs, values or actions in the past is likely to be a fairly limited one. Motives and intentions can be attributed in an unproblematic way: any difficulty will be a consequence of lack of knowledge, itself a result of our not being present at the time. Hence presentism can be understood not so much as a failure in orientation, but as an orientation to a particular kind of past, namely, one able to be understood as the present is understood. This in turn rests on a substantive picture of humanity, which may itself be supported by a reading of the past made with certain assumptions. (This kind of thing can go on for a very long time.)

We might say then, perhaps rather loosely, that concepts like *change* and *empathy* can be treated for our purposes here as amalgams of ideas about what happened in the past, theories about how things happen, and structural understandings of the concepts of change and explanation. Given different tasks, different components are likely to surface.

In the written questionnaire students were asked what knowledge they would need to help them make a decision about three issues: first, which, if any, political party to support; second, about whether jobs were going to be easier or harder to get in the next five years; and third, about how to deal with race relations in Britain. Only then were the students asked, on a separate page, whether 'history would help you decide' about each issue. The sample so far collected is all male, not representative, and small (60), so we cannot generalize from the results at this stage. Even these initial written responses, however, reveal a wide range of views about the past and the way it bears on the present and the future. I will comment briefly on just one area where they suggest that there is something worth further investigation.

Very few students made any spontaneous reference to the past in answering the first set of questions. In the questions explicitly asking about whether history would help decide, the sample split rather evenly between those who said it would not and those who said it would. (Students were free not to answer if they felt they had nothing to say: all the missing responses were from year 7.)

What was interesting, however, was that in both groups (those arguing history would *not* help decide, and those insisting that it would help) many students tended to give rather similar reasons for their conclusion, namely, that things change. Danny, year nine, was one of the students who did spontaneously mention the past in response to the open questions, but when asked specifically about history, he denied its usefulness in any of the issues.

Choosing a political party: Open question
I would need to know how they had governed in the past and what rules they laid down when they were in power, and if they actually made use of them. They would also need to be able to treat everyone in their equal right.

Choosing a political party: Would history help?
No—Because with time, parties have different MPs and over a 15 year period the whole party could have changed.

Deciding if jobs would be easier in the next five years: Open question
What jobs that are becoming popular and jobs where there is high pay. Also jobs which need special skills to handle and the amount of people at the moment that are willing to learn those special skills.

Deciding if jobs would be easier in the next five years: Would history help?
No—Because times change and in five years' time we have the future, history is the past.

Deciding how to deal with race relations: Open question
Where the different races of people live and also how the different races get on with each other.

Deciding how to deal with race relations: Would history help?
No—Because, as I have already said, times change and people change. Some races may have fallen out 10 years ago but are now good friends.

TABLE 1—Use of history in deciding about political, economic and social issues

	History would not help (%)	History would help (%)	Missing responses (%)
Deciding which party to support?	41.7	33.3	25.0
Jobs easier or harder in the next five years?	43.4	28.3	28.3
How to deal with race relations in Britain?	31.7	30.0	38.3

N=60

Robbie, year nine, also cited change, including new technology, as a reason why history would not help decide which political party to support.

> Choosing a political party: Open question
> I would need to know that they had a strong and rational leader with ambitious yet rational views. The party's general ideas would have to agree with mine.
>
> Choosing a political party: Would history help?
> No—Because the past is gone and with new ideas and technology what applied then does not necessarily apply now.

Quentin, year seven, took a similar line.

> Choosing a political party: Open question
> You would need the knowledge that the political party you were supporting was going to do a lot for the environment.
>
> Choosing a political party: Would history help?
> No—Because many things have changed over the years.

In these (brief) responses, these students seem to treat change as entirely unpredictable. It is not even part of any process that might be extrapolated forward, and does not even teach lessons. There is no sign of it constraining present possibilities, or opening new opportunities. Even where Danny refers to the past, what is at stake is a recent test of *bona fides*, rather than history, which he explicitly rules out because the membership of the party will change. In Rüsen's terms, the party's identity is not seen as being preserved through change. The consequence is that change is fatal to any relation between past and present.

Those who thought history *would* help them decide often referred to change in more complex ways, mentioning a wide variety of relationships including law-like generalizations, principles of action, summative generalizations, and narrative trajectories. In this group too, it is often change that is the central issue, but for them it is something that, once understood, gives a purchase on the future. For David, year nine, history allows predictions on the basis of past performance, and helps ensure that mistakes will be avoided. The past threatens to constrain the present, at least at the level of grudges that need to be recognized. But in the case of job prospects, it is clearly the fact of change that makes history valuable. It is precisely because there are changes whose nature must be understood that history matters, even if the appropriate relation between past and future is simply the extrapolation of a trend.

> Choosing a political party: Open question
> I would require knowledge on the policies of individual parties, and what they stood for, whether they were out to help, or if they were standing for personal gain
>
> Choosing a political party: Would history help?
> It would—History can show what decisions have been made by particular parties in the past, and would help to predict decisions parties make in the future; to avoid repeating mistakes
>
> Deciding if jobs would be easier in the next five years: Open question
> I would need to know if:
> a) Educational systems / exams were going to change
> b) What sector of employment would contour most jobs
> c) What qualifications were required to work in that sector

Deciding if jobs would be easier in the next five years: Would history help?
It would help History shows how work used to be predominantly physical labour, and how work is more and more changing to a technological viewpoint. From this you can predict that soon there will be hundreds more jobs in the technological sector.

Deciding how to deal with race relations: Open question
a) Religious background of a race
b) How tolerant races were of each other
c) Which race is predominant in Britain
d) Historical background of a race

Deciding how to deal with race relations: Would history help?
Yes, definitely—Races are shaped, as are people, by events that occurred in the past. Tragedies would cause grudges between cultures and lead to tension. Being able to understand this, and possibly relate to it in a neutral way would help race relations in Britain.

How can one xgroup of responses insist that change makes history irrelevant and another group argue that it is precisely change that makes history essential for decisions about how to act? Two kinds of ideas are at work: substantive assumptions or 'theories' about how changes happen in human affairs, (sometimes including a picture of the past into which these theories fit), and disciplinary or metahistorical understandings of the nature of change. The responses here cannot 'show' anything, but they do suggest that there is a point at which disciplinary ideas about what sort of thing a 'change' can be may have a bearing on the kind of orientation available to students. These disciplinary, metahistorical, ideas may in turn have reciprocal links with the substantive picture of the past that students have at their disposal, and their theories about how the world works.

If this is provisionally accepted as a possibility, it suggests important research tasks. Connections between substantive assumptions about how things happen and types of orientation are already to some extent built into Rüsen's typology, but this leaves two central relationships untouched:
a) between disciplinary concepts of change and types of orientation
b) between disciplinary concepts of change and substantive assumptions about how things happen.

It is likely to be worth exploring these two sets of relationships more systematically, using as a starting point the research-based progression models for change already available, and taking into account the very interesting American work in the same area.[37] The hope would be that investigations of this kind will help us to a better understanding of the ways in which we should think about usable historical frameworks: what they might look like, and what student preconceptions they will need to address.

SUBSTANTIVE AND METAHISTORICAL ORIENTATION

Preliminary interviewing again points to the importance of disciplinary ideas. When the students in the interview sample were asked directly about what they had learned in studying history, they did not always refer to a picture of what has happened in the past. With several of the groups interviewed, the first move was to point to a different kind of outcome. One example (from a year-nine group) must suffice.

Int: Have you learnt anything about the world we live in, or about Britain, or about yourself, or about people in general, or particular kinds of people, I mean, in other words, what's history given you, if anything, or hasn't it?

Tim: I reckon it has, because it's, you get used to, if you do history you get used to backing up your answer with evidence, so, say someone, say you were in a court and you were trying to protect someone, and you would look for evidence to protect them, so you would just see where they were, you'd use a camera or something. And …

Ellie: And how, everything happened, like say, how [inaudible] or how we've got just the Queen, and how everyone's controlled in other countries. Int: So when you say 'how' you mean, the sort of question 'how did it happen that we live like that?'

Ellie: Yes. Int: So it's sort of explaining you mean?

Ellie: Yes.

Int: Right. Helen: You also see, like, how the two sides think and how they saw each other and how they sort of blamed each other and why, and you see sort of their state of mind and *why* they did things and how the consequences were what they were.

Int: And do any of these things bear on how you think about the world now, about the present?

Tim: I think so, I've got like more interest in history, like when I've seen something in the newspaper, I've read it and then I've thought about it, to see if I agree, and if I don't agree, I just don't agree with it, if I do agree, I see if there is anything else on it.

Int: Right. How about you two? Does it affect how you see things, or is it just something you enjoyed when you did it?

Helen: If you agree with something, I find you also

sometimes go over and see how the other side's thinking about it, and you think, I sort of agree with their ways as well, so you're sort of divided between the … You think everybody's human, so what's the point, in the end.

Ellie: Yeah.

Int: So both you two girls agree about that?

Ellie: Yeah.

Helen: Yeah.

Int: Is that actually a change that's come from doing history, you're saying, or …

Helen: Yeah, sort of …

Tim: Yeah.

Ellie: Yeah.

Int: You're not quite sure Helen, are you?

Helen: Yeah, it is mostly to do with history, but also I read a lot of books, so I sort of get some things from there as well.

Int: When you say, 'read a lot of books'? What sort of books do you mean?

Ellie: Just, like, reading books …

Int: Novels?

Ellie: Yeah novels.

Int: Or non-fiction? Or both?

Ellie: Both yeah.

Int: And are any of those about the past? Or …

Ellie: Yeah, some of them are.

It might be suspected that these comments indicate a teacher's 'sales-patter' for history, but subsequently, much later in the interview, the discussion in response to a different question suggests that the ideas have been internalised and are made to do some real work. The first position the students took with respect to the what kind of event 9/11 in New York amounted to was not to try to judge its short or longer run impact, but to try to understand what its perpetrators were trying to do.

Int: What sort of event would you say 11th September was in New York?

Tim: Terrible.

Int: Well, what I was going to say was, what I'm asking for really, is what kind of thing it amounted to, like somebody might say, well, it's just an attack on America …

Tim: Right …

Int: … and somebody else might say, no, this is the beginning of the end of civilization as we know it, I mean, what's it actually amount to?

Tim: Oh, I think that it's, because that Osama bin Laden, he must've thought so strongly about his view, that he didn't think he could express it in a way that people would listen, because he thinks that people in the West are still, like racist, and they don't listen to his kind of religion, so he thought the only way to do it was to, it's like, it's like a symbol of the world, well it was, the symbol of the world the World Trade Towers, because it had all the trade, well a lot of trade that there was, and it was, it wasn't an attack on America, it was an attack on the whole civilized world, really.

Helen goes on to emphasize the religious basis of the attack, and tries to explain it in those terms. Ellie agrees, and Tim then says it had the 'reverse' effect to what was intended, because those who did it wanted the world to plead for them to stop, but people were brave and risked war to end the threat.[38]

In response to the question about what they have learned (if anything) from the history they have studied, Maurice, Carly and Colin in year nine offered a curious and somewhat fragmentary picture, starting with substantive matters, but soon shifting into an area where substantive and disciplinary understandings interact.

Colin: The way it's progressed, like the Romans building roads, and Spartas [sic., he probably means 'spas'] and stuff like that, and it's gradually progressed through the ages …

Maurice: Yeah, they had, all the er, sewers and things …

Int.: The what?

Maurice:Sewers, they had sewers in London, all about clean, hygiene, and then there was a lot more … People, people may have been less intelligent, so they fought more, instead of talking, I think there may have been possibly more battles, in the past.

Int: And that's because they were less intelligent?

Maurice: Well …

Colin: They couldn't read and write …

Maurice: So they couldn't communicate as well, so there may have been more battles …

Int: So hang on, let's just try to get this straight, was this because they weren't as intelligent, or were they just as intelligent but couldn't communicate, or were they not as intelligent and couldn't communicate, or …

Maurice: Well …

Colin: They could communicate with each other, but I don't think they could read or write, er, very well, until like Victoria or whenever they started bringing in schools.

Int: So are you saying that was nothing to do with intelligence or something to do with intelligence?

Colin: I'm saying they've got to have intelligence to be able to speak and dress themselves and do other basic stuff, so …

Int.: So were they as intelligent as us or …?

Colin: I wouldn't say they were as intelligent as us, 'cos we …

Maurice: No, there was less, there weren't as many schools, and they didn't have to do as much, and they left school much earlier …

Int.: So you're saying they weren't as intelligent as us because of those things?

Colin: Yes.

Maurice: Yes.

Int.: Not just they weren't as well educated, they weren't actually as intelligent as us?

Maurice:No, well I don't …

Int.: Or does that amount to the same thing?

Colin: Yeah.

Maurice: Yes, they became, they would have become intelligent had they been taught.

Int.: Right, so, you're kind of taught to become intelligent?

Colin: Yes.

Maurice: Yes. Starts off at school.

Int.: Have I got that right?

Maurice: Yes. I don't think in some periods of time they cared, quite cared as much about loss of life.

Colin: Being brave, for fighting battles for your country, religion, stuff like that.

Maurice: Yeah

Int.: Why didn't they care as much?

Colin: Sacrifice …

Maurice: I think they cared more about themselves, if you, I mean we're reading Macbeth at the moment, and they're just all going round killing people, and I think that's partly based on history—er, partly, er, true, not the actual story but the, er, basic, basic pattern.

Int.: So the basis …

Maurice: Yeah.

Colin: Yeah.

Int.: So does that mean, I mean, you're saying they're sort of morally not up to it, or?

Maurice: They don't, yeah …

Colin: … I think they used child labour anyway, so [inaudible] stick 'em in a mine or something, so …

Int.: And why, why would they use child labour then?

Colin: 'Cos they didn't have schools and children were mostly outside just playing, they thought they could make a use of them, so

Maurice: Yeah, you know, I think they cared more about themselves, so they just got children to do …

Colin: Yeah.

Maurice: … the work for them.

Int.: Right, so you're saying people were more selfish, kind of thing, in those days?

Maurice: Some, in some of the factories' work and stuff, they were …

Colin: They just cared about the money they got …

There is evidently reliance here on very particular examples. It is perhaps too strong to call it 'plundering', but there is a willingness to generalize from examples that suit the immediate train of thought, even where it may be one they've lurched into rather than developed carefully. But the most notable feature of this response is the assumptions it reveals about what human beings in the past were like, namely a 'deficit' picture of human abilities, and perhaps capacities. These are, as usual with students of this age, not uncommon assumptions in our initial interview sample (see also Stephen's written response quoted above). Such assumptions seem both to arise from, and to steer interpretation of, the past. They lead us now to a consideration of the disciplinary, metahistorical ideas involved in historical consciousness.

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT PROGRESSION AND HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS?

Earlier in this paper it was argued that any valid approach to helping students acquire workable historical frameworks must give students not a preformed grand narrative, but an apparatus for making sense of what narratives are and do in history. If this is accepted, a central task for history education is to develop students' understanding of the nature and status of historical

knowledge (in its different forms). Such a task is also suggested if we take seriously Rüsen's disciplinary matrix, where the role of 'leading views' and 'methods' arguably both point in this direction. In turn, if part of history education is giving students an apparatus for understanding the discipline of history, we will need to know what assumptions and tacit understandings we will be addressing.[39]

The business of probing and understanding students' preconceptions about history and the past in many ways resembles the task of the historian in making sense of past thought. The problem is to make one set of ideas intelligible in terms of another. This kind of mediation does not result in a single 'correct' version, but in alternative approaches to conceptualizing the target ideas. Different alternatives are designed to explicate different aspects of the ideas under investigation, and different research questions produce different typologies and models, each with strengths and weaknesses. (This is not to say that such typologies are incommensurable, merely that they address different interests and questions.)[40]

Rüsen's account of the ontogenesis of historical consciousness should, to the extent that it survives conceptual scrutiny, be treated as suggestive, but as taking into account only some of the possible strands involved. Bodo von Borries has suggested that factor analysis of the *Youth and History* data provides support for Rüsen's typology, but offers another dimension in terms of which the development of students' ideas may be understood, and argues that in the 'affective and moral domains'

> we may distinguish a series of different mental approaches to history as well. Four basic types exist: 'antiquarian collection', 'empathetic reconstruction', 'moral judgement', and 'aesthetic projection'.[41]

There may be questions here about what counts as 'affective', but Borries is clearly very conscious in arguing this point that Rüsen thinks of his typology as 'exhaustive' in the cognitive domain.[42] However, it seems unlikely that this move into the affective domain allows Borries to escape the scope Rüsen envisages for his types of orientation, since the most extended discussion—at least in English—of specific examples of how the types work out in practice deals precisely with affective and moral matters.[43] How far can we accept that the typology should be seen as exhaustive?

Rüsen's typology is at its strongest for questions about the development of kinds of orientation to the past, and is less helpful if we ask about what kind of past is involved (how it is constructed). That is, it does not offer a model of the development of students' ideas about the nature of history as a discipline. Rüsen's disciplinary matrix should have prepared us for this situation, because the distinction between the everyday life-world and methodologically reflexive historical studies (the discipline of history) is in effect a recognition of different kinds of pasts (pasts, that is, constructed by different methods for different purposes). It is clear that Rüsen is at pains to relate the components of the matrix to one another, and it would make no sense to pull two components entirely out of the matrix. Nevertheless, the focus of the typology seems to be more on the components of the disciplinary matrix below the line, rather than those above it.

Indeed it seems essential to distinguish the typology of historical consciousness *qua* orientation from the kinds of past to which students orient themselves. By this I mean that whenever we encounter an example of one of the types of orientation picked out by Rüsen's schema, we can still ask, 'What understanding of history as a discipline is at stake here?'

Let us assume for the moment that we can operationalize Rüsen's typology, and provide, for a given task, indicators for each type of historical consciousness. If a student's orientation, as evidenced by responses on particular tasks, seems to fall under the category of (say) 'exemplary', then we still do not know whether he or she is treating the claim about the past involved in this orientation as information, or as inferred from evidence. Knowing that a student is orientated 'critically' still does not imply that he or she understands the version of the past at stake as being based on evidence: the student may simply 'know' that it is 'wrong', or think the 'right' version is guaranteed by testimony. Even a student whose responses are categorized as 'genetic' may either be thinking of accounts of the past as copies of that past, or alternatively may conceive them as constructions more akin to theories than to copies. The subtly different ways in which different kinds of claims relate to evidence may elude a student who nevertheless 'prefers to represent experience of past actuality as transformational events, in which alien cultural and life-patterns evolve into more positive "modern" configurations' (75).

If we consider the typology in relation to students' ideas about change, the distinction between orientation and kind of past invoked may be less marked, at least for the final genetic type of historical consciousness. The characterization of change in the 'genetic' category is couched in terms that may pre-empt lower level disciplinary understanding. For example, the description under 'patterns of historical significance' in this category is 'developments in which forms of life change in order to maintain their permanence' (81). It is difficult to be certain about what is and what is not being ruled out here, but it might be argued that the notion of

change as development is already a relatively high level understanding. Hence Bodo von Borries gives as an example of genetic historical consciousness a view of the American Civil War

> as an early stage in an ongoing process of national transformation and development, in which the war may be seen as a cause of feelings of historical identity among Americans today.[44]

However, even in a case like this, there is still room for major differences in the understanding of the discipline in the 'genetic' category if, within it, some students see historical changes as given elements of the past, discovered by historians like caches of coins, while others see them as ways in which historians choose to conceptualize relations between phenomena at different points in time. And in the 'traditional', 'exemplary' and 'critical' categories it may still be possible to ask whether students conceive change simply as the random explosion of events, or as historically significant difference between points in time.[45]

It can be argued that much of the research in the past few decades on children's and adolescents' ideas about history (the discipline) suggests that history may be counter-intuitive, and that it may be possible to pick out certain common sense ideas that ground everyday understanding of how we can know the past, and of what can be said in any statements we make or stories we tell about it.[46] The way in which young children talk about claims about the past, about human action, beliefs and values, or about the historical accounts they encounter, suggests that everyday practical concepts are transferred to history. There should be nothing surprising about this in itself, but an important consequence of these ideas is that they make history impossible. Historians tend to talk about history as a kind of refined and more methodical common sense.[47] From this it would follow that history ought to be unusually easy for students to understand, but it is not at all clear that this is the case. For example, research evidence suggests that while many younger students tend to regard statements about the past as no more problematic than statements about the present, once this position is disturbed, they are likely to say that nothing can be said about the past because 'no-one was there'.[48]

The relationships between ideas shown in each of Figs. 3 and 4 below are speculative, but the ideas themselves are not. Research in the UK and the US provides a good deal of evidence that younger students, and older students taught in certain ways, indeed work with ideas of the kind represented in Fig. 3. The claim that we can expect students to acquire the ideas in Figure 4 has some support in the research, and a different kind of support in the performance of A level students studying the Cambridge History Project.

Whereas there is now a good deal of evidence for some of the ideas in the two figures, there is no research, as far as I am aware, that sets out to trace the sets of relationships in either Figure 3 or Figure 4. This does not mean, however, that there is no indirect research support for parts of the structure in Figure 1. Denis Shemilt's work on change and on empathy, and Keith Barton's recent work on change, strongly suggest that ideas about people in the past, and hence how we might explain what they did and thought, need to be understood in connection with both an acceptance of change as progress, and the idea of a deficit past. Chata work on how students try to understand past actions and institutions is congruent with a relationship of this kind.[49]

The central box in Figure 3 represents the idea that 'telling the truth' about the past ultimately rests on comparison between what is said and what is already known to have happened. What would seem paradoxical to epistemologists and historians makes perfect sense to youngsters, perhaps because one of the criterial cases for truth telling is giving a true account of what you know you did or saw. Part of children's learning about 'telling the truth' occurs in situations where they must report on their deeds in the past to a parent or other authority. In such circumstances they already know what 'the truth' looks like, because they did the deed, and there is a high degree of agreement about what counts as relevant for typical actions (eating the food, breaking the window, coming home late) and about the conventions for reporting such actions. In the minds of both children and adults, there is no difficulty in treating the past in these situations as a given, to which at least the reporting child, and sometimes the adults too, have direct access.

It is not difficult to see that there is likely to be a relationship between this kind of idea and the view that if we were not there to see some historical event, we cannot know what happened. The notion that we can only really know what we have directly experienced works fine in everyday life, but breaks down as claims to knowledge become more complex, as they do—in different ways—in disciplines like physics and history. Of course, some students are willing to admit that if we did not witness something, we may be able nonetheless to know about it if someone else did, provided only that they tell the truth. It should be apparent that by this point common sense ideas are beginning to obstruct understanding of history. For students who think we can know nothing about the past unless we were there, history is not an impressive body of knowledge. And even when they accept the possibility of testimony, students know only too well that people do not always tell the

truth. History is counter-intuitive in the sense that at a certain point everyday ideas not only cease to be helpful, they actually make history an invalid activity, or at least one that practical considerations render impossible.

Students work with assumptions that fit the ideas they encounter in daily life, in which references to the past from the older generation, and also from books, TV and films, are couched in deficit terms. The past is portrayed, quite naturally in a context where adults are explaining to children changes in everyday life, as one in which 'we didn't have those' (whether the particular lack is of TV, or cars, or computers). This passage from a textbook about life in the 1920s, designed for six and seven year-olds, exemplifies a common way in which students meet the past:

> Ada worked at home, looking after the children. There were no washing machines, so Ada scrubbed the clothes with a bar of soap on a washboard. Then she put them through a mangle to squeeze the water out. Ada had to put her iron on the range to make it hot. There were no electric irons.

Although much explanation of 'difference' is in technological terms, students encounter in school and elsewhere a more ancient past, beyond the time of their grandparents, in which the institutional and moral 'failings' of the past increasingly impinge on their ideas. People in the distant past lacked not only the material implements we have at our disposal, but also the cultural ones. To the technological items they 'didn't have' are added institutional ones: they lacked police, firemen and schools. Moral ignorance and inadequacy was almost

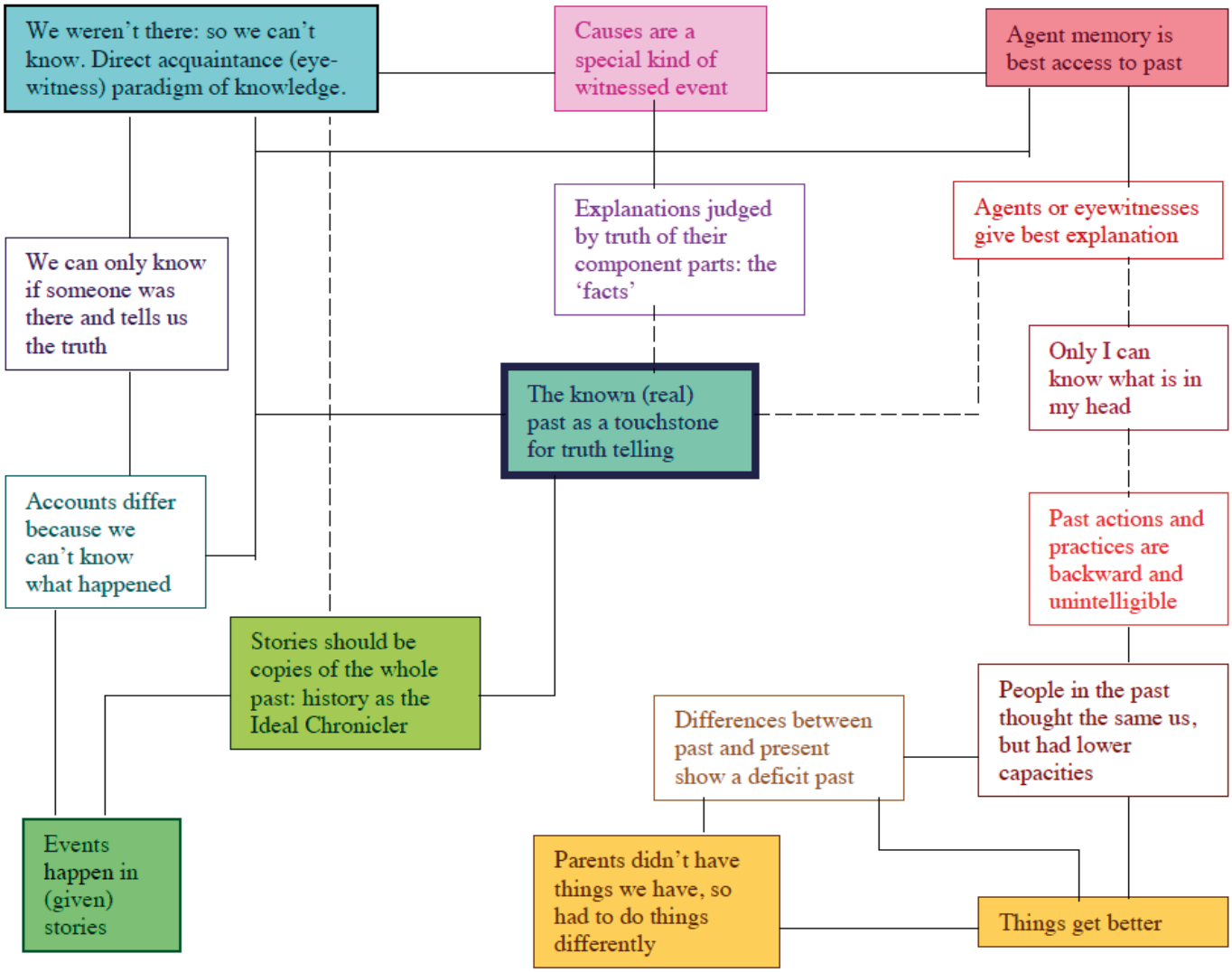


Fig. 3 History: some initial preconceptions

universal.[50] Racial prejudice, the status and role of women and class-consciousness were everywhere in the past. Wars, empires, tyrannies and slavery were common. Of course students are well aware that some of these are still to be found, but they tend to be treated in our present world as aberrations, mainly caused by moral defects in certain individuals or groups (usually living somewhere else).

In these circumstances we can begin to pick out 'default' everyday assumptions that link students' ideas about change with their understanding of human beings in the past, and appropriate strategies for explaining both. Once again we can see here close connections between a substantive picture of the past and understanding of the discipline of history.

People act for reasons within patterns of shared conventions.
Students—even seven-year-old students—employ explanation in terms of reasons as the everyday mode of understanding other humans, but if actions and beliefs seem to depart from shared conventions, there must be something wrong with the people concerned: they may be stupid, ignorant, or morally defective. (An alternative is to assimilate the anomalous actions to something that fits our present day conventions.)

Technological progress is a normal trajectory.
It is apparent from everyday experience, and from what our parents and grandparents say, that technology in its broadest sense is improving all the time. It follows that the past was defective, technologically speaking.

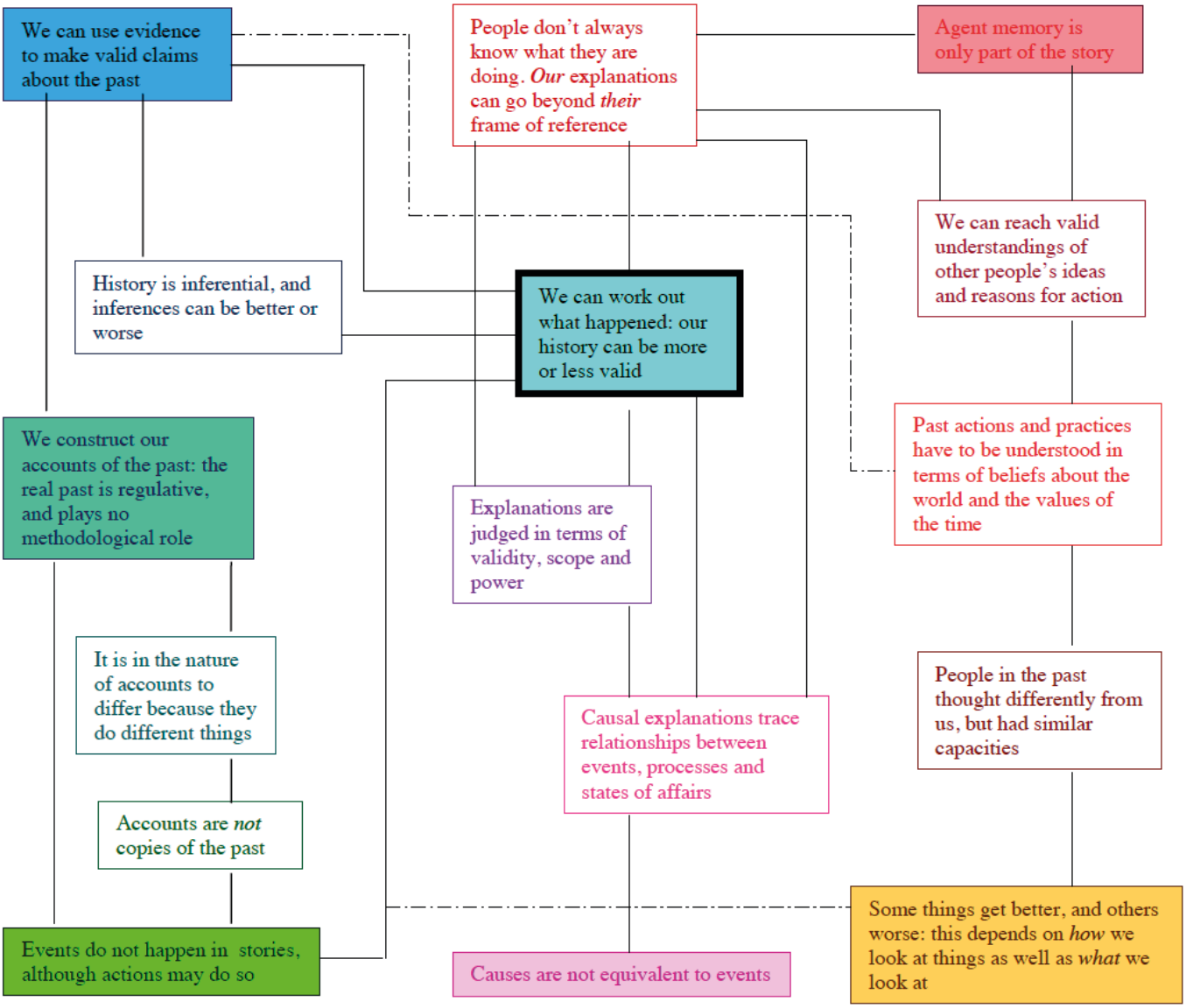


Fig. 4. History: ideas that may be held by 18, depending on what has been taught

Knowledge and understanding are increasing, which means that change is rational.
It is very clear that in every aspect of life we know more than our ancestors, and we understand more. This follows from the previous assumption (although it is not equivalent, since progress may occasionally also be attributed to human improvement of a more biological kind). Since people know more and change is progressive, any change is likely to be rational, and best explained in terms of people's reasons. Changes occur when people decide to make them, and they do this because changes will improve things.

There is not space in this paper to explore Figure 4, and the relationships in the second diagram are, if anything, even more loosely connected with formal research findings than those in Figure 1. The intention in Figure 4 is simply to indicate that we have some idea from work on many of its components as to the direction in which progression in students' understanding is likely to move, together with some evidence of what 18 year olds might achieve (and indeed what much younger students might achieve in some circumstances, even if we cannot say very much about the circumstances).

It seems plausible to see the kinds of shift sketchily represented in these diagrams as amounting to a move from everyday ideas that set severe limits on what we can expect to say about the past to ideas that run counter to aspects of common sense, but allow that history might be a worthwhile activity. If students are to acquire usable historical frameworks, they will have to move in this kind of direction. Once again we are reminded that what happens 'above the line' in Rüsen's disciplinary matrix cannot be ignored in history education.

CONCLUSION: HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING

The focus in this paper has been on history and historical consciousness. I have not raised matters of identity, partly to avoid even greater length, and partly because identity, for Rüsen, is a product of historical consciousness. (But see Appendix 3.) It is not unreasonable to talk about choosing an orientation and, in so doing, choosing an identity within the constraints of particular pasts. These constraints are important, but are not directly transmitted by a fixed past. Equally, our conceptions of our place in time and how we relate to what kinds of past are not matters of whim. They depend in part on the substantive components of the framework with which we operate. But there is no prospect of any kind of choice—as opposed to 'plumping' on the one hand and accepting a given identity on the other—without an understanding of how we can make claims about the past, and how we decide what they add up to.

Rüsen's conception of historical consciousness is potentially of great value for history education in offering an articulated theoretical account of history and its role in human life. It gives us tools for thinking about the different elements that combine to make up the range of phenomena involved in temporal orientation. It reminds us not to be parochial in our goals for history education, or in our understanding of what might be subsumed under the idea of historical consciousness. At this level Rüsen has much to offer to the way we conceptualize history education. But he also offers us a typology upon which to found an empirical ontogeny of historical consciousness. The same integrative and encompassing power that is a strength of the overall theory here becomes a problem. This is not to say that the typology is incorrect or useless, but merely to recognize that in understanding students' prior conceptions of history and the past we need to be able to pursue different kinds of questions, and that different questions will lead us to different typologies. One way of illustrating this point is to compare the kinds of questions that arise from different stances towards students' developing ideas.

Rüsen's questions are about the way in which students see the past (the substantive past they can call upon) and how they relate to it. Do they see what they find in the past as having a fixed meaning and significance for us, as something that gives us obligations that must be fulfilled to the letter, as they were in the beginning? Or do they see the same events and processes as exemplifying regularities or rules of conduct? Do they see these past events as having meaning that must be criticized or rejected? Or finally, do they see what they encounter as part of a transformation, in which identity is preserved through change?

An alternative range of questions becomes germane if we ask, with Jim Wertsch, about cultural tools and mediated action. We might then want to ask questions about another aspect of historical consciousness. What cultural tools are available to the students in relating themselves to the past? What is their content? What do these tools make it possible to do, and what social action do they inhibit or constrain? In what ways do these tools affect students' conceptions of the past and of history? The focus is still orientation for practical life, but the picture we get of students' ideas is aligned in a different dimension. This dimension is picked up by Rüsen's disciplinary matrix—the forms of representation—but not easily integrated into or related to his ontogenetic typology.[51]

The same applies a *fortiori* to questions concerned with students' understanding of the discipline of history. It is clear that Rüsen's disciplinary matrix does not ignore such questions, but his typology cuts through historical

consciousness on a rather different plane. If we are interested in the epistemological and methodological ideas students employ, we will want to ask questions focused not on orientation, but on assumptions about the knowledge in terms of which the orientation takes place. How is the past that is being invoked understood? Is it understood as something given (so that questions about how we know do not arise), as something handed down by witnesses, or as an inference from present evidence? Is it a past in which changes are just events, are differences between points in time, or are equally products of historians' choices of theme and scale? Is the past understood as a report of events, as far as possible copying them, or as a construction within selected parameters in answer to certain questions and interests?

Rüsen's theory may be intended to be all embracing, and as an account of history and historical consciousness it has a great deal to recommend it, but its ontogenetic typology cannot be similarly all embracing. This is because all such typologies are constructs mediating patterns of ideas to other patterns, and it is—as with history itself—always possible to ask different questions, approaching changes in ideas from different perspectives. The different webs of interpretation of students' ideas that we may wish to employ will overlap, and indeed there may be points at which they coincide. Discovering these relationships demands both conceptual clarification and empirical research, since it will demand the adjustment of conceptual schemes in the light of evidence about students' ideas, and the reconceptualizing of what we find in the light of our developing typologies. But however this proceeds, and whatever we learn in our explorations, even at this early stage in our understanding we might venture a speculation about the kind of direction that history education should take. If we take seriously Rüsen's emphasis on orientation against the background of his disciplinary matrix, we must try to understand better how to enable students to develop a more usable framework of the past in terms of which they can orientate their lives. One way of characterizing this task is to say that we need a history that allows students to orientate themselves in time genetically, but to understand the past to which they orientate as constructed historically. The notion of a usable historical framework combines these two desiderata, but there is much to do before we can properly specify what such a framework should be like, let alone be able to teach it effectively. There are worthwhile and pressing research tasks here sufficient to last well into our new century.

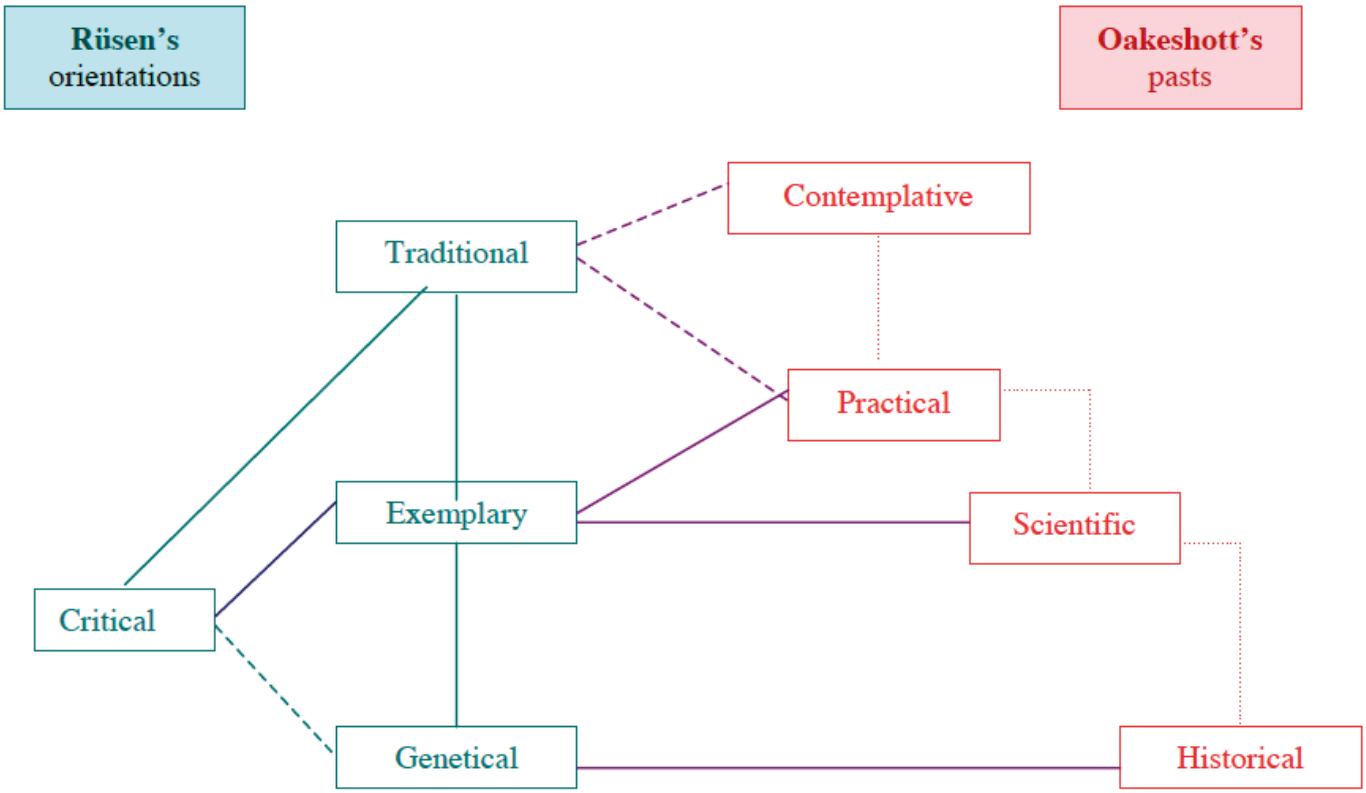
A NOTE ON YEARS, GRADES AND AGES

In the UK Year Seven is the first year of secondary school (11–12 year-olds) and Year Nine (13–14 year-olds) is the last year in which history is compulsory. For those who continue to study history, the General Certificate of Secondary Education examination is taken at the end of Year 11 (15–16 year-olds) and Advanced Level (AS and A2) courses are studied in Years 12 and 13 (16–18 year-olds). Hence, at least in terms of ages, UK Year 9 is roughly equivalent to US Eighth Grade, and so on.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is a very slightly shortened version of a paper originally given at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting in New Orleans, 2002.

APPENDIX 1
RÜSEN'S AND OAKESHOTT'S TYPOLOGIES



APPENDIX 2
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW: MAIN QUESTIONS

NOTE: For reasons of space the numerous follow up questions, and the prompts to help students understand the kinds of questions these might be, have been omitted.

Have things changed much in your lifetime, or stayed more or less the same?

Have things changed much in the past 40 years or so, or stayed more or less the same?

Do you expect people's lives to change much in the next 40 years or so, or will they stay more or less the same?

Do you expect your life to change much in the next 40 years or so, or do you expect things to stay more or less the same?

Do you expect Britain to be more or less the same in 40 years time, or not?

What sort of life do you think you'll have?

What history have you studied since you've been at school?

What did you learn from the history you've studied?

If you had to sum up the story of British history so far, from what you've done at school or from home (including TV, movies, books, or anything else)—What kind of story would you say it was?

What sort of event would you say the 11th September in New York was?

APPENDIX 3

IDENTITY AND HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS: SOME CLUES FROM THE STORY SO FAR

The history of Britain so far

Maurice, Carly, Colin, all year nine and still doing history
(Paraphrase from interview)

Britain is an adventurous country, which is shown by the Empire and the way we keep in touch with technology. Britain has been quite powerful, but we have lost a lot of this power. Nevertheless other countries still think we're quite powerful. We are second or third after America.

Most countries want to rule themselves. We help the US with terrorists, so that the US will stay friends with us. This is cunning.

Some sports have been made up in Britain: cricket, football and rugby. We have quite a good history of culture. Now we're multicultural. We have so many opportunities: sport, literature, culture etc. We're still developing. More cultures are coming to this country. (We are the only country with a free national health service.)

We're quite independent, as we're an island, and we have to stick together.

REFERENCES

[1] There is some value in using 'memory' in this extremely inclusive way, but it may be sensible to make some distinctions, even if they are not very exciting. Strictly speaking personal memory clearly is 'just' memory. It may be hard for the individual claiming the memory to know, however, whether it is 'genuinely' a memory, or something else. 'Living memory' may claim close association with personal memory. It is more than personal memory, but includes the personal memories of those who—while still living—pass their memories direct to you (transmission through reminiscence). Wider social memory includes the kind of 'memories' that are passed to you by (e.g.) books, TV, film or museums. Note that this can include material more akin to 'living memory', or material from the more distant past, which has become assimilated to 'collective memory'. This may a justifiable use for the notion of 'collective memory', but it would perhaps be safer to talk about the 'shared past'. One issue at stake is the way in which what has been 'remembered' by social groups and collectivities is assimilated into personal memory. Another is the status of 'shared pasts' as compared with personal memory on the one hand and history on the other. There are complex problems here, and moral issues further complicate the conflict between history and shared pasts. Here the notion of 'piety' may be helpful. See Walsh, P., 'History and Love of the Past', in D. Shemilt, P. J. Lee, J. Slater, P. Walsh and J. White, *The Aims of School History: Has the National Curriculum got it right?* London: Tufnell Press, for an interesting use of Lonergan's ideas.

[2] This summary of Rüsen's view of history and his typology of historical consciousness is based on the collection of his papers in P. Duvenage (ed.), *Studies in Metahistory*, Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council 1993. In particular I have drawn on 'Historical narration: foundation, types, reason' (3–14), 'What is theory in history?' (15–47), 'The development of narrative competence in historical learning: an ontogenetical hypothesis concerning moral consciousness' (63–84) and 'Experience, interpretation, orientation: three dimensions of historical learning' (85–93). Numbers in brackets attached to quotations from Rüsen refer to pages in this collection.

[3] Rüsen, J., *Zeit und Sinn: Strategien historischen Denkens*, Frankfurt am Main, 1990, pp.119–20, quoted by Megill, A., 'Jörn Rüsen's Theory of Historiography', 1994, History and Theory, 33, 1, 51.

[4] Megill, A., *Op. cit*. Rüsen uses 'theory' to cover a range of different ideas, but is usually careful to indicate the kind and level of theory involved. In particular he distinguishes object theory (about the past) within historical studies from *meta-theory* about those historical studies themselves (about the discipline of history at any particular time) (15–16). His treatment of theory within history tends to use examples like Marxism and the Annales School. He accepts that 'it is an open question, at the level of meta-theory, as to what form theorizing on these perspectives should take' (21). Very often the common element in his usage is the notion of reflection, carrying with it ideas of rationality and reflexivity. Ankersmit,

in discussing Rüsen's use of 'theory', points out that 'one must realize first that in German philosophy of history "theory" is a rather vague notion that may denote any number of things', and draws attention to Kocka's definition 'which seems to be accepted by most participants in the debate: "theories are explicit and consistent conceptual systems that cannot be derived from the historical sources themselves but that can help us in identifying, unlocking and explaining historical phenomena."' Ankersmit, F. (1988), Review of J. Rüsen, *Grundzüger einer Historik II: Rekonstuktion der Vergangenheit*, Göttingen, 1986. In History and Theory, 27, 1, 83,89. See also p.11 above.

[5] This cannot, of course, account for all starting points. Change is neither the only explanation nor the only burden of 'otherness'.

[6] Lee, PJ, 'Why Learn History?' in A. K. Dickinson, P. J. Lee and P. J. Rogers (eds) *Learning History*, London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1984, pp.1–19.

[7] Talk of different kinds of pasts might seem misleading to those brought up on a distinction between the past as what happened, and history as what we say about it. However, this neat distinction is not so helpful when we need to distinguish between versions of the past produced by other means than those of the relatively recent (and evolving) tools of the discipline of history. If everything we say about the past is 'history', then how do we make this distinction? 'Folk-memories', legal comments on the past, administrative investigations, or propaganda: all become 'history'. In talking of different kinds of past, I am adopting Oakeshottian language, in which different ways of conceiving the past create different pasts.

[8] Oakeshott, M., *On History*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983, p.6.

[9] Oakeshott, M., '*The Activity of Being an Historian*', in M. Oakeshott (ed.), Rationalism in Politics, London: Methuen, 1962, p.166.

[10] *Ibid*, pp.166–7.

[11] White, J., 'The Purpose of School History: Has the National Curriculum got it right?' in D. Shemilt, P. J. Lee, J. Slater, P. Walsh and J. White, *The Aims of School History: The National Curriculum and Beyond*, London: Tufnell Press, 1992, pp.9–19.

[12] The ambiguity here is intended. See note 1 above.

[13] Danto, A., *Analytical Philosophy of History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.

[14] Shemilt, D., 'The Caliph's Coin', in P. Stearns, P. Seixas and S. Wineburg (eds), Knowing, Teaching and Learning History, New York: New York University Press, 2000, p.93.

[15] Ankersmit, F. (1998), Review of J. Rüsen, *Grundzüger einer Historik II: Rekonstuktion der Vergangenheit*, Göttingen, 1986. In History and Theory, 27, 1,90–1.

[16] Ankersmit contrasts this stance with that of Anglo-Saxon philosophy of history, which is interested in whether these assumptions are valid and can be justified. Ibid, p.86.

[17] *Ibid*, p.87.

[18] *Ibid*, p.88.

[19] Shemilt, D., 'The Caliph's Coin', in P. Stearns, P. Seixas and S. Wineburg (eds), *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History*, New York: New York University Press, 2000, p.93.

[20] What follows owes a great deal to two existing discussions of the idea of a framework: Denis Shemilt's paper already quoted, and my own piece 'Historical Knowledge and the National Curriculum', in R. Aldrich (ed.) *History in the National Curriculum*, London: Kogan Page, 1991, especially pp.58–62. But readers should be aware that much of what I had to say about frameworks in this latter paper was itself the result of discussion with Shemilt, who, with John Hamer, had already sketched out the basic ideas.

[21] In terms of Rüsen's disciplinary matrix, these interests fall below the line separating the discipline of history from the everyday life-world, and are fundamental for matters of orientation. However, it should be remembered that interests (in both senses) can shift above the line as students are inducted into history, and that identity too can include elements from above the line.

[22] Danto, A., *Op. cit*.

[23] At its very simplest, this may be thought of in terms of helping students to recognize that in history we must sometimes tell stories we would have preferred not to accept.

[24] This list of criteria is derived from informal discussions originally held between Denis Shemilt and John Hamer, and subsequently between Denis Shemilt and Peter Lee. Any residual sense it makes is owed to Hamer and Shemilt.

[25] *Op. cit*., pp.88–9.

[26] The elements of historical understanding set out here are part of a more comprehensive unpublished paper requested by Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education in the early 1980s, and written by Denis Shemilt and Peter Lee. (It disappeared without trace.)

[27] *Op. cit*., p.88

[28] The data for this survey is publicly available on CD ROM, published in Angvik, M. and Borries B. v. (eds), *Youth and History, a Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes Among Adolescents*, Vols. A and B, Hamburg: Körber-Stiftung, 1997.

[29] A good sense of the best kind of analysis of the Youth and History data can be found in Borries, B. v., 'Methods and Aims of Teaching History in Europe', in P. Seixas, P. Stearns and S. Wineburg (eds), *Teaching, Learning and Knowing History*, New York: New York University Press, 2000, pp.246–261. A brief foray into the British data is in Lee, P.J, Dickinson, A. K., May, D. and Shemilt, D. 'Youth and History: Some Initial Conceptualizations and Analyses of the British and Scottish Data', in M. Angvik and B. v. Borries (eds), *Youth and History, a Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes Among Adolescents*, Vols. A and B, Hamburg: Körber-Stiftung, 1997.

[30] The Scottish sample is omitted from this discussion because it was not representative. One very large education authority covering much of the urbanized lowland area of Scotland was unable to make a decision about participation in the relatively short time available. This time problem arose as a result of the failure of the original British *Youth and History* team to collect any data: the Institute history education unit joined

the project very late at the direct request of Bodo von Borries, so as to ensure the presence of at least some British students in the sample.

[31] See Barton, K., 'Narrative simplifications in elementary students' historical thinking' in J. Brophy, *Advances in Research on Teaching: Teaching and Learning History*, Greenwich: JAI Press, 1996, pp.51–83; Seixas, P., Seixas, P. (1993) 'Popular Film and Young People's Understanding of the History of Native-White Relations', *The History Teacher, 26, No.3,* pp.351–370; Penuel, W. R. and Wertsch, J. V., 'Historical Representation as Mediated Action: Official History as a Tool', in J. Voss and M. Carretero (eds) *International Review of History Education Vol.2: Learning and Reasoning in History*, London: Woburn Press, 1998, pp.2338; Wertsch J. V. and Rozin, M., 'The Russian Revolution: Official and Unofficial Accounts', in J. Voss and M. Carretero (eds) op. cit., pp.39–60; Wineburg, S. 'Making Historical Sense', in P. Seixas, P. Stearns and S. Wineburg (eds), Teaching, Learning and Knowing History, New York: New York University Press, 2000, pp.306–325. The work of many others, including Veronica Boix-Mansilla, Lis Cercadillo, Linda Levstik, Roy Rozensweig and David Thelen, and Chata research by Ros Ashby, Alaric Dickinson and Peter Lee could equally have been cited here, although they bear on the questions at issue in a variety of very different ways. Major current research by Alan McCully and Keith Barton in Northern Ireland, and Rob Phillips in the UK at large, promises to shed new light on these matters.

[32] Wineburg, S. *Op.cit*.

[33] Findings in Project *Chata* indicate that even in conceptually connected areas students' ideas may be decoupled: that is, rapid changes in, for example, understanding action may be accompanied by stasis in ideas about causal explanation. Lee, P.J. and Ashby, R., 'Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7–14', in P. Seixas, P. Stearns and S. Wineburg (eds), *Teaching, Learning and Knowing History*, New York: New York University Press, 2000, pp.213–14.

[34] Barton, K., *Op. cit*.

[35] In the UK 'empathy' tends to be used to mean the explanation either of action itself, or of the ideas, beliefs and values that lie behind actions and social institutions. See Lee, P. J. and Ashby, R., 'Empathy, Perspective Taking and Rational Understanding', in O. L. Davis Jr., E. A. Yeager and S. J. Foster (eds) *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield*, 2001, pp.21–50.

[36] Barton, K. *Op .cit*.

[37] Shemilt, D. 'The Devil's Locomotive', *History and Theory*, 1983, 22, 4, and his 'The Caliph's Coin' in Seixas, P. Stearns, P. and Wineburg, S., Op. cit.; Barton, K., Op. cit.

[38] There is other evidence that history teaching in the UK has this kind of effect. Comparison of English and Welsh data from the *Youth and History* project with data from the rest of Europe (excluding England and Wales) strongly suggested that teaching for disciplinary understanding had made a difference to the structure of English and Welsh students' ideas about history. Factor analysis indicated that, in the European data as a whole—excluding England and Wales—historical sources were linked with media presentations and a 'range of activities'. In the English and Welsh data, however, 'studying historical sources' was associated with discussing different explanations and using a textbook or worksheets. Sources were seen as part of the work of making sense of history, rather than as a means of presentation. Moreover the item 'retelling and re-interpreting history for ourselves' did not load on either of the two factors for the European data as a whole—once again with the English and Welsh data filtered out—but in the English and Welsh data it loaded on one of the two factors, and was linked with media presentations and 'a range of activities', precisely the items that in the general European data are associated with sources.

[39] Some of the evidence that successful teaching requires us to take into account the learner's preconceptions and prior knowledge is summarized in J. D. Bransford, A. Brown and R. Cocking (eds), *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience and School*, Washington DC: National Academy Press, 1999, pp.10–11, pp.42–3 and pp.56–61. The first 'Key Finding' in the accompanying report makes a clear statement:

> Students come to the classroom with preconceptions about how the world works. If their initial understanding is not engaged, they may fail to grasp the new concepts and information that are taught, or they may learn for the purposes of the test but revert to their preconceptions outside the classroom.

M. S. Donovan, J. D. Bransford and J. W. Pellegrino (eds), *How People Learn: Bridging Research and Practice*, Washington DC: National Academy Press, 1999, p.10.

[40] 'Incommensurability' is not, of course, a simple or transparent notion. An excellent discussion of some of the issues, in the context of science education, is in Carey, S., 'Knowledge Acquisition: Enrichment or Conceptual Change', in E. Margolis and S. Laurence (eds), *Concepts: Core Readings*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press, pp.459–87. Carey's paper signals a gaping hole in the research agenda of history education; there seems to be a complete absence of work discussing, let alone researching, questions as to what the conceptual changes reported in students' understanding of history amount to.

[41] Borries, B. v., 'Methods and Aims of Teaching History in Europe', in P. Seixas, P. Stearns and S. Wineburg (eds), *Teaching, Learning and Knowing History*, New York: New York University Press, 2000, p.256.

[42] *Loc. Cit*.

[43] Rüsen, J. 'The development of narrative competence in historical learning: an ontogenetic hypothesis concerning moral consciousness', in J. Rüsen, Studies in Metahistory, ed. P. Duvenage, Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1993, pp.63–84.

[44] Borries, B. v., 'Methods and Aims of Teaching History in Europe', in P. Seixas, P. Stearns and S. Wineburg (eds), *Teaching, Learning and Knowing History*, New York: New York University Press, 2000, p.253.

[45] Shemilt, D., 'The Devil's Locomotive', *History and Theory, 22, 4*, 1983, pp.6–7.

[46] See, for example, Ashby, R. and Lee, P. J. 'Children's Concepts of Empathy and Understanding in History', in C. Portal (ed) *The History Curriculum for Teachers*, Lewes: Falmer Press, 1987, pp.62–88; Barton, K., *Op. cit.*; Dickinson A. K. and Lee, P. J. 'Making Sense of History' in A. K. Dickinson, P. J. Lee and P. J. Rogers (eds) *Op. cit.*, pp.117–53, Lee, P. J. and Ashby, R. *Op. cit.*; Shemilt, D., 'Adolescent Ideas about Evidence and Methodology in History', in C. Portal (ed) *Op. cit.*

[47] An outstanding example of this occurred at a conference on history cognition and instruction in Spain in the summer of 1994, when an eminent Spanish historian announced to the psychologists, educationists and other historians present that there was really nothing to history beyond common sense, and that theorizing by any of the participants was therefore irrelevant.

[48] Lee, P. J., "None of us was there": Children's ideas about why historical accounts differ', in S. Ahonen et al. Historiedidaktik, Norden 6, Nordisk Konferens om *Historiedidaktik*, Tampere 1996. Copenhagen: Danmarks Laererhøjskole. pp.23–58.

[49] Ashby, R. and Lee, P. J. *Op. cit.* 1987, 2001, Barton *Op. cit.*; Shemilt, D., *Op. cit.*, 1983.

[50] Ashby, R. and Lee, P. J. *Op. cit.*, 2001.

[51] Arguably it is only the last in this list of exemplar questions that *should* find a place in the typology: it might be more appropriate look for ways in which the other questions might be related to it in various ways.

A REVIEW ESSAY ON THE HISTORY WARS: TEN CASE STUDIES IN CONTROVERSY*

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INTRODUCTION

There are global similarities and differences in debates in and around the politics of history teaching and these connections and disjunctions are explored in detail in the edited collection *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives*, a 2012 US publication. For example, in Argentina and South Africa new priorities have replaced nationalist exceptionalism as these countries continue to embrace a political system that is more inclusive and democratic. In Russia and Japan on the other hand, there are ongoing problems with negotiations over the veracity of textbooks and a sense of powerful confusion about past landmarks, war-related events and big personalities. At the same time, the federated and educationally-decentralised nations of Canada and the US seem to be in a period of transition as schools struggle to find their place in public debates about the past. These debates focus on older priorities regarding content and context which have been replaced, or at least chaperoned, by new emphases on social inclusivity and process-led models like Peter Seixas's *Benchmarks for Historical Thinking*. Germany, emerging maturely from a relatively mild version of the history wars with its *Historikerstreit*, has embraced controversiality as a key principle, but its German youth appear to question a continuing overbearing sense of guilt over the Holocaust when they see it as the responsibility of an older generation. Australia and New Zealand despite their relative proximity have opted for very different curriculum positions, notwithstanding similar concerns over past responses to Indigenous issues. Whereas New Zealand continues to respect teacher autonomy in choosing historical content within a loose social studies structure, its priorities for upper secondary are strangely Anglo-centric, sidelining New Zealand's national history. Australia's history wars were intense and included much government pressure, but the emergent national curriculum, relying on professional historical and pedagogical rather than political advice, represents a judicious compromise between a world history approach, inquiry-based learning and multiperspectivity. Finally, the debates in England (Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland having separate curricula) show much in common with other countries, but with some quirky individuality: concern over how to handle interpretation of a colonial, imperial past; pressure to embrace a mainly positive master narrative as part of citizenship education; and the involvement of high profile television-exposed historians, British but professionally based in the USA.

THE BACKGROUND

The phrase 'History Wars' may seem an unusually strong expression to use when dealing with what is, at first glance, a largely intellectual process that, in various nations, seems to engage a mere smattering of politicians, educators and broadsheet media commentators, with not many fatal casualties. First coined in public debate by US historians Edward Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt in their 1996 edited collection on the Enola Gay/Smithsonian controversy, *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles*, the expression, at that time, was a variation on "Culture Wars," a turn of phrase used to describe a largely US-based 1980s debate between Left and Right and a term taken up, by US historian Gary Nash and company in their 1997 book *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past*.

While, as we shall see, the politically-charged catchphrase "History Wars" was deliberately adopted in Australia as a publisher's device to ignite debate, it was not a term used freely in other democratic nations. In Germany, for example, 1980s historiographical disputes about representations of World War Two were labelled *Historikerstreit*, or historians' quarrel, a far less martial figure of speech. On the other hand, even in Canada, a nation with a relatively tranquil international image where the majority of Ruth Sandwell's interviewees gave the lie to the idea of "History Wars," military historian Jack Granatstein was unable to resist the lure of fatal metaphor with his apocalyptic publication *Who killed Canadian history?*, a clone, almost, of Australian writer Keith Windschuttle's 1994 *The Killing of History*.

Interestingly, in Australia at least, the use of the term and its associated epithet "history warrior", is more of a

conservative media construction than a characterization used by any other political group, as Tony Taylor points out in his chapter on Australia.

As far as this book is concerned therefore, "History Wars" constitutes, in the first instance, a provocative label for the politicized controversies that frequently surround societal imaginings and depictions of national, cultural, racial, ethnic, tribal and religious pasts. And we do know that ancient and modern debates about representations of the past, in major part, can stimulate and perpetuate violent conflict. Indeed, this has been the case in a divided Ireland, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in Georgia, in Argentina and in the Koreas, where differences of political opinion about past events have led to, and sustained, real, as opposed to metaphorical, warfare.

And it is this political dimension of the history wars that has led to attempts by different groups to usurp the critical, reflective, reflexive and multi-perspectival nature of the discipline of history in favour of what often amounts to a politically expedient, self-serving monoculturalism. As we will see, the processes involved in this kind of attempted interference include, amongst other practices, manipulation of broadsheet media and attachment to nationalist forms of exceptionalism, producing a concomitant rejection of meta-national narratives and a denial of inconvenient pasts. All of the above represent most of the ingredients required for dangerous inter-cultural and international misunderstandings.

The title of our edited collection refers also to a different form of assault on the disciplinary integrity of history, and that is a misjudged, late 20thcentury criticism of the discipline of history as regressive, narrow and elitist. Opponents of history who have adopted this questionable line prefer instead a more non-specific approach to humanities that is variously titled social education, social sciences or social studies, not that these markers mean precisely the same thing in different education systems. These generic terms do, however, represent what has been a post-1980s move away from the provision of discipline-based teaching in secondary or high schools, a shift that has been marketed politically and educationally as a progressive act. The progressiveness of generic social education, however, is frequently vitiated at the secondary school level by inadequate teacher preparation in the humanities field, by expedient staffing practices and by the kinds of opportunistic convenience that comes from lumping what can be as many as five or six discrete subjects together in a single timetable slot.

Having said that, in democratic societies at least, ideological opportunists of all political stripes habitually blunder when, in attempting to meddle in the history education process, they fail to see what actually happens in schools. While they misguidedly envisage a smooth, downward transmission of a received master narrative, or they foresee a comprehensive and seamless introduction of any new, purportedly progressive pedagogical approach throughout a school system, such political and managerial schemes are frequently thwarted by powerful, obstructive local filters that well may frustrate attempted systemic manipulation. Such filters include variations in jurisdictional responses, teacher mediation of the curriculum, teacher solidarity in the face of what they regard as ill-informed curriculum design, and finally, student resistance. These obstacles to curriculum realization can, and do, act against any individualistic, centralist and politically-motivated interference and are the key components in what amounts to a four-stage implementation of curriculum change that begins with

- Intended curriculum (the overt and covert political/ administrative goals),
- Stated curriculum(published expression of politicized/ managerialist intentions in a framework document or documents),
- Enacted curriculum (what actually transpires at the school and classroom level) and
- Realized curriculum (actual consequences in terms of student learning and teacher development). As for non-democratic societies, the process of downward transmission is inevitably much less complicated.

Accordingly, this volume examines the tensions that have played out in the last thirty years or so between political intent and educational practice in history education, as experienced across six continents and in ten democratic nations, each nation with a varying tradition when it comes to democratic practice and each with a different, yet in some ways strikingly similar, take on the history wars. Let us start the survey of history wars in Argentina.

ARGENTINA

Paula Gonzalez writes about the situation in Argentina and, of common interest, she outlines a curriculum design tension between a more narrative-driven approach and an emphasis on methodology. Of more particular interest is her account of Argentine attempts to recover not only from the from the traumatic events of the period of the dictators (1976–1983) but also from a previously restrictive, regressive and nationalistic approach to curriculum that, for example, excluded authentic historical inquiry and ignored the contribution of women, children, adolescents, Indigenous peoples and migrants from a heroic and patriotic master narrative. The latest curriculum changes have attempted to replace those old-style narrative certainties of a single national narrative and the more recent triumphalist and Catholicized narratives of

the dictators with a more process-based approach, using source-work and multiperspectivity in the classroom. Not that these changes have been universally accepted, hence the use of the word "inertia" in her title. One final point of interest here is Paula's account of a reformed and renewed Argentina turning to Spain as a partner in building a progressive education system.

AUSTRALIA

Tony Taylor deals, in part, with the harmful consequences that a post 1980s, fully-integrated approach to social education had produced at the school level. These consequences included a measurable decline inthe quality and quantity of history (and geography) education in most of the states and territories, leading to an unfortunate (and unintended) generalized contempt for integrated social education. At the same time, his chapter provides a background briefing on the circumstances that led to an attempt by a conservative federal government to impose a traditionalist process and a benign narrative on the Australian states and territories. It is also a unique eyewitness account by a key player in how that attempted takeover began, developed and reached an August 2006 climax, eventually to collapse in a bathetic heap during the following year. His finale is a brief summary on the new (2011 and onwards) consultatively-devised and professionally designed national curriculum with its emphasis on world history, inquiry based learning, and multiple perspectives.

CANADA

Ruth Sandwell's chapter gives the background of history education debates and national identity in Canada and draws on the voices of those involved in recent Canadian history debates, voices that include her own. Interestingly, what emerges is not just consensus about dissent, but, in the words of one interviewee, a commitment "to find some commonalities around the issues that divide them". As in other countries, the journey in Canada has been from old-style patriotic history to an approach that can "nurture the development of a more inclusive and expansive view of history that would be to everyone's benefit," all in the context of a highly charged historical climate in Québec province. This implies the recognition of conflicting stories of the past, different and diverse experiences, the incorporation of multiple perspectives, as well as learning to think critically about how history is constructed, key features of the Peter Seixas inspired *Benchmarks in Historical Thinking*. Several key texts are discussed in the chapter, one of which is Jack Granatstein's (1998) controversial *Who killed Canadian history?* Granatstein's book is seen as a last call for more of the old-style nationalistic narrative history with more of an emphasis on political and military themes, but Ruth Sandwell downplays the controversy's impact on schools, with its influence being felt mostly in the public sphere.

GERMANY

Sylvia Semmet's chapter, written by a practitioner with professional links to several other European countries, highlights key successes, as well as areas for further development, in history education in Germany, a nation that has 16 separate local authorities (Länder), each with a different educational system. Interestingly, Germany's educational authorities approach the more controversial recent periods in German history with a strong sense of responsibility. In this context, Sylvia Semmet touches on the progressive nature of history education curriculum in Germany and the importance of bilingualism for inter-cultural understanding before moving on to better known events, including the role played by Germans in the world wars and the Holocaust. Here she comments that modern German youth apparently have some difficulty in accepting any passed-down national responsibility for the Holocaust, seeing these deeds as the responsibility of expired, and expiring, generations. As for a more recent historical event, the reunification of Germany, a strong emphasis is expressed on avoiding stereotypes, either nostalgic or disparaging about the former German Democratic Republic. Finally, Sylvia Semmet raises the issue of cost-cutting in teacher preparation and the integration of the discipline of history within a more generalized humanities curriculum, developments which, she argues, will adversely affect what she regards as history's "unique contribution to the development of an informed and critical historical consciousness within modern German society".

JAPAN

Tony Taylor also examines the origin, nature and effect of a nationally-auspiced history text-book system, first seen in the context of Japanese post-war reconstruction, before moving on to more recent anti-Japanese Realpolitik tactics instigated by a supposedly outraged China. This chapter differs from the others in that it deals with international, as opposed to domestic, tensions since the Asian version of a "history war" has taken place both across the Asian region and within Asian nations. In the first instance, Japan's neighbouring countries objected to Tokyo-approved textbook denials of wartime atrocities while, at home, Japanese historian Saburo Ienaga spent almost a lifetime undertaking legal challenges about the relationship between censorship and the middle school text-book system. The underlying narrative is one of a continuing undercurrent of nationalism in Japan that clearly reflects both national pride and emotional difficulty in coming to terms with military defeat in 1945 and with its modern role as a nation constitutionally committed to concord before conflict. As with other chapters, the influence of high profile, strongly held politicized sentiments on actual classroom practice is discussed.

NEW ZEALAND

The situation in New Zealand, as described and analysed by Mark Sheehan is intricate, with various pedagogical, historiographical and cultural forces at work. School history in New Zealand's school curriculum has been taught and learnt within an integrated curriculum at the primary school stage and under the umbrella of social studies topics at the secondary school stage. As in Australia, school history has been seen by progressive educators as irrelevant and elitist; however, history's loss of shape within social studies seems to reflect an outdated view of school history as a fact-based, master narrative. As for historiography and culture, the complexity of teaching parallel developments within the two main narratives, Pakehā (European) and Māori, has been difficult for teachers to absorb and complex to interpret in the classroom. The consequence is that when history, after a period of being subsumed within generic social studies, does appear as an elective in the senior secondary school, schools will choose to study Tudor and Stuart England rather than New Zealand history. Such a focus on British history does not reflect developments in university history, but the Pakehā themes are well resourced in schools and are seen as intrinsically more interesting by New Zealand students and teachers alike, even if these topics are not directly connected to national narratives.

RUSSIA

Joseph Zajda has provided a detailed account of recent textbook publication and censorship in post-Soviet Russia, setting this account against recent political developments under the Yeltsin and Putin administrations. As Joseph Zajda describes it, under Yeltsin, there seems to have been a more liberated textbook view of controversial aspects of Soviet history, but with the accession of Putin, there is preference for what Putin calls the "brightspots" in Russia's past. At the same time, the author describes another more recent development, a focus on the personality cult approach when looking at the origins of a Russian national identity, with a focus on Peter the Great and Catherine the Great. More difficult for Russian textbook authors and education authorities are assessments of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods and the Soviet role in World War Two, not to mention the greatness (or otherwise) of Lenin and Stalin. As for Stalin, there is textbook ambiguity in the perception that his regime played a key role in defeating the Axis powers while at the same time being guilty of massive abuses of power in ordering the torture and execution of so-called enemies of the state as well as the deportation of hundreds of thousands of Russian (and foreign) men and women to the Gulags. Joseph Zajda's conclusion points to a textbook-led attempted renewal of Russian nationalism through an emphasis on the "historical greatness" of Russia, while denying the sufferings of so many Russians during the Soviet period.

SOUTH AFRICA

Rob Siebörger details the course of events and the interactions that have characterized post-apartheid (1994 onwards) curriculum change in South Africa. These various stages of curriculum reform are carefully outlined, from the initial uncertain stages that preceded the1995 introduction of anunpopular *Interim Curriculum* through to the 2010 *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement*, a draft framework that has attempted to break with previous problematic curriculum models. The 1995 approach briefly allowed the provinces some autonomy before curriculum revision in 1996 tightened up on national control, relegating history to the status of an element within an integrated curriculum that covered the first nine years of schooling. The 1996 curriculum revision, however, did little to improve the status of history education, giving it a scarcely visible position in a discipline free,outcomes-based curriculum, all within a "Human and Social Sciences" learning area. Opposition to integrated curriculum then became a political issue, with proponents of history regarded as reactionaries by at least one African National Congress (ANC) spokesman. Rob Siebörger's chapter further explores in some detail the complex interactions between political and educational stakeholders in the struggle for curriculum clarity and stability, referring to an "unholy alliance" among education administrators, ANC officials and trade union representatives regarding the maintenance of an integrated approach to curriculum, a situation that was to remain until the establishment of a 2001 South Africa History Project, with positive implications for the role of the subject role in the curriculum. Finally, Siebörger points out that, notwithstanding history's revival as a school subject, historical studies that investigate vital issues of truth and reconciliation as well as human rights are yet to be highlighted in the 2010 document.

UNITED KINGDOM

Robert Guyver focuses mainly on England and includes the author's insider account of the 1989–1990 History Working Group's attempt to construct a national history curriculum. This curriculum, enacted in 1991, was subject to further changes in 1995, 2000 and 2008, with accompanying debates. The story is taken up to the present, where a formative process of curriculum re-writing is on going after the election of a new conservative/liberal democrat coalition government in May 2010. Many familiar features are present here: tensions between patriotic and reformed histories; involvement of academic historians; difficulties of finding consensus over the definition of a coherent national narrative, as well as how, and at what age to teach it. Interestingly, the prioritization of a narrative approach and its association with a small group of historians selected by a government minister has echoes of recent national curriculum initiatives in Australia.

In his contribution, Robert Guyver also points out that an interesting interlude (2004–2006) saw interventions by then treasurer Gordon Brown, a Scot, who attempted to delineate, with many historical references, an inclusive meaning of Britishness. School history in the United Kingdom was now being called upon to reinvigorate a sense of shared values and to halt the perception of spiralling national decline. Nevertheless the debate in the UK has embraced an acceptance that school history can no longer be merely national. The current position in the UK curriculum is that nation must be regionally and globally situated through rigorous investigations of controversial periods and episodes of colonization, imperialism and war, as well as domestic social and industrial conflicts.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Keith Barton challenges the whole notion of history wars and argues that, in the United States at least, this is an inappropriate and hyperbolic metaphor. In taking this approach, the author adopts a splendidly contrarian position to that expressed in several other chapters. He emphasizes the need to draw on evidence from the classroom itself and at local levels, and to resist attempts to introduce the rhetoric of conflict or crisis to an unexamined circumstance. Keith Barton also confronts three rumours of war: that history is fighting for its survival in US schools, that history and the US model of social studies each compete with one another for space in the curriculum, and that US liberals and conservatives are locked in a battle for control of the curriculum. The author further contends that, despite there being little reason for describing the US situation as a war, the current state of affairs requires some rethinking, and he outlines two key areas for additional reflection and action. His first concern is that divisive public debates about the nature, role and place of school history frequently divert attention away from a comprehensive understanding of the discipline's more nuanced features. Keith Barton's second concern is with the problem inherent in asking students to get to grips with what are regarded as complex and sophisticated disciplinary understandings. He offers remedies and concludes by pointing out that such proposed solutions will not be helped if we continue to frame debates about school history within warlike metaphors.

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APPENDIX 1
CONTENTS OF HISTORY WARS & THE CLASSROOM: GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

History Wars & the Classroom: Global Perspectives
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