

Volume 11.1

**INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
OF HISTORY TEACHING
LEARNING AND RESEARCH**

.....
November 2012

www.history.org.uk

In association with



University of
Cumbria 

International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research

EDITORS

Hilary Cooper, University of Cumbria

Jon Nichol, The Historical Association

Robert Guyver, Univesity College Plymouth, St. Mark and St. John, UK

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Terry Epstein, City University, New York, USA

Katherine Burn, Institute of Education, London, UK

Arthur Chapman, Edge Hill University, UK

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

The revised membership of the Editorial Advisory Board will be published in the next edition, IJHLTR, 11.2.

International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research is subject to a peer review process and is published twice a year: May/June and October/December.

Editorial correspondence should be addressed to:

hilary.cooper@sky.com and IJHLTR@history.org.uk

Submission of articles

Full details of the form, layout and referencing conventions for articles to be submitted are included at the end of this edition.

Advertising

Full page/half page: enquiries to - telephone: [+44] 020 7820 5985

Annual Institutional subscription

This will be for individual institutions. In 2013 the Historical Association will publish details of institutional membership for its on-line educational journals and related resources, including IJHLTR.

Annual personal subscription

Personal subscription to the Historical Association includes access to IJHLTR current and previous editions. To join the Historical Association please go to: <http://www.history.org.uk/member/register.php>

Back issues

These are posted on the Historical Association website www.history.org.uk and are downloadable for Historical Association members. Delegates to the History Educators International Research Network [HEIRNET] annual conference receive a complimentary downloadable copy of the journal.

.....

CONTENTS

Editorial

Articles

- Eleni Apostolidou** **7**
Teaching and Discussing Historical Significance with 15 year-old students in Greece
- Manuela Carvalho and Isabel Barca** **24**
Students' Use of Historical Evidence in European Countries
- P. Checkley and C. Checkley** **40**
'Future Teachers of the Past' – An initial analysis of Initial Teacher Training students and their preparation to teach Primary History
- Marc Andre Ethier, David Lefrancois Francis Dupuis-Deri and Stephenie Demers** **60**
New Textbooks and the Twenty first century Programmes for Middle and High Schools: an analysis of history textbooks from Quebec
- Harry Havekes, Carla von Boxtel, Peter-Arno Coppen and Johan Luttenburg** **72**
Knowing And Doing History: A Contextual Framework And Pedagogy For Teaching Historical Contextualisation
- Terence Honing, Wout Claessens and Wilfried Admiraal** **94**
Effects of the Use of Concept Maps on Historical Overview Knowledge
- Danijela Trskan** **106**
City Squares – A Project Involving Swedish, Italian And Slovenian Upper Secondary Schools – The Role Of Common Localities In Establishing Historical Links Across Europe
- George Kokkinos, Panayotis Kimourtzis, Eleni Stefanou, Panayotis Gatsotis and Zeta Papandreou.** **121**
Greek Society's Confrontation with the Traumas Caused by National Socialism: the case of the Distomo Massacre June 10th. 1944

CONTENTS

Kieran Lusted	149
Does Early Years Education have a Role in Creating Children's Notion of Difference and Diversity	
Mary N. Ntabeni	157
Lesotho Government Policies and History Education in the twenty-first Century	
Danijela Trskan	169
Past into Present: Civic Education And Citizenship In Slovenian History Curricula	
Arthur Chapman	188
'They' have come to differing opinions because of their differing interpretations: Developing 16-19 year-old English Students' Understandings of Historical Interpretation through On-line Inter-institutional Discussion	
Alexander Maxwell	215
Provincialism and Cosmopolitanism in University History Teaching: A Ten-Country Sample of Course Offerings	

EDITORIAL

The papers in The International Journal of History Education Teaching Learning and Research Vol.11.1, as in the previous issue, focus on ways in which History Education can be made relevant and inclusive, in response to different needs and contexts, and on curricula and teaching strategies which support this aim.

Making history relevant

Eleni Apostolidou investigates the ways in which fifteen year old students in Greece made and justified choices about what they considered to be historically significant, in order to construct historical narrative. A project which has a comparative and European dimension to local history and which allowed students to engage with current issues and to make comparisons between past and present is described by Danijela Trskan. In researching the problems related to city squares in Sweden, Italy and Slovenia students' awareness of evidence of the past in the present was raised and as a result of their research they offered suggestions for enabling their city squares better to meet the demands of local people and in particular, young people. In another interdisciplinary approach which has deep resonances for other cities George Kokkinos, Panayotis Kimourtzis, Eleni Stefanou and Zeta Papandreou explore ways in which present and past can be linked, in remembering and confronting traumatic memories of violence in the past, in ways not made possible by text books.

The role of curricula

The significance of the aims, objectives and values of national curricula for history as the framework for what is taught at local and school level is made clear in Danijela Trskan's second article. This examines changes in the perceived role of history and citizenship education, after Slovenia, which had been one of the six republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia since 1945, became independent in 1990. She traces the swing from a curriculum which focused on creating cohesion and socialism across the six republics to one which emphasizes Slovenian identity, democracy and critical citizenship. Mary Mtabeni's paper investigates another dimension of the problems with government curricula: the gap between government policy and its implementation in practice.

Pedagogy

Kieran Lusted, offering a rare and important view from the experience of a primary school teacher, discusses the role of education before the age of five, in developing a plural democracy, which recognizes diversity and toleration.

Marc-Andre Ethier, David Lefrancois and Francis Depuis-Derri explore the reasons why teaching programmes for much older students in Canada, which were claimed to focus on a reflective and problem-solving approach were found to be mono-causal and linear in their approach and attributed no active role in socio-historical changes to citizens.

A trans-national study, involving Icelandic, Italian and Portuguese students, linking past and future in the context of the relationship between history education and citizenship, explores the extent to which students in the final year of their history education, while studying the Roman Empire, a shared geographical location, were unable to think in objective and sophisticated ways, about contradictory evidence. Harry Havekas, Carla von Boxtel and Johan Luttenburg evaluate a model for enabling students to relate content and process in historical enquiry and make suggestions for further development of evidence about interpretation.

Arthur Chapman's paper explores ways in which 16-19 year old students' thinking about historical interpretations can be developed through on-line discussions between students, historian and a history education academic.

However Paul and Claire Checkley warn us that, in spite of research and discussion about curricula, content and pedagogy and the emphasis in research into history education in the UK, the focus on literacy and numeracy, both in primary schools and in Teacher Training has impacted upon students' ability to implement the history curriculum in primary schools.

History is dynamic but how is change brought about in education which reflects this. It seems that developments in curriculum and in pedagogy are not always effective. But perhaps that is a good thing. History education is complex and can resist manipulation – we hope. Maybe more trans national collaboration will help.

TEACHING AND DISCUSSING HISTORIOCAL SIGNIFICANCE WITH 15 YEAR OLD STUDENTS IN GREECE

Eleni Apostolidou, secondary school teacher, Athens, Greece

.....

Abstract

This paper firstly discusses the central role of historical significance in the narrative process of historical consciousness and consequently in history education (Rüsen, 1993). The paper secondly presents previous research in students' perception of historical significance (Seixas, 1997, Cercadillo, 2000 and 2001, Rosenzweig, 2000), as well as significance typologies from previous research (Bradshaw, 2006 and Allsop 2009.)

Finally the paper focuses on twenty-two, 15-years-old, students in Greece, who for the school year 2010-2011 covered the big 'sweep' of the 'long 19th' and the 'short 20th' centuries in their history classes. The students were asked to locate the most historically significant events within the taught time period (from 1789 to 1989) and also in the relatively recent past (from 1989 onwards). The paper reports the findings of this small scale research in Greek students' perception of historical significance displaying the students' content choices, the constructs they used to justify their selections, and the role that students' historical culture played both in the selection of the historical events, and the justifications used for the selection above.

The paper concludes by supporting the teaching at school of contemporary history, covering sectors like everyday life and culture, periods and themes that students may relate to (Barton, 2009 and Von Borries, 2009). Historical concepts and especially historical significance are also a means to facilitate students in the processes of meaning making and narrative constructing. The environment in which students' historical consciousness develops, meaning their historical culture (Erdmann, 2008) ought also to be taken under consideration.

Keywords

Historical Significance, Historical Consciousness, Historical Culture, Students' Historical Thinking.

Historical Significance in Historiography, Historical Consciousness and History Teaching

Historical significance plays a central role both in the writing of history and the construction of historical consciousness. The latter aspect of historical significance is owed to the narrative nature of

the above processes: as von Borries (2009, p. 286) put it “[to explain anything historically involves] the narration about changes in the past”. On the other hand, Rüsen (1993, p. 68), asserts that “the linguistic form within which historical consciousness realizes its function of orientation is that of the narrative”. As a consequence Rüsen also examines the selection processes which people undergo and notes that selection processes are also signifying processes. Certain points or events from the past are selected as important and used in a framework that tells a convincing story of one’s life combining the dimensions of present, past, and future. In other words to narrate is exactly a process of attributing meaning to a mere “succession of events” that in this way becomes a “meaningful sequence” (Cercadillo, 2000, p. 39).

In this study I will also use Rüsen’s typology of historical consciousness in the analysis of the data since Rüsen bases his types on individuals’ stances towards change and therefore also on individuals’ temporalized or not temporalized sense of significance. On the whole Rüsen concludes with four types of historical significance from which only the two participate in historical thinking.

The events selected from the historian as important express the historian’s point of view or perspective. Ankersmit (1983, p. 252) describes narrations as “ways of seeing the past”, and he asserts that attempting to narrate without a specific way of seeing the past or without adopting a certain point of view can only produce “unhistorical narrations”. The above assertion implies the existence of multiple historical accounts and, in consequence, the multiplicity of significance criteria for the historian to work with. The latter criteria, according to Rüsen, belong to “the political strategy of collective memory” (2005, p. 133) while his reference to “collective memory” indicates the existence of a group and a group culture behind the historian. The above group forms the historian’s interests and “pre-selects” the significant events that the historian will refer too (Liakos, 2007, p. 98).

While the above assertion about the multiplicity of historical accounts is common among professional historians, students at school tend to believe in historical accounts that are unique copies of specific past events. Students also regard the existence of differing historical accounts as problematic and the historians’ different points of view as the product of bias or simply faulty (Lee, 2005, p. 60). If the essence of history teaching today is to make students capable of orientating themselves in the present and the future after having interpreted their past, it is difficult for students to do so merely by learning facts in their history classes. History educators from the 1970’s onwards and within the context of “New History” have transferred the teaching focus from the acquisition of “[historical] content” to the “processes” followed by the historians. Within the latter context of teaching the discipline, students ought to get familiarized with the concept of historical significance, a familiarization that leads to even more “powerful” ideas (Lee, 2005, p. 36), like the multiplicity of historical accounts referring to the same events or the existence of many different perspectives from which the same events can be interpreted.

Historical Significance as a matter of Historical Content

Of all the historical concepts (time, change, empathy, cause, evidence, accounts) historical significance can be neither understood nor practised, without a broad and solid basis of historical knowledge, --what history educators would refer to as the "content" of history or as the "substantive concepts" of history. As Ellis put it (1993, p. 9) "the significance of the event depends on its relationship with other events, and the other events to which it relates will vary from one account to another". The latter statement could imply that students need to know a lot of history to discuss the relative significance of specific events in relation to various questions or points of view. Historical significance presupposes a historical context. As Allsop (2009, p. 54) also asserts: "It is only through gaining background knowledge of events that students can begin to progress in their understanding and consideration of historical significance".

Because of the "fragmented cultural milieu" in which students live today, (Seixas, 2002, p. 5) history educators work to provide historical content different from the national canons that used to be the focus of history education. To do so they develop different strategies to provide students with the appropriate historical content that ought to respond to the needs of a globalized world. Thus, while Cajani (2006, pp. 124-127) and Mattozzi (2006, pp. 133-159) refer to the history of humanity, Shemilt and Lee suggest the teaching of "usable historical frameworks" (Lee, 2009: 215). Lee explains that the most promising framework of this kind ought to be one in which "students work with patterns of change within overarching themes" (Lee, 2009: 244).

Another tendency represented by Rietbergen (2010), Jansen (2010) and Harnett (2009) focuses on the idea that using national or local material (Harnett 2009, p. 147) in a transnational if not global perspective could be a very good first step to surpass nationalism in history education. The above strategy is compatible with the targets set by EUROCLIO, the European Association of History Educators, in the project of the association called HISTORIANA. HISTORIANA will be a thematic website with multiple historical sources from all countries of Europe and exemplary lessons in the form of historical case studies. The case studies can be absolutely anything (from the content point of view) as long as they bear a European or transnational interest (<http://historiana.eu/site/>).

Along the same lines Barton stresses the importance of the students' need to relate to themselves and their everyday life when studying history and this is the reason why he suggests, as possible content for teaching history, contemporary history in a thematic, non chronological, approach (Barton, 2009, p. 271). Finally Bodo von Borries also proposes teaching history by relating it to various sectors of life (e.g. culture, environment) and through different school subjects (like literature), because after all, history is a mode of thinking and ought to be transferable (2009, p. 296).

On the whole, having emphasized since the 1970s the development of the historians' skills, history educators today, are transferring teaching and research to the combination of skills and content, realizing that historical content also limits historical interpretations constructed by the students (Pickles, 2010, p. 77 and Foster and Howson, 2010, p. 132).

Educators about Historical Significance: Researching and Teaching

Research in students' ideas about historical significance will be presented at this point since the latter research also informed this study about Greek students' ideas. Three different studies were selected to be presented: Seixas' (1997), Rosenzweig's (2000) and finally Cercadillo's (2000). The above three studies were selected because they were conducted from different points of view and thus can better define the concept and describe the role historical significance plays in the construction of historical accounts.

Seixas' research focused on eighty- two volunteer students of Grade 11 classes from four schools in British Columbia in Canada. Students were asked to choose the most significant events of a fixed list of events. Seixas' analysis concluded with four different types of historical significance: the "objectivists", the "subjectivists" (1997, p. 25), the "sophisticated objectivists" and the "sophisticated subjectivists". The criterion for the above typology was the provenance of students' significance criteria, whether students used their own criteria, or adopted the most common criteria in general or the criteria of their own community. The above study is related to this one because there were students in the sample who justified their options of significant events in the most subjectivistic terms.

Another interesting study, and highly differentiated from the rest of the studies to be presented, is the one conducted by Rosenzweig and Thelen in 1994, focusing on about 1000 people between eighteen and ninety-one years-old (2000, p. 272) in the United States, and questioning of "how the Americans use and understand the past". The latter study did not restrict itself to school students and was not directly concerned with historical significance. Though it was selected to be presented because it displayed possible environments for people to think of the past, thus disclosed people's historical culture.

The outcome, which is mostly related to this study involving Greek students, is the one referring to the occasions or the environments in which the Americans were found to be mostly connected to the past. They proved to be completely detached from school history, while they were found mostly connected to the past, in family gatherings and during museum visits (2000, pp. 272-273). Likewise the students of the Greek sample justified their selections of significant events displaying an array of different environments (like cinema or music) where they met that past they would like to learn more about.

Cercadillo's (2000, p. 4) comparative study about 144 English and Spanish students' ideas of "historical significance within accounts", focuses on whether students see the significance within certain events as fixed, or they relate the significance of those events to the context of their accounts, and finally whether they can distinguish between and use different attributions of significance. Students participating in the research were between twelve and seventeen years old and answered closed and open questions referring to rival accounts about different historical subjects. An empirically grounded model of progression (of students' ideas) was devised involving five levels and depending on whether students could see the significance of an event within an account, or between different accounts, varying according to different criteria, points of view (2001, p. 140).

Other categorizations, "contemporary", "causal", "pattern", "symbolic" significance and "significance for the present and the future" were also used relying on students' ability to create broad frameworks of reference between the past, the present and the future. The latter categorization of Cercadillo's research was mainly used in the Greek sample, since Greek students seemed to be differentiated according to the time frameworks they used. In general Greek students' responses were classified by the use of analytic induction into categories combining the provenance of the significance criteria, as employed by Seixas, the Cercadillo's criteria about historical thinking and finally the environments the Greek students appeared to contact the past.

An exercise in historical significance: twenty-two fifteen year-old students' ideas of historical significance in Greece

In an attempt to assess my own teaching of this year and to inform next year's teaching of the same course material, -- material which roughly covered the political, economic, and social history of the 19th and 20th centuries till 2001 (see FIGURE 1.)--, I asked my twenty-two students to answer the following questions:

- a. "Select 3 to 5 cases that you think are especially interesting from the material you were taught this year.
- b. "Please name a subject you feel you would want to learn more about".

1.-Enlightment, French/American Revolution	5.-The Balkan Wars, the World War I, 1917, the Minor Asia War of 1919-1922, the interwar period,1929.
2.-1821 (Greece), 1830&1848(Europe)	6.-The World War II, Resistance in Greece and the Greek Civil War.
3.-Industrial Revolution, Italian/German Unification, Colonization	7.-Cold War and Bipolarity (separate nationalism sessions were dedicated to the Greek Dictatorship, to May 1968, and references were made to the "after the Wall" period,when talking about 1917 and the Cold War).
4.-The Greek state in the 19th century/The Balkan countries of conflicting	

Fig. 1 The Schoolbook's Sections that were taught till April 2011.

Fig.1 shows only the sections of the book that we managed to get through. The book (written in 2006) ended in 2001; it also included two separate sections on "Disciplines, Intellectual and Art Development of the 19th and 20th centuries" that we did not cover. There were enough primary and secondary sources, textual and pictorial, occasionally giving two opposing perspectives. Many times literature works or films were suggested at the end of the teaching unit, for extra credit: these were undertaken as homework or as in-class exercises. The sections, as displayed in Fig. 1, do not neatly correspond to how the subjects were presented in the classroom. We sometimes kept the teaching units and sequence suggested by the book or we combined them and changed the sequence, following the students' interests. For example we had a whole session on the Holocaust and another one on May 1968, issues covered only by paragraphs and sources by the textbook. We started the sessions by having a guided conversation based on the book's sources. In the middle of the year, we split the rest of the book into presentations students made. Students prepared their presentations making their own choices about material. Sometimes they consulted me, sometimes they used the bibliography suggested by their textbook. Conversation usually developed throughout the presentations which were then interrupted.

I classified students' answers in two different ways, from the content point of view, (their choices), and from the constructs' point of view, (the rationales upon which they based their choices). TABLES (I) and (II) display students' choices and constructs:

TABLE I, Frequency of Students' Choices in relation to Content, (till 1989)

Choices (traditional history)	Number of Times Selected	Choices	Number of Times Selected
Industrial Revolution	13	Enlightment	7
B' World War	8	Woodstock	2
Philiki Etaireia */1821	6	Fashion	2
Colonization	5	1960s'	2
French Revolution	5	Ideas of the 19 th cent.	2
A' World War	2	Sports	1
Cold War	2	1917	1
American Revolution	2	Soviet Regime	1
Economic Crisis in Greece (19 th cent.)	2	Asia	1
Kapodistrias (Greek governor of the 19 th cent)	1		
1929	1		
Japan in the B' World War	1		
	n=48		n=19

* Philiki Etaireia used to be the secret political organization that prepared the liberation movement of 1821 (against the Ottoman rule).

TABLE II, Frequency of Students' Constructs, (till 1989)

Constructs	Number of Times	Items (the constructs refers to)
History of Ideas, Mentalities, Empathy	19	Industrial (2), Colonization (4), B' World War (6), French Revolution (4), American Revolution, 1917, 1929.
History for Fun, Personal Relevance (Subjective Past/Historical Culture)	10	Cold War (2) American Revolution, Industrial (2), A' World War, Philiki Etaireia (2), B' World War and Japan, B' World War.
n=29		
Significance for the Present and the Future	17	B' World War (4), Enlightenment (4), Industrial (5), Economic Crisis (2), Kapodistrias
Symbolic Significance (Paradigmatic /Exemplary Past)	12	B' World War (2), French Revolution (2), Philiki Etaireia/ 1821 (4), American Revolution, Kapodistrias, A' World War, Cold War.
Pattern Significance	6	Enlightenment, 19 th cent, Industrial (3), Philiki Etaireia.
Contemporary Significance	6	A' World War (2), B' World War, Enlightenment, Colonization (2).
Causal Significance	4	A' World War, B' World War, French Revolution.

At the last session of the school year, I showed Allsop's film on Billy Joel's song "We didn't start the fire" in class and asked from my students to enrich it with events since 1989 (Allsop's exercise). The question was: "Please indicate the events you think as more significant from 1989 till today".

Table III displays students' choices:TABLE III, Frequency of students'Choices in relation to Content (since 1989)

Choices-Trad. Polit. History *	No of Tim. Selections	Boys	Girls	Choices-New History	No of Tim. Selections	Boys	Girls
Bin Laden/11-09-2001	15	11	4	Jackson	7	2	5
Greece Euro **	5	2	3	Vegos (actor)	1	1	0
Econ. Cr. in Gr	4	3	1	Bourgeois	1	0	1
Obama	4	1	3	Gaga	1	0	1
War in Iraq	2	2	0	"Requiem" (a)	1	0	1
Afr. Liber.Mov. ***	2	2	0	Abramovic	1	0	1
Crisis of 2008	2	2	0	"Syst. of D"(b)	1	0	1
Civ. Wars Afr.	1	1	0	Hatzidakis	1	1	0
Arafat	1	1	0	Merkouri	1	1	0
Yugoslavia (Secession)	1	1	0	Black & Bieber (singers) (c)	1	0	1
Europ. Union	1	1	0	Pattinson (d)	1	0	1
Castro	1	1	0	Potter	1	1	0
Isaak,Solomou √	1	1	0	L. of Rings (e)	1	1	0
Syndagma sq√	1	1	0	Royal Wedding	4	2	2
				n=14 art & culture events			
n=14 political & economic event				Internet	2	2	0
				Mobiles	2	0	2
				Bin Laden (g)	1	1	0
				Lib.mov.inter.(f)	1	1	0
				P.C	1	0	1
				3D Cinema	1	1	0
				n=6 technology issues			
				Fukushima	7	4	3
				Tsunami 05	3	2	1
				Eartq. 99 (h)	1	1	0
				n=3 environmental issues			
				Oympics 04	7	6	1
				Basket 96 Gr (i)	3	3	0
				Basket 10 Gr	1	1	0
				Basket 00 Gr	1	1	0
				HEAT (NBA)	1	1	0
				n=6 sports			
n= Traditional History 13 events				n=New History 29 events			

*Choices-Traditional & Political History

**Greece adopts as currency the euro

***Africa Liberation Movement

√Isaak & Solomou, Cypriot heroes,

(e) Lord of the Rings/

(i) Greece wins the basket cup in 1996 marches take place against the austerity measures.

(a)"Requiem for a Dream", a film / (f) Liberation Movement

(b)"System of Down", a music group / in Africa & the role

(c)Rebecca Black, Justin Bieber/of the internet

(d) Pattinson, actor/ (g)Equipment used in Laden's execution executed in 1996.

(h) Earthquake in Greece in 1999 √√At Syndagma square in Athens protest

TABLE IV, Frequency of Students' Constructs (from 1989)

Constructs	Number of Times	Items (the constructs refer to)
Pattern Significance	19	Afr. Liber. Mov. (5), Obama (5), Bin Laden (3), Olympics (2), Econ. Cr. in Gr. (1), Syndagma (1), Gaga (1), Bourgeois (1).
Contemporary Significance	18	Fukushima (6),Laden (7), System of Down (1), Royal Wedding (2),Gaga (1),NBA (1)
Symbolic Significance (Paradigmatic /Exemplary Past)	16	Fukushima (2), Olympics (7), Econ. Cr. in Gr. (3),Requiem for a Dream (4),
Significance for the Present and the Future	9	Olympics (1), Econ. Cr. in Gr. (4), Obama (2), Laden (2),
History for Fun, Personal Relevance (Subjective Past/ Historical Culture)	7	Olympics (1), Laden (1), Royal Wedding (3), System of Down (1), Black & Bieber (1)
Causal Significance	1	Bin Laden

The categories I have identified indicate different ways of thinking and they were informed by my reading of Cerdadillo (2000, 2001) and Seixas (1997) while they combine aspects of historical thought and motives about learning and using the past. Students were tried in two phases, in a taught material (significant events till 1989) and in unknown material, with the open question about the most significant events from 1989 onwards.

Broad and narrow time frameworks

A category that collected relatively many students' answers according to the data, (see tables II and IV), is the "symbolic" significance. Cercadillo found that using this category indicates progression in historical understanding, (2001, p. 131). "Symbolic" significance functions in an abstract level, setting moral examples from the past for the present. It also can function from both the past agents' point of view (the contemporary perspective) and from the point of view of the a user in the present. On the other hand, it does not indicate a historical thinking as refined as the category "significance for the past and the future" since the people that use it do so in an a-historical way. Specifically, the examples set from the past are not related to time or to specific conditions, they are "timeless" (Rüsen, 1993, p. 81). This is the reason why I relate it to the "paradigmatic" or "exemplary" type of historical consciousness as set by Rüsen. Excerpts that would indicate the use of "symbolic" significance in this data are the following:

Symbolic Significance

- (a) "think that the founding of "Philiki Etaireia" which constitutes a chapter [in history], is most important, and that it would interest any Greek, it shows the collective effort".
- (b) "I choose the Greek revolution, because today we are free because of our ancestors, so that we have to honour them".
- (c) "I think that Fukushima is significant because it constitutes an environmental catastrophe and calls us to realize the consequences and the dangers of using nuclear power".
- (d) "The situation in Greece, [the economic crisis], calls us to think, do we have to turn [for solution] somewhere else if politicians are incapable?"
- (e) "The movie "Requiem for a Dream" shows us how people's lives are destroyed by drugs ..."

As shown from the excerpts above, and especially from the excerpts (a) and (b), "paradigmatic" or "symbolic" significance could also indicate an "identity" past. The latter, while an abstraction and a clear use of the collective past by the individuals, it is really an easy past since, according to Elias, it is a "[past] learned from other people", (Elias in Chartier, 1997, p. 117).

There are two other categories which are considered to indicate a high level of historical thinking: the "significance for the present and the future" and the "pattern significance". In my data, those categories collected the majority of students' answers, though in a non consistent way. "Pattern significance" was more frequently present in the second task (events after 1989) while "significance for the present and the future" in the first task (events before 1989).

Both of these types of significance indicate that students have created a broad time framework in a way that they can move backwards and forward among past, present and future. The difference between the categories is that in the "pattern significance" the emphasis is put by the individual user on the notion of change, in the sense that the event one refers to is considered to be a turning point within a broader pattern of changes. By comparing between past and present, one feels there is a great change taking place, a change that will lead to further developments. On the other hand, the "significance for the present and the future" resembles Rüsen's "genetic" type of historical consciousness, where the past is critically assimilated by the individual and transformed into a present and a future (1993, p.81). Individuals see consequences of events in the present not in a stereotypical way of the kind, "the bigger the change the bigger the significance". Instead, they are capable of assessing their past experience and retain for the future only the functional parts. Thus they have a temporalized notion of historical significance, or a relativized one: an event's significance depends on the context and the time dimension. Relevant excerpts are the following:

Significance for the Present and the Future.

- (f) "I consider Enlightenment very important for the evolution of ideas till today".
- (g) "I am especially interested in the formation of political ideas in the 1929 period, ideas that led to World War II ...equally interesting is the case of developments that followed World War II till the 1960s and the foundation of the U.N, developments that brought out the most powerful countries, the ones that decided for the future of the whole world".

Pattern Significance.

- (h) We are having in music something new and of the avant garde, (about Lady Gaga)".
- (i) There are countries that are trying to stop dictatorship and when they do it they will change the whole world, (about the liberation movements in Africa)".

"Contemporary significance" can be confused with "causal significance" because in both cases individuals understand the past, in a way that separate events cause other separate events to take place and they overlook the relationships among them (Lee, 2005, p.52). The students' vocabulary of the "causal" or "contemporary" significance is about "consequences". Kitson explains that consequences in students' minds serve as a "yardstick of sorts on which to make value judgements" about what can be judged as historically significant, (Kitson in Bradshaw, 2006, p.20).

"Contemporary significance" seems to be of an even more simplified conceptualization than "causal significance", because everything happens and also ends in the past and there is no broader framework. On the other hand, if students can distinguish among different points of view of many different groups in the past, this would indicate a more complex understanding of how things work inhuman affairs and also a notion of empathy (Cercadillo, 2001, p. 126).Excerpts of contemporary and causal significance are displayed below:

Contemporary Significance.

- (j) "Many human lives were lost" (about Fukushima)
- (k) "Incredible consequences" (about Fukushima).
- (l) "Enormous environmental destruction with many victims" (about Fukushima).
- (m) "An important event because it started other terrorist attacks" (about Bin Laden).
- (n) "World War II was significant because many countries participated, and there were many deaths".

Contemporary with Empathy (perspectivity)

- (o) "Colonization shows the ideas of those years that developed Europe had".
- (p) "A very significant event for Greece (the 2004 Olympics)".
- (q) "Especially for the British, it is a significant event" (the royal wedding).
- (r) "For the ones that know about art, the death of Abramovic is especially significant".

Causal Significance

- (s) "Because of him many people died, especially Americans", (about Laden).
- (t) "World War II was of decisive importance in relation of how the world is today. If the Axis' powers had prevailed we wouldn't have democracy now".

Students, historiographies and historical culture: the affective aspect of the past.

Last but not least, two other categories of a slightly different nature, deserve our attention, because they show more students' relationship with the past and the affective side of that relationship, what makes students interested in the past, and not a level of conceptualization in relation to historical significance. Tables II and IV also display uses of the past but the several categories are not all indicative of levels of historical thinking. Thus the category "History of Ideas, Mentalities, Empathy" indicates, if not a level of historical thinking, at least a preference about a certain type of historiography and, in consequence, a certain type of reasoning about the past. Students seem to follow practices that belong to the "New History", even when they justify conservative and highly expected choices of theirs, like the two World Wars. Instead of giving explanations referring to other events, they talk about the people, their traditions, and ideas:

Students, historiographies and historical culture: the affective aspect of the past

- (u) "I would like to know more about colonization, to learn about all the new life conditions and traditions that the Europeans discovered then".
- (v) "We can see (about the 1929 period) how the conditions of those years formed the political ideas of the following years and where those ideas led".

The term "New History" is used here to describe the kind of history that does not focus to great men and political events but to groups of people, their everyday life and mentalities. As Chartier put it "...historians [in the 1980s'] worked to restore the role of individuals in the construction of social bonds", (1997, p. 15). Students of this sample seemed to have been interested in people's different ways of life and thinking modes.

The last category that appears in both the first exercise (about the events till 1989) and the second one (about the events from 1989 onwards) is "History for Fun, Personal Relevance (Subjective Past/Historical Culture)" Even when selecting items of traditional history, events referring to states, governments, wars, the economy, students used arguments referring to themselves as individuals, their likes and dislikes and sometimes seemed to perceive history as entertainment. This finding is consistent with research in teaching history where scholars comment on the crucial role of historical culture for students, calling at the same time for relevance in history classes (Barton, 2009, p. 265, Kokkinos, 2010, p. 51, Stearns, 2010, p.47, Ribbens, 2007, p. 63, von Borries, 2009, p. 283). It is also consistent with historians who remark that such is the impact of public history and popular historical culture on students' and other people's historical consciousness that "professional historians will become increasingly irrelevant not just to how the content of the past is organized but also to how it is expressed in the public realm", (White in Munslow, 2007, p. 73). De Groot also comments on "historiocopia", a term that describes the phenomenon of the people that consume the past almost anywhere except from the established for this purpose places like the academic institutions (2009, p. 13).

Returning to our data students seemed to have selected their past's significant events either for reasons of personal identification, an attitude that takes us to Seixas' category of "subjective [perception] of significance", (1997, p. 25), or for reasons other than the historical or political content of their choices, reasons that retain the echo of movies or popular literature. In the latter case learning about the past would mean entertainment.

History for Fun, Personal Relevance.

- (w) "I would like to know about what the US was in the past, I see all these cowboy films and I cannot locate them in time".
- (x) "I would like to learn more about the industrial revolution because I saw the "Lord of the Rings" and I was told that it is a comment to industrialization".
- (z) "I would like to learn more about Philiki Etaireia because I find fascinating the secret way in which it acted".
- (z1) "I would like to learn more about the Cold War because I like spy stories".
- (z2) "With the execution of Bin Laden we have for the first time the use of new techniques in military enterprises, the helicopter and the whole way in which the execution was organized." (Excerpt from a group interview with three students. Vivid conversation followed the above remark about Bin Laden, where information was exchanged about how the execution developed).

(z3) "What a pity that the "System of Down" split, I liked their music so much".

The latter excerpts are not perhaps indicating the kind of historical significance history educators would aim too; in fact some of the remarks are "radically subjectivistic", as Seixas would describe them (1997, p. 24). On the other hand, those excerpts display a range of possible environments where an interest about the past develops, an interest potentially historical.

What could also be interesting about this data is that any assessment of students' moderate selections in the first exercise (TABLE, I), is reversed by the display of students' constructs (TABLE II). For example, while alternative subjects of history, that refer to art for example, are only nineteen, (versus the forty-eight selections of more traditional historical content), students' justifications about the same traditional subjects are not traditional at all. One can see TABLE II, where the two categories "History of Ideas" and "History for Fun" reach twenty – nine excerpts.

Distortions of the historical past in the realm of popular culture and public history are well known; Seixas 1993, Wineburg 2001, Barton and Levstik, 1998, De Groot, 2009, Munslow, 2007, are only some of the history educators and historians that have acknowledged the problem. On the other hand, as De Groot emphasizes, historians need "to gain some small understanding, of the multitude and variety of ways in which contemporary society engages with and consumes the past", (2009, p. 13). Ribbens, from the realm of history education, also emphasizes the central role of historical culture in the sense making process of the past in which students participate. He reminds us that, in a recent survey on Dutch and British youths' historical consciousness, most of the adolescents selected their family past as the most important past of theirs, (2007, p. 68). The latter finding takes us back to Rosenzweig and Thelen's survey in Americans' historical consciousness that displayed similar findings. Ribbens finally reminds us of the variety of the environments students meet their past and construct their identities today, identities that are not solely national (2007, p. 68).

Conclusion

There has been a discussion of the ways in which twenty-two students of age fifteen, in a Greek classroom, attempted to construct an understanding of historical significance. Two significance exercises took place both in taught (known), and unknown material. The same categories were formed in both exercises with slight differences. A common finding referring to both exercises was the kinds of pasts students used: they mostly chose pasts of their everyday life and entertainment, an attitude that became more apparent when they were called to support both their choices, traditional and not traditional. The latter finding of these two exercises in historical significance that aimed more at teaching the concept and not at researching it, calls for attention to be put not only on the content of the history lessons to be taught, but in all the other environments students meet

traces of the past, either constructed in narratives (like in school) or in more unstructured ways. Additionally, one needs to reflect on how the historical content students gain inside and outside history classrooms, or prior historical knowledge, intervenes in the historical skills students develop, how historical knowledge limits students' construction of narratives.

Contact details

Eleni Apostolidou
apostolidouxx@hotmail.com
10 Monis Sekou str.
Pangrati,
11634 Athens,
Greece.

REFERENCES

- Allsop, S. (2009). 'We didn't start the fire', *Teaching History*, 137, 52-59.
- Ankersmit, F. (1983). *Narrative Logic*, (The Hague).
- Barton, K. & Levstik, L (1998). 'It wasn't a good part of history', *Teachers Collge Record*, 99(3), 478-513.
- Barton, K. (2009). 'The denial of desire: How to make history education meaningless', in L. Symcox and A. Wilschut (eds), *National History Standards (IAP)*.
- Bradshaw, M. (2006). 'Creating controversy in the classroom: making progress with historical significance', *Teaching History*, 125, 18-25.
- Cercadillo, L. (2000). *Significance: Students' Ideas in England and in Spain*, Thesis (PhD) (University of London, Institute of Education).
- Cercadillo, L. (2001). 'Significance in history: students' ideas in England and Spain', *International Review of History Education*, 116-145.
- Chartier, R. (1997). *On the edge of the cliff*, (John Hopkins University Press).
- DeGroot, G. (2009). *Consuming History*, (Routledge).
- Ellis, R. (1993). *Political change through time. A study in development*, Cambridge History Project, vol.1, (Cheltenham, Stanley Thornes).
- Foster, S. & Howson, J. (2010). 'School history students' "big pictures" of the past', *IJHLTR*, 9 (2), 132-143.
- Harnett, P. (2009). 'A Balancing Act: Blending Local, Regional, National, European and Global Contexts', in S. Aktekin, P.
- Harnett, M. Oztürk and D. Smart (eds), *Teaching History and Social Studies for Multicultural Europe*, (harf, Egitim Yayinciligi).

- Jansen, H. (2010). The Little Dog of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi: Europe between Mediterranean and Atlantic, http://ac2010.euroclio.eu/joomla/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=46&Itemid=105
- Kokkinos, G. (2010). 'The controversial past and trauma in history education. Approaches and remarks', *IJHLTR*, 9 (2), 51-62.
- Lee, P.(2005). 'Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History', in S. Donovan and J. Bransford (eds), *How Students Learn*, (Washington, DC: The National Academy Press).
- Lee, P. & Howson, J.(2009). 'Two out five didn't know that Henri VIII had six wives', in L. Simcox and A. Wilschut (eds), *National history standards*, (IAP).
- Liakos, A. (2007). *How they thought of the nation the ones that wanted to change the world*, (Polis, a Gr. edition).
- Munslow, A. (2007). *Narrative and history*, (Palgrave).
- Pickles, E. (2010). 'Valid assessment of students' use of historical sources', *IJHLTR*, 9 (2), 75-84.
- Riebens, K. (2007). 'Historical culture and history teaching', in M. Grever and S. Stuurman (eds), *Beyond the canon*, (Palgrave).
- Rietbergen, P. (2010). What kind of History for the 21st century: European or Dutch?, <http://ac2010.euroclio.eu/joomla/index.php>.
- Rosenzweig, R. (2000). 'How Americans use and think about the past', in P. N. Stearns, P. Seixas, S. Wineburg (eds), *Knowing, Teaching & Learning History*, (N.Y.: New York University Press).
- Rüsen, J. (1993). *Studies in Metahistory*, (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council).
- Rüsen, J. (2005). *History (Narration-Interpretation-Orientation)*, (New York-Oxford: Bergham Books).
- Seixas, P. (1993). 'Popular Film and Young People's Understanding of the History of Native American-White Relations', *The History Teacher*, 26 (3): 351-370.
- Seixas, P. (1997): 'Mapping the terrain of historical significance', *Social education*, 61(1), 22-27,
- Seixas, P. (2002). 'The Purposes of Teaching Canadian History', *Canadian Social Studies*, 36 (2).
- Stearns, P. (2010). 'History debates: the United States', in I. Nakou and I. Barca (eds), *Contemporary public debates over history education*,(IAP).
- Von Borries, B. (2009). 'Competence in historical thinking', in L. Simcox and A. Wilschut (eds), *National history standards*, (IAP).

International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research, Vol. 11.1, 2012, pp 24-39

STUDENTS' USE OF HISTORICAL EVIDENCE IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Manuela Carvalho, teacher, researcher and Euroclio ambassador and Isabel Barca, associate professor, University of Minho, Braga, Portugal

.....

Abstract

The study reports research on the competence of Icelandic, Italian and Portuguese students in interpreting historical sources in the final years of their compulsory common core curricula. Such competence involves complex processes and heuristics that relate to the overall role of History Education in educating for citizenship. The research involved 54 thirteen to sixteen year old pupils. It involved the students in analyses of results included 2 foci, which presented contrasting interpretations of the Roman occupation of Europe, in a common geographical location. Analyses of results indicated three foci: source interpretation, evidence and objectivity. The study concludes that in the three countries only a small minority of pupils are thinking in an objective and sophisticated way adequate to deal with problematic or contradictory complex situations and interpretative evidence about them.

Keywords

Common core curriculum, Competencies, Constructivism, Curriculum, Evidence, Iceland, History education, Italy, National Curricula Portugal, Situated learning, historical sources

Introduction: Challenges from the educational context, 2002-12

When this study began, nearly a decade had passed since the introduction in Portugal of a curricular matrix of a constructivist nature (Abrantes, 2001), following a tendency initiated during the late eighties in the countries of western culture. The emphasis on the development of competencies was grounded in relevant educational research work - historical cognition included - and aimed to examine the students' construction of an integrated knowledge. It could not have the 'Midas touch' effect of immediately solving the major educational problems in the country, (namely the overload and incoherence of many official curricular norms, the inconsistency of the teacher education policy and the theory/ practice gap still visible in many schools), but it has anchored some relevant pedagogical practices aligned with the official paradigm. In the case of history education, that route coincides with consolidating a line of research in a situated learning approach. In any case, the change of paradigm in Portugal was seen with apprehension at a time when the amount of hours and resources allocated to the subject tended to decrease, following a general European pattern (Leew-Roord, 2003).

In the frame of this general problem and considering:

- the epistemological debates on the nature of historical knowledge;
- the results of research on historical cognition about students and teachers' conceptions;
- and the general and specific profiles of historical competences defined in Portugal and some other countries' curricula;

we set out to explore not what the students do not know, but what they might be learning in a structured axis of source interpretation, a historical competence of crucial relevancy for literacy in general.

As in the globalized world we live in, the knowledge of a given human reality must intermingle with other realities – since the more we know unfamiliar realities, the better we can understand and question social world issues and ourselves. We saw it as a fundamental concern to research students' ideas not only in Portugal but also in other countries with close historical and cultural traditions, such as Italy, or with more remote ones as in the case of Iceland.

The main purpose of this study, therefore, was to reach an answer to the question: "What kind of competence, when interpreting historical sources, do Icelandic, Italian and Portuguese students display, in their final years of the common core curriculum at compulsory education.

Curricula and historical evidence

At present, the curricular referents of the general run of European countries seem to converge in the purpose of "educating citizens" who are not only socially integrated but also active in the construction of democratic states (Leew-Roord, 2003). Such a curricular concern stresses the role that historical knowledge plays in the attainment of this end, although in the field of research on history education it has been challenged by another, historically more genuine conceptualisation, that of developing an advanced historical consciousness for our times (Rüsen, 1993; Angvik & Borries, 1997; Lee, 2002; Seixas, 2004).

Curricula seem also to emphasise the competence of interpreting sources in history, despite the different formulations they present, more or less akin to the concept of evidence that we find whether in epistemological debates on historical knowledge (Bloch, 1976; Collingwood, 2001; Mattoso, 1997; Mattozzi, 1998; Van der Dussen, 1991) or in the vast empirical research following the model of conceptual progression in history education (Ashby, 2003, 2005; Barca, 2009, 2005; Cooper & Chapman, 2009; Gago, 2005; Lee, 1997, 2005; Wineburg, 1991).

In the wake of these authors, we assume that the use of historical evidence (making inferences about the past by interpreting the available sources) is a competence that not only implies a substantive understanding of the messages conveyed by a given set of sources but also carries a procedural, heuristic knowledge that enables the 'historian' to go beyond the literal sense of those messages, cross questioning the assertions they contain and constructing an inferential knowledge that goes beyond them. This inference must consider the context of why the source was produced, consequently, increasing our understanding about their authors' previous framing knowledge, intentions and possible research questions – as well as the context of the state of affairs under scrutiny. It is in this sense that, when we speak of interpreting sources in history, we are talking about historical evidence, for we not only consider the "face value" of the traces left by the past, but also the inferential reasoning developed in questioning them, a reasoning that adds new value to what those sources convey, thus allowing us to have a coherent understanding of the past.

The empirical study

In the light of this conceptualisation entangled in the nature of history and of empirical studies such as those from the abovementioned authors, we sought to know what levels of historical thinking, in terms of constructing evidence, students reveal in the final years of their common core curriculum, in Iceland, Italy and Portugal. This targeted population of three countries was defined in order to qualitatively compare conceptual levels displayed by students learning in diversified curricula contexts, when dealing with evidence in a given historical task (Ashby & Lee, 1987; Ashby, Lee & Shemilt, 2005).

The study of an exploratory and essentially qualitative nature involved a total of 54 students with ages ranging between 13 and 16, attending the last year of schooling at common core curriculum (8th grade in Italy, 9th grade in Portugal and 10th grade in Iceland) in public schools in three cities: Kópavogur (Iceland) Scarperia (Italy), and Coimbra (Portugal). From this deliberate, stratified sample of students, who participated in three data collection phases (two pilot phases and the "main study"), 30 students (10 Icelanders, 10 Italians, 10 Portuguese) were the participants for the main collection phase. In spite of differences in age and year of schooling, the students from the three countries were matched in formal assessments in social studies (Iceland) or history subjects (Italy and Portugal), as well as by sociological backgrounds.

The students were asked to solve a two-fold, paper-and pencil task closely inspired in the Peter Lee research instrument for his study on students' ideas about why historical accounts differ (Lee, 1997). That instrument included historical material composed of two diverging accounts about the

Roman Empire and the Britons, both told verbally and in images. However, the original topic of the accounts - treated as historical sources in the present study - was slightly modified to focus on the Roman occupation of Europe, thus becoming appropriate to the participant sample. In fact, the Roman Expansion was studied by the Italians (geographically more identified with the 'Romans') and the Portuguese (living in Romanised region), and not studied by the Icelanders (living in a non-Romanised culture). It is also worth noting that images were changed from those used by Lee, with the purpose of determining if and how the respondents crossed the meanings of the visual and written messages in each source and noticed the disagreement between some drawings and their corresponding textual messages.

The task proposal was designed having in mind both the theoretical and investigative pillars previously mentioned and the curricular prescriptions of the three countries. The first four questions adopted a substantive approach (a warming-up exercise) and sought to favour the students' focus on the messages conveyed by the pair of sources, allowing us to know if students tend to understand sources (or bits of them) just in isolation or do a cross comparison between them. Those first questions also allowed us to test students' ability to create a "situation model", that is to say, their own interpretation about the issue, making inferences based on source analysis in interaction with their previous knowledge. The last three questions were more clearly addressed to a second-order level of thought. Two questions focused on students' awareness of methodology and specificity of historical knowledge, using slightly modified material from the abovementioned studies (Lee, 2001, Barca, 2009, Gago, 2001): "What differences do you notice between the two sources? Justify your answer", and "How do you explain the existence of different stories about the same historical situation?". The last question took a metacognitive form, appealing to self-awareness of learning. "Which elements of sources A and B (the IMAGES or the written TEXTS) were more useful for you to answer the previous question? Justify your answer".

Data from the three countries were collected in classroom contexts by, a) the history/ social studies teacher in Italy and Iceland, supervised by the researcher collaborators in those countries, b) the researcher team, in Portugal.

Following up the written task, 8 students were interviewed to clarify the most ambiguous meanings of their answers.

Students' conceptions on differences in historical interpretation

From the inductive analysis of the data (Bogdan & Biklen, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 2008) two distinct conceptual cores emerged: 1- Source Interpretation; and 2) Evidence and Objectivity – implying

two inseparable dimensions in the competence of interpreting sources as evidence: the substantive superstructure and the disciplinary infrastructure.

The categorisation of ideas indicated by the students' answers about the two core aspects followed the model of conceptual progression in history, illuminated by epistemological reflection on evidence (Lee, 2001). The first conceptual core unfolded in two substantive constructs with a different level of complexity. Construct 1 was centred on an objective "reading" of a given message, while Construct 2 required a cross comparison between the two sources, each one with a variable in format (iconic and written language). The second conceptual core, in its turn, involved epistemological ideas about source interpretation and ideas of a metacognitive nature, as we have already mentioned.

The "dissection" and systematic comparison of the answers along the different phases of coding made it possible to identify some cognitive patterns within each one of the two core angles. In what concerns the substantive Source Interpretation core, among the 5 levels of ideas encountered, at the more elaborate level the students constructed assertions based on the sources available and on their previous contextualised knowledge. These subjects showed a comprehensive understanding and a sophisticated level of second-order thought. They saw the forest, not just one tree (as some of their peers did). Concerning ideas on Evidence and Objectivity students' ideas ranged from uncritical ideas and some naïve epistemological standpoints to conceptions of perspectival detachment (Figure 1).

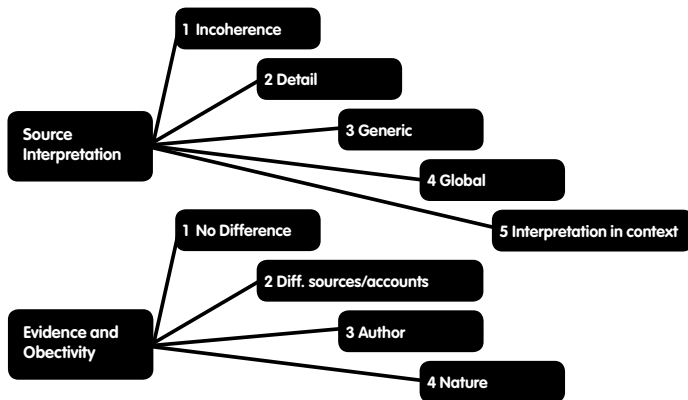


Fig. 1 Students' Ideas on Source Interpretation and Evidence and Objectivity

Subsequently, here we will discuss further the "second order" or epistemological core, concerning the students' conceptions on Evidence and Objectivity.

Evidence and objectivity

When we examined students' ideas from the three countries within this angle of Evidence and Objectivity, we found a diversity of thoughts concerning types of argumentation on the substantive issue, attitudes toward objectivity or subjectivity, and notions toward the past. Data was categorised in four levels following the model of conceptual progression: 1. There is no difference in meaning; 2. Differences in sources plainly rejected or accepted; 3. Differences due to authorship; 4. Source divergence embedded in the historical (Figure 2).

Level	1	2	3	4		
Focus	No diff.	Different sources/ reports		Different authors	Nature	
Type of arguments (substantive)	Diff. words/ telling	a) There are sources, but we cannot know what happened	b) Depends on the sources found	c) Due to transmission errors	a) Different sources	a) Start from different theories
Attitude towards the historical objectivity	Acritical	Skeptical / naive relativism	Naive realism	Subjectivism	Realism	Objectivism - perspectival reality
Notion of the past	Presentism	Inaccessible/ fixed	Accessible, but limited by the sources	Selected and organized from a viewpoint		(Re)constructed, based on evidence

Fig 2 Students' ideas on source divergence about the same historical reality

1 There is no difference in meaning

When asking the question "How do you explain the existence of different stories on the same historical situation?", some students, like Dóra at 10th grade, said - "There is a different use of words". They highlight the formal differences between sources above all. Other students stay directly focused in the substantive past, like Pietro in the 8th grade - "Because in ancient times there were already differences between rich and poor people, which still exist today" - or Miguel at 9th grade, with similar words. Dóra expresses an idea present in all similar studies: the difference between the stories lies in the words. In spite of alluding later to some diversity of information "in each story", both ideas seem to assume a straight correspondence between history and the past. Pietro and Miguel reduce differences between the two versions to a substantive feature of society that has crossed the ages: the differences between rich and poor. The student seems to be halted in the events of the period in question without awareness of the methodological bases underlying accounts about the past.

At this level, students' thinking seems to rely on the substantive past whether ascribing differences in sources to the way of telling or to characteristics of the epoch (sources as a copy of the past).

2 Differences in sources plainly rejected or accepted

Some other students look at differences among sources still as factual questions, but there is a move in the focus, from the formal language or what happened in a fixed past to considering to what extent the past can be interpreted by means of diverging sources. We could identify three tendencies: a) No (it is not possible to know); the value of different sources is rejected because they do not give us access to the past; b) Yes (there are differences); the value of different sources is accepted, but there is a problem with divergence; c) Yes but... (the value is accepted, but those sources might not be reliable). From this spectrum, a common element arises: the value of interpreting the past is only ascribed to more or less convergence with a fixed past.

a) No

The "No" group tends to express the ideal of direct observation. According to some participants, the discovery of several documents, traces of the past, gives rise to competing stories; but, since "no one has actually lived those moments" (Sandra, 9th grade), given the remoteness of a reality that can no longer be observed, "we don't know for sure what happened" (Pedro, 9th grade). Considering the impossibility of probing, we are not able to attain the truth and so the value of the sources is rejected or deemed relative. Those students appear to take an attitude of scepticism when confronted with diverse sources: given the impossibility of seeing actually what happened, we cannot decide about the validity of diverging sources.

b) Yes

In the "Yes" group, we can infer the idea that the disparity of (secondary) sources is due to the access to diverse sets of direct sources also suggesting different facts (or visions?), as Rosa at 9th grade pointed out: "There may be reports and historical documents showing that the Roman people built cities and towns, and others that say otherwise, that they built all the same throughout various regions". In this case, we can see a realistic pattern in the sense that the possibility of accessing the object of knowledge, i.e., the past, is not rejected. However, the knowledge of this very past is perhaps conditioned only by several different sources (without an apparent sense of the sources' author interpretation), and so the way of solving the contradiction they present is left open.

c) Yes, but...

In a "Yes, but" group the idea emerges that the sources may diverge, present errors, due to transmission through time or places, which perhaps implicitly suggests, although still in a naïve manner, a notion of authorship. These elements seem present in the answer from Berglind at 10th grade, "The stories have lived orally through the centuries and they change from one storyteller to another. It is also possible that the stories come from different places in Europe and also from different times". Although Berglind's ideas are still related to commonsensical knowledge ("a story never loses in

the telling...”, rather gains something) they possess, however, another component that might represent a more sophisticated thought. Would this idea imply that the authorship of these sources, coming from different times and places in Europe, might have made a selection in accordance with their own particular contexts, imbued with the systems of values that were proper to their epochs and societies?

In short, we may say that answers at this level convey the idea that most of the students are aware of the empirical basis of the historical craft, invoking “documents” and “reports”. However, the inferential nature of history or the specific nature of the historian’s work does not emerge yet. The objectivity of historical knowledge is therefore veiled by the curtain that hinders the observation of the object (of knowledge) and conditioned by problems of the sources’ reliability.

3. Differences due to authorship

At this level, some students shift the focus of argumentation to issues related to authorship. Here a more proximate attitude to the nature of evidence seems more apparent, with the awareness that the subject has an active role in interpreting or giving meaning to a given past, since (s)he inscribes elements of her/his own subjectivity as an individual or a representative of a certain culture.

In this category, a wide range of patterns was identified (see Fig. 2, above). The first one, a) Cultural Point of View (from peoples, countries), gathered a greater number of answers, followed by b) Point of view – simple assertion, and c) Individual point of view with different valuations.

In the “Cultural Point of View” pattern, the differences in sources are ascribed to a plain identification of each author with the interests of one of the peoples in question, as justified by Donatella at 8th grade: “they are told from different points of view, Source A from the Romans and B from the Barbarians”. In the “Personal Point of View” pattern, however, the students seem to understand that each individual has his/her own specific thought and circumstances that lead to a particular perspective. “It depends on who wrote the source and on what he thought about the story”, as Arnar at the 10th grade asserted. In the “Individual point of view with different valuations”, the students seem to associate the idea of point of view with the notion of attributing different values on a given situation as it seems to be the case of Goliarda at 8th grade:

In my opinion, there are two different ways of presenting the same period because there are two different points of view. One is from those who see the Romans as an important people; the other is the one that sees the Romans as a people that actually existed but, in the end, left nothing of their own.

In the least frequent patterns - “Consensual Point of View” and “Different Sources and Theories” -

the participants ascribed the existence of different narrative sources to the same situation to the fact that authors start from "different theories", as Raquel in the 9th grade says, or from the "discovery of various traces [that] led to two different hypotheses", as expressed by Agnese at 8th grade.

Therefore, as these examples suggest, some students recognise the authors' active role in interpreting the past, although not showing any strategies to evaluate the statements and decide on their relative validity, as was observed by Lee (1997) and Vansledright & Afflerbach (2005) with regard to similar answers in other studies.

4. Source divergence embedded in the historical nature

At this level students' answers show some elements, however scanty, that point to the assumption of divergence in sources as genuine features that account for historical knowledge.

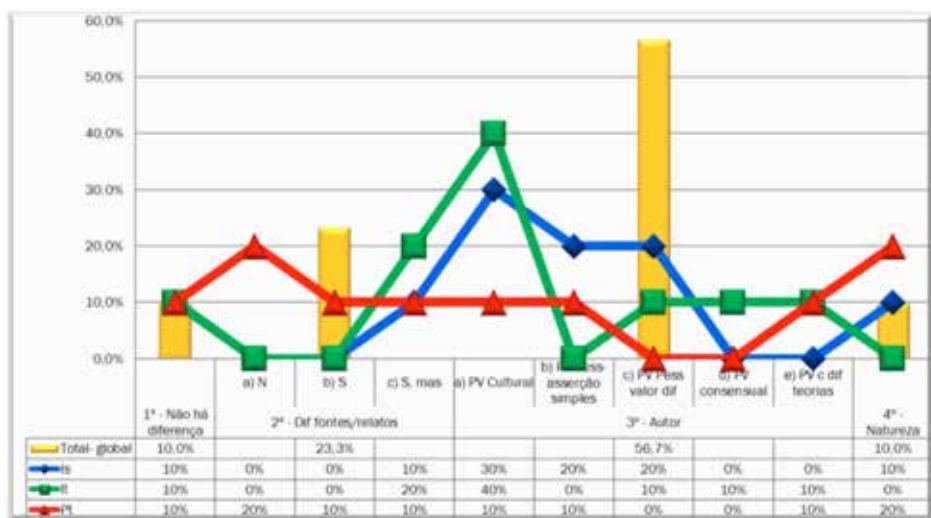
In one pattern, students see divergence as a natural, human feature of (historical) interpretation. Marta at 9th grade takes it as natural that every individual has his own thought and, for that reason, it must contain divergent elements: "all people are different; therefore, no one can think exactly the same as another." She also accepts the notion that contexts – temporal and geographical – influence the very production of sources: "these documents may have been written at different times, when people's ideas about the Romans and the way of life before them were [different] as well."

In another, perhaps more refining pattern, Marisa at 9th grade expresses the idea that historical sources like these one, being divergent and equally legitimate, address different audiences and serve, for that reason, purposes inherent in the construction of the narrative itself, one of which would be attending to their reader. She nearly addresses us, seemingly guessing one of the aims of the present study – "he may want the reader to draw his own conclusions" – and thus finishes a previous reasoning "Perhaps to make the reader think." Another refined pattern, exemplified perhaps by Sindri's answer at 10th grade, justifies the divergence of sources with the idea of a different focus of questions to be answered: "Source B is more about the resident in modern Europe rather than the Romans and source A is more about the Romans". By mentioning that each source is "about" one different people (or time) in Europe, the Romans or the current Europeans, Sindri seems to value the research questions and the inherent selection to be made during the inferential process. This idea, however, seems not to be sufficiently consolidated by Sindri, who swings back to less elaborated ideas during a follow-up interview.

In these three examples, the argumentation for the existence of different sources of interpretation on the same historical past seems to centre on elements intrinsic to the historical context. Divergence is therefore linked to the real plurality of historical thought, whether in historiographical accounts or other sources. All those elements are guided by several presuppositions, intentions and interests, leading to various actions and questions, leading to particular answers. Although in a still incipient form, ideas situated at this level seem to possess cognitive tools to “confront the divergence and uncertainty detected in school or in multiple stories of the world in general”, as Lee (2005, p. 51) emphasizes.

For a closer examination of the tendencies displayed in the participants’ answers in total and by country, a statistical analysis in terms of percentage distribution was carried out, as shown in Fig 1.

Fig. 3 – Reasons for the divergence in historical sources about the same past reality (Percentage distribution by country)



In what concerns the whole sample, we can see that the main trend lies in the Author – Cultural Point of View pattern, which ascribes the difference between sources to the engaged position of the authors towards one of the peoples in question, Romans or Europeans. This seems to mean that most of the participants understand that narrative sources reflect their constructors’ inferences, carrying the marks of their belonging to a given collective, people or culture. If this trend ignores the relationship between the message and the past for which it accounts, a naïve relativistic view might grow up.

A significant number of answers reveal “pre-epistemological” standpoints corresponding to more naïve levels of reasoning – No difference and Different sources/accounts levels, 10% and 23, 3%, respectively. Only a small group (10%) shows an attitude of critical objectivism (Nature), seeing the different historical interpretations not only in the light of the content validity and the context of production but also considering the specific character of historical knowledge organised toward answering specific, various questions on a given past issue, and also having particular audiences in mind.

The graphic sources also exhibit different kinds of answer in the three subgroups. The Italian and Icelandic participants concentrate their answers in Level 3-Author (70%), whereas the Portuguese present a more distributed pattern that stands in contrast to those groups: 50% of their answers lie in the most elementary levels (1-There is no difference and 2-Different sources/accounts), while the others figure in the most elaborate ones, Author (30%) and Nature (20%).

In respect to a subsidiary analysis, arising from answers to the question concerning the relevance of the sources’ languages (iconic, written), we observed a general tendency in the subjects to ascribe more value to the written language. This tendency was equally patent in former studies of teachers’ and students’ conceptions, published in Portugal and Brazil, justified by the “amount of information” criterion. However, here is also worth noting that the majority of the Portuguese students did not choose a language (text or image) as asked, but a source, especially the B version, which makes us wonder whether this singularity might somehow be related to some lack of skill in distinguishing and taking into account the status and type of language of the various sources for constructing evidence in history.

Implications for history education

In a qualitative comparison of results of this study, in spite of some particularities discussed here, we should note that the findings obtained about students’ ideas about Evidence and Objectivity point to the existence of some similar patterns of historical thinking among young people from diverse countries, Portuguese, Icelandic, and Italian. Furthermore, similar patterns of second order ideas [history’s disciplinary concepts] – sometimes indicated by the same verbal expressions - are also displayed by English, Brazilian and Taiwanese in other studies with diverse foci, thus corroborating a tendency that, in spite of cultural differences and substantive ideas, there is a common (global?) structure in human reasoning (Barca, 2005; Fronza, 2011; Hsiao, 2005; Lee, 1997).

The current results also suggest that some students in their final years of history education for all, display reasonably elaborate levels of source interpretation in history, notwithstanding the constraints of their educational systems in general and of history education in particular. With the tensions between innovative and conservative trends in history education over many countries – concerning models of teacher education and classroom climate and practices, as in Italy and Portugal, or the lack

of autonomy of the subject, history and the initial training, as in Iceland, perhaps less positive signs of students' historical thinking it would be expected. In any case, we cannot overlook the difficulty identified in many students participating in this study, that is, their apparent lack of the intellectual tools to provide necessary criteria for offering a well-grounded argument, when they are faced with divergent sources. Considering, in addition, the results of abovementioned studies on students' construction of evidence, there are not sufficient signs for strongly affirming that the majority of the youngsters who finish their compulsory education – and also, in many countries, their learning of history – are equipped with objective, sophisticated criteria to adequately deal with problematic or contradictory situations and thus make decisions with a positive impact on their personal lives and on the communities they live in, rather than go with the tide or the “mermaid songs”.

It seems, then, that only a minority of students is fully achieving the learning targets of a history education approach concerned with an advanced historical consciousness. To underline such a concern, we should remember that the sample of this study included, in each country, a relatively high number of students with a fine performance in the formal assessment in history/social studies.

Facing this problem is especially urgent in a time marked by utilitarian logics in which the resources available for this subject and for the education of those who teach it are increasingly scarce, leading to some failures of social education in Europe (Barca, 2010; Cooper, 2011; Mattozzi, 1998). As history (teacher) educators, we must consistently work in accordance with the findings and practical results of historical cognition, illuminated by a sound epistemological reflection – towards an historical consciousness adequate to the complexities of today. In respects to the key concept of historical evidence, it is crucial to teach, above all, cross interpretation of messages at increasingly elaborate levels, aiming at the development of inferential, objective thinking of the young people.

Contact details

Isabel Barca
isabar@ieuminho.pt

Manuela Carvalho
mmanuelac@sapo.pt

References

Abrantes, P. (Ed.) (2001). Currículo Nacional do Ensino Básico – Competências Essenciais [National Curriculum for Compulsory Education - Essential Competences]. Lisboa: DGEB, Ministério da Educação.

Angkvik, M. & Borries, B. (1997). Youth and History A Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes among Adolescents. Hamburgo: Koerber Stiftung.

Ashby, R. (2003). O Conceito de Evidência Histórica: Exigências Curriculares e Concepções de Alunos [The Concept of Historical Evidence: Curriculum Demands and Children's Understandings]. In Educação Histórica e Museus (pp. 37-57). Braga: Universidade do Minho.

Ashby, R. (2005). Students' Approaches to Validating Historical Claims. In Ashby, R. Gordon, P & Lee, P. Understanding History (pp. 21-36). London and New York: Routledge and Falmer.

Ashby, R. & Lee, P. (1987). Discussing the Evidence. Teaching History, nº 48, 13-17. London: Historical Association.

Ashby, R., Lee, P. & Shemilt, D. (2005). Putting Principles into Practice: Teaching and Planning. In Donovan, M. S. & Bransford, J. (Eds.). How Students Learn – History in the Classroom (pp. 89-189). Washington DC: The National Academies Press.

Barca, I. (2005). 'Till New Facts are Discovered': Students' Ideas about Objectivity in History. In Ashby, R. Gordon, P & Lee, P. Understanding History (pp. 68-82). London and New York: Routledge and Falmer

Barca, I. (2009). Identities and History: Portuguese students' accounts. International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research, 8 (1), 19-27.

Barca, I. (2010). The importance of history in the curriculum: contradictory signs in Portuguese politics. In I. Nakou & I. Barca (Eds.), Contemporary public debates over history education (pp. 81-95). Charlotte, NC, USA: Information Age.

Barros, R. (2008). O Uso da Imagem na Aula de História [The Use of Image in History Classroom] . In Barca, I. (Ed.). Estudos de Consciência Histórica na Europa, América, Ásia e África. (pp. 281-289). Braga: CIEd. Universidade do Minho.

Bloch, M. (1976). Introdução à História [Introduction to History]. Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América.

Bogdan & Biklen (1994). Investigação Qualitativa em Educação [Qualitative Research in Education]. Porto: Porto Editora.

Collingwood, R. G. (2001). *A Ideia de História [The Idea of History]*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença.

Cooper, H. (2011). Don't Throw Out the Baby with the Bathwater Mr. Gove: an Overview of History Education in England Over the Past Century, as a Background for Evaluating the Secretary of State's Proposed Reforms of the National Curriculum for History. In Barca, I. (Ed.). *Educação e Consciência Histórica na Era da Globalização. Proceedings of the "XI Jornadas Internacionais de Educação Histórica* (pp. 335-351). Braga: CIEd, Universidade do Minho.

Cooper, H. & Chapman, A. (2009). *Constructing history 11-19*. London: Sage.

Correia et al (2001). *Competências Específicas da História*. In Abrantes (Ed.). *Currículo Nacional do Ensino Básico – Competências Essenciais*. Lisboa: DGEB, Ministério da Educação.

Costa, A. (2007). *Ideias de Professores sobre a Utilização de Fontes dos Manuais de História: um Estudo no 3º Ciclo do Ensino Básico*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Braga: Instituto de Educação e Psicologia, Universidade do Minho.

Dinis, C. (2006). *O Uso da Música na aula de História – Concepções de Professores*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Braga: Instituto de Educação e Psicologia, Universidade do Minho.

Fronza, M. (2011). *Os Jovens e as Ideias de Objetividade e Verdade na Aprendizagem Histórica Sobre o Passado a Partir das Histórias em Quadrinhos [Students' Ideas About Truth and Objectivity Using the Comics]*. In Barca, I. (Ed.). *Educação e Consciência Histórica na Era da Globalização Proceedings of the "XI Jornadas Internacionais de Educação Histórica* (pp. 179-200). Braga: CIEd, Universidade do Minho.

Gago, M. (2001). *Concepções dos Alunos acerca da Variância da Narrativa Histórica. Um Estudo com Alunos em Anos Iniciais do 2º e 3º Ciclos de Ensino Básico*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Braga: Instituto de Educação e Psicologia, Universidade do Minho.

Ashby, R. Gordon, P & Lee, P. *Understanding History* (pp. 83-97). London and New York: Routledge and Falmer

Hsiao, Y. (2005). *Taiwanese Students' Understanding of Differences in History Textbook Accounts*. In Ashby, R. Gordon, P & Lee, P. *Understanding History* (pp. 54-67). London and New York: Routledge and Falmer

Leeuw-Roord, J. (2003). *History Changes – Facts and Figures about History Education in Europe since 1989*. Haia: EUROCLIO.

Lee, P. (1997). 'None of us was there': Children's ideas about why historical accounts differ. In *Historiedidaktik, Norden 6, Nordish Konferens om Historiedidaktik, Tampere*. Copenhagen: Danmarks Lærerhøjskole.

Lee, P. (2001). Progressão da Compreensão dos Alunos em História (Progression in students' understandings of the discipline). In Barca, I. (Ed.). *Perspectivas em Educação Histórica* (pp. 13-27). Braga: Universidade do Minho.

Lee, P. (2002). "Walking backwards into tomorrow": Historical consciousness and understanding history. Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, University of British Columbia, Vancouver (pp. 1-45). www.cshc.ubc.ca [25.07.2011].

Lee, P. (2005). *Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History*. In Donovan, M. S. & Bransford, J. (Eds.). *How Students Learn – History in the Classroom* (pp. 31-77). Washington DC: The National Academies Press.

Mattoso, J. (1997). *A Escrita da História – Teoria e Métodos*. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa.

Mattozzi, I. (1998). A História ensinada: educação cívica, educação social ou formação cognitiva?[History teaching taught: civic education, social education, or cognitive education?] In *O Estudo da História*, 3 (pp.23-50). Lisboa: APH.

Moreira, M. G. (2004). *As Fontes Históricas Propostas no Manual e a Construção do Conhecimento Histórico*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Braga: Instituto de Educação e Psicologia, Universidade do Minho.

Rüsen, J. (1993). *Studies in Metahistory* (Ed. by Pieter Duvenage). Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Seixas, P. (Ed.) (2004). *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*. Vancouver: University of Toronto Press.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (2008). *Pesquisa Qualitativa [Qualitative Research]*. Porto Alegre: Artmed.

Van der Dussen, W. J. (1991). The Historian and his Evidence. In Van der Dussen, W. J. & Rubinoff, L. (Eds.), *Objectivity, Method and Point of View: Essays in the Philosophy of History* (pp. 154-169). Leiden: E. J. Brill.

VanSledright, B. A. & Afflerbach, P. (2005). Assessing the Status of Historical Sources: an Exploratory Study of Eight US Elementary Students Reading Documents. In Ashby, R. et al (Eds.). *Understanding History* (pp. 1-20). Londres e Nova Iorque: Routledge e Falmer.

Wineburg, S. (1991). Historical Problem Solving: a Study of the Cognitive Processes Used in the Evaluation of Documentary and Pictorial Evidence. *Journal of Education Psychology*, 83 (1), 73-87.

- i Following the 2001 document, the Learning Outcomes for all subjects at compulsory education were made public in 2011 (<http://www.metasdeaprendizagem.min-edu.pt>). The current Minister of Education and Science revoked the 2001 document (12.12.11), and announced a new educational reform.
- ii Each grade (N=10) of the total sample (N=30) was divided in three subgroups with different levels of performance in the formal assessment of the subject – high (N=4), medium (N=3) and weak (N=3) – according to the information provided by their teachers.
- iii The profiles of competence at the end of compulsory education presented in the curricula of Iceland, Italy and Portugal stipulate that students must learn how to use and cross sources with different languages and messages, infer concepts and be acquainted with the historical method.
- iv In the studies by Moreira (2004), Dinis (2006) and Costa (2007), published in Portugal, and by Barros (2008), in Brazil, we see that students, in the case of the first study, and teachers, in the others, seem to ascribe more relevance – and therefore privilege – to the use of written sources.

International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research, Vol. 11.1, 2012, pp 40-59

'FUTURE TEACHERS OF THE PAST'- AN ANALYSIS OF INITIAL TEACHER TRAINING STUDENTS AND THEIR PREPARATION TO TEACH PRIMARY HISTORY

Paul Checkley-senior lecturer and curriculum leader for history, Liverpool Hope University and

Claire checkley-lecturer in history, Liverpool Hope University

.....

Abstract

This paper, developed from original data collected from students on both undergraduate and postgraduate Initial Teacher Training (ITT) courses, from sessions on pedagogical approaches to teaching history in the primary school.

With curriculum changes appearing imminent, and the need for students to be able to view the curriculum through a variety of 'subject lenses', we begin to analyse what personal experience students have of being taught 'history', and while on ITT, observing history being taught and their opportunities to teach history.

We consider a situational analysis of the student experience and what support has been given to teach history in a Primary School, both as a discrete domain and as part of a cross-curricular approach, on completion of their training.

We consider some first thoughts on the effect students' personal view of history teaching may have on the quality of provision in the classroom. We make initial considerations on exploring the 'mindset' of ITT students towards history, as their experience develops.

We draw some tentative conclusions and suggest further investigations which may be made. For example, we plan to develop research into students' understanding of key elements of pedagogy for history. We would welcome expansion of this ongoing research from other ITT providers and agencies.

Key Words

Learning and teaching, History, Primary curriculum, Creativity, Skills, Pedagogy, Initial Teacher Training.

Background

The research was based in two inter-related contexts, the place of history in the primary school curriculum in England and the nature of Initial Teacher Training. The initial stimulus was an unconfirmed concern that ITT students appeared to be receiving diminished experiences in teaching

history. Discussions with other foundation subject leaders led us to begin our research and we are indebted to Arthur J. Kelly, Liverpool Hope University (Senior Lecturer – Geography) for his thoughts on the pedagogy of his domain, which helped crystallise our approach. Although we utilise the term 'Initial Teacher Training' we would concur with the view of Kelly, (2009) that 'ITT here describes the initial professional development phase of teachers rather than the term 'Initial Teacher Training' with its connotations of technocratisation, managerialism and reductionism. Robots and monkeys may be trained, teachers are educated.'

ITT students and the place of History in the Curriculum – a quick consideration.

'History currently has a limited place in the curriculum. In primary schools, this has been because of the necessary focus on literacy and numeracy. However, schools are beginning to reconsider subjects like history and their role in the wider curriculum, for example in supporting literacy.' (Ofsted 2007)

Such is history, summarised by Ofsted; development in practice, seen simply within a role of 'supporting literacy'. Yet the domain has been part of the 'broad and balanced' national curriculum since its inception in 1988 (National Curriculum, 1988).

What of pupils' attainment? 'Pupils' achievement is satisfactory at Key Stages 1 and 2. Pupils know about selected periods and themes, but they are often weak at linking information together to form an overall narrative or story.' They are also often weak in important history skills.' (Ofsted 2007). Is this the progress after 20 plus years of government curriculum design? We need to remember that the vast majority of our current ITT students, both post and undergraduate, have been educated within this National Curriculum remit.

Those students have, perhaps, received more stimuli for their history development in secondary education: 'Pupils' achievement in secondary schools and colleges is good and, in terms of examination performance, standards compare well with other subjects.' (Ofsted 2007). Yet it is important to note that 'However, only just over 30% of pupils study the subject at Key Stage 4 and fewer still post-16.' (Ofsted 2007).

Prior to 1997, in terms of subject status and identity, history was becoming well established in the primary curriculum. History focused topics were replacing more integrated approaches, particularly at Key Stage 2 and considerably strengthened history's status. Whether history was being taught with quality, though, remains to be considered. However, Excellence in Schools

noted that the key aim of education was to ensure that children are both literate and numerate, and from that base to use literacy and numeracy as opening ...the door to success across all the other school subjects and beyond' (DfEE, 1997).

To achieve higher standards in these core subjects, the statutory requirements to teach the foundation subjects, including history, were suspended from September 1998 and inspection reports would not comment on teaching in these subjects either. In addition new frameworks for teaching were announced, which incorporated detailed strategies for teaching literacy and numeracy in primary schools (DfEE, 1998, 1999). The Literacy and Numeracy Strategies appear to have dominated primary curriculum planning, teaching, continuing professional development and time since.

The status of other subjects was considerably eroded, 'although the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) mounted a brave defence of a broad curriculum in *Maintaining Breadth and Balance* (QCA, 1998a), where throughout the document there is an emphasis on schools making their own decisions relating to curriculum provision and organisation through prioritising specific aspects of different subjects, combining or reducing particular aspects.' (Harnett 2000). The history schemes of work from QCA, followed, and provided examples for planning historical enquiries. The schemes of work were designed to assist teachers in their planning, but in practice many schools discarded their own curriculum plans and adopted the schemes exclusively, in many foundation subjects; 'the schemes of work in effect became another version of the National Curriculum.' (Harnett 2000).

It would seem that this situation may have, in fact, limited flexibility in planning the primary curriculum, particularly in Key Stage 1, where it is currently proving difficult to find examples of 'Famous People' and 'Important Events' being experienced, other than Florence Nightingale and the Great Fire of London, both examples having been utilised in the QCA scheme of work for History, through both student planning and school visits.

History's status as a subject then, appears to have become more marginalised. The reasons for this would, again, appear to be complex, yet many relate to broader developments in the primary curriculum. The Literacy and Numeracy strategies, prescriptive in terms of timing, content and to an extent pedagogical approach, have eroded not only history, but many other foundation subjects within the primary curriculum, through reduction in curriculum time available. Other initial considerations would appear to include the confidence and understanding of the teachers in primary schools, and a 'mindset' that history is not as important as some other domains. Where school staff collectively recognise the importance of the subject and its concomitant skills and concepts, and have the confidence to integrate good skill-development activities within a clear progression, then

history in primary schools is successful. In many schools this is not the case, and with Ofsted narrowing their inspection base in practice, there appears less pressure on teachers to build on the opportunities offered for children's learning by History.

The situation in History would appear to be mirrored in geography, by the research of Kelly (2009) where he calls on Catling et al. (2003) and Bell (2005) to consider geography's non-specialist teachers and continued 'patchy' provision. The position for curriculum development in history, and other foundation subjects, has not been made any clearer by the subsequently 'Withered' Rose Report (Rose, 2008). After the Cambridge (Alexander, 2008) and 'Independent' Rose (2008) Reviews regarding the primary curriculum, and the Labour government's push for the adoption of a 'new' national curriculum, rushed into schools in February 2010, and subsequently 'washed out' during 'wash up' sessions by Parliament, and removed by the current government upon its election, many schools appear to have been left in a state of flux.

The 'New' National Curriculum seemed to provide a death knell for History (at least in the media):

'Traditional lessons in history, geography and science should be removed from the primary curriculum' (Curtis, 2008)

Yet when examined in more detail the proposals, and new curriculum, did not give this message:

'A design for the curriculum is proposed, which promotes challenging subject teaching alongside equally challenging cross curricular studies.

...high quality subject teaching must not disappear from primary schools, nor should the benefits to children of well planned cross curricular studies. (Rose 2008)

And this was echoed in the final document. Subject teaching and cross curricular learning should take place, and anyone working with contemporary primary schools' curriculum would not find this unfamiliar. Yet again, though, school leaders and class teachers were faced with uncertainty as to how to fully implement the proposals, and while ITT providers began to build the new planning concepts into their activities with ITT students, as fast as changes were being introduced, the election led to it all disappearing into the ether... or has it? Initial impressions are that there will be echoes of the 'Withered Rose' in both schools and ITT training: This will be worth further consideration over the short time period. This view is supported by Primary Review:

'Many schools have started work on implementing Rose and they will feel understandably sore if their efforts are now to be wasted. But this should be seen as an opportunity, not a setback. It's an

opportunity for the debate which was prevented by the narrow remit and limited evidence of the Rose Review; an opportunity to step back from the deluge of initiatives and ask what a 21st century primary education is for.' (Alexander, 2010)

History in ITT

'In Primary schools, especially at Key Stage 2, the curriculum is demanding, yet few teachers are specialists and so find it difficult to develop the subject over four years with appropriate progression. Limits to what is possible on initial teacher training (ITT) courses for post-graduates, and in induction years for newly qualified teachers together with the lack of easily accessible continuing professional development exacerbate the problem.' (QCA,2007).

This statement followed the earlier report on History (Ofsted,2004), which considered weaknesses in specialist knowledge and 'the likelihood is that the situation will worsen in future years as a result of changes to primary teacher education'.

McNamara et al. (2008) provide an overview of recent changes to the structure, content and regulation of ITT and the inferred compliance culture at its heart. Provision for history in ITT needs to be viewed in this change context. In summary it appears the thrust for situated pedagogic knowledge relevant to today's classrooms has to be balanced against a direction for course content to be focused on core subjects, particularly English and maths. to the detriment of foundation (non-core) subjects such as history.

Perhaps the key change for ITT providers came with the publication of a National Curriculum for Initial Teacher Training (DfEE 1997, DfEE 1998). Requirements for courses were detailed, with pedagogy and subject knowledge for history specified. The emphasis on specific pedagogy and subject knowledge for teaching history was abandoned with the publication of 'Qualifying to Teach' (DfES, 2002), a revision of the professional standards. Importantly for History in ITT these standards required that students need only study history OR geography (DfES 2002) - students no longer had to receive 'training' in the breadth of the primary curriculum.

Fortunately, our home institution maintained a clear belief in the importance of ITT students viewing the primary curriculum through a full range of 'subject lenses' at this time, and both Undergraduate and Postgraduate ITT students were given the opportunity to view the pedagogy of all foundation subjects, but was this true for all ITT providers?

The 2007 version of the Professional Standards for Teachers (DfES 2007) reduced the number of standards and gave a clear focus on embedding Every Child Matters policy (DfES 2004) through ITT, but no explicit mention of history, although as with Qualifying to Teach there are a number of relevant standards with Q14 and Q15 at the heart (see DfES, 2007)

It is difficult to judge the impact of these policy changes at a national level as research appears limited, although there is some evidence that the changes in ITT are having a negative impact on Foundation subjects such as History. (For example, Martin (2000) and Catling (2003) did explore PGCE students' perceptions of geography). Limited research has been undertaken relating to students' experiences of observing and teaching history while on school placements, and this is one key focus for our research.

Another key change that has occurred in ITT, which may be seen as of relevance here, is the increased focus on school based learning on courses, through partnerships with schools, which is legislated for and formalised in 'guidance' for HEI providers. Implicit here is an assumption that school based learning will be beneficial for students' development of appropriate professional pedagogical knowledge - in the case of history this may be called into question as being limited, given the Ofsted evidence presented previously.

Walker (2010) gives an interesting personal viewpoint on ITT:

'There has been a noticeable move away from teacher training being seen as an, at least in part, "academic" discipline, towards a model akin to that of a plumber's apprenticeship. My view however is that these trends will inevitably have undesirable consequences on the quality and commitment of newly trained teachers and are part of the deskilling of the teaching profession. What it all boils down to is essentially the old "education versus training" discussion. In the case of the "trained" teacher dare I say it might be to produce the same lesson objectives, same plans and plenaries lifted from the myriad government documentation year on year, class by class. An "educated" teacher however will have flexibility, purpose, vision, understanding and, I would presume to suggest, a little healthy cynicism of what is thrust before him or her.'

To summarise, evidence suggests that the quality of history provision in primary schools experienced by students is variable, which raises questions as to the quality of school based learning, and that the changes in ITT may also impact negatively on provision and students' domain pedagogical development.

Methodology

An anonymous pencil and paper questionnaire has been administered to BA (QTS) Primary education students in years 2,3 and 4 and PGCE Primary student teachers, prior to their final placement, but when they were aware of their teaching commitments for this, and were completing a series of 'serial' attachment days in their schools. The aim was to gain an overview of their personal history experiences and qualifications and an attempt to take a 'snapshot' of the cohort's experiences of primary history teaching while they were on school placements. We have data from two cohorts of PGCE students (2008-9, 2009-10). Each PGCE cohort will have placements in a minimum of two different schools within the year. The majority of PGCE students spent their first and second placements in the same school but in different key stages.

The data was also collected from undergraduates within three years of the course. This allowed us to quantify their personal experience/qualifications in history, and begin to explore their 'mindset' regarding the teaching of history. It also begins to allow us to evidence any progression in school experience of history teaching/observations, while final year students, as with postgraduates, allowed us to take a 'snapshot' of overall experiences.

We plan to expand this research with greater cohort numbers, particularly within final year undergraduate students. Completion of the survey was not compulsory and was administered in history curriculum workshops to the different cohorts respectively. Our research data was gleaned from:

PGCE 2008-9 cohort: 162

PGCE 2009-10 cohort: 168

This gave us a total postgraduate database of 330 students.

We have an undergraduate database of:

113 Year 2 students

111 Year 3 students

25 Year 4 (final) students.

(NB this cohort was a small final year of our optional 4th year. Our developmental research will build on a larger final year cohort next year for greater validity)

The survey was designed to explore the following areas:

- The academic level of history experience of students.
- Frequency of opportunities for students to see history being taught.
- Frequency of opportunities for students to teach history.
- Frequency of students' ancillary history teaching/experiences i.e. displays observed.
- Students' perceptions of 'History' and History's place in Primary education.

We hope to expand our research into exploring, in more detail, which aspects of history the students were involved in teaching/observing.

Initial Analysis and Findings

We were minded to explore the students' academic background in history as we considered that 100% of ITT students must have mathematics, English and science at grade C GCSE to be eligible to enter both under- and postgraduate courses. Students were asked to indicate the highest level at which they had successfully studied history.

(TABLE 1.) shows the highest level at which students had studied history

Highest Qualification	Undergraduate total / % rounded	Postgraduate total/ % rounded	Total ITT survey total / % rounded
None (KS3)	122 / 49	119 / 36	241 / 42
GCSE (equiv)	90 / 36	132 / 40	222 / 38
A level (equiv)	37 / 15	17 / 5	54 / 9
Degree	0 / 0	38 / 12	38 / 7
Higher degree	0 / 0	3 / 1	3 / 1

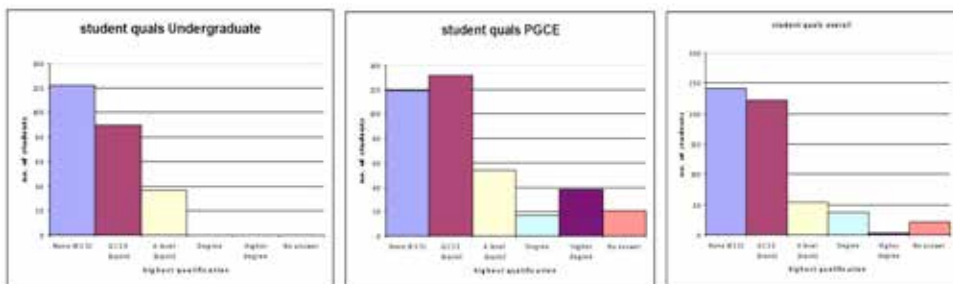


Fig. 1 shows the academic levels at which ITT students had studied history

The academic levels at which the ITT students studied history, for GCSE and A level, are comparable, or slightly higher, than average, when compared to national data (see e.g. DCSF 2007a, DCSF 2007b) with 38% of students studying history as a GCSE and 9% at A level. However a significant figure to consider here is the 42% of students who do not have a formal qualification in history, and did not continue to study the subject beyond the age of fourteen.

We asked the students to give reasons why they continued, or why they chose to 'drop', history in their academic study.

Key reasons given for Postgraduates continuing with history studies included comments on themes:

- Enjoyment / interest in history: 89 students (27%)
- Enthusiastic / inspiring teachers: 40 students (12%)
- Preferred history to other option choices: 26 students (8%)
- I was good at history: 24 students (7%)
- It's important to learn history: 15 students (5%)
- (our favourite answer was 'wanted to go on field trip to battlefields!')

Key reasons given for Postgraduates not continuing with history studies included comments on themes:

- School options forced choice to be made: 43 students (13%)
- (NB many mentioned 'so preferred geography')
- Didn't enjoy/ not interested by history: 39 (12%)
- Content too repetitive / boring / irrelevant: 29 (9%)
- Boring/poor teachers: 20 (6%)
- Too large a workload / too many essays: 11 (3%)

More detailed comment data are available and more detailed evaluations of the students' perceptions have been made, but Undergraduate comments closely mirrored those made by postgraduate students.

The reasons underpinning the continuation of history study, or not, are complex, but appear to range from option choices at GCSE, to teaching styles and perceptions of the subject. This latter point is relevant as it could be suggested that some students were 'turned off' the subject at school because of teaching styles, or their perceptions of relevance, and this could lead to them being less enthusiastic about or confident, in teaching the subject.

It should also be considered that academic understanding of history should be allied with appropriate pedagogical knowledge and in some ways those ITT students with A levels / degrees are perhaps starting from a similar point to those without qualifications. Importantly, though, they perhaps have confidence and passion for the subject, which many who dismissed history earlier in their school studies may lack.

We believe it may prove an illuminating avenue to discuss reasons for choice in more detail with students in our further research.

We then asked the students to consider their history experience within their SBL (School Based Learning). The Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) students were able to call upon three school experiences, although some mentioned they had also considered their preliminary experience immediately prior to commencing the course, when considering observations and history displays.

We asked 'Have you taught / are teaching history during SBL experience?'

PGCE cohort	2008-9 Number/% rounded	2009-10 Number/% rounded	Both cohorts Number/% rounded
YES	102 / 63	111 / 66	213 / 65
NO	58 / 36	57 / 34	115 / 35
	2 students did not answer		

(TABLE 2.) shows the numbers and percentages of PGCE students who taught history during School Based Work.

By the end of SBL2, with one practice to complete, only 15 students had taught history on their first two experiences in 2008-9 cohort, but 45 had taught history by that point in 2009-10. This was largely linked to the students' 'Special Interest Area' being history, and the course expectations being for students to teach their special interest subject earlier.

We asked 'Have you observed history being taught during SBL experience?' This related to SBL 1, 2 and serial attachment days for SBL3.

(TABLE 3.) shows numbers and percentages of PGCE students who had observed history being taught during School Based Work

PGCE cohort	2008-9 Number/% rounded	2009-10 Number/% rounded	Both cohorts Number/% rounded
YES	96 / 59	128/ 76	224 / 65
NO	66 / 41	40 / 24	104 / 35

We asked 'Have you seen History Related Displays during SBL experience?'

(TABLE 4.) shows numbers and percentages of P GCE students who had seen history related displays during School Based Work

PGCE cohort	2008-9 Number/% rounded	2009-10 Number/% rounded	Both cohorts Number/% rounded
YES	109 / 67	104 / 62	213 / 65
NO	53 / 33	64 / 38	117 / 35

It could be that in schools there were history related displays, but the students had not registered them or focussed on these at the time. In later informal discussion several students noted that they had focused on their main SBL classroom rather than the school as a whole.

Nevertheless, these figures may give some cause for concern. Of 330 PGCE students over two years, 115 (35%) of students had taught no history during their school experience on the course. 104 (35%) of students had observed no history teaching.

Was there any progression in history teaching on the undergraduate course? The same questions were asked.

We asked 'Have you taught / are you teaching history during SBL experience?'

(TABLE 5.) shows the numbers and percentages of undergraduate students who taught history during School based Work

Undergraduate year	Year 2 Number/% rounded	Year 3 Number/% rounded	Year 4 Number/% rounded
YES	12 / 11	43 / 39	18 / 72
NO	101/ 89	68 / 61	7 / 28

We asked 'Have you observed history being taught during SBL experience?'

(TABLE 6.) shows the numbers and percentages of undergraduate students who had observed history being taught during School Based Work

Undergraduate year	Year 2 Number/% rounded	Year 3 Number/% rounded	Year 4 Number/% rounded
YES	67 / 59	91 / 82	16 / 64
NO	46 / 41	20 / 18	9 / 36

We asked 'Have you seen History Related Displays during SBL experience?'

(TABLE 7.) shows the numbers and percentages of undergraduate students who had seen history related displays during school based work

Undergraduate year	Year 2 Number/% rounded	Year 3 Number/% rounded	Year 4 Number/% rounded
YES	68 / 60	105 / 95	23 / 92
NO	45 / 40	6 / 5	2 / 8

Are these figures related to students' increased awareness of history as they progress through their course? The Y2 undergraduates had received minimal input on the pedagogy of history as this survey was conducted. As their ITT course progresses, so the input for history develops. Does this then sensitise them to note evidence of history teaching in the schools?

As with the Postgraduate students, there appears to be a significant number (28%) who have not taught history during their SBL experience, although the database of Y4 students is small. However the position of undergraduates regarding teaching experience of history appears somewhat better compared with postgraduates. It is also interesting to note that a larger percentage of undergraduates have not observed history, than have not taught it. Does this possibly indicate that some students are being asked to teach history, without having experienced any modelling from teachers in school? Further semi-formal discussion with groups of students would indicate this was the case. Several Post and Undergraduate students not involved in these discussions also approached both authors for advice concerning pedagogical and contextual aspects of their proposed topics given by schools for SBL (eg Victorian schools, 'Great Fire of London') and this lack of modelling in school context was certainly the case.

When the overall picture of both postgraduate and undergraduate student experience of observation and teaching history is considered, first views would suggest the picture is not strong. Of 355 students completing studies and hopefully moving into teaching positions, 132 (34%) had taught no history during their school placements. Linking to that, 113 (31%) who have observed no history teaching (although this is not necessarily the same students) and the picture is again rather worrying.

We will be expanding our research to include exact figures, but informal discussion would also point to the fact that those students who did teach history, had taught a small number of lessons, generally varying between one and seven sessions (varying in organisation between one hour, and an afternoon session depending on school curriculum organisation). A discussion on how well a strong pedagogical approach to history utilising enquiry and evidence can be structured in single hour sessions is not part of this paper, but worthy of future consideration.

At this point it is also relevant to note that the quality of the teaching and learning in students' lessons, or in their observations of history sessions was not explored; just the perceived quantity. Also of concern is the suggestion that it is possible students are being asked to teach history with little opportunity to observe it being taught. This calls into question the notion that schools are actually providing learning opportunities based on modelling of good practice and may link to lack of confidence in schools relating to teaching of history (see Ofsted, 2007).

Data would also suggest a situation where not a lot of history seems to be taught in primary schools, although this could perhaps be a false view – schools where the organisation of the teaching of foundation subjects in 'blocks' rather than 'per week' are perhaps in a situation where, during the timing of students' SBL, the attachment classes are not expecting to teach history. As student SBLs are timetabled at similar times during the academic year, each year, this could exaggerate the lack of history teaching / experience.

Schools developing a thematic / creative approach to curriculum organisation might also lead to skewing of data, as students might not recognise the pedagogical aspects of history that may be developing as an integral part of the themes. This, however, is also important to consider. If students are not recognising key pedagogical approaches to history, then are they evidencing the ability to view the curriculum through the focus of a variety of pedagogical 'subject lenses' to enable them to successfully plan and facilitate strong history learning and teaching? When you also consider that the qualifying students' school placements, on average, totalled over one hundred days (Minimum of ninety days for PGCE students and 120 for BA QTS) the data would reinforce the notion of the marginalisation of history considered earlier.

This situation would also bring into focus the importance of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in the development of pedagogy in history. Our own institution had maintained a developed curriculum for foundation subjects, but while still voicing the importance of foundation subject pedagogical development, in practice this has begun to be eroded within some pathways. Each PGCE student has maintained 7 sessions (14 hours) of history input during the course, with continuity over consecutive weeks. However, with changes in the undergraduate course session opportunity for history pedagogical development sessions has decreased, but importantly, the sessions have become 'fractured', split over years, which perhaps does not allow a continuity of thought and focus for the students. As a student voiced on an evaluation, 'Just when we were beginning to think like historians the sessions finished.' On course evaluations for Y2 students over 35%, when asked for improvements for the course, gave the answer 'more sessions'. However, we would welcome communication from other HEIs regarding history provision, as we believe our provision could well be greater than that of many.

Our research would also seem to raise questions about entirely school led ITT routes. If, as Furlong et al. (2006) contest, 'partnership' is more about contemporary practice in school than exploring the complexity and contestability of professional knowledge, and a range of evidence suggests that practice is variable and inconsistent, then the role of school placements in supporting development of appropriate professional pedagogical knowledge is perhaps open to question.

Our research then moved to begin to examine students' 'mindset' towards history, although we are at early stages of this examination. We wanted to explore personal views of history as a domain, and the students' view of history in the primary school. We asked an interrelated series of questions to ascertain how students viewed 'history'. We made no comment regarding how to interpret the questions, but left this to the individual, so questions such as 'History is useful to me' does not specify whether this is as a teacher or as an individual.

We did ask the students about their views about history. We asked them to answer the questions rather rapidly; the key was to gain a 'gut reaction'

(TABLE 8.) shows numbers and percentages of PGCE students' responses to questions exploring their views about history

PGCE students N=330	Strongly agree Total no /%rounded	Agree Total no /%rounded	Disagree Total no/%rounded	Strongly disagree Total no /%rounded
I enjoyed learning History in school	110 / 33	148 / 45	62 / 19	10 / 3
I think history is interesting	146 / 44	170 / 52	10 / 3	4 / 1
I think History is relevant today	151 / 46	172 / 52	7 / 2	0 / 0
I think History is useful to me	106 / 32	202 / 61	21 / 6	1 / >1
I think history is enjoyable	112 / 34	180 / 55	33 / 10	3 / 1
I enjoy watching History programmes on TV	78 / 24	156 / 47	82 / 25	12 / 4
I find visiting historic sites and museums interesting	108 / 33	185 / 56	30 / 9	5 / 1

Totals not always = 330 due to small number of 'no answers' given

When viewing these foundation questions in an attempt to analyse students' attitudes towards History our initial view is that the picture appears more optimistic. The two PGCE cohorts paint a favourable collective 'mindset' towards the subject. While 22% had disliked history at school, 96% reported now finding history interesting, with 98% feeling it to be relevant and 89% enjoyable. When you consider that 36% of these students had no academic experience of history beyond the age of 14 and 35% had no experience of teaching history during the course, the cohorts still appear positive in their views of history.

It needs to be considered whether their history experiences in university, linked with their positive personal views of history will enable them to ensure high quality learning and teaching of history in their classrooms. Continuing Professional Development during their early career could reap dividends, but as mentioned earlier, this is usually not available (see Ofsted, 2007). The unusual result was 29% didn't enjoy watching history television programmes. It would be interesting to explore this further; did the students consider documentaries, historically-based drama, or both? (This query is further expanded when you view the following data for Y2 undergraduate students where 50% of students disliked watching history television programmes. Currently we have no answers for this)

This survey was completed when some of the PGCE cohorts had undertaken history activities on the course. We do not know how, or whether, their attitudes have changed from the outset of the course. This

may be a focus for future data collection. Nevertheless, this contrasts with earlier concerns regarding lack of pedagogical experience. It would appear that PGCE students are largely positive towards the subject. This will be further explored when we analyse their views on history's place in the primary school.

(TABLE 9.) shows numbers and percentages of Year 2 undergraduates' responses to questions exploring their views about history

Year 2 undergrad students n= 113	Strongly agree Total no /%rounded	Agree Total no /%rounded	Disagree Total no /%rounded	Strongly disagree Total no /%rounded
I enjoyed learning History in school	25 / 22	46 / 41	35 / 31	6 / 5
I think history is interesting	28 / 25	65 / 58	14 / 12	2 / 2
I think History is relevant today	35 / 31	63 / 56	11 / 10	0 / 0
I think History is useful to me	25 / 22	60 / 53	25 / 22	3 / 3
I think history is enjoyable	19 / 17	60 / 53	28 / 25	3 / 3
I enjoy watching History programmes on TV	13 / 12	41 / 36	46 / 41	10 / 9
I find visiting historic sites and museums interesting	20 / 18	64 / 57	21 / 19	5 / 4

We now make an initial analysis of the undergraduate students. The questions asked were identical to those to the postgraduates

Totals not always = 113 due to small number of 'no answers given'

This Y2 survey was completed at the beginning of the students' history sessions in the institution. 36% of students had disliked history at school, which was the lowest enjoyment rate of any of the cohorts surveyed. Yet 83% of the students still found history interesting but only 70% enjoyable. Nevertheless, 87% felt it was relevant today. It will be interesting to follow this cohort into future years and see if their 'mindset' alters as they progress through their history sessions in the institution, and hopefully gain some experience in schools.

(TABLE 10.) shows Year 3 undergraduate students' responses to questions exploring their views about history

Year 3 undergrad students n= 111	Strongly agree Total no /%rounded	Agree Total no /%rounded	Disagree Total no /%rounded	Strongly disagree Total no /%rounded
I enjoyed learning History in school	29 / 26	58 / 52	23 / 21	1 / >1
I think history is interesting	30 / 27	72 / 65	9 / 8	0 / 0
I think History is relevant today	30 / 27	74 / 67	7 / 6	0 / 0
I think History is useful to me	20 / 18	63 / 57	26 / 23	2 / 1
I think history is enjoyable	21 / 19	66 / 59	23 / 21	1 / >1
I enjoy watching History programmes on TV	13 / 12	46 / 41	42 / 38	10 / 9
I find visiting historic sites and museums interesting	22 / 20	61 / 55	27 / 24	1 / >1

78% of Y3 students enjoyed history at school, and that figure remained constant when looking at enjoyment of the subject. Yet 92% found the subject interesting, 84% relevant and 75% useful. The students evidence a positive attitude towards history.

Table 11 shows numbers and percentages of Year 4 undergraduates responses to questions exploring their views about history

Year 4 undergrad students n= 25	Strongly agree Total no /%rounded	Agree Total no /%rounded	Disagree Total no /%rounded	Strongly disagree Total no /%rounded
I enjoyed learning History in school	5 / 20	17 / 68	3 / 12	0 / 0
I think history is interesting	11 / 44	12 / 48	2 / 8	0 / 0
I think History is relevant today	9 / 36	15 / 60	1 / 4	0 / 0
I think History is useful to me	9 / 36	11 / 44	5 / 20	0 / 0
I think history is enjoyable	7 / 28	14 / 56	4 / 16	0 / 0
I enjoy watching History programmes on TV	5 / 20	8 / 32	11 / 44	1 / 4
I find visiting historic sites and museums interesting	5 / 20	17 / 68	2 / 8	1 / 4

Despite being only a small sample, the Y4 group appear to bear comparison to the other year groups. 88% had enjoyed history at school, 92% found history interesting and 96% relevant to today.

The overall picture for undergraduates' 'mindset' towards history, then, mirrors that of the postgraduates, in that they have a positive personal view of 'history' as a subject. These views now need to be explored with a sample section of student cohorts, possibly through semi-formal interviews.

We are currently analysing the initial data for students' perceptions of the place of history's in the Early Years and Primary Curriculum and expect to have this completed by September.

Initial Conclusions

The overall picture that appears to be developing is one of the majority of ITT students having a positive perception of history as a domain, despite a significant percentage (42% overall) having no academic qualifications and having not studied history since the age of fourteen.

School experience gives rise to some concern, as 35% of postgraduates and 28% of undergraduates at our institution, 34% overall, perceive they have not taught a history session by the time they qualify. Linked to this, 31% of students perceive they have observed no history being modelled by teachers, during their school based experiences.

When we consider Ofsted's (2005,2007) reports on the teaching of history in primary schools, and views regarding the quality of experience being given, our small scale research would appear to echo the concerns. History would appear marginalised at all levels for the students. The emphasis on literacy, numeracy and ICT is visible both in HEI courses (often driven by the QCA Professional Standards) and primary schools (driven by the 'Strategies' and Ofsted), to the detriment of the students' experiences in History.

If Ofsted's conclusions regarding History teaching are to be improved, then we need to ensure both HEI and school based experience for the students allows them to develop stronger domain pedagogical knowledge, the ability to view curriculum development through a history 'subject lens', and develop a clear understanding of how to plan stimulating, challenging, enquiry based activities for their children. With Ofsted's (2007) view that children 'are also often weak in important history skills' it would appear essential that ITT training engages in the deeper pedagogical analysis that may be seen to be lacking in purely school-based training.

Is students' experience marginalised in other foundation subjects? Kelly's (2009) research on students' experiences in geography ally closely to our initial findings. What is the situation regarding other foundation subjects and students' experience? What of the subjects which many teachers admit to being a weakness in their teaching in primary schools, for example, physical education and music?

We would welcome input from other ITT institutions, regarding student experience and readiness to teach history, but also to evidence if our initial findings for history are mirrored in other domains.

Over the next time period we hope to:

- increase our database for analysis.
- analyse Undergraduate students (Y2) to see if their perceptions of history change as they
- progress through their studies.
- explore the key aspects of History the students perceive they are teaching and/or observing in school.
- discuss with a sample of schools their development of students' history pedagogy.

Contact details

checklc@hope.ac.uk

checklp@hope.ac.uk

References

Alexander, R. (2008) Children, their world, their education: final report and recommendations of the Cambridge Primary Review, Cambridge: London: Routledge.

Alexander, R. (2010) The Primary Curriculum: Life After Rose: <http://www.primaryreview.org.uk/index.html>: accessed 3/7/10

Catling, S. (2004) An Understanding of Geography: the perspectives of English primary trainee teachers Primary PGCE Trainees' Perceptions of Geography, GEO Journal 60. No.2 149-158.

Catling S, Bowles, R. Halocha, J., Martin, F., Rawlinson, S. (2007) The State of Geography in English Primary Schools, Geography 92 (2).

Curtis, P. (2008) Scrap History Lessons In Primary, says study: The Guardian, 8/12/08

Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) (2007a) GCSE and Equivalent Examination Results in England 2006/0: London: DCSF

DCSF (2007b) A/AS and Equivalent Examination Results in England 2006/07 London: DCSF The Independent Review of the Primary Curriculum: Interim Report (2008) London: DCSF.

Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) (1997) Teaching: High Status, High Standards Circular 10/97. London: HMSO.

DfEE (1998) Teaching: High Status, High Standards Circular 4/98. London: HMSO.

DfES (2004) Every Child Matters: Change for Children in Schools, London: DfES

- DfES (2007) *The Revised Standards for Qualified Teacher Status* London: TDA
- Furlong, J. and Howson, J. Lewis, S. Campbell, A. and McNamara, O. (200-6) 'Partnership in English teacher education: changing times, changing definitions: evidence from the Teacher Training Agency National Partnership Project, *Scottish Education Review* 37: 32-45.
- Harnett, P. (2000) *History in the Primary School: the Contribution of Textbooks to Curriculum Innovation and Reform*: Conference paper <http://www.heirnet.org/IJHLTR/journal6/Harnettrev.pdf>: accessed 5/7/10
- Kelly, A. J. (2009) *An Exploration of Student Primary Teachers' Observation and Experience of Geography Teaching while on School Placements*: paper presented at annual conference the British Educational Research Association, University of Manchester, 2-5 September.
- Martin, F. (2000) *Postgraduate Primary Education Students' Images of Geography and the Relationship between these and Students' Teaching*, *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education* 9(3), 223-244
- McNamara, O. Webb, R. and Brundrett, M. (2008) *Primary Teachers: initial teacher education, continuing professional development and school leadership development*, *Primary Review Research Briefing* 6/3: Cambridge University
- Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2004) *Ofsted Subject Report 2004/5: History*: London: Ofsted
- Ofsted (2007) *History In The Balance*: London: Ofsted.
- Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) (1998) *Maintaining Breadth and Balance at Key Stage 1 and 2*: London: QCA.
- Walker, A. (2010) *History Teachers' Discussion Forum* <http://www.schoolhistory.co.uk/forum/>: accessed 9/7/10.

International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research, Vol. 11.1, 2012, pp 60-71

NEW TEXTBOOKS AND THE 21ST CENTURY HISTORY PROGRAMMES FOR MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOLS: AN ANALYSIS OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS FROM QUÉBEC

CASE STUDY: A CHAPTER ABOUT FIFTH CENTURY B.C. ATHENS

Marc Andre Ethier, University of Montreal, Canada
David Lefrancois, Universite de Quebec en Outaouais, Canada
Francis Dupuis -Deri, Universite de Quebec, Montreal , Canada
and Stephanie Demers, Universite de Quebec en Outaouais, Canada

.....

Keywords

Actantial Model, Active Learning, Agency, Citizenship, Indoctrination, Problem Solving, Québec History Education, Reflective Learning, Teaching Democracy, Textbook Analysis

Abstract

The Québec Education Ministry, in the 1980s, claimed that its history teaching programmes focused on an active, reflective and problem solving approach. Yet the textbooks that were associated to those programs had monocausal design and involved a linear history, and were attributing most social, political or economic changes favourable to democracy to unstable external causes – i.e. circumstances external to normal people that can change (causes such as the "great man") – or to stable external cause (such as "Progress"); they were rarely attributing the evolution of democracy to "unstable internal causes" (the organization or the action of the "governed"). In sum, citizens had almost no active role in the socio-historical changes, according to those textbooks (Éthier, 2006).

The students were invited to analyze past or present controversial social issues from the angle of fatalism or individual morality, while reinforcing the assumption that "the other" (people from the past) had bad ideas that good people have fortunately refuted.

Has this changed in the new textbooks associated with the history programs that were adopted in Québec, in the 2000s, for middle and high schools?

To provide preliminary answers to this question, this paper will present the results of an exploratory content analysis of a chapter of those textbooks.

Our paper is based on the results from the first step of a five-year research study we are currently conducting and which constitutes the continuation of the paper we presented last fall, at the New

York HEIRNET conference. We hope to be presenting more definite results starting this winter. Our research has primarily focused on history textbooks used in Québec secondary schools. Textbooks are widely held by teachers to be bearers of official educational aims, as well as the definite authority on historical fact and interpretation – or historical truth, according to the dominant objectivist paradigm still espoused by teachers, as recent research reveals (Therriault, 2008). As history teachers appear to rely heavily on textbooks in their daily practice (Charland, 2003; Lebrun et al., 2002), we seek to develop an understanding of the discourse found in such material in relation to general educational aims such as critical citizenship education, political literacy, and the development of justice oriented analysis and praxis.

We will begin by presenting the context of our research and its theoretical framework. Issues of methodology will then be presented, followed by the presentation of our preliminary analysis of textbook content pertaining to fifth century B.C. Athens.

Context

Among other lofty democratic claims formulated by Québec's new history programme, official documents stipulate that by the end of their compulsory schooling, students will have been taught to see themselves as historical agents capable of and required to participate in collective decisions. They will also master the cognitive processes required to learn to deconstruct narratives and memory, as well as to intervene in autonomous, critical, effective, informed, open, reasoned and rigorous ways. School history is presented by the formal curriculum as assisting students to construct and freely exercise the social and political dimensions of their citizen conscience. The official discourse goes on to claim that history education has broken away from chauvinistic narratives, be they Canadian, Québécois, male, etc., and from the mechanical memorization of "facts". There is not much new to these stated wishes nor to the fact that, once again, they are not fulfilled yet by the actualization of this programme, although they are achievable, as the work of Cooper, for example, has established that even children can deploy historical reasoning in the early elementary years. But before going on with criticism of the new history program, I must first present it.

The program is structured along four years of secondary school, from the seventh to the 10th grade. The first two years focus on what is officially referred to as World history, though it would be more appropriate to refer to history of Western society, for a total of 150 hours. The last two years focus on national Quebec history, first from a chronological standpoint and second, along a more thematic approach, for a total of 200 hours. As early as 1996, a sub-committee mandated by the Education ministry of Québec had requested that history education be given more hours in the overall school curriculum. The new program is in keeping with this request.

The official title of the program – “History and citizenship education” – eloquently demonstrates the extent and central importance of the mandate given, first and foremost to history teachers. Educating citizens, while a general educational aim to be striven for by all teachers, is officially considered to fall within the purview of history teachers in particular, who are asked to (MÉLS, 2006): help students develop an understanding of key concepts such as society, State, liberty, nation, etc. and three competencies which should habilitate them for “open and enlightened social participation within the public sphere” (p. 1). This implies that students will learn to problematize issues facing contemporary societies and question the origins of these issues (subject competency 1), to establish and interpret facts through historical attitudes, processes and concepts (subject competency 2), and, finally, to rationally debate, then act while taking into account social and political implications and motivations of stakeholders’ propositions (MÉQ, 2004, p. 344-349). In sum, they should be able to make decisions, about public issues, that are “carefully reasoned, based on evidence and logical thought, and grounded in a realistic understanding of how the social world operates” (Barton, 2011, p. 1).

This is the curricular renewal context which has led the Ministry of Education to grant over 350 million dollars since 2002 for the purchase of officially approved student textbooks and teacher handbooks (comprising instructional packages), “forcefully requested by schools to help implement the curricular reform” (Chouinard 2002, December 10, p. A3). Between 2006 and 2010, 13 French language and 4 English history instructional packages – a total of 9922 pages – were purchased by Québec schools (MÉLS 2010).

This mass entry of new textbook material in schools has of course awakened history didactics researchers’ curiosity, further encouraged to invest this field of investigation by the opportunity to put their theoretical framework to the test upon unexplored though familiar ground.

Endless research has indeed – for many years and with great consistency – documented the major flaws of history textbooks – notably in regards to omissions, bias and social, ethnic and sexual stereotypes, to name but a few (one can refer to Baquès 2009; Boutonnet 2009; Derman-Sparks 1989; Pratt 1972). Recent research and literature reviews nonetheless point to how textbooks impose discourse upon students, exert a decisive influence on lesson planning (sometimes even being used as substitutes for curriculum), occupy the greater portion of class time and induce educational practices which are ill-fitted for learning higher-order intellectual skills (Éthier 2006; Lebrun 2001; Lebrun et coll. 2002; Spallanzani et coll. 2001; Therriault 2008).

In Québec, research has been funded to look into how secondary school history textbooks perpetuate stereotypes against Muslims (M. McAndrew), how they contribute to improve reading skills (C. Blaser) the importance they give to the main ethnic groups (D. Lefrançois) and their impact on student perception of the importance of voting (E. Hyslop-Margison), focusing mainly

on the French-language texts. In other words, research has of yet shown little interest in paratext (instructions, tasks and questions, maps, figures, iconography, historical sources, historiographical excerpts, etc.), teacher handbooks, student workbooks, or English language instructional packages.

More importantly, current research appears to neglect a fundamental aspect of the citizenship education expected from the history program, that is the function and actions that instructional packages ascribe to the various historical agents in socio-political change. If students are indeed expected to emerge from history class conceiving of themselves as empowered historical subjects, they must understand history as a process constructed by such historical subjects in the past. Recent research does not establish either individual or collective historical actors' identity or role in the conquest of democratic right lauded by the textbooks. To this day, it has not been ascertained to whom or to what textbooks attribute the causes of democratically favourable change. What kind of citizenship practices underlie iconographic and textual content? In other words, are citizens and human groups portrayed as causing historical change? Who is portrayed as agents of change?

We propose to present within the limited scope afforded us today the preliminary analysis of a subset of the data gathered in preparation for a systematic and comparative content analysis of textbooks.

Our research objectives are as follows:

- Describe and analyze this preliminary sample in order to outline definitive methodology for analyzing the complete data set in regards to political evolution;
- Determine to which types of causes authors attribute democracy in their texts;
- Determine which types of citizens are promoted by the authors through paratext.

Theoretical framework

Our theoretical framework borrows from semiotics. By adapting some literary analysis categories from the works of Bakhtine (2003) on the structure of prose, we seek to identify to whom (which historical figures, which groups, etc.) are attributed the causes of rupture, continuity and change over time, and which agents are portrayed as protagonists, receivers or beneficiaries, executants or spectators. In addition to defining categories of agents associated with historically significant quests, we hope to identify, as they appear, models of citizenship practices intrinsic to historical agents' actions. This research thus aims to use content analysis adapted from Greimas' semiotic theory, more specifically the actantial model, to identify which models of citizenship practices are set forth by textbook texts and paratext (including illustrations).

Greimas' model defines narrative as a quest in which characters (actants) play one of six roles: sponsor, receiver, subject or hero, object, opponent, auxiliary. Hence, calling on the most-often used example, one could take the legend of King Arthur and narrate it thusly: Percival (the subject) seeks,

on Arthur's request (sponsor) to find the Holy Grail (object) in order to save humanity (receiver or beneficiary), with the help of Merlin (assistant or auxiliary) and in spite of Morgana's (opponent) obstruction. As this example demonstrates, narrative analysis based on the actantial model identifies the recurrent roles assigned to characters (whether they are individual, collective, living, inert, real, or imaginary) of various literary genres (such as fairy tales), but also in argumentative text such as historical accounts or essays. They refer to actants as those who accomplish, are submitted to or obstruct the main action of a story (Greimas 1966, p. 33; Greimas 1983, p. 155).

In the case which concerns us, quests may aim to diminish, maintain or increase equality as the basis for democracy – in other words, to confer the governed with a greater hold on public power, increase its reach, insure it is not reduced, etc. In such cases, quests would be defined as democratic, whereas those which aim to increase or maintain inequality, to restrict the governed's effective capacity to determine their own fate, or to exploit them would be defined as anti-democratic.

The actantial model designates those acting as subjects of these quests, their receivers or beneficiaries, and so forth. These actors may be special or ordinary individuals, abstract entities, etc. The sponsors, receivers, subjects, assistants and opponents of these quests, if they are human, may be those who govern as well as those who are governed. Some attributes of this assortment of actors allow us to group them according to the perceived causes of success or failure of democratic and antidemocratic quests. The latter can in fact be efficient, neutral or counterproductive. We will come back to this later.

Expanding democracy can be conceived as a political quest, that is an act by a subject to obtain greater equality and reciprocity (quantitatively or qualitatively) or to prevent them from diminishing (or, conversely, to diminish equality and reciprocity or prevent them from increasing) whether the act bears a positive or negative outcome. Narratives from selected textbook chapters must be described and analyzed in regards to political evolution in order to find out which actors textbook authors destine for which quests, which objects have been assigned to these quests and who receives or benefits from them. We hypothesize that very few actants will be part of the narrative, and that in spite of a few exceptions, citizens will be absent or have their role restricted to that of assistants or auxiliaries.

The perception of causes can be classified according to three attributional dimensions formulated by anology with Weiner's classic model (1979, p. 18; see also Éthier 2000, Viau 1994). The first dimension refers to the location of the cause, which may be internal or external to the subject. Hence, if intellectual aptitude constitutes a cause, success or failure is derived from an internal locus of control whereas if difficulty of the task or economic conditions is perceived as a cause, locus of

control for success or failure is external. The second dimension deals with the stability of the cause, distinguishing between permanent (and stable) causes and those which can vary repeatedly and are modifiable. Effort and organization can be seen as modifiable causes, while attributing success in partisan politics to charisma is by nature invariable. The last dimension refers to controllability, where causes are seen to be controllable if agents are perceived to have influence over them. If the fact that the agent decides to get involved or to organize (or not) and this involvement or organization is deemed to be a cause of success or failure, one can refer to controllable cause. Conversely, when agents exert no power over causes, these are seen to be uncontrollable. We would include in this category causes which are out of agents' control: fatality, providence, chance, human nature, etc.

By combining two of these dimensions, it is possible to delineate four categories of actors which can be conceived through the actantial model as the subjects of a quest. The first category refers to external stable causes and includes causes which are not known by the governed and cannot be modified, such as chance or the laws of history. The second category is comprised of external modifiable causes, which are external to the governed, but which can vary, such as the will of an exceptional individual. The third category encompasses internal stable causes, which are inherent to the governed who nevertheless have no hold over them, such as human nature, egotism, wickedness. The final category relates to internal modifiable causes, which are under the governed's control and which they can modify – their individual involvement or their membership in and contribution to an organisation would be such a cause.

Quests may be perceived to have different outcomes: they can be successful or in vain, they can even produce outcomes opposite to those expected. Claiming a democratic right may be considered a democratic quest, even in circumstances where it produces no positive change in claimants' fate. Such an outcome would make it a neutral or counterproductive quest. The 70 B.C. revolt of 70 000 Roman slaves led by Spartacus was a democratic action, though it ended in bloody repression. Textbook authors may thus qualify or describe quests as efficient, counterproductive, or neutral.

While Greimas' actantial model allows for the analysis of historical actors' agency, our analysis of citizenship models promoted by textbook authors through paratext requires a different theoretical framework. Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) research regarding the types of citizens schools aim to educate provide three categories which can be used to analyse citizenship practices. According to this typology, citizens can be:

- Responsible and conform to social rules and norms (they recycle, vote, pay taxes, respect the speed limit, enlist in the army, give to clothing drives).
- Participatory and take part in social, community, and political life (they run for office, raise awareness about responsible consumption, organize a clothing drive, etc.).
- Oriented toward justice and focused on determining the social factors of individually abusive behaviours and experiences in order to reform society to counter injustice (they question the general causes of poverty and take disinterested initiative in favour of social equality).

Method and data set

The qualitative method used was based on coding and categorizing text segments according to the theoretical framework. Triangulation through inter-judge agreement allowed for the adjustment of the initial analytical grid.

The data set is composed of five French language textbooks' treatment of fifth century B.C. Athens, comprising a total of 270 pages and written for first year secondary Quebec students. As English language textbooks are translations of the French language books, they were not taken into account at this time. Teacher handbooks and student workbooks were also omitted from this subsample.

The second phase of our research will include all the other chapters, while the third phase aims to examine how students and teachers use the textbooks, workbooks and handbooks, in both languages and throughout Québec. But we are getting ahead of ourselves here...

Results: textbooks' premises regarding democracy

There emerges from the analysis of all five textbooks a prevailing premise regarding democracy: real, true democracy is the right to participate in the decisions of the society in which one lives. It is not the idea of acting to guarantee rights to housing, healthcare, residency, etc., that is democracy does not include the imperative to act for social justice.

Such a premise stems from specific assumptions about democracy, and also leads to other corrolates and certainly to some contradictions. First, democracy is associated with the possibility to defend one's opinions, to vote or to get elected. Second, the history of present-day democracy is seen to originate with fifth century B.C. Athens, having existed nowhere else or at no other time before, then having disappeared for a long time until its reinception in 18th century Western Europe and North America. However, Athens' first democratic experience differs from democracy as we presume it to be today, as it excluded over three quarters of the city-state's population and was furthermore founded on collective rather than representative participation. This latter point is presented by textbook authors not as a quality of Athenian democracy, but as a flaw.

In other words, there is a contradiction: Athens is both good, as the birthplace of REAL democracy, the very same democracy found in Québec, and bad, as it functioned according to a model different from that associated with REAL democracy. Textbooks must reveal and overcome this apparent contradiction. This is what the next few slides attempt to show.

In spite of the Assembly's importance, textbooks do not provide students with examples of acting citizens or collective action. On the contrary, assemblies are portrayed as inefficient, time-consuming, and controlled by military and demagogic elites. The governed (ordinary citizens, slaves, women, etc.) are rarely present. When they do appear, they are never portrayed as actors (with rare exceptions), but as objects, assistants, beneficiaries or victims. Indeed, textbook authors stress that women are not allowed to vote and that they perform all domestic tasks, that metics have no political rights and cannot own land; and that slaves are property and perform the most difficult manual labour. No examples of these categories of actors struggling against or resisting their condition are ever presented.

"Great" historical figures, on the other hand, are presented as those who make history, as its true subjects. The names of Cleisthenes and Pericles are very much in evidence, as sponsors of democracy, and other traditional heroes appear, though not as often. This is the case for Draco, Solon, Pisistratus, Themistocles, Ephialtes and Cimon.

Discourse found in the selected chapter contains almost no traces of social struggles directed at obtaining greater democracy before or during the period under study. The people, as it were, are portrayed as having done nothing favourable for the advent of democratic institutions or ideals. Everything is shown to happen as if democracy self-generated or was borne from the will of great individuals enlightened by some democratic revelation. Cleisthenes, for example, is shown to push for the adoption of measures to limit the power of rich families.

There are nonetheless two notable exceptions (or quasi-exceptions) to this single-minded narrative. The first takes on the issue of stasis (this is the textbook excerpt in question): "Everyone wishes for change. Revolts break out. The rich families lose the exclusivity of power." While it does reveal that struggle took place, no subject of this struggle is identified, no person is the bearer of the action. The second excerpt involves a collective agent portrayed favourably: "Athenian leaders will head the first democratic experience in the history of Greece" (Lord, 2006, p. 100). Here again, however, students are presented with the governing elite rather than the governed as agents of change.

Text is also accompanied by extensive paratext, the latter being essentially made up of iconographic documents (maps and illustrations), in addition to a glossary, timeline, diagrams and written documents, such as historical source documents or more contemporary interpretations.

The textbooks present an abundance of maps of Europe and some world maps. However, the latter show North America as uninhabited in the fifth century B.C., which is surprising, to say the least. Illustrations are mainly composed of pictures of statues of “great” historical figures – artefacts, as it were. The figure most often presented is a statue of Pericles, though Solon, Themistocles, and some philosophers are also represented.

One also notes that the chronology presented is exclusively related to political institutions and war, from which emerges a teleological discourse based on a mechanical evolution or linear succession of steps inevitably leading to greater and greater democracy, moving from monarchy to oligarchy to Solon, Cleisthenes, and the Athenian golden age of democracy.

The diagrams serve to illustrate either the structure of political institutions (those of Quebec as well as those of Athens) or the social and political exclusion associated with Athens, though here no reference to such exclusion in Quebec is provided.

Some contemporary examples of democracy or democratic action are presented. This is the case of one textbook which presents the petition initiated by a young woman, Virginie Larivière, against firearms and of another which presents a demonstration against a coal-generated power station (the Suroît). In both cases, the emphasis is placed on the importance of having one’s voice heard, as if to say that all leaders need is to hear the information provided by the people’s voice to understand a phenomenon and put an end to its negative consequences.

Every textbook also provides students with short quotes, mostly from Euripides and Plato, arguing against democracy, ironically, though they do quote Pericles as saying just the opposite.

The student tasks which are presented alongside these sources and the questions found in the textbooks focus students’ attention on scanning for and understanding information presented in documents or in the main text. They do not require that students problematize real phenomena, nor do they call for heuristic use of concepts, method, etc. to evaluate historical interpretation or for argumentation.

These tasks promote citizenship practices and participation associated with responsible or participatory citizens – types 1 or 2 from Westheimer and Kahne’s typology. Participation and practices which could be associated with a type three citizen – one who is oriented toward justice – are nowhere to be seen. Here are some examples of tasks:

- Describe how Pericles fosters democracy
- Demonstrate how all citizens in Quebec are equal
- Identify an impact of the lack of interest toward democracy
- Name venues where one can express their views
- Create a survey about democracy
- Organize a poster contest to promote voting
- Give one's opinion: "should freedom of expression be limited?"
- Identify public institutions in one's community and determine which services they provide for citizens

Discussion

Such an exploratory research entails a number of limitations. We have yet to analyze all the textbooks, for one. Secondly, and most importantly, we have not taken into account how teachers use the textbooks and we have no idea of how students understand or interact with their content.

Nevertheless, we can already determine that textbooks provide students with the basis for a misleading vision of the world which does nothing to empower them as citizens, in spite of explicit claims to the contrary in the curriculum documents.

One can also see that textbooks present the cause of political change as external and modifiable, and that the governed are not portrayed as subjects of history.

Finally, textbook narrative and paratext are marked by a telos and a portrayal of history and indeed history education as reification. As such, textbooks do not provide fertile ground for – and may even become obstacles to – reflecting on the roots of systemic injustice which characterizes many social and cultural interactions.

Conclusion

Some brief comments, to conclude. Scientific implications of this first stage of our research are twofold: first, the analytical grid based on the actantial model and on Westheimer and Kahne's typology has proven theoretically sound in analyzing textbook narrative and paratext and it will be improved. Second, some hypotheses can be tested on the basis of this preliminary analysis, specifically in relation to teaching and learning history.

In addition, the results of this exploratory study hold some social implications, the first being that in their present state and if used as is, Quebec history textbooks do not appear to be useful tools for educating critical citizens. Finally, there are educational implications pertaining to textbooks, namely that they should be deconstructed in class, with students learning to problematize their narrative as a historically and socially situated phenomenon.

Correspondence

Marc-André Éthier, Département de didactique
Université de Montréal
90, ave. Vincent-d'Indy
Montréal (Québec) H2V 2S9
marc.andre.ethier@umontreal.ca

References

- Bakhtine, M. (2003). *Pour une philosophie de l'acte*. Paris: L'Age d'Homme.
- Baquès, M.-C. (2009). "Les manuels d'histoire et l'enseignement du fait religieux: nouvelle norme et controverses à travers les cas de l'Islam et du Christianisme". *Annales de la Société Internationale pour la Didactique de l'Histoire*. 2008/2009, 125-150.
- Barton, K. C. (2011). "Agency, Choice, and Historical Action: How History Teaching Can Help Students Think about Democratic Decision-making". Paper presented at the 2011 American Educational Research Association Conference, New Orleans.
- Brodeur-Girard, S. (2006). *L'Occident en 12 événements, 1er cycle (manuels I, II, III et IV)*. Laval: Grand Duc.
- Boutonnet, V. (2009). *L'exercice de la méthode historique proposée par les ensembles didactiques d'histoire du 1er cycle du secondaire pour éduquer à la citoyenneté*. Master's Dissertation in Education, Montréal: Université de Montréal.
- Charland, J.-P. (2003). *Les élèves, l'histoire et la citoyenneté*. Sainte-Foy: PUL.
- Chouinard, M.-A. (2002, December 10). "Les manuels scolaires nouveaux arrivent", *Le Devoir*, p. A3.
- Dalongeville, A. (2006). *Regards sur les sociétés, 1er cycle (manuels I et II)*. Anjou: CEC.
- Derman-Sparks, L. (Ed.) (1989). *Anti-Bias Curriculum. Tools for Empowering Young Children*. New York: National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Éthier, M.-A. (2006). "Analyse comparative des activités et contenus des ouvrages scolaires québécois d'histoire générale relatifs aux causes de l'évolution démocratique". *Canadian Journal of Education*, 29(3), 650-683.

- Éthier, M.-A. (2000). *Activités et contenus des ouvrages scolaires québécois d'histoire générale (1985-1999) relatifs aux causes de l'évolution démocratique*. Doctoral Dissertation in Education. Montréal: Université de Montréal.
- Greimas (1966). "Éléments pour une théorie de l'interprétation du récit mythique". *Communications*, 8, 28-59.
- Greimas, A. J. (1983). "Description et narrativité à propos de la Ficelle de Guy de Maupassant" (p. 135-155). *Du sens II. Essais sémiotiques*. Paris: Seuil.
- Lamarre, L. (2006). *Réalités, 1er cycle (manuels I, II, III et IV)*. Saint-Laurent: ERPI.
- Laville, C. (2006). *D'hier à demain, 1er cycle (manuels I et II)*. Montréal: Chenelière, Graficor.
- Lebrun, J., Y. Lenoir, M. Laforest, F. Larose, G.- R. Roy, C. Spallanzani & M. Pearson (2002). "Past and Current Trends in the Analysis of Textbooks in the Quebec Context". *Curriculum Inquiry*, 32(1), 51-83.
- Lebrun, J. (2001). "Place et rôle du manuel scolaire en sciences humaines dans les planifications d'activités d'enseignement-apprentissage des futurs enseignants du primaire à l'Université de Sherbrooke". In Y. Lenoir (Ed.), *Le manuel scolaire et l'intervention éducative. Regards critiques sur ses apports et ses limites* (p. 161-180). Sherbrooke: CRP.
- Lord, F. & J. Léger (2006). *Histoire en action, 1er cycle (manuels I et II)*. Ville Mont-Royal: Modulo.
- MÉLS [Québec. Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport. Bureau d'approbation du matériel didactique. Direction des ressources didactiques] (2010). *Matériel didactique approuvé pour l'enseignement secondaire. Ensembles didactiques 2010-2011*. Québec: Gouvernement du Québec.
- MÉLS [Québec. Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport] (2006). *Histoire et éducation à la citoyenneté. Programme de formation de l'école québécoise, secondaire, 2e cycle. Domaine de l'univers social*. Québec: Gouvernement du Québec.
- MÉQ [Québec. Ministère de l'Éducation] (2004). *Programme de formation de l'école québécoise. Enseignement secondaire. 1er cycle*. Québec: Gouvernement du Québec.
- Pratt, D. (1972). *How to Find and Measure Bias in Textbooks*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Educational Technology Publication.
- Spallanzani, C., D. Biron, F. Larose, J. Lebrun, Y. Lenoir, G. Masselter & G.-R. Roy (Eds.) (2001). *Le rôle du manuel scolaire dans les pratiques enseignantes au primaire*. Sherbrooke: CRP.
- Therriault, G. (2008). *Postures épistémologiques que développent les étudiants des profils sciences et technologies et univers social au cours de leur formation initiale à l'enseignement secondaire*. Doctoral Dissertation in Education. Rimouski: Université du Québec à Rimouski.
- Viau, R. (1994). *La motivation en contexte scolaire*. Saint-Laurent: ERPI.
- Weiner, B. (1979). "A Theory of Motivation for Some Classroom Experiences". *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 71(1), 3-25.
- Westheimer, J. & Kahne J. (2004). "What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy". *American Educational Research Journal*, 41, 237-269.

KNOWING AND DOING HISTORY: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND PEDAGOGY FOR TEACHING HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALISATION

Harry Havekes, Peter Arno-Coppen and Johan Luttenberg, Graduate School of Education, Radboud, University Nijmegen the Netherlands and Carla Van Boxtel, Research Institute of Child Development and Education, University of Amsterdam

.....

Abstract

Knowing and doing history are two major approaches in teaching history. Although widely recognized as important, the integration of both remains difficult for teachers and students.

In this article we propose a conceptual framework for combining the two in a pedagogy focused on the teaching of historical contextualisation. The framework describes the relationship between students' epistemological stance about history and elements involved in knowing and doing history. This relationship shifts from a copier stance looking for one correct copy of the past, in which both knowing and doing history are fixed, into a criterialist stance, where elements of knowing and doing history are both debatable components of the task of establishing a historical context.

Based on this framework, three major design principles are identified for combining knowing and doing history in teaching historical contextualisation: challenge historical knowledge by creating a cognitive incongruity; stimulate substantiated considerations and scaffold students' learning. It is argued that these principles, specified in a larger set of sub principles, can help students to develop their epistemic beliefs and the integration of knowing and doing history. Suggestions are made for an on-going design study on a pedagogy of Active Historical Thinking.

Keywords

Active Historical Thinking, Design principles, Design study, Historical contextualisation, Knowing and Doing History, Teaching history,

Introduction

This article is the first part of a 'design based research' on the pedagogy of Active Historical Thinking (Aardema, De Vries, & Havekes, 2011; de Vries, Havekes, Aardema, & Rooijen, 2004; Havekes, de Vries, Aardema, & Rooijen, 2005). Since its introduction in the Netherlands in 2004 Active Historical Thinking has been used by many history teachers in secondary education and in teacher education programs. The pedagogy was developed by history teachers and academic history educators, based on general

pedagogical insights and daily classroom experiences. It aims to increase student motivation for history and to stimulate students' historical thinking while at the same time contributing to the acquisition of historical knowledge.

The ideas behind Active Historical Thinking however have never been theoretically grounded, nor empirically investigated. The 'design research' addresses this deficits focussing on historical contextualisation by students. The first step of a design research is to build the theoretical background of the design by constructing a 'local instruction theory' (Gravemeijer & Cobb, 2006, p. 21). In this article we will therefore first present our conceptual framework for historical contextualisation by students. In the second part of the article we will present design principles, partly derived from our conceptual framework, partly based on general pedagogical insights as they implicitly are present in the learning sequences already designed as part of the Active Historical Thinking pedagogy. We will conclude by defining an agenda for further empirical research on Active Historical Thinking.

Integrating knowing and doing history

'Knowing history' and 'doing history' are two major approaches in teaching history.¹ Public opinion on teaching history mostly focuses on 'knowing history' or on the acquisition of substantive knowledge: students should know the facts that are considered important. In the discourse of pedagogical experts however there is consensus that the two approaches should be combined (Lee, 2005; Levstik & Barton, 2005; VanSledright, 2010). Researchers have argued that by systematically combining knowing and doing history in all history classes, we can help students build a deep historical understanding (e.g. Counsell, 2011, p. 117; Donovan & Bransford, 2005; VanSledright, 2010, pp. 174-175; Wineburg, 2000). Research so far (e.g. Asbhy, 2011; Lee, 2004, 2005; Levstik & Barton, 2005; Limon, 2002; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2002, 2004) has focussed on identifying how students understand the underlying principles of doing history and how they engage in historical reasoning and thinking. Although general suggestions (Asbhy, 2011; Barton & Levstik, 2004; Havekes, de Vries, & Aardema, 2010; Husbands, 2011; Lee, 2005; VanSledright, 2010) have been made for pedagogies combining knowing and doing history, there still is a lot to be gained by conceptualisation and research on such pedagogies.

Recently, partly due to the public debate on school history, the Dutch history curriculum for secondary education places emphasis on the big picture (an overview of history) (Ministry-of-

¹ We adopt the concept of 'doing history' from Levstik/Barton (2005, p.17) and others (c.f. Van Drie/Van Boxtel, 2008) when referring to the procedural knowledge involved in history, contrasting it with 'knowing history', referring to the substantive knowledge of history.

Education, 2007). In order to construct this overview knowledge students are asked to use factual knowledge in a broader historical context. Students find it hard to join disconnected facts into a chronological overview (Howson, 2009; Howson & Shemilt, 2011). A pedagogy on historical contextualisation therefore needs to combine knowing and doing history.

Closely connected to these notions of knowing and doing history are the epistemic beliefs of the students, which have been the object of several research projects (Bories, 2002; Kuhn, Cheney, & Weinstock, 2000; Lee, 2003, 2011; Maggioni, Alexander, & VanSledright, 2004; Maggioni, Riconscente, & Alexander, 2006; Maggioni, VanSledright, & Alexander, 2009). Challenging their epistemic beliefs seems to be crucial to develop the stance of the students that knowing and doing history have to be combined in a meaningful way to make a reasonable construction of the past.

Research suggests that many history teachers in every day practice find it hard to combine knowing and doing history (Levstik & Barton, 2005; VanSledright, 2002, 2005; Wineburg, 2000). Also when building a historical context, teachers tend to start with focussing their lessons on substantive historical knowledge as a foundation, before addressing doing history. Students must first learn the facts on, for instance, the reign of Charlemagne (Carolus Magnus), discussing facts like his coronation and concepts like feudalism, before trying to place his reign in a historical context of the fall of the Roman Empire, the Germanic migrations and the growth of the Christian church.

In this article we try to construct a conceptual framework for analysing the pedagogy of 'Active Historical Thinking', focussing on historical contextualisation. In this framework we will reconcile the two approaches, because constructing a historical context seems to require combining knowing and doing history. The questions addressed in this article are: What components are involved in teaching historical contextualisation? How do they relate to each other? How are these components of knowing and doing history combined in the pedagogy of 'Active Historical Thinking', focusing on historical contextualisation?

First we will present and explain our framework. In the second part of this article we will use the framework and general pedagogical insights to formulate design principles, as a local instruction theory (Gravemeijer & Cobb, 2006) for fostering students' learning when actively engaging in historical contextualisation.

Teaching historical contextualisation: a framework

Wineburg (1991, 1998) defined historical contextualisation as follows: situating information about the past in a historical context of time, location, long term developments, or particular events in order to give meaning to it. In this definition knowing history (information about the past, long term

developments) and doing history (situating, giving meaning) are combined. This involves (Wineburg, 1991, 1998) using a cognitive network of historical events, actors, dates, developments and phenomena for one of the following activities: describing a historical era (e.g. the characteristics of the early Middle Ages); explaining and giving meaning to an historical event, phenomenon or process (e.g. explaining why the reign of Charlemagne is considered important); explaining and giving meaning to activities of people in the past (why did Charlemagne want to be crowned in Rome?) or making an (historical) analogy when comparing two periods, events, actors, developments or phenomena (e.g. can the reign of Charlemagne be compared to the reign of the Roman emperors?). Building on Wineburg's definition and using the insights of several scholars (Alexander, 2005; Lévesque, 2008; Levstik & Barton, 2005; Limon, 2002; Maggioni, et al., 2009; Prangma, Boxtel, & Kanselaar, 2008; Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2004; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2002, 2010; VanSledright & Frankes, 2000) we have set out to construct a coherent conceptual framework (Fig. 1), describing our conceptualisation on how the epistemic stance of students interacts with the segments of knowing and doing history.

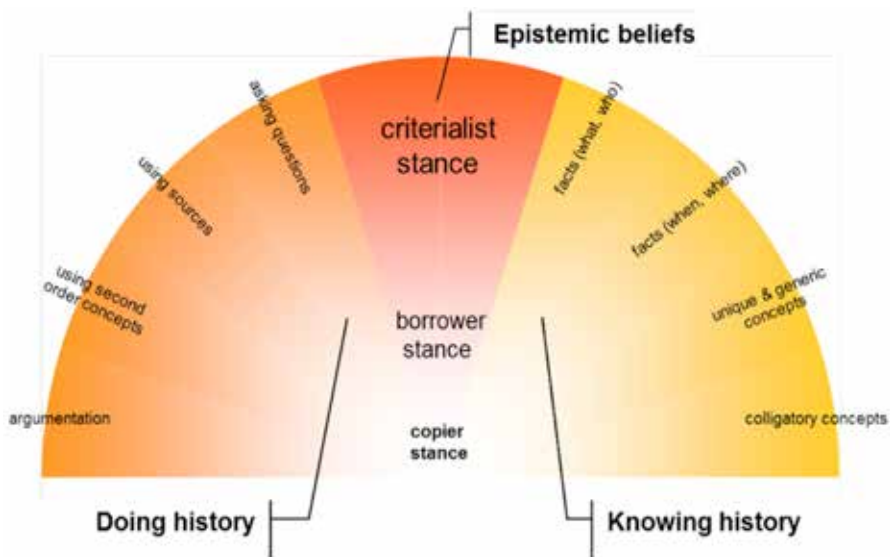


Fig. 1 Conceptual framework for fostering active historical contextualisation by students

The framework has to be read from the bottom-centre fanning out in three directions: epistemic beliefs, doing- and knowing history. The colour shades (from white to full-colour) symbolise how the interaction between the epistemic stance and the segments of knowing and doing history change and become more intensive, when students have different epistemic beliefs. The epistemic beliefs therefore are in the centre of the framework. They effect all the other elements.

Students' notions of how they can have knowledge of the past, shapes how they approach knowing and doing history. Their epistemic beliefs determine the relation between knowing and doing history. We will therefore look at the epistemic beliefs and describe how in each instance knowing and doing history relate.

Maggioni et.al. (2004; 2006; 2009) describe the epistemic beliefs of students as three stances. In the copier stance the students think an exact (photo)copy of the past can be made. Students in this stance do not differentiate between the past (the facts) and history (a construction of the past). They tend to collect facts and concepts and believe they can capture the past in an encyclopaedic manner. Considered from this stance, doing history involves asking questions like 'who is Charlemagne?', and answering it by presenting biographical information (birth, coronation, death, etc.). Facts and concepts tend to have a one-on-one relation with doing history, meaning that facts and concepts are both given and undisputable. Doing history in this copier stance means using procedures that help to make a print of the past.

In the borrower stance students adopt aspects of the past useful for answering their question, leaving out everything that does not corroborate their view. Doing history in the borrower stance means using sources and building argumentation to reconstruct the past. Students will use sources, ask questions and build arguments, but only if it fits their idea of the past. They recognize that it is not possible to make an exact copy of the past, because not all information produced in the past is handed over to us. They believe that doing history means working through fixed procedures to reconstruct the past as well as possible (for instance: the correct interpretation of a source can be done through a prescribed step-by-step plan). The students also recognize that this reconstruction can be discussed. In their view this debate is led by experts, because they know the most facts and concepts. The outcome of this discussion is to determine the most reliable reconstruction of the past.

Students in this stance might for instance be engaged in a discussion on why Charlemagne wanted to be crowned in Rome. They will use elements of knowing and doing history, using several concepts, arguments and implicitly second-order concepts, such as the importance of the Pope as being the representative of God on earth and therefore the only one who can legally crown earthly kings, or arguing that Charlemagne wanted to send a political messages that he was being the rightful successor of the old Roman emperors. Discussions between students in the borrower stance might

come into a deadlock, because they see that both views can be correct, so it is just an opinion. They do not have all the information to hand to give the correct answer. It is up to the experts, who have all the information, to give the best reconstruction.

In the criterialist stance students start constructing the past based on critical questions and engaging with sources. Now knowing and doing history interact. Facts and concepts shift in meaning, due to other questions, other sources or other second-order concepts, thus building other arguments. Moreover, doing history will shift due to new or other facts and concepts: other questions arise when new facts are presented. At this level, both knowing and doing history are not fixed but debatable, guided by procedural frameworks.

In this stance students see that the reason why Charlemagne wanted to be crowned in Rome, depends on the question that is being asked. If the question focuses on the relation between state and religion, the answer pointing out the position of the Pope would be more appropriate. If the question focuses on long term developments, the relation with the ancient Romans is of more importance. In this stance the students also realise that a concept, such as the Pope, does not have one fixed definition. In the first question he is not just the religious leader of the church, but also a political figure, trying to establish his power, defining him as a more secular ruler.

Van Boxtel and Van Drie (2004) have argued that experts use all the elements of the framework in their historical reasoning, but their expertise becomes most explicit through their procedural knowledge: experts do not only know and use more detailed facts and concepts, but more importantly, they use the elements of doing history more and more critically. Above all they tend to keep on questioning and criticising their reasoning by evaluation of both facts and concepts as the sources and the use of second-order concepts.

Maggioni points out that the beliefs of students cannot be fitted strictly into one stance. Students tend to shift between stances, depending on their knowledge of a topic or the information available. So there seems to be a correlation between epistemic beliefs and knowing history. On the other hand, as Van Boxtel and Van Drie noted and also as clearly illustrated by Wineburg (1999, 2001), experts approach and use historical facts and concepts in different ways from novices'. Not only do experts use the elements of doing history more critically, they also ask other questions and corroborate the sources in another way. Experts might also engage themselves with the question 'who is Charlemagne?'. The historical question might be the same for a novice and an expert, but experts will not have the goal of summarizing the biographical information on Charlemagne. They will understand the question as a challenge to discuss the meaning of the Carolingian emperor, not only

during the life of Charlemagne, but also for later generations or later developments. Wineburg (1999, 2001) has described this professional attitude towards the past as unnatural, because it has to be educated. Therefore pedagogies for teaching historical contextualisation, and history teachers using them, need to be aware of this relationship between the epistemic beliefs, knowing and doing history. The framework tries to illustrate this relationship by placing the epistemic beliefs in the centre and by displaying a broader outline when more segments get involved and when a student evolves further outward on these segments. We therefore should look at the segments within knowing and doing history and how they relate to historical contextualisation.

Knowing history: facts and concepts

When constructing an historical context, students need to have substantive knowledge. This knowing history has a basic component that establishes further contextualisation: the facts. These facts give information on what happened, who was involved and in which location and at what time it happened. Referring to the definition of Wineburg on historical contextualisation, where (place/location) and when (time) are of great importance for constructing a spatio-chronological frame of reference. Therefore we have split facts into two elements of knowing history (see the right part of figure 1).

The facts are described using unique and generic historical concepts (e.g. Prangmsma, et al., 2008; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2003). The facts and concepts in themselves give information about the past, but are only equivalent to history for a student with a copier stance. More is needed. For instance: Charlemagne was crowned emperor on Christmas day 800, by pope Leo III, in the church of Saint Peter in the Vatican in the presence of important bishops, abbots, noblemen and the Roman Senate, is a fact, described through unique (e.g. pope Leo III, Roman Senate) and generic (e.g. emperor, noblemen, to crown) concepts. Students in the copier stance will consider this enough information (as a part of the biography of Charlemagne), but students in the borrower or criterialist stances will not be satisfied by the historical fact alone. They will try to give meaning to this fact by placing it in a coherent sequence of events, actors, dates, phenomena and developments. These coherent sets are often described in what Lévesque (2008) identifies as colligatory concepts (e.g. Carolingian Renaissance) or historical eras (e.g. early middle ages). These make the relations possible between events, actors and other concepts, thus giving meaning to an otherwise amorphous mish-mash of individual events, actors and concepts. Colligatory concepts, Lévesque claims, have to 1) be well founded in the facts; 2) serve to illuminate the facts and 3) be thought of as concrete and universal. Historians thus give meaning to events by drawing on their unique aspects, as well as drawing on their colligation in a broader (historical) context(p. 71). Colligatory concepts thus are another component of knowing history in the framework.

Lévesque makes clear that facts and concepts in themselves are important for historical thinking. For historical contextualisation colligatory concepts seem to be of special importance, because they describe relations between facts and concepts. Moreover, these colligatory concepts are also used to give meaning when new facts are presented and to relate these facts to a correct historical context (Van Boxtel, Van Drie, & Havekes, 2011).

Limon (2002, p. 261) points out that in history, concepts are frequently presented within a factual narrative, so that they are rather implicit. She also makes clear that concepts in history are ill-defined, have a different meaning over time and are often abstract. Understanding this is part of the distinction between borrower and criterialist stance. As seen before, students in the criterialist stance understand that concepts and facts can have a different meaning when used in different contexts. But in addition, even when concepts are unique and concrete (e.g. crowning of Charlemagne, 25-12-800) they still are difficult for students to grasp and work with.

General historical concepts, both concrete and abstract, also have the problem of shifting in meaning over time. The concept of emperor, for example, is generally defined as a sovereign ruler, with absolute power. When this general concept is applied to specific periods and locations, the nuances become highlighted and more important for historians than the general characteristics: the concept differs considerably when applied to Augustus or to Nero. The distinctions between these emperors and Charlemagne, or the emperor of Germany during its unification in 1871, or the emperor of Japan during the Second World War or the same emperor after the war, are enormous. The same could be said of the pope: this unique function in the Catholic Church has different power, different importance, different characteristics in each spatio-chronological era.

These examples clarify once again that just knowing facts and concepts is not enough for historical contextualisation. These facts and concepts have to be part of a consistent and coherent set of ideas (Limon, 2002, p. 262), to build a historical context, thus giving meaning to them.

Doing history: shape and argue

Loewen (2009, p. 83) describes doing history as identifying a problem or topic, finding information, deciding what sources are credible for what pieces of information, coming to conclusions about the topic, developing a storyline, and marshalling the information relevant to that storyline, while giving attention to information that may seem to contradict the storyline. In the framework on teaching historical contextualisation (figure 1) Loewen's description has been broken down, also using Van Drie and Van Boxtel's framework for analysing historical reasoning (2008), into the components: asking questions, using sources, using second-order concepts and argumentation.

As mentioned, the epistemic beliefs of the students determine how they relate knowing and doing history when constructing a historical context. But no matter what epistemic stance the students have, they will start by asking questions, trying to relate the facts and concepts to a historical context. That is why asking questions is the component of doing history positioned nearest to the centre of the framework (Figure 1). Asking historical questions is one of the elements where students in the copier stance differ from students in the borrower or criterialist stance. And even when they ask the same question (e.g. who is Charlemagne?), they interpret the question differently.

Taking up our example of the coronation of Charlemagne, students in the criterialist stance might ask why the crowning took place in the Vatican (and not somewhere in France) or why the Roman Senate was present, or why at Christmas Day and how these facts relate. Students in the copier stance might not even ask these questions. They might just accept the facts as they are. In the criterialist stance one does not consider the facts and concepts as autonomous, but facts and concepts are placed in a spatio-chronological era and questions are asked to help placing them. In this way students will use them to describe the period or explain why a new era (of cultural, religious, political and economic peace) has begun. The coronation of Charlemagne symbolizes this and the change can be described through the concept of Carolingian Renaissance. And by using Renaissance they also make clear that long-time developments are involved, dating back to the Romans, as well as looking ahead to the Renaissance of the 15th-16th century, as another period of change taking up the classical heritage once again. The use of the colligatory concept of Carolingian Renaissance alone illustrates explicitly that for someone in the borrower or criterialist stance, history is a construction of the past, done at a (much) later era, not trying to reconstruct the past, but placing the fact in a narrative.

The claims for the constructed answer to the questions have to be underpinned by historical sources. Using sources therefore is another component of doing history in our framework. Sources need to be investigated critically by looking at whether they are reliable, useable, representative and whether they corroborate with other sources. This sourcing is not only triggered by the questions asked, but also by second-order concepts² guiding the construction of a historical context. Scholars (Lee, 2005; Lévesque, 2008; Limon, 2002; VanSledright, 2010) have identified different second-order concepts as part of doing history.³ It is likely that epistemic beliefs

² Second-order concepts are called meta-concepts by other scholars. We consider the terms to interchangeable.

³ The most important are: Margarita Limon (2002): evidence, cause, explanation, empathy, time, space, change, source, fact, description, and narration; Peter Lee (2005): time, change, empathy, cause, evidence, accounts; Stéphane Lévesque (2008): historical significance, continuity and change, progress and decline, evidence, historical empathy; Bruce VanSledright (2010): causation, significance, change, evidence, historical context, human agency, colligations.

influence the use of the second-order concepts. Some research has been done on this topic, mostly focussing on the development of empathy and the understanding of evidence (Lee, 2003; Lee & Ashby, 2000). A clear overview on how the epistemic stance influences the use of second-order concepts, is not provided by empirical research literature.

However, when focussing on fostering historical contextualisation by students, in which not all second-order concepts are crucial, some suggestions about how an epistemic stance influences the use of second-order concepts can be made. According to Wineburgs' definition, when, where and long term developments are important components for constructing an historical context. Time/duration, location and change and cause are therefore the most important second-order concepts in our framework on fostering active historical contextualisation by students. Ordering historical facts and concepts through these second-order concepts will place them in a chronological and spatial dimension and will give an insight if and why things have changed. This suggests that constructing and using an historical context is possible in the borrower of criterialist stance, because the students must have the notion that history is more than making a copy of the past.

When describing an event, phenomenon or development, as a step in building a historical context, students must first establish when the event happened. This calls for the notion that the past is different from our own time. Lee (2005) states that the concept of time is crucial for history. Time is not only a set of dates, but is also an instrument for measuring sequence and duration. So time does not only refer to fixed events in the past, but also to developments or phenomena that stretch out over a longer period. The example of Charlemagne illustrates this. The past should therefore not be presented as a quilt of facts in time (as a students in the copiers stance might do), but must be presented in terms of events, developments, phenomena that belong together trying to interpret the past answering an historical question.

Location is also present in all historical facts. An event, a phenomenon or a development is always situated in a certain area. This can be a small area (the church of Saint Peter) or a bigger scale (even worldwide). The location of historical facts is nearly always implicit because, even more than the concepts as pointed out by Limon, the location is assumed to be familiar. When for instance Charlemagne and the early Middle Ages are discussed, it is assumed familiar that the Middle Ages are located in Europe (and not in the Arabic world of the Mediterranean). For students this might cause problems, because often the location changes over a duration of time. It is, for example, not always clear what is meant by the Carolingian Empire in a schoolbook. Of course its growth is discussed, often through a map, and its falling apart is mentioned, but it remains unclear which area the empire covers: the dimensions of the empire during the beginning of Charlemagne's reign

or at its highpoint at the crowning. At the same time we need to put this notion into perspective: for students these nuances of the size of the Carolingian Empire will not be crucial for building a historical context as part of a big picture.

Change does not only involve describing historical facts, it also calls for an explanation of why things change. Change and cause are therefore closely related. For students, especially in the copier stance, this is not always clear. They tend to see (individual) events as outbursts of change: one moment nothing is happening and then suddenly the crowning of Charlemagne starts a new era. Lee and Howson (2009) discuss the problem of looking at individual events as change. When building an historical context of the event, both the uniqueness of the event is important (a nobleman being crowned emperor by the pope) as well as the colligation of the event (capturing and symbolising not only the highlight of the on-going development in politics and religion, but also of the developments after the event, later described as Carolingian Renaissance). This correlation between uniqueness and colligation, when constructing a historical context, calls for a stance that recognises that the past is not fixed, but shaped in a discourse, guided by elements of doing history (figure 1).

This problem is enhanced by the idea of many students (even in the borrower stance) that change is always intended and rational (Limon, 2002, p. 264). As a result of this idea, they also think of change in terms of progression (the later period is better/more prosperous, intelligent/rational, etc. than the period before). And finally, in their naive thoughts, students tend to think in rather radical changes (all or nothing), for instance, when the Carolingian Renaissance rediscovered the Romans, they wonder a few months later in the curriculum, why the classical heritage is rediscovered once again in the 15th-16th century and once again in the 18th century during the neoclassical period. Both make it hard to foster active historical contextualisation by students.

It is no wonder therefore that Seixas (2004) and many others (e.g. Lee, 2005; Stearns, Seixas, & Wineburg, 2000) have argued that change should be crucial in school history. It is the base for chronological thinking and it gives students the possibility to look at individual eras as well as historical developments, thus constructing a relevant historical context.

Asking questions, sources, second-order concepts are used to give meaning to the facts and concepts. In this sense argumentation, as the last segment of doing history in the framework, does not construct an historical context. It serves as a foundation of the claims made to answer the questions. The arguments are guided by second-order concepts and build upon sources, making use of facts and concepts. In this way a historical claim goes beyond an opinion (borrower stance). The historical context can be discussed, making it more complex (more facts, concepts and second-order concepts

get involved) or it can be scrutinized using other historical information or other perspectives are involved (criterialist stance). This illustrates the challenge for teaching historical contextualisation: all the segments of the framework have to be involved and at the same time the epistemic beliefs of the students need to be challenged to address knowing and doing history in the most adequate way.

The framework and the implications for teaching historical contextualisation

The framework shows that epistemic beliefs take effect on how knowing and doing history relate and are used in constructing an historical context. It also shows that it is important that all three aspects - epistemic beliefs, knowing and doing history - are addressed simultaneously to stimulate students' learning. 'Active Historical Thinking' (AHT), a pedagogy developed by history teachers and academic history educators in the Netherlands and used in several history classes in the Netherlands over the last eight years (Aardema, et al., 2011; de Vries, et al., 2004; Havekes, et al., 2005) aims to do this. Although received positively by students, history teachers, methodology teachers and researchers the pedagogy has never been empirically and systematic investigated. We will argue that the design principles for AHT can be suitable for teaching historical contextualisation, because they stimulate students to use all the segments of the framework outlined in Figure 1 and to develop a more sophisticated stance. These design principles and the conceptual framework will also provide us with analytic tools to investigate the pedagogy of AHT, as part of a 'design research'.

Design principles for Active Historical Thinking

Active Historical Thinking is based on the notion of thinking skills as developed in Newcastle by Leat, Baumfield and others (Leat, 1998; Leat & Lin, 2003; Leat & Nichols, 1999). A leading goal in the thinking skills approach is to stimulate students' thinking by using second order concepts as part of a metacognitive process. The developed set of design principles are embedded in three general principles: We have endeavoured to transfer Leat et al.'s thinking skills approach to an historical context by developing a set of design principles, embedded in three general principles:

- challenge the historical knowledge of the students by creating a cognitive incongruity;
- stimulate substantiated considerations;
- scaffold the learning of the students.

Based on our theoretical framework (Fig. 1) we will elaborate on these general principles, focussing on teaching active historical contextualisation.

Challenge historical knowledge: create a cognitive incongruity

Any pedagogy has to search for means to get students involved in thinking and reasoning about the past. Rösen (2006, 2007), in his theoretical approach to historical consciousness, asserts that constructing history begins with a temporal tension between one's own (time) and not one's own (time). An event in the present triggers a change of perception of one's own time as different from another time. This poses new evaluative questions of the past, thus constructing new historical insights. In teaching history one cannot wait for such a tension in present day life to spontaneously appear, nor is this needed. Such a tension can be created when students are presented with substantive information about the past (facts and concepts) and the need to address this information with a question.

Several scholars have given leads on how this might be done. Limon (2002, p. 284) proposes that strategies presenting alternative views on history may constitute an excellent vehicle for creating a tension and students starting to ask questions. Logtenberg, van Boxtel and van Hout-Wolters (2011) found that students' interest and questioning was triggered by a text containing unexpected elements, fundamental contrasts like rich and poor and conflicting historical interpretations.

Creating a cognitive incongruity in teaching history can mean either creating a conflict with prior knowledge of the students and putting their presumptions to the test or providing students with conflicting information. We agree with Van Drie, Van Boxtel and Van der Linden (2006) that particularly evaluative questions give good opportunities to trigger a cognitive incongruity, because weighing facts and concepts to answer an evaluative question can prevent students from remaining in the copier stance (looking for a copy of the past) and force them to consider more reasonable answers.

Stimulate substantiated considerations

Students in the copier or borrower stance tend to want to produce the (one) correct answer, because they believe that it is possible to reconstruct the past. The cognitive incongruity however makes it harder for students to do this. In the pedagogy of Active Historical Thinking, as in professional history, given information, combined with prior-knowledge, makes it possible to construct and consider several reasonable answers. The other elements of the framework come into focus, when assessing the quality of their answers. An answer has to be constructed through reasoning, using both facts, concepts (knowing history), second order concepts and sources (doing history). The quality of the answers can be measured by how these segments are used and combined in the given argumentation.

This pedagogical notion of stimulating substantiated considerations can help students to evolve in their epistemic beliefs. Limon (2002, p. 285) puts forward the claim that this evolution in epistemic belief is an important goal in history teaching. If more reasonable answers are possible and assessed,

students in the copier or borrower stance can be nudged into the notion that one correct print of the past is not possible. Assessing the quality of the possible answers might even stimulate the students' further evolution towards the criterialist stance, because it will become apparent that the quality of the answer relies on how knowing and doing history are combined.

Scaffold students' learning

As has been argued, a pedagogy based on teaching historical contextualisation needs to address simultaneously all aspects of the framework: epistemic belief, knowing and doing history. Such a complex task calls for a variety of learning activities when teaching history. The cognitive incongruity and the evaluative question can initiate the thinking of the students, but does not guarantee that all components of knowing and doing history get involved. To ensure this it is important that the thinking of the students is continuously stimulated and guided by providing good learning conditions.

In addition, the nature of history gives the students few leads on how to construct and assess answers in terms of their reasonableness. Hence, the pedagogy also needs to equip the students with tools to guide their historical thinking.

Initial guidance can be provided through a well-structured learning sequence. This structure should become evident at two levels. The first level is through structuring the beginning of the learning sequence: the topic and the historical question. We cannot expect students to have a lot of (prior) knowledge on any historical subject. Moreover, on-going research by Logtenberg et al. (2011) suggests that asking historical questions is a difficult task for students, because, among other things, they are not used to doing this in the history classroom. Providing the students with factual information and a challenging evaluative question at the beginning of a learning sequence can ensure a good start. In the example of Charlemagne, one could present students with factual information on the coronation, characteristics of the years before the coronation and the years after the coronation. A question would not be, 'why was Charlemagne crowned emperor by the Pope in Rome?', but 'Can the coronation of Charlemagne be seen as a moment of change in the political, religious, cultural and economic development of Western Europe?' At the same time, this question stimulates weighing several possible answers, and it also scaffolds this process through a clear focus on constructing a historical context, through the attention for second-order concepts like duration and change.

The second level of guidance is structuring the pace and alternation of the learning activities in the learning sequence. Using several learning-activities can stimulate the motivation and concentration of the students. The learning sequence therefore should have several activities that ensure variation in what students should do, but at the same time make sure that their thinking on the historical

question remains constant. This can be achieved through a structure as follows: an introduction (motivation: what are we going to do and why are we doing this) and instruction (how to work) by the teacher, one or more rounds in which the students work in small groups constructing parts of the answers, alternated with classroom discussion to stimulate critical engagement with their reasoning, and ending with a debriefing in which the levels of the learning sequence are made explicit: the content (what), the process (how), historical thinking (transfer) and goal (why). To stimulate individual accountability, the learning sequence needs to be wrapped up in an individual activity, providing the essential goals of the learning sequence.

Constructing a historical context is so complex that guidance through a well-structured learning sequence is not enough. A lot of students, having a copier or borrower stance, tend to construct just one (correct) answer. Van Boxtel and Van Drie (2004) pointed out in their study on expertise in historical contextualisation of sources, that experts keep on critically engaging their sources, their questions, their argumentation, the facts and concepts. Guidance by a teacher is needed to stimulate students in the copier or borrower stance to challenge their construction and stimulate their thinking. The teacher must ask questions to further assess and challenge the (initial) answers and arguments by the students. To do this students' thinking needs to be visible to the teacher (brains-on-the-table). Working in groups and classroom discussions are useful tools to make the thinking of the students visible.

The guidance by the teacher starts with the introduction and the giving of instructions. They need to motivate the students, get their attention focussed on the learning sequence and start their thinking. During the work in pairs or triads, he needs to observe the discussions and restrict himself to asking explanatory questions to stimulate the cognitive incongruity by pointing out conflicting elements in the historical information given. During the classroom discussions and the debriefing he has the most difficult task. He needs to create a balance between assessing the answers of the students and stimulating their thinking through 'responsive questioning' (Chin, 2006). If the teacher evaluates the answers too much, the students tend to stop thinking, because in daily practice at secondary schools, the teacher is regarded as an authority, so his judgement is not likely to be questioned, but it is rather regarded as the correct one. On the other hand: if a teacher does not assess the answers at all, the students might think that 'anything goes'. The teacher has to make sure that as many elements of historical contextualisation are involved as possible. It is likely that students will not use all their useful prior knowledge, nor is it likely they will use many colligatory concepts. Van Drie and Van Boxtel (2006) have noted that students often do not use domain specific concepts at all, but describe concepts using all kinds of general words. We have already described the problems students have with the use of second-order concepts. It is therefore important that the teacher, when leading the discussions, points explicitly to information given in the learning sequence or

brings in new factual information or concepts, especially colligatory concepts.

And finally, during the debriefing of the learning sequence, guidance is provided to the thinking of the students. The debriefing makes the learning of the students explicit and visible for the students. In daily classroom practice debriefing focuses mainly on the content of the answers, on knowing history. As argued, this focus does justice to proper historical thinking. The debriefing should focus on the relation between knowing and doing history and thus also stimulate a transformation of epistemic beliefs. This can be done to help the students assess the quality of their answers by explicitly introducing second-order concepts (and how they relate to the answer of the student). Another way might be by making the process of constructing an historical reasoning explicit, discussing the use and reliability of sources, or to ask students to corroborate the sources they used. Or the attention might be drawn to how facts and concepts are used in their argumentation. By posing these kinds of questions to the students, the relation between knowing and doing history is put in focus. It helps students to realize how knowing and doing history relate and how they construct their answers.

To summarise, we will give an overview of the design principles of Active Historical Thinking, focussing on historical contextualisation.

1. Challenge historical knowledge: create a cognitive incongruity

- Create a historical tension (the past as being different) by providing the students with information that conflicts with their prior knowledge and/or is conflicting in itself.
- Challenge their knowledge and skills (knowing and doing history).
- Challenge their epistemic beliefs.

2. Stimulate substantiated considerations

- Ask the students an (evaluative) question so several reasonable answers are possible.
- Focus the (evaluative) question on historical contextualisation through explicit attention for time/duration, cause/change and location.
- Nudge the development of their epistemic beliefs by asking them to formulate alternative answers.
- Nudge their development of their epistemic stance by assessing their answers on how knowing and doing history are combined.
- Stimulate the use of prior knowledge through challenging questions.
- Stimulate thinking about the relationships between facts and concepts by using colligatory concepts.

3. Scaffold students' learning

- Structure the question through
- providing students with factual information and an evaluative question at the start of the learning sequence;
- providing students with relevant colligatory concepts;
- Structure the learning sequence through the learning activities by
- a clear introduction and giving clear instructions
- alternating the learning activities (working in pairs or triads, whole classroom discussions and individual tasks);
- varying the pace of the learning activities;
- a clear debriefing of the learning sequence, focussing on content, process, historical thinking and goal of the learning sequence.
- Foster the learning of the students through constant guidance:
- observe and ask questions for justification during their work in groups;
- react through both responsive questioning and assessing answers during classroom discussion;
- Make the historical thinking of the students visible (brains-on-the table) through debriefing of the whole learning sequence, explicitly addressing knowing and doing history and their epistemic beliefs.
- Give special attention to the second-order concepts of time/duration, space/location and change/cause.

Conclusion and discussion

Integrating 'knowing' and 'doing' history, although widely recognized as important when teaching history, remains difficult for teachers and students. In this article we aimed to develop a pedagogy that would promote this integration, focussing on historical contextualisation. Working from Wineburg's definition of contextualisation, a conceptual framework (Figure 1) was introduced to identify the elements involved teaching historical contextualisation. We argued that the epistemic beliefs, based on the work of Maggioni et.al. (2004; 2006; 2009), determine the relation between knowing and doing history. This relationship can be summarized as a development from a copier stance, looking for one correct copy of the past, where both knowing and doing history are fixed, toward a criterialist stance in which both knowing and doing history are critically engaged.

Based on literature on historical thinking by students (c.f. Lee, 2005; Lévesque, 2008; Limon, 2002; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008), elements involved in teaching contextualisation were identified. For 'knowing history' both facts and concepts were subdivided in two elements. When

teaching historical contextualisation it is not only important to know who and what, but also when and where. When building an historical context, colligatory concepts are important, because they make relationships possible between facts and unique and general concepts. The component of 'doing history' was divided in four segments: asking questions, using sources, using second-order concepts and argumentation. Asking questions was identified as the starting point, no matter what epistemic stance the student has, to give meaning to the facts and concepts. The second-order concepts time/duration, space/location and change/cause were identified as important for teaching historical contextualisation.

The second part of this article focused on the pedagogy of Active Historical Thinking (Aardema, et al., 2011; de Vries, et al., 2004; Havekes, et al., 2010; Havekes, et al., 2005), a pedagogy based on the thinking skills pedagogy developed by Leat (Leat, 1998; Leat & Kinniment, 2000; Leat & Lin, 2003), but customized for history teaching. These AHT learning sequences have been used successfully in Dutch secondary education for several years, but have never been empirical and systematic investigated.

Working of this conceptual framework, design principles for Active Historical Thinking focussing on teaching historical contextualisation are identified as part of a 'design research'. We identified three major principles: challenge historical knowledge by creating a cognitive incongruity; stimulate substantiated considerations and scaffold students' learning. We have argued that these three major principles, specified in a larger set of principles, can help students develop in their epistemic beliefs and therefore in their thinking of historical context.

Although based on insights of several researchers and although the perceptions of the framework and the design principles are reasonably underpinned, it is clear that various questions remain open. Are the choices made to give some segments more or less importance for historical contextualisation valid? How is the use of second-order concepts exactly affected by students' epistemic beliefs? What stance can be expected from students in upper general education and how does this shape the relation between knowing and doing history for these students? What should a learning sequence stimulating historical contextualisation, based on these design principles, look like? What does this mean for the role of the teacher when fostering active historical contextualisation? Or to summarise these questions: How does the theoretical framework constitute teaching historical contextualisation and vice versa?

To investigate these questions a 'design research' (Van den Akker, Gravemeijer, McKenney, & Nieveen, 2006) should be conducted using an Active Historical Thinking learning sequence stimulating historical contextualisation. The collected data can be analysed using the conceptual framework on fostering historical contextualisation (fig. 1), theoretical insights of several scholars

and the design principles. Based on these results both the framework and the design principles can be modified, providing a new 'local instruction theory' (Gravemeijer & Cobb, 2006) on teaching historical contextualisation. In a second round a new and refined learning sequence can be developed and used in the classroom. The goal of the research design therefore is 1) to further develop the conceptual framework using empirical data; 2) to give opportunities to design AHT learning sequences focussing on historical contextualisation to help teachers and students and 3) to refine the design principles of AHT focussing on historical contextualisation.

Contact details

harry Havehes

h.havekes@ils.ru.nl

References

- Aardema, A., De Vries, J., & Havekes, H. (2011). *Actief Historisch Denken 3. Leerlingen construeren het verleden*. Boxmeer: Stichting Geschiedenis, Staatsinrichting en Educatie.
- Alexander, P. (2005). *Teaching toward Expertise*. British Journal of Educational Psychology Monograph Series II Number 3 - Pedagogy - Teaching for Learning, 1(1), 29-45.
- Asbhy, R. (2011). *Understanding historical evidence: teaching and learning challenges*. In I. Davies (Ed.), *Debates in History Teaching* (pp. 137-148). New York: Routledge.
- Barton, K. C., & Levstik, L. S. (2004). *Teaching history for the common good*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bories, B. v. (2002). *Genese und Entwicklung von Geschichtsbewusstsein. Lern- und Lebensalter als Forschungsproblem der Geschichtsdidaktik*. Zeitschrift für Geschichtsdidaktik, 1(1), 44-58.
- Chin, C. (2006). *Classroom interaction in science: Teacher questioning and feedback to students' responses*. International Journal of Science Education, 28(11), 1315-1346.
- Counsell, C. (2011). *What do we want students to do with historical change and continuity?* In I. Davies (Ed.), *Debates in History Teaching* (pp. 109-123). New York: Routledge.
- de Vries, J., Havekes, H., Aardema, A., & Rooijen, B. d. (2004). *Actief Historisch Denken. Oprachten voor Activerend Geschiedenisonderwijs*. Boxmeer: Stichting Geschiedenis, Staatsinrichting en Educatie.
- Donovan, S., & Bransford, J. (2005). *Introduction*. In S. Donovan & J. Bransford (Eds.), *How students learn : History, mathematics and science in the classroom* (pp. 1-28). Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.
- Gravemeijer, K., & Cobb, P. (2006). *Design research from a learning design prespective*. In J. J. H. v. d. Akker, K. Gravemeijer, S. McKenney & N. Nieveen (Eds.), *Educational design research* (pp. 17-51). London ; New York: Routledge.

- Havekes, H., de Vries, J., & Aardema, A. (2010). Active Historical Thinking: designing learning activities to stimulate domain specific thinking. *Teaching History*(139), 52-59.
- Havekes, H., de Vries, J., Aardema, A., & Rooijen, B. d. (2005). Actief Historisch Denken 2: Geschiedenis Doordacht. Boxmeer: Stichting Geschiedenis, Staatsinrichting en Educatie.
- Howson, J. (2009). Potential and pitfalls in teaching 'big pictures' of the past. *Teaching History*, 136, 24-33.
- Howson, J., & Shemilt, D. (2011). Frameworks of knowledge: dilemmas and debates. In I. Davies (Ed.), *Debates in History Teaching* (pp. 73-83). New York: Routledge.
- Husbands, C. (2011). What do history teachers (need to) know? A framework for understanding and developing practice. In I. Davies (Ed.), *Debates in History Teaching* (pp. 84-95). New York: Routledge.
- Kuhn, D., Cheney, R., & Weinstock, M. (2000). The development of epistemological understanding. *Cognitive Development*, 15(3), 309-328.
- Leat, D. (1998). *Thinking Trough Geography*. Cambridge: Chris Kingston Publishing.
- Leat, D., & Kinninment, D. (2000). Learn to debrief. In C. Fisher & T. Binns (Eds.), *Issues in Geography Teaching*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Leat, D., & Lin, M. (2003). Developing a Pedagogy of Metacognition and Transfer: Some Signposts for the Generation and Use of Knowledge and the Creation of Research Partnerships. *British Educational Research Journal*, 29(3), 383-415.
- Leat, D., & Nichols, A. (1999). Mysteries make you Think. Paper presented at the Geographical Association.
- Lee, P. (2003). A Scaffold, not a cage: progression and progression models in history. *Teaching History*, 113, 13-23.
- Lee, P. (2004). Understanding History. In P. C. Seixas (Ed.), *Theorizing historical consciousness* (pp. 129-164). Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.
- Lee, P. (2005). Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History. In S. Donovan & J. Bransford (Eds.), *How students learn : History, mathematics and science in the classroom* (pp. 31-78). Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.
- Lee, P. (2011). History education and historical literacy. In I. Davies (Ed.), *Debates in History Teaching* (pp. 63-72). New York: Routledge.
- Lee, P., & Ashby, R. (2000). Progression in historical understanding among students ages 7-14. In P. N. Stearns, P. C. Seixas & S. S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching, and learning history : national and international perspectives* (pp. 199-222). New York: New York University Press.
- Lee, P., & Howson, J. (2009). 'Two out of five did not know that Henry VIII had six wives': History education, historical literacy and historical consciousness. In L. Symcox & A. Wilschut (Eds.), *National history standards : the problem of the canon and the future of teaching history* (pp. 211-261). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Pub.

- Lévesque, S. (2008). *Thinking historically : educating students for the twenty-first century*. Toronto ; Buffalo : University of Toronto Press.
- Levstik, L. S., & Barton, K. C. (2005). *Doing history : investigating with children in elementary and middle schools* (3rd ed.). Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates.
- Limon, M. (2002). *Conceptual Change in History*. In M. Limon & L. Mason (Eds.), *Reconsidering Conceptual Change: Issues in Theory and Practice* (pp. 259-289): Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Loewen, J. W. (2009). *Teaching what really happened : how to avoid the tyranny of textbooks and get students excited about doing history*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.
- Logtenberg, A., Van Boxtel, C., & Van Hout-Wolters, B. H. A. M. (2011). *Stimulating situational interest and student questioning through three types of historical introductory texts*. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, 26(2), 179-198.
- Maggioni, L., Alexander, P. A., & VanSledright, B. (2004). *At the crossroads: the development of epistemological beliefs and historical thinking*. *European Journal of School Psychology*, 2(1-2), 169-197.
- Maggioni, L., Riconscente, M. M., & Alexander, P. A. (2006). *Perceptions of knowledge and beliefs among undergraduate students in Italy and in the United States*.
- Maggioni, L., VanSledright, B., & Alexander, P. A. (2009). *Walking on the Borders: A Measure of Epistemic Cognition in History*. *Journal of Experimental Education*, 77(3), 187-213.
- Ministry-of-Education. (2007). *Ministry of Education: Exams History 2011*, from http://www.examenblad.nl/9336000/1/j9vvhinitagymgn_m7mvh57gltp77x8/vhkukuyes7xs/f=/bestand.pdf
- Prangmsma, M. E., Boxtel, C. v., & Kanselaar, G. (2008). *Developing a 'big picture': Effects of collaborative construction of multimodal representations in history*. 36, 117-136.
- Rüsen, J. (2006). *Meaning and representation in history*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Rüsen, J. (2007). *How to make sense of the past - salient issues of Metahistory*. *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, 3(1), 169-221.
- Seixas, P. C. (2004). *Theorizing historical consciousness*. Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.
- Stearns, P. N., Seixas, P. C., & Wineburg, S. S. (2000). *Knowing, teaching, and learning history : national and international perspectives*. New York: New York University Press.
- Van Boxtel, C., & Van Drie, J. (2004). *Historical reasoning: A comparison of how experts and novices contextualise historical sources*. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 4(2), 89-97.
- Van Boxtel, C., Van Drie, J., & Havekes, H. (2011). *Contextualisation as a key-component of historical thinking: Dutch experience*. Paper presented at the AERA.
- Van den Akker, J. J. H., Gravemeijer, K., McKenney, S., & Nieveen, N. (2006). *Educational design research*. London ; New York: Routledge.

- Van Drie, J., & Van Boxtel, C. (2003). Developing Conceptual Understanding through talk and mapping. *Teaching History*, 110, 27-31.
- Van Drie, J., & Van Boxtel, C. (2008). Historical Reasoning: Towards a Framework for Analyzing Students' Reasoning about the Past. *Educational Psychological Review*, 20(2), 87-110.
- Van Drie, J., Van Boxtel, C., & Van der Linden, J. L. (2006). Historical reasoning in a computer-supported collaborative learning environment. In A. M. O'Donnell, C. E. Hmelo & G. Erkens (Eds.), *Collaborative learning, reasoning and technology* (pp. 266-297). Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- VanSledright, B. (2002). Fifth graders investigating history in the classroom: Results from a researcher-practitioner design experiment. *Elementary School Journal*, 103(2), 131-160.
- Vansledright, B. (2004). What does it mean to read history? Fertile ground for cross-disciplinary collaborations? *Reading Research Quarterly*, 39(3), 342-346.
- VanSledright, B. (2005). History lessons: Teaching, learning, and testing in US history classrooms. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 37(3), 366-370.
- VanSledright, B. (2010). *The challenge of rethinking history education : on practices, theories, and policy*. New York: Routledge.
- VanSledright, B., & Frankes, L. (2000). Concept- and strategic-knowledge development in historical study: A comparative exploration in two fourth-grade classrooms. *Cognition and Instruction*, 18(2), 239-283.
- Wineburg, S. (1991). Historical Problem-Solving - a Study of the Cognitive-Processes Used in the Evaluation of Documentary and Pictorial Evidence. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 83(1), 73-87.
- Wineburg, S. (1998). Reading Abraham Lincoln: An expert/expert study in the interpretation of historical texts. *Cognitive Science*, 22(3), 319-346.
- Wineburg, S. (1999). Historical thinking and other unnatural acts. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 80(7), 488-499.
- Wineburg, S. (2000). Making historical sense. In P. N. Stearns, P. C. Seixas & S. S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching, and learning history : national and international perspectives* (pp. 306-325). New York: New York University Press.
- Wineburg, S. (2001). *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts : charting the future of teaching the past*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

EFFECTS OF THE USE OF CONCEPT MAPS ON HISTORICAL OVERVIEW KNOWLEDGE

Terence Honing, Wout Claessens and Wilfried Admiraal,
University of Amsterdam

.....

Abstract

Based on literature we hypothesized that connecting concrete to abstract concepts, and the combined use of substantial and meta-concepts are essential in learning historical overview knowledge. We argue that the use of concept maps provides a usable tool or instrument to do both. In a quasi-experimental study, 207 students participated using a pre-test post-test control group design. Four groups of approximately 25 students worked with concept-map assignments, and four control groups worked with regular assignments. Though thinking aloud and a control of the concept maps we conclude that students use meta-concepts and connect concepts of differed levels of abstraction, when creating a concept map. Analysis of the results of the quasi experimental study showed that the use of concept maps had a positive effect on students' historical overview knowledge. Used covariates showed these effects to be caused by an effect for the older students and for the low-ability students. Consequences for teaching History in secondary education are discussed.

Keywords

Concept maps, Substantive concepts, Meta-concepts, Historical overview knowledge, Teaching History.

Historical overview knowledge is defined as 'the (knowledge) base that is used to interpret and date historical phenomena' (Van Drie, Van Riessen, Logtenberg, & Van der Meijden, 2009; Wilschut, 2009). In the definition by Counsel (2002) overview knowledge is described as 'a broad and lasting historical understanding such as chronological awareness, awareness of institutional structures or cultural values of a period' (Counsel 2002, p. 66). Both definitions tell us two things. First, definitions imply that learning historical overview knowledge is about the combination of knowledge and the use of skills. Second, to raise insight into abstract historical concepts is assumed to be more important than to know all the different events that occurred throughout history by heart. But what would be a good way to enhance both historical knowledge and skills and how do students obtain knowledge about historical phenomena and become aware of institutional structures and cultural values?

In this study, we explored students' historical overview knowledge to consist of historical knowledge and skills. Additionally, we examine the effects of a particular instructional intervention, the use of concept maps, on students' historical overview knowledge.

Historical knowledge and historical skills

There is an overwhelming amount of literature which emphasizes the importance of using concepts in history education, in both historical knowledge and skills (Counsell, 2002; Van Drie & Van Boxtel 2003; 2008; Husbands, 1996; Lee 1983; Lee 2005; Limon 2002; Wilschut, Van Straaten & Van Riessen 2004).

Concepts lie at the heart of historical understanding (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2003, p 27), ranging from (very) abstract and inclusive to concrete and unique. (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; Haenen en Schrijnenmakers 2002; Limon, 2002). A concrete concept refers to particular objects, or real historical persons and events (e.g., nuclear bomb, D-day and William of Orange). One of the obvious problems is that there are many real persons and events. We argue that in order to give meaning to these many different unique and concrete concepts students need to structure these concepts by connecting them to more inclusive and abstract concepts. (Anderson 1984; Counsell 2002; Wilschut et al., 2004). Inclusive or abstract concepts are concepts that 'refer to historical phenomena, structures and periods' (e.g. welfare, feudalism, or the middle ages) (Van Drie & Van Boxtel 2008 p. 101). Van Drie and Van Boxtel (2003) as well as Limon (2003) argue that the main problem in learning these concepts is that they are hard to visualise, and that their meaning changes depending on the historical time period they refer to. This means that abstract concepts should be linked to the time periods they refer to in order to be fully understood. These thematically or chronologically organized historical periods are, for example, The Golden Age of the Dutch Republic and the Enlightenment.

There is a common understanding that historical skills include the use of the concepts of chronology, continuity and change, by asking historical questions, distinguishing facts and opinions, drawing conclusions and generating explanations, and judging the past, all in a rational way (Von Bories, 2000; Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2008; Counsel, 2000; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Limon, 2002; Wilschut, et al., 2004). Historical skills are ideas that provide our understanding of history as a discipline or form of knowledge. They are not what history is about, but they shape the way we go about doing history' (Lee & Ashby 2000, p.199).

Counsel (2000) argues that the distinction between skills and knowledge, although useful as a conceptual distinction, is a distracting dichotomy. It conceals the fact that in learning history skills and knowledge interact and reinforce each other. For example when students read a text about the causes and the consequences of the French Revolution, it is necessary that they know what causation means. But once students learn what the causes of the French Revolution are, the skills of causation become knowledge. The difference between knowledge and skills, and the observation that this

distinction is conceptually useful but does not hold for real-live learning situations, seems to apply for learning history (Counsel 2000; Van Drie & Van Boxtel 2008; Lee 2005; Limon 2002;) as well as learning in general (Shavelson; Young; Ayala; Brandon; Furtak; Ruiz-Primo; Tomita & Yue Yin, 2008).

When students learn historical overview knowledge they generally use knowledge as well as skills (Counsel, 2000; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; Limon 2002). For example, when students try to understand the concepts French Revolution and Enlightenment, they could use happened after (using chronology) or is caused by (using causation). Ashby, Lee and Shemilt (2005) emphasize this by "The substantive facts and ideas in history must be understood in the context of a conceptual framework that includes second order concepts. Indeed, it has been argued that the systematic development of such concepts is essential for students to be able to organize knowledge in ways that facilitate retrieval and application. Therefore it is important to provide students with conceptual structures and tools with which to organize and manipulate factual knowledge" (Ashby, Lee & Shemilt 2005, pp. 79-80).

We think the use of concept maps in teaching history is a suitable tool for creating and organizing conceptual structures which support students' learning of both historical knowledge and skills.

Concept maps in teaching History

When students create a concept map they are actively organizing, structuring and visualizing their knowledge, and in doing so, recognizing possible misconceptions. Concept maps are "graphical tools for organizing and representing knowledge including concepts,- usually enclosed in circles or boxes - and relationships between concepts -indicated by a connecting line linking two concepts" (Novak & Cañas (2008, p. 1). A word or phrase on the line (linking word) is used to specify the relation between two concepts. Two concepts linked by a phrase are called a proposition. Proposition examples are: comparative (X is different from Y), causal (X results in Y), explanatory (X is also known as Y), and sequential (X precedes Y) (Oliver, 2009, p. 402). Propositions can also be relationships between concepts in different segments or domains of the concept map. These propositions are called cross-links. Another characteristic of concept maps is that they are represented in an hierarchical fashion where the most abstract concepts are at the top of the map and the more unique and concrete concepts are hierarchically structured below these abstract concepts. A final characteristic of a concept map is the use of a question that provides the context of the concept map. For example, how did the Enlightenment develop?

There are many different concept-map techniques ranging from pre-structured concept maps, where structure, concepts and the linking words are provided by the teacher, to more unstructured

maps where the students select their own concepts and linking words and create the map structure (Ruiz-Primo, 2000). For more literature about concept maps, we refer to Cañas, Coffey, Carnot, Feltovich, Hoffman, and Novak (2003), Novak and Cañas (2008), Novak and Gowin (1984) and Ruiz-Primo (2000).

Various studies have shown effects of the use of concept maps on achievement (Choui, 2008; Kouen, You-Ting, & Ine-Dai, 2002; Novak, & Gowin, 1984; Oliver, 2009; and for an overview see Cañas et al., 2003). But most of these studies are about Science education. In the current study, we examined the use of concept maps in teaching history. In this, we will focus on historical overview knowledge (which combines students' historical knowledge and historical skills). We have formulated two research questions:

1. How do students use concept maps in teaching history?
2. What are the effects of the use of concept maps on students' historical overview knowledge?

Method

A pre-test post-test control group design was used to determine the effects of the use of concept maps on historical overview knowledge. A total of 207 Grade 8 and 9 students from 8 classes of 2 secondary schools in small towns in the Netherlands participated in this study. The participants took the two highest levels in secondary education (senior general secondary education, and pre-university education). Paired T-tests on the pre-test scores on historical overview knowledge revealed no significant differences between the intervention group (concept maps) and control group (regular programme) and between the two grades that were involved (8th and 9th grade).

Intervention

Students from the intervention group completed four (for Grade 8 students) or seven (for Grade 9 students) concept-map assignments about all chronological periods that were addressed during the prior years. Grade 8 students completed concept maps about Prehistory, Antiquity, Middle Ages, and Early Modern Society until 1600. Grade 9 students additionally completed concept maps about the Modern Age. The first assignment was a pre-structured (fill-in-the-gaps) assignment and was also meant to explain how concept maps work. The other six assignments were moderately structured concept maps with 10-14 compulsory concepts and 24 suggestions for linking words. In each of the assignments, students were encouraged to use a minimum of four self-chosen concepts as well.

Students from the control group followed the regular programme with three assignments in which historical overview knowledge was addressed. Both the control group and the intervention group

were allowed the same time to work on the assignments. In both groups, 8th grade students worked in a series of six lessons during two months and 9th grade students worked in a series of eight lessons during the same period.

Measures

The first research question is answered by the analysis of four think-aloud sessions of students making a concept map and by the analysis of these completed concept maps. From the 106 students in the intervention group we randomly selected four participants for the think-aloud sessions about the Age of Regents and Kings and analysed 12 randomly selected concept maps on the Age of Wigs and Revolutions. The four individual sessions were taped and transcribed into written protocols, showing students' linking concepts (of different levels of abstraction) by using a skill, described by a meta-concept.

The second research question is answered by using a pre-test post-test control group design with 207 participants. Students' historical overview knowledge is measured by a digital pre-test and post-test, which consisted of a randomly selected set of 50 items from a database with of 248 multiple-choice questions. In this database, all historical concepts and skills in the Dutch curriculum were represented. The test was piloted with another 252 8th and 9th grade students showing an overall reliability of a KR-20 of 0,92. Students' test score can range from 1 to 10, with 1= very poor and 10= excellent. In addition to students' historical overview knowledge, we measured students' ability by students' mean previous results in history in that school year, with 1= low and 10= excellent). This variable was recoded into two categories: low ability (below average) and high ability (above average).

Data analysis

Descriptive statistics were used to analyse the think-aloud sessions and the concept maps. To test the effects of the concept map intervention, repeated measures were used with condition (concept map vs. regular programme) as independent variable, historical overview knowledge as dependent variable, and gender as covariate. In addition, separate repeated measures were performed for 8th and 9th grade students, and for low and high ability students.

Results

Concept maps and the process of creating

In the four think-aloud protocols, a total of 207 relevant utterances were recognized. Of these, 142 (69%) concerned the connection of two historical concepts. 65 (31%) of the utterances were related

to a historical skill, represented by a linking word and 6% of the utterances were about ascertaining an incorrectness or correcting one.

The connected concepts differ in abstraction level. For example, a student connected commercial capitalism (high abstraction level) to the growth of VOC (Dutch East India Company) and WIC (Dutch West India Company) (concrete examples), using the linking words possible because of. With this, this student showed his ability to connect related concepts using a skill, which was in this phrase the skill to form causal connections. The transcript of this student showed that the whole map was connected to the abstract concept 'age of regents and kings' (Used in the Dutch education for the period between 1600-1700).

In the 12 concept maps, students used an average of 25 propositions. About 90% the propositions were about the connection between different concepts. In the other cases, concepts were only translated or defined such as in: "Abolitionism means to abolish". In 67% of all propositions, and in 88% of the correct ones, students used historical skills. For example the skill contextualisation was used when a student connected Slavery to the Plantation colonies with the linking words Existed in, and the skill chronology was used when a student connected Plantation colonies to Abolitionism with Hereafter, as linking word.

In the cases where no skills were used, students either used no linking word at all, or just mentioned features or explanations in the proposition such as in connecting Representation (in parliament) to Citizens by using the linking word By or connecting Batavian revolution to Democratic revolution, without labelling the link.

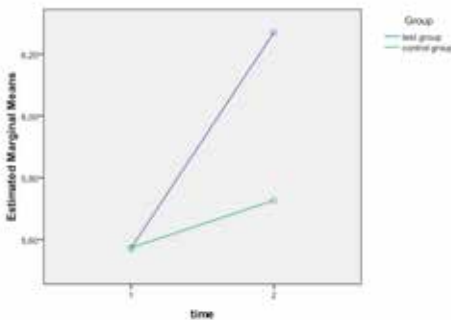
In sum, we might conclude that the use of concept maps supports students in linking concepts of different levels of abstractions and using skills while creating propositions, by visually organizing, structuring and visualizing their knowledge. The differences between the thinking-aloud protocols and the concept maps in the table can be explained by the fact that in the thinking-aloud protocols all possible propositions which a student pronounced are scored, and in the concept maps only those propositions that were written are scored.

	Think-aloud	Concept maps
Connecting concepts of different levels of abstraction	69%	88%
Connecting concepts by using meta-concepts	31%	67%

(TABLE 1.) Results of the analysis of the think-aloud protocols and the students' concept maps

Effects on historical overview knowledge

In Fig. 1, we graphically present the mean scores for both the intervention group and control group on the pre-test and post-test. Repeated measures with gender as covariate, showed that the increase in historical knowledge was significantly higher in the intervention group than in the control group. ($F(207,1)= 19.04, p \leq 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.09$). (see table 2 for descriptive results)



Additional repeated measures for 8th and 9th grade students separately showed that only for the 9th grade students the intervention group increased significantly more than the control group ($F(73,1)=28.425 p \leq 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.21$). For the 8th grade students, there was no difference in development between the intervention and control group. So this means, that the positive effect of the use of concept maps on students' historical overview knowledge is caused by an effect for the 9th grade students.

Fig. 1 Results of the repeated measures on historical overview knowledge

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Pre-test:	5,57	1,52	207
control group	5,57	1,40	101
test group	5,57	1,63	106
8th grade	5,53	1,41	47
8th grade below average	4,54	1,14	24
8th grade above average	6,57	,77	23
9th grade	5,93	1,32	40
9th grade below average	4,92	1,67	40
9th grade above average	7,04	1,07	19
Post-test	6,00	1,24	207
control group	5,73	1,21	101
test group	6,27	1,21	106
8th grade group	6,16	1,07	47
8th grade below average	5,63	,88	24
8th grade above average	6,71	,97	23
9th grade	6,36	1,31	59
9th grade below average	5,93	1,32	40
9th grade above average	7,26	,746	19

TABLE 2. Descriptive statistics

Finally, separate repeated measures were performed for low- and high-ability students. Repeated measures for high-ability students showed no significant difference in increase in historical overview knowledge between the test group and the control group. However, the low-ability students in the test group improved their historical overview knowledge by more than a full point, showing a significant difference compared to low-ability students of the control group ($F(112,1)=15.452$, $p \leq 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.123$)

Discussion and conclusion

Both the think-aloud sessions and the concept maps of the students showed that students used both historical knowledge and historical skills when creating a concept map. They also recognized their misconceptions and corrected inaccurate linking words. Furthermore, our study showed that the use of concept maps in teaching history had a positive effect on students' historical overview knowledge in lower secondary education.

However, we only found positive effects of the use of concept maps for 9th grade students but not for 8th grade students. We suggest various explanations for this finding. First, the number of concept maps in the intervention was lower for 8th grade students than for the 9th grade students. It could be that creating four concept maps just is not enough to have an effect on students' historical overview knowledge. Second, it might be that the intervention used in the control group was an effective tool to enhance the historical overview knowledge of 8th grade students as both groups (intervention and control) increased significantly. Van der Schee, Leat and Vankan (2006) showed the 'odd one out'-assignment, as we used in the control group, increased the level of students' thinking in the domain of geography. Third, creating concept maps is a complex task and 8th grade students might be less equipped to perform these tasks than 9th grade students. Our think-aloud study was just too small-scale to support this third explanation.

Splitting the groups into a low- and high-ability group of students (based on their previous results in history) showed that the use of concept maps increased the test scores of the low-ability students. The high-ability students did not seem to improve their level of historical overview knowledge significantly, but the low-ability student groups improved with more than a full point.

Implications for education could be that concept maps are useful tools for learning historical overview knowledge and should therefore be applied in history lessons and in school history books. Concept maps could also be used as a tool for retraining or assisting the low-ability students to improve their grades in history

This research is limited in focus. Although the current study provides indications that the use of concept maps supported students' acquisition of historical overview knowledge, the question remains whether this is also the case for a more elaborate aim of teaching history. Other authors use terms such as historical reasoning (Van Drie & Van Boxtel 2008), historical consciousness (Wilschut et al, 2004) historical thinking (Wineberg, 2001), and historical understanding (Lee & Ashby 2000) to address the aim of teaching Hirstory. In addition to (overview) knowledge and skills these authors emphasize a certain attitude towards (studying) the past. Van Drie and Van Boxtel use the term historical thinking for all activities in which students organize information about the past in order to describe, compare, and/or explain historical phenomena. In doing this, they ask historical questions, contextualize, make use of historical concepts, and support claims with arguments based on evidence from sources about the past'. (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008 p. 89)

Future research might shed some light on the beneficial effects of the use of concept maps in teaching history. In this, concept maps might be used not only to enhance students' historical overview knowledge but also to improve their historical skills such as reasoning, argumentation and awareness.

Correspondence

Terence Honing,
Wagenaarstraat 444
Amsterdam
The Netherlands
1093EA

t.honing@alkwin.nl
+31641439318

References

- Anderson, C., R., (1984) 'Some reflections on the acquisition of knowledge' *Educational Researcher*, 13 (9), pp 5-10.
- Ashby R, Lee, p. Shemilt, D. (2005) *Putting Principles into Practice: Teaching and Planning*. In: National Research Council, *How students learn: history, mathematics, and science in the classroom* (pp 77-179), Washington DC.

Von Borries, B., (2000) *Methods and Aims of Teaching History in Europe* In: Stearn P. N. Seixas, P., & Wineberg, S. (red), *Knowing Teaching & learning History* (pp 246-260) New York 2000: New York University press.

Cañas, A.J., Coffey, J.W., Carnot, M.J., Feltovich, P.J., Feltovich, J., Hoffman, R.R., & Novak, J.D. (2003) *A Summary of Literature Pertaining to the Use of Concept Mapping Techniques and Technologies for Education and Performance Support*.

Retrieved January 21st 2010, from: <http://www.ihmc.us/users/acanas/Publications/ConceptmapLitReview/IHMC%20Literature%20Review%20on%20Concept%20Mapping.pdf>

Choui, C.C. (2008) 'The effects of conceptmapping on students' learning achievements and interest' *Innovations in Education and Teaching International* 45 (4), pp 375-387.

Counsell, C. (2000) 'Historical knowledge and historical skills: A distracting dichotomy' In: S. Capel, J. Davison, J. Arthur, & J. Moss (Series Eds.) & J. Arthur & R. Philips (Vol. Eds.), *Issues in subject teaching series. Issues in history teaching* (pp. 54-71). London: Routledge.

Van Drie, J., & Van Boxtel, C. (2003) 'Developing conceptual understanding through talk and mapping' *Teaching History*, 110, pp 27-31.

Van Drie, J., & Van Boxtel, C. (2008) 'Historical reasoning: towards a framework for analyzing students' reasoning about the past' *Educational Psychology Review*, 20, pp 87-110.

Van Drie, J., Van Riessen, M., Logtenberg, A., & Van der Meijden, B. (2009). 'When was that date? Building and assessing a frame of reference in the Netherlands' *Teaching History*, 137, pp 14-21.

Haenen, J., & Schrijnemakers, H. (2000) 'Suffrage, feudal, democracy, treaty... history's building blocks: Learning to teach historical concepts' *Teaching History*, 98, pp 22-29.

Husbands, C. (1996) *What is history teaching? Language, ideas and meaning in learning about the past*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Kou-en, You-Ting, & Ine-Dai, (2002) 'The Effect of Concept Mapping to Enhance Text Comprehension and Summarization' *The Journal of Experimental Education*, 71, (1), pp 5-23.

Lee, P. J. (1983) 'History Teaching and Philosophy of History' *History and Theory*, 22, (4), pp 19-49.

Lee, P. J., & Ashby, R., (2000) 'Progression in Historical Understanding among students Age 7-14' In: Stearn P. N. , Seixas, P., & Wineberg, S. (red), *Knowing Teaching & learning History* (pp 246-260), New York: New York University press.

Lee, P. J. (2005) 'Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History' (pp 27-78) In: Donovan M.S., Bransford, J. D. (Eds), *How students Learn History in the classroom*, National academies press, Washington.

Limón, M. (2002). Conceptual change in history. In M. Limón, & L. Mason (Eds.) *Reconsidering conceptual change. Issues in theory and practice* (pp 259–289). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer.

Novak, J.D., Cañas A.j., (2008) *The theory underlying concept maps and how to construct them* Retrieved February 10th 2010, from: <http://cmap.coginst.uwf.edu/info/printer.html>

Novak, J.D., & Gowin, B.D. (1984) *Learning how to learn* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Oliver, K. (2009) 'An investigation of concept mapping to improve the reading comprehension of science texts' *Journal of Science Education and Technology*, 18, pp 402-414.

Ruiz-Primo, M.A.(2000) 'On the use of concept maps as an Assessment tool in Science: what we have learned so far' *Revista Electronica de investigacion Educativa* 2(1) Retrieved September 12th 2010 from: <http://redie.uabc.mx/vol2no1/contents-ruizpri.html>

Ruiz-Primo, M. A., Schultz S. E., Li M., Shavelson R.J. (2000) 'Comparison of the reliability of scores from two concept-mapping techniques' *Journal of research in science teaching*, 38, (2), pp 260-278.

Shavelson, R. J., Young, D. D., Ayala C. C., Brandon, P. R., Furtak E. M., Ruiz-Primo, M. A., Tomita, M. K., & Yin, Y (2008) 'On the Impact of Curriculum-Embedded Formative Assessment on Learning: A Collaboration between Curriculum and Assessment Developers' *Applied Measurement in Education*, 21 (4), pp 295-314.

Van der Schee, J., Leat, D. & Vankan, L., (2006) 'Effects of the use of Thinking Through Geography Strategies' *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education*, 15, (2), pp 124-133.

Wilschut, A., van Straaten, D. & van Riessen, M. (2004) *Geschiedenisdidactiek. Handboek voor de vakdocent (Teaching and Learning History. Handbook for teachers)*. Bussum: Coutinho.

Wilschut, A. (2009) 'Canonical standards or orientational frames of reference?' The cultural and educational approach to the debate about standards in history teaching. In L. Symcox & Wilschut, A., (Eds.) *National history standards. The problem of the canon and the future of teaching history* (pp 113-135). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Wineberg, S., (2001) *Historical Thinking and other unnatural acts*, Philadelphia.

CITY SQUARES – A PROJECT INVOLVING SWEDISH, ITALIAN AND SLOVENIAN UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOLS – THE ROLE OF COMMON LOCALITIES IN ESTABLISHING HISTORICAL LINKS ACROSS EUROPE

Danijela Trskan, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia

.....

Abstract

This article presents the City Squares Project, which was carried out by the students of three upper secondary schools from Slovenia, Italy and Sweden. The Swedish students presented the changes, transformations of squares in the city of Gävle, the Italian students concentrated on the history and current problems of the squares in Trieste, while the Slovene students suggested several solutions for Ljubljana city centre. The international project includes elements of enterprise education, interdisciplinary and authentic extracurricular schoolwork. It develops social awareness, stimulates social engagement and allows students to compare historical events, processes and the phenomena and life of people in the past with the present and current events. It also presents a comparative and European dimension into local history and adds a new dimension to the research of national and international history.

Keywords

International Project, City Squares, Local History, National History, International History

Introduction

Project work is one of the school activities, which encourages active teaching, and learning and close cooperation between a teacher and a learner since it encompasses both direct teaching and learners' independent work. The role of a teacher in the project is to direct the learners, as well as to help and encourage them in learning or carrying out a particular activity. Learners, on the other hand, learn to plan their activities, carry out the plans and reflect on their own work and final products (Meznaric, 1998).

Education has generally been perceived as a powerful social tool, but sometimes as a tool that can be used to conserve, preserve and transmit an established culture and social structure, and at other times as a mechanism that can transform and change a culture, and be an agent for social mobility. (Ross, 2006, p. 18).

Project work develops learners' creativity, ingenuity, adaptability, autonomy, persistence, responsibility, self-confidence and trains them in team-work. The final products of a project should also be based on an everyday, real-life situation and should combine knowledge and abilities in different subjects (Rutar Ilc, 2003, pp. 128–129).

Why were the city squares chosen for the project work? They usually present the heart of the city and show different events and the development of the city. There are vestiges of past human activities to be found in every urban or rural environment. Every chosen environment can be analysed as a source. There are traces everywhere. Stradling says that the traces of the past are present in the architecture and former functions of buildings, the street names, the bridges, the monuments, the names of shops, cafes and restaurants (2001, p. 158). The purpose is not only to observe the historical environment, but to discover and research the environment with the aim of understanding the way of life in the past, planning the changes and developments in the future, as well as learning about the reasons for and consequences of the human impact on the environment.

Local environment allows discovering, feeling, listening, watching, tasting and acting (*Eduquer à l'environnement en collèges et lycées*, 2000, p. 26–27). If we want to explore the environment, however, a first step has to be taken by leaving the building and setting off. A map will be needed, preferably an old one, which we can compare to the present state with the past and find out about the changes. We should also take a camera, a notebook and a pen (Fowler, 2001, p. 9).

According to Stradling, including local history in the history syllabus has several advantages since its directness arouses students' interest in places, people and events they know. It is also important because it adds a new dimension to the research of national, regional and international history (Stradling, 2001, p. 160).

In this way, the students would study the past or present of their home town, have access to different sources and participate in different school projects or individual school research (*Guide de l'histoire locale*, 1990). Researching local history, the students will develop awareness of their surroundings, acquire knowledge of local their environment, become more sensitive to social changes and find it easier to empathize and participate in the social environment (Fortin-Debart, 2004, p. 85).

Research into local history also has a European dimension. Stradling thinks that the locality can indeed be studied for its own sake but it can also be studied as a case study of changes and developments, which have taken place across Europe (2001, p. 158).

Thus, the history syllabi in all European countries could include topics, such as: environment, region, the history of ideas, social history, economic history, political and administrative history. The students would analyse the sources gathered from different public institutions, e.g. public and local archives or museums, and they would also research into the cultural heritage of their home town (architecture, archaeology, landscape, urban planning). Various modes of schoolwork and the method of working with different types of sources should be used in the process. With younger learners

(e.g. elementary school pupils), social and economic history would seem more appropriate, while older (upper secondary school) students could study topics related to politics, administration, ideas, customs and lifestyle (Theses on the Teaching and Learning of Local Histories, 2003).

It is easier to first choose and carefully study a narrow, local case of the historical event that we want to present, and only then generalise from it and set it into broader space and time (Weber, 1981, p. 15).

Understanding the local also means understanding the regional, national, European and global environment. Teaching history in democratic Europe is supposed to offer all European citizens the possibility to strengthen their individual as well as group identity, by knowing about their common historical heritage in its local, regional, national European and global dimensions (Council of Europe, 2001).

The selected City Squares Project offered possibilities for the students: to develop the sense of European identity; to understand the common cultural heritage; to develop greater tolerance towards other people and different cultural and ethnical environments; and to understand the past, especially the causes of present-day problems of cities and city squares. The students ought to become aware of the significance of the history and social development of their own city and country, as well as of other countries and cities.

Also we can introduce a comparative dimension into local history, particularly when seeking to compare the city squares, because they provide opportunities for comparing architectural styles and cultural influences and for looking at how different countries and city governments have chosen to commemorate the events (Stradling, 2001, p. 161).

The international projects are also a part of Citizenship Education in Europe. This education will concern school education for young people, which seeks to ensure that they become active and responsible citizens capable of contributing to the development and well being of the society in which they live.

Different international projects can promote recognition of cultural and historical heritage and develop recognition of and respect for oneself and others, with a view to achieving greater mutual understanding, enabling pupils to become more involved in the community at large, at international, national, local and school levels (Citizenship education at school in Europe, 2005, p. 10). These projects stimulate the active participation of pupils by enabling them to become involved in the life of the school and local community, and to acquire the skills needed to make a responsible and constructively critical contribution to public life (Ibidem, p. 23).

The aims of the project

In the academic year 2001/2002, eighteen Swedish students from Vasaskolan in Gävle, eighteen Italian students from Liceo Scientifico Statale Guglielmo Oberdan in Trieste and thirty-two Slovenian students from Gimnazija Bežigrad in Ljubljana participated in a City Squares Project. The age of the students varied between 17 and 18. The project was led by five teachers: Jan Teeland, Mario Zarotti, Iris Sheriani, Valentina Maver and Danijela Trskan. The initiative for the project came from Vasaskolan, the Swedish secondary school.

The main aim of the project was to present the city squares from different aspects, for example: historical, cultural, sociological, etc. The main questions about city squares referred to the history (location, building of the square, their functions and the changes of functions through history), architecture (the functions of the square and architectural style of the buildings), politics (the decisions that were made on the building and transformations of the squares, the role of the town or city inhabitants), and arts (artistic value of the buildings). With the city squares in Ljubljana the students have also researched current issues (traffic, pollution, fairs and exhibitions).

Each school has tried to present the city squares in accordance with different specific features of the town. The Swedish students concentrated on changes in the squares and their vision of the future, the students from Italy focused on the history and present-day problems that trouble the squares in Trieste, whereas Slovenian students explored the possibilities for making the city centre of Ljubljana more attractive.

What follows is a description of three main stages of the project work and evaluation of the project. A presentation of The City Squares Project can also be found on: <http://www.vasa.gavle.se/Projekt/Square/index3.html>, under the title: The Square project, a project including Slovenia, Italy and Sweden.

Stages of the project work

The first stage was to arrange a meeting of the teachers who were to lead the project. In July 2001 a meeting was held in Ljubljana, at which the Swedish and Slovenian teachers made a draft plan of the component parts of the project work. A longer meeting of the Italian and Swedish teachers, where the time plan for the project was formulated, took place in Trieste. The project was planned for the academic year 2001/2002 and was carried out in three stages.

Stage one was carried out from September 2001 to March 2002. Stage one included formation of groups at all three schools, distribution of research topics or questions and group work. Each school had to produce a written report in the English language and design a leaflet. In order to monitor the progress and work of other schools, the three schools contacted each other by e-mail. During the first stage each school tried to raise money for their travel, while the Italian and Slovenian schools also tried to locate and book accommodation for teachers and students.

The work of the Slovenian students during stage one of the projects was to try to choose the topics for the City Squares Project. They collected ideas with the help of a questionnaire (what is it that you do not like in Ljubljana?; what could be changed?; do you have any suggestions?). The aim of the project was not to present only the historical development of Ljubljana but also to address the main problems of the city, as well as to suggest some possible solutions.

Having chosen the topics, the students themselves formed three groups. As the leader of the project I led and monitored students work'. Control, monitoring and coordination of group work took place twice a month and almost every day in March. I was helped by one of my colleagues.

The group that chose the topic, 'City centre closed for city traffic', first of all had to choose one member to identify the key features of the city centre (main features of the city traffic: buses, cycle lanes, pavements, pedestrian crossings, signalisation, lighting, a map of Ljubljana etc.); one member to make a 5-minute video and another member to take care of the written report. They also had to set the dates for their meetings and form two groups of three students, which prepared concrete suggestions for the reorganisation of the city centre and present them in written and graphic form.

The two groups that decided to collect information with the help of a questionnaire, and divided the tasks among themselves with one team member to take responsibility for each of these activities:

- Design the questions and the introduction for the questionnaire;
- Carry out the inquiry;
- Make a graphic representation of the data;
- Copy all the information and store them on a compact-disc;
- Choose the locations to take digital photographs;
- Make a summary of the entire work for a leaflet;
- Make a 5-minute video;
- Take care of the written report of the group work.

They had to set the date for the meetings as well. Each group had to produce a written report with photographs and graphs (on a compact-disc) and design one page of the leaflet. They also had to prepare transparencies they would later use in their report.

Stage two took place between the 3rd and 5th of April 2002. The main aim of stage two was to organise an international meeting of all the participants, to visit all the city squares and to present the projects. On the 3rd and 4th of April 2002 the students met in Ljubljana, but on the 5th of April Trieste was the hosting city.

In Ljubljana the Slovenian students briefly presented the history of the city, its squares and three different subprojects. Similarly, the Italian students offered a short presentation of their project on the city squares in Trieste. The project work was presented at Gimnazija Bezigrad on the 5th of April 2002. Afterwards the students from three schools discussed their visions of an ideal square in mixed-nationality groups of six students (two Italians, two Swedes and two Slovenians). All groups had to discuss the following hypothetical question: 'Pretend you are an architect/city planner. What would your ideal city square be like? Work on the basis of your experiences of your own city and our project, but plan your 'perfect' square'.

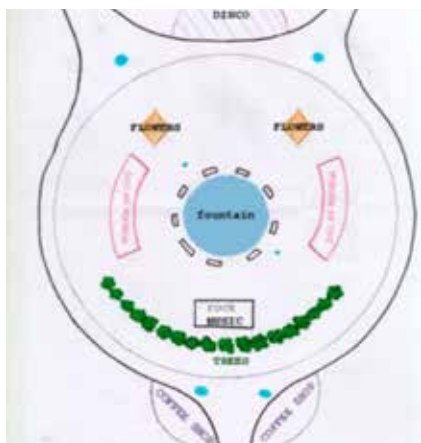


Fig. 1 Example of 'perfect square'

On the 3rd of April 2002 in the afternoon the students went on a sightseeing tour of the centre of Ljubljana. On the 4th of April they visited the city squares and had the opportunity to see the view of Ljubljana from the castle tower.

In Trieste the presentation of projects took place at Liceo Scientifico Statale Guglielmo Oberdan secondary school. The Italian students presented the history of Trieste and the Swedish students presented their project.

Afterwards students, who were divided into groups, discussed how the Trieste city squares could be transformed into ideal squares.



Fig. 2 Example of an ideal Trieste square

Two special groups, however, finalized the drafts of the web-site and international leaflet in the English language. The presentations were followed by students' evaluations of the international project, all of which were positive. The students emphasized that the project offered possibilities for making new acquaintances and developing friendships. In addition students appreciated the opportunity to communicate with each other in the English language. On the 5th of April 2002, in the afternoon, everyone went on a sightseeing tour of the city centre and squares of Trieste.

Stage three was carried out from April to June 2002. Each school made its own bound version of all three written projects. Two special groups of students communicated by e-mail and completed the leaflet and the web-site (<http://www.vasa.gavle.se/Projekt/Square/index3.html>). The joint leaflet includes the presentation of all three participating schools and a short summary of the three projects. The web-site, on the other hand, includes presentations of all three projects, graphic material presenting ideal squares, photographs of the students who participated in the project, their personal opinions and e-mail addresses.

During this stage the schools also thanked all the sponsors who had offered financial support and had thus helped them to carry out the project. The Slovenian students and mentors expressed special thanks to Gimnazija Bežigrad and the City of Ljubljana, who had reimbursed the expenses and to a sponsor who covered the travel expenses but wanted to remain anonymous. During the third stage the Slovenian students also produced a leaflet about all three 'subprojects' and wrote a Slovenian version of a project.



Fig. 3 Leaflet

Content of the project

The Swedish project begins with a presentation of the squares of Gävle (a city with approximately 90,000 inhabitants, which lies on the east coast of Sweden, north of Stockholm), an outline of the history of Gävle from the 9th century onwards and a short presentation of the history of the Vasaskolan secondary school. The central part of the project offers a description of the buildings, functions, development, changes and growth of Gävle city squares: Stortorget (Central Square), Hamntorget (Harbour Square), Rådhusorget (Town Hall Square), Slottstorg (Castle Square), Lilltorget (Little Square). Beside this, it includes interviews with the tradespeople.

The Swedish students took up the following task-

The squares in Gävle are all in some state of transformation. Traffic is the main reason for these changes, and ideas and opinions came in from many different sources. We have chosen to put our emphasis on changes and how they are made. A lot of interesting questions came up that we have been trying to answer. Who decides about our public squares, where the buses go,

where the bicycle paths will be, and how it will be decorated? We also wanted to know whether those who decide have any vision. We have been talking to architects, vendors on the streets, politicians, as well as people passing by on the streets, to get their opinion on this matter. (City Squares of Gävle, 2002).

In their project the students have written-

Our squares are a part of our lives, some of us use them more than others, but in all cases they're always there. You might cross a square on your way to work or go there to meet a friend, but you might also go there to take a break on a stressful day, to eat your lunch and just watch people pass by. (City Squares of Gävle, 2002).

The Italian project presents the history of Trieste from the 4th century BC until today, the main city squares: La Piazza dell'Unita d'Italia, Piazza Saint'Antonio (Saint Antonio's Square) and Piazza Ponterosso (the Square of Ponterosso), their development and surrounding buildings. The project also includes interviews with passers-by, about the squares.

The students found that the squares had often been altered and adjusted to the local needs. The central square Piazza dell' Unita, especially, had gone through many changes over the past centuries. There has always been the need to transform this place, making it suitable for the development of the city and its population (Squares Project, 2002).

In their project the students wrote-

We have noticed a connection between the historical evolution of the city and the development of the three squares. In fact, the squares have been transformed during the century according to the tendencies of each period, and we have studied their shapes and their present aspect. We also interviewed some inhabitants of the city. Thanks to this project we have become aware of the economical, social and political importance of the squares. (Squares Project, 2002).

In the introductory part of the Slovenian project, entitled Making the Ljubljana City Centre More Attractive, the main squares of Ljubljana are presented. The main part of the project consists of three 'subprojects': Ljubljana Traffic; Ljubljana City Centre, the Youth Cultural Centre; and Fairs and Exhibitions in Ljubljana.

The main goal set by the Slovene students was to 'make Ljubljana a cleaner, nicer, more entertaining and attractive place to live and spend time in'. According to students their project was to be a stepping-stone on the way to the achievement of what they had identified as desirable. In

groups, they were exploring the possibilities for solving the problems of the city traffic, including discussing what a youth centre should offer and examining the responses to ideas about the future of fairs in Ljubljana.

In a subproject entitled Ljubljana Traffic the first group wrote-

Ljubljana is the heart of Slovenia, our home city and also a very attractive tourist destination. Every day, when passing through the City Centre, we noticed that the traffic in the city is very heavy and sometimes causes problems in our everyday lives. With this in mind we decided to talk about different proposals to solve the traffic problems, so enhancing the Council's existing plans with our new, fresh ideas. Our attention will be mainly focused on the biggest problems, which we will try to solve within the scope of realistic possibilities. (Making the Ljubljana City Centre More Attractive, 2002, p. 7).

Researching the current state of city traffic in Ljubljana, the students came across four main problems: a problem of personal vehicles driving through the city centre, a problem of parking, a problem of city bus traffic in the centre and a problem of pollution.

The group came to the following conclusion-

We expect that the closure of the City centre and the road up to the Castle would have a dramatic effect on our environment and the pollution in the Centre. Of course, closing the centre for traffic is only the first step, to be continued with the encouragement of cycling, the creation of a greener, more attractive city with grass and a lot of trees. We would change the closed Kongresni trg (Congress Square) into a park, the pavement would be separated from the bike lanes with greenery and the horrific steel poles would be replaced with trees. Ljubljana would, therefore, become what it deserves to be – a clean and organized modern European capital. (Making the Ljubljana City Centre More Attractive, 2002, pp. 15–16).

We can add that in September 2007 the City centre in Ljubljana actually was really closed to traffic.

The second group, working on subproject Ljubljana City Centre, the Youth Cultural Centre carried out a survey among the youth.

Having analysed the answers to the survey, they found that-

... even though most teenagers are satisfied with the social and cultural life offered in the city, they find the idea of the youth centre very interesting. Young people of Ljubljana miss a youth centre as well as sports and recreation facilities. Teenagers think that the centre should include

all fields (entertainment, sports, culture). In terms of culture they mostly wish for a place where they could talk and use the Internet; in terms of entertainment they miss dances, places to hang out and meet new friends, whereas in terms of sports they would like to have a well-equipped gym. Most of them are willing to pay the monthly affiliation fee from about 2 to 4 Euros. The youth centre should be located in the very centre of the city. They would visit it several times during the week and it would be open to the young people until the end of their schooling. (Making the Ljubljana City Centre More Attractive, 2002, p. 24).

The students working on this subproject also had the opportunity to present their work at the third meeting of the State Youth Council of the Republic of Slovenia on the 25th of April 2002. They also participated in the discussion.

Since the ideas of teenagers about what the youth centre should offer are very interesting, they are presented in detail here.

According to our ideas the youth centre would be a place where young people could gather for mutual socialization, a place where you could talk to someone privately, take some time for themselves, and so taking care of their spiritual development in society. Besides these, mostly personal matters the centre would merge some kind of an 'info. spot'; it would have a place for slide shows and video presentation (movies). A special part would be dedicated to various recitals and guests speaking about their life – a place meant for calmer and more personal conversations and for everyone who is not only interested in material side of life but in the psychological side of life as well. There would also be a library with mostly light, trivial literature, for relaxation and not for demanding reading. An idea was raised to dedicate the walls to art exhibitions for young artists, anything that would be appropriate for a place like that, not just the bookshelves. Whoever ran the library would also organise presentations of literary work of unknown artists, and if possible encourage their publication. An opportunity would be given to all who would like to try belonging to art and literature circles. Workshops would be offered, where people with proper education would help them to understand literature and writing.

For everyone involved in sports there would also be a gym. available for recreation and various sport activities. There would also be a room for social activities and games; the centre would also present an option of voluntary work. For these reasons there would be a bulletin board, with advertisements for voluntary work inside and outside of the centre. People having problems with studying would also be able to find help by using this bulletin board. Of course we did not forget the bar, where they would not serve alcohol and sell cigarettes, and a concert hall or at least a bigger room for music enthusiasts. We are quite sure that in this way most wishes of young

people would be realised. This centre would need some money for administration; therefore, a small monthly affiliation fee would have to be introduced. Since the idea is that only young people should participate in this project, we would have to make a publication showing the external and internal image of the centre, which would only apply to young architects. In the end we have almost reached the slogan: 'Young for the young', but this already represents a subject for another discussion. (Making the Ljubljana City Centre More Attractive, 2002, pp. 17–18).

The aim of the third group, who worked on the subproject entitled Fairs and Exhibitions in Ljubljana, was to find out whether the inhabitants of Ljubljana and its surroundings are acquainted with the fairs offered, to what extent they are satisfied with them and their location and whether they visit the fairs.

The survey revealed that the fairs in Ljubljana are well attended and people are fairly satisfied with the situation, even though most people wish the number of fairs on offer could be extended. In their survey report the students wrote-

Ljubljana hosts a large number of different fairs, amounting to 16. Nevertheless, the most frequent wish, expressed in our survey, was to enlarge their number. 75% of the population visit fairs in Ljubljana, of which one half prefer to visit the fairs at the central part of Ljubljana. Sometimes advertisements help to persuade people to visit them. The most frequently visited fairs are international motor fairs, the book fair, the Christmas fair and the furniture fair. 50% answered that our fairs are not interesting enough, while 22% found them interesting and 38% have a standpoint of their own. (Making the Ljubljana City Centre More Attractive, 2002, p. 31).

Evaluation of the project

The students were also given a questionnaire about the project. 51 students, that is 75% of all students participating in the project, returned the questionnaire.

The first question was: How would you evaluate your participation in the project? 59% of the students answered that their participation was very good, 37% answered it was good, while 4% found it unsatisfactory.

The second question was: How would you evaluate the work of your group? 61% of the population assessed their work as very good, 37% as good and 2% as unsatisfactory.

The third question was: What did you like most about the project? 55% answered that they liked the tours of the squares, 33% preferred the group discussions on the project, while 6% enjoyed the creating the written report.

The fourth question was: How would you evaluate success of the project? 49% of the students shared the opinion that the project was very valuable and interesting, 45% found it interesting and 6% thought of it as boring. No one declared the project to be uninteresting.

The fifth question was: What did you miss in the project? Only a few students answered it. They thought that Sweden too should have been included in the exchange of students and that Italian and Slovene students should also have visited Sweden.

On the basis of students' answers we can find that most of the students gave a positive evaluation of the project. The students were given the opportunity to express additional opinions on the project. All opinions were favourable, for example: 'I think that it has been a good experience and I have met new friends', or: 'I find the project was complete and very interesting'.

Conclusion

It should be emphasised, that all the students participated in the City Squares Project voluntarily. The students developed the entire content structure of the project, while the teachers directed them to the final products. In the international leaflet the students have written-

All three groups met in Ljubljana and Trieste to exchange their views and to critically evaluate their colleagues' work. Not only did the project connect three countries and three different cultures, it also connected three schools and three different groups of young people. (Leaflet: The Squares Project, 2002).

The project work at all three schools included producing a written report and a leaflet in the English language, making a public presentation about the project, engaging in team work and group discussions on the city squares, and sightseeing tours of Ljubljana and Trieste. The project work was based on experiential learning, which included inter-disciplinary learning, differentiation and individualisation. It was also extra-curricular. The students and teachers worked during the breaks and stayed in schools for hours after the lessons. However, no volunteer has declared that the time has been used unproductively.

After the project had been completed, Jan Teeland reflected-

It was hard work, especially at the end, but seeing young people from three different countries, different languages, different cultures sharing interests, knowledge, socialising, and even becoming friends, warmed all our hearts.

We are completely surrounded by the historical environment. There is only a considerable difference between the extent to which it appears in the modern environment and the extent to which we can recognise it. In every environment some evidence of past human activities can be traced, but it is up to us what and how much is noticed. Therefore, the pupils have to be trained to observe their environment carefully, as early as in elementary school, so that they will not only notice or remember some buildings, monuments and changes that have been made in the environment. On the contrary, they will be able to observe and notice as much as possible, especially when it comes to their local environment.

If we do not want our students to just have to 'believe' what their teacher says, only on the basis of his authority, and if we want to avoid the history lessons to leave only a vague memory of textbook explanations of historical events; if we would like the students to be able to imagine the past, the events to seem real and the history lessons to be an integral part of reality, then we have to bring factual evidence and material sources that testify about the past into the classroom ... in this way, teacher's activity makes the students able to observe what the past has left behind and connect the 'small' local history with the 'great' history of the world. (Maréchal, 1956 In: Zgonik, 1974, p. 330).

We can conclude that project work prepares students to start thinking about historical processes and phenomena more actively and intensively. Besides this, it encourages them to draw comparisons between the past and present. Only project work, (especially interdisciplinary projects) allows students to compare historical events, processes, phenomena and life of people in the past with the present and current events, modern life, as well as to search for similarities and differences and develop critical thinking.

Projects also facilitate socialisation of youth, develop social awareness and self-awareness, stimulate social engagement, influence mental attitudes towards the environment and the world (Novak, 1990). That is what makes project work extremely important in the education of young people.

Correspondence

daniijela.trskan@guest.arnes.si

References

- Citizenship education at school in Europe (2005) Brussels, Eurydice.
- City Squares of Gävle (2002) Gävle, Vasaskolan.
- Council of Europe – Committee of ministers (2001) Recommendation Rec(2001)15 on history teaching in twenty-first-century Europe. Retrieved February 11, 2008 from http://www.mss.gov.si/fileadmin/mss.gov.si/pageuploads/podrocje/mednarodno/solstvo/doc/Priporocilo_poucevanje_zgodovine_2001.doc
- Eduquer à l'environnement en collèges et lycées. Enseignement général et agricole (2000) Ecologistes de l'Euzière, Agence Méditerranéenne de l'Environnement.
- Fortin–Debart, C. (2004) Le partenariat école–musée pour une éducation à l'environnement Paris, L'Harmattan.
- Fowler, S. (2001) Starting out in local history Newbury–Berkshire, Countryside books.
- Guide de l'histoire locale. Faisons notre histoire! (1990) Paris, Éditions du Seuil.
- Leaflet: The Squares Project (2002) Slovenia, Italy, Sweden.
- Making the Ljubljana City Centre More Attractive (2002) City Square project. Ljubljana, Gimnazija Beograd.
- Maréchal, P. (1956) 'Comment enseigner l'histoire locale et régionale' Paris, Bibliothèque, in Zgonik, M. (1974) History in Modern School Ljubljana, DZS.
- Meznicar, M. et al. (1998) Enterprise education in History Ljubljana, National Education Institute of the Republic of Slovenia.
- Novak, H. (1990) Project Work Ljubljana, DZS.
- Ross, A. (2006) 'National cultures, educational policies and professional school practice', in Teachers' and Pupils' Constructions of Competition and Cooperation. A three-country study of Slovenia, Hungary and England Ljubljana, Faculty of Education, pp. 17–36.
- Rutar Ilc, Z. (2003) Approaches to teaching, assessment and grading Ljubljana, DZS.
- Squares Project (2002) Piazza dell'Unità d'Italia, Piazza Sant'Antonio, Piazza Ponterosso. Trieste, Liceo Scientifico Statale Guglielmo Oberdan.
- Stradling, R. (2001) Teaching 20th century European history Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing.
- The Square project (2002) Retrieved February 11, 2008 from <http://www.vasa.gavle.se/Projekt/Square/index3.html>
- Theses on the Teaching and Learning of Local Histories by Clio '92 (2003) Association of Teachers and Researchers in History Teaching and Learning, Italy. Retrieved August 14, 2004 from <http://www.eurocliohistory.org/>
- Weber, T. (1981) Theory and Practice of Teaching History in Elementary School Ljubljana, DZS.

THE GREEK SOCIETY'S CONFRONTATION WITH THE TRAUMAS CAUSED BY NATIONAL SOCIALISM: THE CASE OF DISTOMO'S MASSACRE (10 JUNE 1944) HISTORY TEXTBOOKS AND MEMORY POLITICS OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

George Kokkinos, Professor of History and History Didactics, Department of Primary Education, University Of Aegean, Rhodes, Greece
Panayotis Kimourtzis, Assistant Professor of Educational Policies, Department of Primary Education, University of Aegean, Rhodes, Greece
Eleni Stefanou, Lecturer of Museum Studies and Museum Education, Department of Preschool Education and the Educational Design, University of Aegean, Rhodes, Greece
Panagiotis Gatsotis, PhD in History Didactics, Department Of Primary Education, University of Aegean, Rhodes, Greece
Zeta Papandreou, PhD Candidate in History Didactics, Department of Primary Education

.....

Abstract

Two of the most significant characteristics of post-modern societies are presentism as a dominant status of historicity and confrontation with the traumatic past, namely that of World War II.

Considering Distomo as one of the cities-symbols that endured the genocidal violence of National Socialism, as one of the main loci of memory in the Greek historical martyrdom, and as a focal point in the European network of martyr cities, the aforementioned confrontation concerns firstly, the management of the event in reference to identity and historical consciousness, a choice that points towards certain politics of memory in the local society, and, secondly, the moral claim for the recognition of the city's suffering and the undertaking of responsibilities by the German State.

In light of these, the authors approach the issue from a twofold point of view, that is, (a) by analysing the ways National Socialism, WWII and the mass execution of Distomo' residents as they are presented in secondary education history textbooks, and (b) by the interdisciplinary presentation of the local community's memory politics, which are manifested in the Museum for the Victims of National Socialism and their Mausoleum, around which commemorative and performative rituals are organised on an annual basis. Apart from elevating the role of ceremonies in the memory-making process, this interdisciplinary approach researches the function of education within the official ceremonies, as an important field in the construction of memory.

Keywords

Memory politics, Representation, Trauma, Commemorations, Education.

The Theoretical Framework

Historical Justice

When the action of the victimizers is covered by deliberate oblivion, then a strong fear is born in history. The fear that the memory of the victims, the weak, the defeated, the ones whose suffered injustice, the different, will be totally erased, or selectively saved. This fear is something that all historians recognize. Because, indeed, reversing the victims' memory is, at a symbolic level, like continuing the injustice that was done against them (Blustein, 2008: 162). So, how is it possible to "undo" historical injustices done against target-groups subjected to persecutions and extermination, at both an institutional and symbolic level? According to the practices followed until today, this is achieved through the construction of memorial places, foundation of museums, establishment of commemorations and relevant rituals, reorganisation of the official history canon, retrospective criminalization of the injustices of the past and- at the same time- with the establishment of a legal arsenal, in order to condemn not only the ones who question past genocides, but also the (neo-fascist and racist) Holocaust deniers (Blustein, 2008: 166).

Key factors in these matters are the victims' descendants. They are the ones who continue to carry, due to the "negative heritage", the burdensome memory of the victimization and the psychological urge from the traumatic past (post – memory). They are the ones who feel, mostly and primarily, the moral duty to restore their ancestors' memory for the suffering they endured. At the same time, they require both the repentance and the criminal punishment of the victimizers (=restorative justice). Therefore, the recognition of the victims' suffering and the request for the moral restoration of their memory, constitute the framework of the collective identity and articulate the memory policies of the descendants (Blustein, 2008: 159-160).

The straight, genealogical connection of a social, national, cultural or racial group with the traumatic memory of the suffering their ancestors were subjected to, leads to elevating this traumatic memory as the axis of collective identity and its historical consciousness. Thus, it assumes a victim-centred approach in terms of the historical action. This approach, in turns, leads the members of the group to construct a political identity under very special conditions. This results in the construction of a positive collective self-image for the victim-group and, on the other hand, the politicization of diversity using traumatic memory as the vehicle. In the second case, the demanding commodity is the public visibility of the group. At the same time though, descendants stand up for the recognition of the suffering and the contribution of their victim-ancestors in the history of their country or the history of fighting for human rights.

Here we have to be reminded that in a democratic society historical memory, knowledge and thought are considered collective commodities and skills directly connected to exercising citizenship. A well informed citizen should be active and responsible (Barton – Levstik, 2008). In addition in a democratic society, partiality becomes an organic facet of universality. According to these considerations, we have to accept that both the positive and the negative heritage of the historical past, cannot be transferred through kinship and property titles. That is to say, traumatic memory “cannot refer exclusively to the victims of the past and their ancestors” (Blustein, 2008: 164), but to all citizens, all the people, even victimizers, their partners and their descendants.

A diametrically different situation arises, as is understandable, when the suffering of a victim-group has been silenced and when the same victim-group and their descendants remain marginalized in the present. In this case, recognizing historical injustice means revoking a modern state of injustice, prejudice, intolerance or bigotry at the same time. Therefore, historical restoration is expected to be accompanied by a comprehensive political, social and economic restoration.

Nevertheless the symbolic restoration of the victims does not lose its meaning, even when it is delayed for decades (or even centuries). Recognition of the suffering a victim-group was subjected to, as well as the public undertaking of responsibility for this suffering by and the repentance of the victimizers. On the contrary, it contributes to achieving important social and historical goals: the kingdom of oblivion is shrunk, the divided collective memory is unified again, while, at the same time, the historical presence of the defeated of history becomes a common historical heritage. Thus there is the hope that one day the vicious circle of hatred, violence and dominance could stop.

The meaning of trauma

Trauma can be anything that cannot be represented internally. The surprise from unexpected experience prevents people from logically processing what happened, having as a result the inability to function defensively, creating internal representations. Consequently, the traumatized person experiences a breach in continuity, a rupture in his/her psychological tissue. In order to deal with it, the person reacts with suppression and divestment. It is a kind of a decoy, like diverting energy to objects that do not concern the trauma.

Hence, the trauma invades the person like a foreign body and “attacks” its psyche. It manipulates any representational ability that the person possessed before. And it does not allow the person to symbolize it and incorporate it in the normality of his/her life.

According to the Freudian theory, after the traumatic experience, the person's psyche presents a tendency to be attached to the respective bleak and negative sensation of the traumatic experience with a "repressive way of repetition", what Freud calls "death drive". Especially, the so-called structural trauma, leads to the establishment of a culture of melancholia, a perpetual grief and victimization. Within this framework, reality acquires meaning by only three roles: the victimizer, the victim and the survivor (Kokkinos, 2010:60-61). Later on, Freud indicated the positive version of managing traumatic reality. He presented the life drive, versus the death drive. The death drive dictates a perpetual repetition of negative experiences while, on the contrary, life drive dictates another approach to trauma: it transforms the victim into a positive partner of the extreme traumatic experience, making him/her capable of understanding what happened, what Lacan calls "the real". This spherical and successive embrace of both drives, the death and life drives, could be compared to open canals that mitigate the traumatic defences and allow for "working through" the trauma (Tsiandis, 2009: xxxix). The process of working through the trauma has a liberating effect, as it allows the traumatized person to deal with what happened to him/her with critical thinking, without searching for scapegoats. Therefore, it allows the person to deal with the trauma by appealing to the multi-dimensional approach of his/her experience as well as to the life-saving selective oblivion (Kokkinos - Gatsotis, 2010: 21-22).

Consequently, historical trauma can be approached under the prism of a process which is capable of delving deeper in the historical causes that lead to it, contributing in understanding the reasons why certain events occurred in such an extreme manner.

In view of these, critical thinking during the process of a trauma that has not been transformed from historical to structural has a liberating effect for the person or the community, since it reconstructs the present and creates prospects for an optimistic view of the future. According to the psychoanalytic process of trauma, this reconstruction concerns the sublimation of the trauma via its appropriate management. Sublimation, which is the result of a symbolic process, presupposes the gradual adjustment of the ego to the reality which is being processed. It concerns a special way of transforming traumatic events that a person experienced. Ultimately, sublimation is a human skill that strengthens the person in order not be traumatized when facing the truth.

Trauma processing and post-conflict condition

As we enter the second decade of the 21st century, at last, we can afford a capable moral, theoretical, conceptual and cognitive capital -along with the legal equipment- in order to be able to manage traumatic memory. We can now try to override the boundaries that conflicts set and, most importantly, the consequences of gruesome events of the past (tortures, mass rapes, civil wars,

ethnic cleansings, genocides, the Holocaust) (Cole, 2007: 10). Historiography, especially, suggests by its very nature and social role the cultural practice, which is committed to processing collective traumas and, therefore, de-traumatizing the dark events of the past. It prepares, to a large extent, the intellectual and psychological challenge between societies and the extreme events experienced by people. De-traumatization is an essential condition in order to heal historical traumas and generate the prerequisites for creative participation in historical action by individuals and groups, achieved by the narrativising and historicising of the trauma (Rüsen, 2004: 10-21).

Even though violence and conflict are historical constants of the human condition, this does not mean that we have to stop fighting for their transgression or minimization. Healing collective traumas and the hegemony of a culture of dialogue, mutual understanding, repentance and forgiveness could eventually contribute to and, in the long run, guarantee peace.

A post-conflict historical consciousness is only conceivable in relation to the idea of reconciliation (Rüsen, 2004: 1). The conditions for such a reconciliation are the following:

First condition: as Hannah Arendt supported since 1968, **reconciliation cannot mean “re-establishing an imaginary harmonic moral order that allegedly existed and was disrupted”.** **On the contrary, it means constructing new relationships** between the members of a political community” (Cole, 2007: 5). The same applies for relationships between states, peoples, races, religions, languages, regimes, that were either involved in an existential fight for life or death, or that were caged in a perpetual repetitive blood circle, rotating roles between victim and victimizer.

Second condition: in addition, **reconciliation does not mean that two competitive, hostile or previously mutually excluding worlds should totally coincide or definitely compromise, but it means getting free from dividing principal starting points and dramatically deviant interpretive prospects.**

Finally the third condition: **reconciliation does not mean neither total amnesia nor humiliating the victimizer and reification/idealization of the victim’s role.** However, it could mean an **apology with acted on and admitted repentance of the victimizer, public recognition of the injustice, administration of justice, symbolic or material restoration, forgiveness by the victim, tolerance, co-existence, neighbourhood like relations, historical empathy, respect for singularity, pledge for committing a framework of principles, values and practices for the present and the future.**

In other words, reconciliation does not define an ideal situation of harmony at national or international level. Nevertheless, it signifies the will for creative oblivion, which, anyway, does not require the complete write-off of the special historical experiences. It only requires that these experiences function as undisputed conceptual compasses for the present and future.

Reconciliation, after all, should be conceived as a long, painful and mutual committing process of collective self-knowledge, which should be framed by measures of public recognition and justice administration to the victims (Cole, 2007: 4).

Nonetheless, at a global level, we still observe a lag when it comes to exploring the relevant issues, as the basis of a public, interdisciplinary and comparative approach procedure (with the exception of the multidimensional study of the post war West Germany case and the effort to smooth out the tensions caused by National Socialism and the Holocaust). Exploring the relationship between historical education (mainly at High and Senior High School) and traumatic memory should be an issue of utmost importance in such an approach.

More specifically, the most important deficiencies are located in educational policies and pedagogical interventions, which aim at smoothing out and healing the traces of secondary trauma. Namely the trauma that is inherited through generations and moulds historical consciousness, having the cruel memory of borderline conflicts and violence as a starting point (Cole, 2007: 2). It is, therefore, necessary to have a careful, scientific design of educational policies and pedagogical interventions, along with the ability to both apply and evaluate them. Based on detecting the aforementioned deficiencies, it would be wrong to be led to the optimistic conclusion that getting over the traumatic and controversial past of a society solely depends on reviewing the analytical school curricula and history textbooks. That is because historical commemorations, public rituals, loci of memory (*lieux de mémoire*), the Media and Public history, besides official and unofficial ways of socializing children and young people, claim ipso facto the lion's share of the process of forming historical culture, identity and consciousness.

The Massacre of Distomo (10th June 1944)

The events

Distomo went under the genocidal violence of Nazism. It is one of the many Greek cities-symbols of the struggle against fascism. On the 10th of June 1944 the Germans, in retaliation for resistance actions by the Greeks, executed with unprecedented, cynical and raw violence 223 residents of Distomo, (men, women and children) killed animals, and torched houses. Two years after the massacre it was largely realized that "[...] nothing had changed in the village, so that everything was a reminder of the terrible drama. The torched houses remained as they were. There was no

rebuilding, no aid. Three hundred orphans roamed the streets without any state protection. Even the electrical power plant, that did not undergo major damages, did not go back to work. And the residents spent their endless nights in the dark". There was unspeakable pain, decay, grief as well as an underlying tension, as the survivors did not feel that the State would do justice to them soon, since the ringleaders of the tragedy remained practically unpunished.

TABLE I. Indicative table of mass executions of Greek people by German occupiers in Greek Territory

Place	Date	Fatalities
Kandanos, Chania	2nd June 1941	300
Alikianos, Chania	1st August 1941	118
Drama – Doxato and wider area	29th September–6th October 1941	5.016
Villages at Kilkis area	5th October 1941	96
Kerdylia	17th October 1941	235
Mesovouno	23rd October 1941	165
Kournovo, Thessalia	6 th June 1943	106
Domenico, Elassona	16th February 1943	118
Tsaritsani, Larissa	12th March1943	45
Mousiotitsa	25th July 1943	154
Liggiades	3rd October 1943	85
Milies	14th October 1943	33
Kalavryta	13th December 1943	1.104
Drakeia, Pelion	18th December 1943	133
Kommeno, Arta	16th August 1943	317
Elatohori, Pieria	17th January 1944	30
Kleisoura, Kastoria	5th April 1944	270
Pyrgoi Eordeas, Kozani	23rd – 25rd April 1944	335
Skopeftirio, Kessariani	1st May 1944	200
Haidari	16th May 1944	200
Limnes, Argolida	23rd-27th May 1944	86
Distomo	10 th June 1944	223
Blockage, Kokkinia	17th August 1944	200
Xortiatis, Thessaloniki	2 nd September 1944	146
Giannitsa	14 th September 1944	100

Sources: 1) Herman-Frank Mayer, *Apo ti Vienni sta Kalavryta. Ta Aimatira ihni tis 117is merarhias katadromon sti Servia kai stin Ellada*, Estia, Athens 2003, 361-431, 2) Stratos Dordanas, *To aimaton athon. Antipina ton germanikon arxon katohis sti Makedonia, 1941-1944*, Estia, Athens 2007, 387-436, 3) Polymeris Voglis, *I Elliniki koinonia stin katohi, 1941-1944*, Alexandria Publications, Athens 2010, 140-143, 4) Manolis Glezos (editor), *I mauri biblos tis katoxis*, Athens 2006, *Ethniko Symbolio gia ti diekdikisi ofilon tis Germanias pros tin Ellada*

National Socialism in the Greek History Textbooks of Secondary Education. A comparative study

Next, we will describe and analyse how German National Socialism is presented in the Greek History Textbooks in use for the history lessons of 9th grade and 12th grade senior high school. We will emphasize on the way that these textbooks present the vile mass executions of innocent civilians committed by Nazis in Greece, with the most indicative cases of Kalavryta, Distomo and Kessariani.

German National Socialism in the 9th grade Textbook

In this Textbook the authors connect the rise of National Socialism in Germany during the Interwar period with: firstly, the consequences of the 1929 crisis, since they mention that it attracted "followers from the social classes that were affected the most (farmers, bourgeois, unemployed)"; secondly, "a part of the powerful German capitalists [who] decided to support Hitler, in order to fight the communists, hoping that they would soon get rid of him" (p.117). As far as imposing Nazi power, there is reference to violence and propaganda. The Textbook includes, as suggested, exercises to watch two relevant films: *The Great Dictator*, by Charlie Chaplin (a parody of Hitler) and *1900*, by Bernardo Bertolucci. Next, (p. 123-124), the Nazi challenges against World peace during 1936-1939 are recorded. This is followed by a description of the war developments and the way the Nazi-occupied Europe was organized (p.126-129). After a short presentation of the Greek-German War (April-May 1941) (p. 130-131, in the section "Occupancy, Resistance and Liberation" that follows (p. 132-134) there is reference to the repression measures of the occupying forces, persecution of the Jews, the Black Market, the famine, the types of resistance by the Greek people and the various resistance groups. Furthermore, there is reference to the Collaborationists, the Security Battalions (Tagmata Asfaleias), the mass executions and the mass retaliation of the occupants, with special reference to Kalavryta (1943) and the blockades of Kokkinia, Pireaus (1944). With regard to the consequences of WWII (p. 135-136), there is reference to the moral devastation that the war brought along, for "the unprecedented ferocities, the mass executions of civilians, the raping and the looting that both sides (Germans and their Allies vs. Allies) committed".

However, the initial impression of a frivolous counterbalance, that confuses the victim with the victimizer, the attacker with the defender of freedom and national independence, is dampened,

without being revoked, considering that the authors accredit the “excellence of horror” to Nazi Germany, while characterizing Nazi crimes, especially the ones relevant to the Holocaust, as an eternal “symbol of the absolute crime against humanity”. Using such an interpretive approach, it is obvious that the strategy is to highlight the ecumenical importance of the negative inheritance of the Holocaust, as well as the applicable historical moralization, that both underlie a paradigmatic type of historical consciousness, according to Jörn Rüsen’s relevant typology. Finally, the exercises of the same Textbook section suggest reading Primo Levy’s book, *If this is a Man*, as well as watching the film *La Vita è Bella- Life is Beautiful* (1997), by Roberto Benigni. This combination is at least problematic, since, in Benigni’s film, the historical pragmatology and the traumatic experience of the surviving witness coexist, in a misguided manner, with an aesthetic interpretation of unprecedented horror and an indirect idealization of the Nazi concentration death camp prisoners’ will for survival. Both these elements overpower Nazism’s “barbarian ugliness of dehumanization” with the power of laughter, since they create beauty and compassion.

German National Socialism in the 12th grade Textbook In this Textbook the presentation of the period concerning the rise of Nazism is introduced with a figurative excerpt (p.100) and a photograph. The photograph shows Hitler with Field Marshal von Hindenburg, who was the President of Weimar Republic at the time and, as is written in the caption, the one who “gave his consent for the National Socialists to resume power, despite his initial objections”. The rise of the Nazis (p.104-105) is interpreted in relation to the blows caused by the 1929 economic crisis to the disadvantage of parliamentary democracy and liberalism. For the same reasons, as the authors mention in the textbook, “the austere criticism of parliamentary democracy by its enemies”, that is, fascist Italy and Stalinist Russia, was strengthened. At this point, the use of the Cold War ideological tool of the double-named (brown and red) totalitarianism is particularly eloquent. Next, there is reference to the violent methods of imposing Nazi power, the exercise of propaganda and racist ideology. Here (p.111-113), reference is made to the “disruption of power balance in Europe” caused by the Third Reich (1933) until the beginning of WWII, as well as the provocative actions by the Nazis against world peace and legitimacy during the 1936-1939 period. Many pages cover the presentation of WWII military operations (p.113-118), while there is an sufficient number of excerpts (written and figurative) accompanying the presentation of the operations in the Greek-German war (p. 120-123). On page 123 there are two photographs, from the catastrophic Nazi retaliation in Kalavryta (1943) and Distomo (1944) respectively. There is reference to the National Resistance, the resistance groups, their actions and the “price” of resistance paid by both the Greek people and the occupying forces (p. 123-124). More specifically, page 125 cites a table which includes “some of the hecatombs of the victims of the Nazi occupancy”. Finally, there is reference to the Nuremburg trials, the Nazi genocide crimes against the Jews, while there are photographs, written evidence, a map with

concentration/work/execution camps, as well as other documents concerning the Holocaust and, more specifically, the execution of the Greek Jewish community (p. 129-133).

Comparative Approach By comparing the texts of the two Secondary Education history textbooks, it turns out that, more or less, they follow common ground as far as narrative presentation is concerned: a) the rise of German National Socialism during the second decade of the Interwar period, b) the course of events towards WWII, c) the war developments, d) the Greek-German war, the Occupancy, the Resistance and the occupiers' retaliations.

From a quantitative point of view- as it is anyway expected, since History in Senior High School examines in depth and studies the historical knowledge students were taught in High School, the texts of the 12th grade Senior High School textbook, which cover the framework commenting on the Nazi politics in Greece, are more comprehensive compared to the ones of the 9th grade textbook. There are more comprehensive not only in terms of the numbers of pages, but also proportionally. For example, the number of pages of the relevant study section in the 12th grade Senior High School textbook ("Greece's participation in WWII and National Resistance", p. 118-125) covers about 7.3 pages out of the total 256 pages of the book (a percentage of 2.85%). The relevant section of the 9th grade textbook ("Occupancy, Resistance and Liberation", p. 132-134) covers 3 pages out of the total 188 pages (a percentage of 1.60%). However, these percentages are low compared to the relevant average in the school textbooks of countries in the Western World. In those textbooks, the approach of WWII is the basis for structuring historical consciousness and for politically socializing future citizens.

As far as the ideological model of Nazism is concerned, the two books follow common ground as far as the references to anti-communism, racism, genocidal anti-Semitism, imperialism and authoritarianism, as the latest was expressed by the use of violent means for imposing itself and persecuting its enemies (Louvi-Xifaras, 2007:117, 127; Koliopoulos-Svolopoulos et al., 2007:104-105, 114, 117, 118, 129-130). However, they are also differentiated in a typical way when it comes to certain points: in the 12th grade textbook (p.104), Nazism is associated with Stalinism, in terms of their common opposition to liberal parliamentary democracy during the Interwar period, while in the 9th grade textbook (p. 116-117), even though both ideological movements, Nazism and Stalinism, are referred to as belonging to the "political dimensions of the 1929 crisis" and the dispute against liberal democracy, it is however highlighted that they are two "diametrically opposite proposals for economic and social reorganization". Perhaps, that is why the authors of the 9th grade textbook (p.125) insist more on interpreting the conclusion of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Treaty (1939) circumstantially, citing two written sources-evidence by Ribbentrop and Chruschov, while the relevant citation in the 12th grade textbook (p.113) simply includes the relevant information when presenting the causes of

WWII, and more specifically, when mentioning the reinforcement (supported by the Treaty) of Hitler's "adamant obsession".

The approach to fascism is less attentive in the more comprehensive 12th grade textbook, compared to the more concise textbook of the 9th grade. In the second textbook, there is a short reference (p.117) to the wide spectrum of the fascist movements during the Interwar Period that were imposed on "Spain, Portugal, Austria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland and Lithuania"- however, without presenting the convergences and deviations between them. On the contrary, the authors of the 12th grade textbook mention Italian fascism by name only. Nevertheless, they include a reference to Franco's dictatorship after the Spanish Civil War, using extra-textual elements (picture and commentary of the famous "Guernica" painting by Pablo Picasso) (p.112-113).¹¹

A typical differentiation between the two textbooks is the fact that the authors of the 12th grade textbook allude to the Collaborationists. Another typical difference is that the same book associates massive executions carried out by the occupiers as retaliation to resistance actions, with the action of some Greeks- associates of the occupiers (members of the Security Battalions) (Tagmata Asfaleias). This differentiation is explained by the accordingly different ideological coordinates of the two writing teams, especially when it comes to the way of managing controversial -traumatic issues.

The approach to the same issue, that is, the National Resistance and the occupiers' retaliation, is different in the 9th grade textbook. Its authors raise the same subject with a more "unifying" and rather idealized manner, using the phrase "Nowhere in Europe was the resistance movement so widespread, relative to the country's population, and the number of the collaborators so limited!" (p.124). However, this evaluation disregards the case of Yugoslavia, which is nevertheless mentioned in an older school textbook. At the next page (p.125), the 12th grade textbook cites a table with extensive data on some of the "hecatombs of the Nazi Occupancy victims". It seems to thereby emphasise the rationale of a "martyrdom", since it pays tribute (certainly well-deserved) to the massive numbers of civilians murdered. This emphasis however is further supported by the photographs of destruction, the remembrance of the places of martyrdom and the general "unifying"- ethnocentric and "heroic" representation constructed by the authors with regard to Greece's participation in WWII. However, this is how conditions favourable for the creation of a manichaistic ("we" the victims vs. "they" the demonized Nazi victimizers), navel-gazing, and also sorrowful historical consciousness emerge, focusing on the traumatic experience of the Greek people. Besides, such an interpretation is in accordance with the views of a large number of Greek educators and students (Fragoudaki-Dragona, 1997, Kokkinos- Athanasiadis-Vouri et al., 2005).

Another typical differentiation between the two textbooks, which obviously originates from the same causes, is detected in the way National Resistance is described. In the 9th grade textbook, and despite its relevant brevity, when compared to the relevant one of the 12th grade one, the basic narrative text about the Resistance is more comprehensive. It covers almost two pages without the excerpts. The basic narrative text of the 12th grade covers only one paragraph, while various examples of evidence are squeezed into the extra-textual elements (in excerpts) of the same handbook. It is typical that the basic narrative text of the 9th grade textbook provides information for almost all the important resistance organizations separately (EAM-ELAS / National Liberation Front-National Popular Liberation Army, EDES / National Republican Greek League, EKKA / National and Social Liberation). This information covers about half a page. On the contrary, in the 12th grade textbook, there is only reference by name. That is to say, the aforementioned organizations are listed but only their names. All these are combined, a couple of lines further down, with the Middle East Allied Headquarters that activated the "inferior-in-numbers" resistance organizations of the occupied cities. This excerpt gives the impression of competitive organizations "against the Forces of the Axis", rather than rival ones (at least during the later phase of the Occupancy).

The two textbooks do not highlight the internal polarizations of the Nazi-occupied countries and, especially, the role played by the part that co-operated, willingly or not, with the occupiers. The occupied countries, among which some resisted, are described collectively as victims (9th grade textbook, p.127), while "even the European countries that were Germany's allies, such as Hungary, Bulgaria and fascist Italy- would undergo, as time went by, the gradually tighter and stricter control of Berlin" (12th grade textbook, p. 118).

With regards to the Greek Civil War (December 1944 and the period between 1946-1949), there is an equally long basic narrative text (1.5 pages) in both the concise 9th grade textbook (p. 150-152) and the more comprehensive 12th grade textbook (p. 135-136, 143, 145). In both books, the Civil War is interpreted, mainly, in relation to the wider political-ideological framework of the Cold War.¹⁴ However, in such a way, some more particular but critical factors that contributed to the civil conflict are unaccounted for. These factors are: a) the rage for the "punishment of traitors and collaborationists" and its violent consequences, b) the rearmament of ex-members of the Security Battalions (within the framework of the newly-founded National Guard Battalions, under the command of British General Scobbie, during December 1944), in order to act against EAM-ELAS (Margaritis, 2003:151-154).

Still, both books in their basic narrative text declare, to a certain extent, the deviations (political and ideological) between the resistance organizations. However, there is no reference to the violent

conflicts between them, while there was an explicit relevant reference in an older school textbook (Skoulatos, et al., 2003:228). This observation is smoothed away only in one case and via an indirect reference, an excerpt included in the 12th grade textbook (p.124). This excerpt is the caption of a photograph picturing the "historical bridge of Plaka in Tzoumerka", mentioning that this is "where the Treaty of cease fire was signed between the ambivalent resistance organizations ELAS and EDES". But this is only a hint that goes unnoticed, since it is situated at the far left edge of the page and has the form of an accompanying extra-textual element. The importance of this piece of information and its historical weight is cast out to the page border. Besides, the same piece of information can be read as a positive indication (unification/reconciliation), and not as indication of a more serious, in-depth and intense conflict that would burst a little later.

With regards to the way the Nazi crimes in Greece are presented (under the criterion of curriculum completeness in written as well as figurative excerpts), the 12th grade textbook surpasses the one of the 9th grade, not only because it contains a greater number of pages but also because it seems that its authors showed greater care in order to describe the suffering of the Greek people during this period. Thus, the 9th grade textbook contains two figurative sources that both refer to the repressive actions of the occupiers: the first one refers to the destruction of the village Kandanos in Crete (p.131) and the second one to the humiliation of Greek Jews who had gathered in Aristotelous Square in Thessaloniki (p.132).

The same book contains a written source (p.134) entitled "Mass executions and Security Battalions". This source mentions the role of the "occupiers' associates". It also contributes to the prospect of deeper investigation on the role of Collaboracionists, at least from the war crime point of view. On the other hand, the 9th grade textbook contains five photographs about repressive measures, retaliation or other atrocities of the occupiers in Greece: the first one pictures the concentration of the residents of Kandanos village in Crete (1941) in order to be executed because they resisted the invasion of Crete by German parachutists, the second and the third ones show German soldiers carrying out their catastrophic work in Kalavryta (1943) and in Distomo (1944) respectively; the fourth one shows the humiliation of Greek Jews that had gathered in Aristotelous Square in Thessaloniki (the same photograph is in the 9th grade textbook); the fifth one, as mentioned in the caption, pictures a false identity card of a Greek Jewish woman with a Christian name and Christian religion, which was issued by Greek Police authorities in co-operation with the Church, so as to avoid persecution (it is considered a common practice for the cases of other Greek Jews as well). In the same 9th grade textbook there are seven written excerpts: the first one is "the last note of Manolis Litinas, just before he was executed at Haidari military camp, at dawn on September 8th 1944", the second one is a list of "some of the hecatombs of the Nazi occupancy victims"; the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and

seventh excerpts that follow (129-132) are about the Holocaust and more specifically the destiny of the Greek Jews. These last excerpts give the impression that many or most of the Greeks, with self-sacrifice and in many ways, protected the persecuted Jews. This is only partly correct, but does not account for the other side, that is, evidence for those who co-operated for several reasons with the persecutors against their Jewish copatriots.

Next, we will study the exercises suggested in the two textbooks about the Nazi crimes in Greece. Here, both textbooks are differentiated in terms of their focus. The 9th grade textbook suggests, along with analysing the written and figurative excerpts included in the textbook, multidimensional activities such as reading literary works and watching films about the Occupancy and the Resistance. On the other hand, the 12th grade textbook does not include similar activities such as literary and cinema perspectives, but the suggested exercises-activities focus on the analysis of the textbook's excerpts, focusing on elevating the "price" paid by the Greek people during the Occupancy period, due to the Resistance.

At the level of terminology, there are no particular differentiations observed between the two books. The following terms are almost alternatively: (a) "Nazis", "Nazi party", "Hitler's National Socialist party" and "Nazi Germany" with respect to the rise of National Socialists during the second decade of the Interwar Period; (b) the terms "Germans", "German attack" or "Greek-German war", "Greek-German conflict", "German invasion", and also "the Forces of Axis", "Wehrmacht", "Third Reich", "Hitler's Germany", with respect to war developments; (c) the terms "occupiers", "Nazis", "Nazi Germany", "Nazi occupancy", "German occupational army", more with respect to the period of Occupancy and war crimes. The term "SS" is mentioned in the 12th grade textbook (p.104) in relation to the methods of complete dominance of Nazi power at the end of the Interwar period.

A final but particularly important point of comparison is the fact that the authors of both textbooks in question are absorbed in the effort to weaken the students' moral and sentimental weight caused by extreme historical experiences, such as the mass executions of civilians in Kalavryta, Distomo and Kokkinia. The reasons for acting as such are: a) pedagogical, so that no secondary trauma is caused to the students and, b) political and ideological (Germany is a friend and ally). In order to succeed in their effort, they make a combinational use of four de-traumatization methods (that is to say, ways of narrative investment and inclusion of facts within a certain historical, contextual and interpretative framework). This effort is made in an indirect but explicit way, and the four methods, which may deviate from each other, are the following:

Anonymisation, using euphemisms or abstract concepts and not describing facts in their "shocking rawness"

Categorization, using generalizing conceptual categories (e.g. tragedy)

Normalization, attributing the causes of relevant events to human nature, to the pathogen of human behaviour or their distortion by the National Socialist ideology

Moralization, which focuses on drawing double-sided historical and moral lessons, on the function of duty memory ("I don't forget") and the idea of individual responsibility so that the vicious circle of violence will not carry in perpetuity (for all the above Rüsen, 2004: 13 & 16).

Conclusions

The course of German National Socialism and, more particularly, the role it played in Greece are the subjects of discussion in both textbooks (9th and 12th grades). It is, more or less, associated with the same factors: the economic crisis of 1929, the course to WWII, the international power balance, the war developments, the Greek-German war, the Occupancy, the Resistance, the occupiers' retaliation and the retrospective examination of the war's catastrophes.

From a quantitative point of view, the discussion of points that show interpretative convergences in the 12th grade textbook is more analytical, not only in terms of page numbers, as it is natural, due to its larger extent when compared to the 9th grade one, but also proportional. Furthermore, there are more sources, excerpts accompanying the texts in the first textbook than in the second one. However, the two approaches are differentiated in terms of quality in many points. This is not only due to the specific nature of the students that they address (that is, to children at the end of Junior High and Senior High School grades accordingly, separated by three years of age difference), but also to the choices and the priorities of the authors themselves. For example, while the authors of the 12th grade textbook focus their attention on featuring the victims of the Nazi occupancy, the authors of the other textbook approach the same subject in a manifold way, through literature and cinema. In addition, the last one does not hesitate to highlight the role of those who co-operated with the occupiers as well as their conflict with EAM-ELAS (without however associating explicitly those two elements with the causes of the Greek Civil War 1946-1949). Both textbooks however, lack, at the basic narrative text level, references to the violent conflicts between the Greek resistance organizations during the period of Occupancy. Is this because they do not want "to scratch old wounds" and repeatedly disrupt the coveted national unity? This question is obviously rhetorical.

As a conclusion, from the comparative study of the Greek history textbooks of the 9th and 12th grades in use -with respect to the way they represent the German National Socialism and the relevant historical framework, especially concerning Greece during Occupancy and Resistance- it turns out that both textbooks are missing important characteristics of the way that present history investigates the past. The controversial, divisive and traumatic subjects of the recent past are

mentioned to a certain extent (not always), but in a way rather selective way and more or less “consensually”, without disclosing adequately the dimensions, the intensity of the conflicts that took place as well as the responsibilities of the parties involved. There are many steps to be taken to address this. There is a need for more courageous and multilateral approaches. Such approaches should not aim, though, for a frivolous reconciliation and indirect marginalization of the controversial and traumatic past, neither to attributing responsibilities, with the historian playing a judicial role. Historical knowledge is brought to light and does not conceal responsibilities, without, however, accusing, condemning or- vice versa- vindicating. It contributes to understanding “why and how things ended up there” and that is why it can provide future citizens with critical thinking and responsibility.

The Massacre of Distomo: Memory Politics of the Local Community. Conditions of shaping collective memory at Distomo, focusing on the Massacre

With Distomo’s case, we could agree with the findings of Henry Russo’s study, analysing the different ways in which collective memory is shaped, in the context the collective memory of French people, with respect to the Vichy regime (as quoted in Vlahou-Kokkinos, 2007:114). That is to say, a) concealing the controversial event and the trauma, b) erratic and deficient intellectual and psychological process of the collective grief, c) occasional revival of public interest about the subject, d) timid revival of historical research and memory, e) inflation of memory about the subject.

More specifically, during the first years after the war in the village, there was silence about the facts surrounding the massacre. Considering that the loss of loved ones, due to the violence challenged the psychological boundaries of the victims’ relatives, it is safe to think that in this case, as well as in other similar cases, silence was explicitly invoked to act as a defence mechanism. However, in societies where no care is taken to support such people, the grieving process is suspended and the psychological traumas remain active and unchanged. Ultimately, they define or rather interfere intrusively or even menacingly with the lives of those who survived.

At an initial collective level, processing grief at Distomo was enhanced by three factors: a) the annual commemoration taking place in the village on the anniversary of the massacre, b) the relevant press releases which recognised and featured the unfair massacre of the 218 Distomo residents, and c) the recognition of the tragedy by US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

However, at Distomo, there is explicit indication of divided memory. The society of Distomo was divided, not being able to manage the sentimental burden of the tragedy and in the effort to understand its reasons and attribute responsibilities. After the period of suppression, when the first

waves of traumatic memory hit, intensive discussions were taking place, leading to intra-communal conflict. Many residents, hostile to the communist Left that had a leading role in National Resistance, believed that responsibilities should be attributed to the leftist guerrillas because of their battle with the German occupiers outside the village, which led to the terrible events of the 10th June 1944. For other residents, it was obvious that the Germans were explicit about their intentions even before the battle, since retaliation, the German tactic that was used to deal with resistance, was widely known. At the same time, the lack of substantial moral and economic support for the survivors by the State, acted subversively and worsened the process of grieving and collective trauma.

What was the initial critical force which caused Distomo's society to come out of its silence and to start processing its trauma? Three years after the fall of the seven-year military dictatorship, in 1977, they founded the Club for the General Civilization of Distomo District and for Studying and Manifesting the Problems, with a twofold aim: on the one hand, to publicly display the fact of the mass execution of village's residents, in June 1944 and to bring about a discussion about the causes of the catastrophe, while on the other hand, to set up procedures which could solve the important social problems that Distomo faced. This twofold aim shows that the public visibility of a traumatic event and the quest for historical self-knowledge on behalf of the community, were intertwined during this first phase of collective trauma processing. This phase, which coincided anyway with the first period after the dictatorship fell and the regime changed, was characterised by combativeness, political activism and the creation of a group of sensitive Distomo residents. The co-ordinated actions of the Club resulted in: a) the approval (by the Municipal Board) and establishment of the 10th June as a day of local holiday (the holiday was applied immediately, in 1977), as well as b) revoking the operation of the quarry that was situated at the exit of the village. In order to commemorate the first anniversary, in 1977, there was a concert organized by composer Spyros Samoilis in memory of the victims of the Nazi atrocities.

Finally, three more characteristic developments took place which affected the shaping of the collective memory of Distomo's residents:

- a) in 1995, 132 Distomo's residents filed a lawsuit against the German State. They asked for recognition of their responsibility and to be compensated for the moral damage they endured by the actions of German military during the military occupation of Greece.
- b) every year, German lawyers, members of the group "AK Distomo" - Arbeitskreis Distomo, visit Distomo. "AK Distomo" is based in Hamburg and acts on cases concerning German compensation for Nazi victims. The discussions between the lawyers and the village's residents are usually about the subject of war compensation. They also mention their thoughts about the ideological and sentimental attitude of second and third generation Germans towards the crimes committed by their ancestors.

- c) every year, during the week of commemorations of the 10th June, students of the Greek-German Athens School and the Senior High School of Distomo, discuss a subject relevant to Distomo's Massacre.

Indicative aspects of traumatic memory processing in Distomo

Every society that wants to invest in strengthening the memory of a traumatic historical event that was experienced, desires the creation of social representations which frame this memory. In Distomo's case, at Kanales Hill, in the 1970s, a Mausoleum was built, a modern monument erected in memory of the slain civilians of 10th June 1944. The skulls and bones of the victims of the massacre are displayed there, in glass display cases. Next to the Mausoleum, an open amphitheatre was built, where the musical and theatrical events take place, within the framework of the anniversary. Furthermore, in 2005, the Museum for the Victims of National Socialism was founded, which was housed at the place where the old Elementary School of the village was situated.

Abric, in his study about the content and the structure of a social representation, presents it as a variable of a central and of a peripheral system (Abric, 2010: 65). The central system refuels its meaning and shapes the way of its organization. The peripheral system- protects the central core of the representation- allows for its adjustment to the specific reality, as much as its partial content differentiation, in order to provide the margins required for the incorporation of individual stories and experiences. Therefore, the social representation is co-shaped by the present social memory and by a regulative framework which, since it is stable and rigid, reinforces it and resists any alteration. The central system, which is interested in securing an unchanged expression of the social representation, is supported and reinforced by the duty of memory. "The duty of memory consists of the paradoxical composition of an antinomy: on the one hand, the excess of memory, equal to past anchoring, and on the other hand, the perpetual projection in the future of the moral imperative duty to return into the past" (Dosse: 2008, 655, as quoted in: Kokkinos, 2010: 55).

Therefore, evaluating, under this light, the commemorative events for Distomo's Massacre, the central system would include the commemoration along with the wreath laying ceremony and the relevant speeches, the "Road of Sacrifice" and the school sport games. There is also the peripheral system, which allows for some modifications, urgently demanding the incorporation of individual stories and experiences, absorbing different ways of approaching the past. In such way, the peripheral system, although it protects the central core of the commemorative events allows margins for flexibility and development in shaping social representations.

In Distomo, a group of people took the initiative and the responsibility to process traumatic events of the past - due to the lack of equivalent actions by the State. This group represents a form of paradigmatic memory (Todorov, 1998 & Kokkinos et al., 2008: 90), active and liberating, with events and movements that concern not only what happened on the 10th June 1944, but also the demand for prosperity and progress. This paradigmatic memory leads to a paradigmatic type of historical consciousness: the Massacre of Distomo is blamed on the wild nature of human beings, while at the same time encouraging humans, to use their skill as logical beings to avoid causing or repeating the eternal recycle of catastrophe.

In contrast with the dominance of "paradigmatic" memory (ecumenical), we also detect some "literal" (enclosed) memory indications [referring to Tsvetan Todorov's terminology], which end up in unconscious fixations on the consequences of the traumatic event. The following excerpt from the speech of an official in the local community during the 2003 Commemorative Events is indicative. In this excerpt, the implicit but underlying anti-Germanism is covered by high doses of anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism:

«[...] The recent unprovoked attacks of modern militarists of the hyper- Atlantic force in the Balkans and the Middle East, as well as the Zionist imperialism of Israel, indicate that the danger is always here[...].

We are looking for the sensitive balance between "I would not like to remember" [and] "I do not deserve to forget" ".

Museum representations of traumatic past

The interpretation and public presentation of traumatic memory is one of the most challenging tasks of museum representation. The complexities that arise a) revolve around the fact that the museum has to tackle the exigent issue of how society deals with war, violence, mourning, and trauma, and b) concern the educational role of museum with reference to identity and historical consciousness. In view of these, it is worth examining what is the pedagogical value of museums and memorials in relationship to communities of trauma (Brown, 2004: 247). How is violence presented and explained? Does the exhibition encourage visitors to come to terms with violence and cope with trauma? Can the museum avoid underestimating war or converting death and trauma into attractions? Is it possible for the museum to critically approach the dialectic relationship between ally and enemy? Tackling these questions is a complex matter by itself, which can be approached by investigating how the complex framework within which traumatic memory operates affects museum spaces, memorial sites and practices that are particularly created for the commemoration of collective traumatic experience (Steele, 2006: 3).

In Distomo, the remembrance of this experience develops at two levels: (a) the “official” acts, namely the foundation of the Museum for the Victims of National Socialism, the erection of the Mausoleum, and the establishing of fixed days for the event’s public commemoration; (b) the “unofficial” and more personified approaches revolving around each person’s own recollections and individual reactions to the memorialisation processes which take place in the designated commemorative spaces.

Within these two levels of the celebration of memory, the main loci of remembrance, namely the museum and the mausoleum, develop a dialectic relationship in order to “complete” the memorialisation process by bringing together the physical, psychological, and embodied dimensions of remembrance. That is because the museum suggests a more “institutionalised” and designed reading of the past whereas the mausoleum offers a more personified mourning experience as a public memorial site and as a space of bereavement.

By entering the museum, grey shades dominate the space. The visitor immediately faces the photographic portrait of Maria Pantiska (published on Life magazine on 27-11-1944), a half-body, black and white image. The portrait of this woman, 19 years old at the time, standing in distress, with her eyes full of despair, facing her loss, is considered one of the most representative photographs of the massacre.

When entering the first hall on the first floor, the visitor is introduced to historical information, as it was recorded in the contemporary press, through a display of 8 newspaper articles. On the same wall there are three photographs of the portraits of the slaughterers of Distomo (literary translation from the Greek language «οι Σφαγείς του Διστόμου»), along with a drawing of the Swastika.

In the main hall of the museum, a long, rectangular room, three of the walls display two rows of photographic portraits of the victims, photographs from the massacre and the victims’ graves, and a list with the names of the victims whose pictures are not included in the museum display. The eye is, eventually led by the rules of perspective towards the back of the hall where, instead of the fourth wall, there is a separate smaller hall. It is a dark and secluded square room that resembles a mausoleum. At the centre of the entrance’s opening, there is a transparent sign that bears the inscription “sacred space”. Behind it, there is a small shrine-like, pyramid-shaped structure with a lit candle on top. The main wall is fully covered from top to bottom with symmetrical square photographs of the victims’ skulls, each of which bears an identification caption. This arrangement resembles the taxonomy of documented archaeological evidence retrieved by excavation. In fact, the victims’ skulls were photographed after the dead bodies were exhumed, in order to be safeguarded in the mausoleum. The sidewalls, which now change colour from grey to dark red, display lists with the victims’ name and surname.

Photographic portraiture prevails in this symbolically delineated museum space, which also functions as a memorial site. As Le Goff noted (1992: 89), war memorials and photography are two instruments of modernity that strengthen the relationship between death and collective memory: the first creates shared experiences through public commemoration, while the latter visually preserves the memory of the dead.

Likewise, visitors of the Museum for the Victims of National Socialism become acquainted visually with the victims through their photographs, since these dead are otherwise, what Verdery calls it (1999: 20) "Anonymous Dead, nameless, known only to their families, friends and neighbours". Yet, they demarcate but also transcend individual, local and national identities by being recognised as part of this distinct social category of people executed by the Nazis. The Distomo Massacre intersected gender, class, and power relations within the local society; likewise, its display encourages the personalization of the commemorative experience, inviting visitors of all backgrounds to identify with the victims' photographic portraits through personal experience, kinship or empathy. Yet, as Steele (2006:3) notes, any commemoration of trauma cannot be a true and complete representation of the genocide; rather, it facilitates the creation of a conveyable "meaning" and the projection of a "truth", which aids the survivor/witness to express and integrate the experience. Therefore, the photographic images of the victims whilst alive, together with the name inscriptions and the skulls creates a living bond between the present and the past. Collectively displayed images produce, according to Zelizer (2002: 699), a mnemonic frame in which people can remember (with) others. This process of memorialisation is further enhanced through reflections of dismay, namely photographic portraits of the slaughterers and pictures of destruction after the massacre. Images of violence and especially images of those who provoked violence concretize the bipolar reading of history through notions of "good-bad", "peaceful-violent", "moral"-immoral", "unreasonable-fair", "defenceless-powerful", "patriot-traitor", "subordinate-superior", etc.

In this vein, "representations of both victims and perpetrators are "thin"; that is, there is not a profound discussion of either group. Victims are presented as people who suffered tragic deaths but have no other story. Perpetrators are also represented as individuals who committed gruesome crimes" (Bickford, 2009: 11). Therefore, photographs crystallize the notion of the (violent) "other" through the visual (Ibrahim, 2009: 110). As a result, the personification of violence creates empathic readings of the past, which are infused with the desire for revenge and rectification of history on behalf of the victims. In that sense, the museum display, albeit minimalist and subtle, manages to emanate feelings of pain and suffering just by portraying the human objects of pain. Being solely image-dependent, however, it is unable to lead to a critical understanding of the events: as van Alphen notes (2002: 205, 207), seeing is not always about comprehension; the visual imprints in

peoples' minds provide evidence of the event, which however functions as an unmodified return to what happened, rather than "a mode of access or penetration".

The concretisation of memory through photography is thought to provide evidence for the recollection of past events (Ibrahim, 2009: 108), as it occurs within the museum display, which serves a process of bearing witness to history and paying tribute to the past. The Museum for the Victims of National Socialism functions as a post-traumatic space of "marking memory" (Ibrahim, 2009: 108), where images "stand in for the larger event" which they represent (Zelizer, 2002: 699). Within it, the victims are rendered symbols that embody the unique values of resistance, strength, and courage.

The practice of memory acquires, therefore, corporeal qualities which are manifested symbolically and in a highly ritualised manner: the demarcation of the small hall with the photographs of the victim's skulls as a sacred space predetermines the visitors' sanctified behaviour and transforms the museum visit into a rite of passage which sanctions a connection to the past (Steele, 2006: 3). The museum is by no means considered a secular space with mere historic value. On the contrary, it was purposefully inaugurated to revere the memory of the dead and to formalise a sanctified reading of the past, as it draws on religion by representing unquestionable beliefs, sacrifices and symbolic powers (Duncan, 1995; O'Neil, 1996).

The small, shrine-like structure with the atmospheric candlelight leads the visitors to develop church-related stances during their museum visit, which acquires overt ceremonial characteristics. The notion of pilgrimage (to the past, to history, to the victim's public graves), the spatial designation of the museum space (Duncan, 1995; Kong, 2005: 496; MacDonald, 2006; O'Neil, 1996), and the escalating of the visit inside the symbolic hall/temple, renders the Museum for the Victims of National Socialism a ritual site.

The lack of original artefacts, such as the victims' personal belongings, and the immaterial nature of their museum presence, except through photographic records, does not undermine the authenticity of the display. Rather, the notion of authenticity of the victimised, and yet simultaneously triumphal past is not defined by "substance" (what the objects are) but by "appearance" (how do the objects look and of what do they remind of). Although the display falls short of representing the "actual" body (Brown, 2004: 252), the photographs of the victims' skulls are "a presence that manifests an absence" (quoted in Vincent, 1991: 265, cited in Hallam and Hockey, 2001: 14). In this vein, the victims achieve historical presence through a series of strategies, such as exhibition, performance, commemoration and ritual.

The ritualised element of the visit enables the visitors to enact grieving performances within the museum space. These can be highly personalised and also contradictory, as becomes obvious in a brief examination of the visitors' book: on the one hand, visitors' comments focus on an attempted "management" of the historical events in such a way, to prevent recurrence of atrocities:

- We should not stop demanding justice from those responsible. (18.8.2009)
- We regret deeply that our fellow citizens died in such a heroic manner. Everything can be resolved peacefully. (23.5.2008)
- The courageous ones are blessed; we keep alive the memory of so many victims, so many innocent people. Distomo. A life experience. (2.12.2007)

Contrary to the above comments which are interpreted as "exemplary" expressions of memory, there is also ample evidence of "literal" memory, which is expressed through ontological readings of history and a reverse racism against the perpetrators:

- Eternal Curse on the Germans. (6.6.2010)
- This massacre is paid back only with the same price. (5.6.2010)
- The Germans are the worst in the world are our enemies. I hate them forever. (23.05.2008, Desfina Elementary School).
- My soul was dimmed by the savagery, the cruelty, and inhumanity of those who today wish to "lead" of Europe. (5.6.2010)
- Bloody Germans, criminals, horrible race of the Huns, the glory of the Greeks will stay pure eternally in the world. (8/5/2010, from Viannos Crete)

One way or the other, through acceptance, negation, grief, sorrow, racism, or rage, the Museum for the Victims of National Socialism functions as a means to healing from the traumatic experience. The social initiative towards the foundation of official memorial sites, such as the museum itself, contributes to the acceptance of permanent loss and the treatment of mourning, both on an individual and collective level. Through this process, personal and societal trauma is symbolically inscribed and properly internalized.

This process of overt and shared expression of pain, loss, trauma, and mourning reinforces the sense of belonging and is further enhanced by the commemorative ceremonies organized annually in Distomo. Commemorations (see Connerton, 1989) have a dual significance: as staged acts, they need certain organizers (actors) and audience, a clear structure and roles adopted only for that occurrence; they are also habitual actions because they embody historical and political discourses (Weber, 1998: 81). The notion of the habitual lays not so much in the frequency of the event's reiteration; rather, it is determined by the demonstration of the beliefs of both organizers and participants. In this context, the commemorative ceremony is rendered a performative act due to the embeddedness of the socio-political messages and life-stances it entails. Yet, it is also a normative

practice because the meanings it disseminates appear constant and focused on a single narrative. This narrative is concretized by the act of seeing, as it is performed within the museum, eventually helping people collectively to deal with horror and finally move on. (Zelizer, 2002: 711). This corporeal form of memorialisation is a complicated process that surpasses the form of a ritual significance just to the relatives/victims/witnesses and their community, and becomes, instead, a politicised ritual of the broader society that raises awareness of issues of international law and politics (Steele, 2006: 1/11).

Finally, the spirit under which the Distomo's Museum has been constructed has prevailed. And it has created waves of memory. Without undergoing amnesia, Greece could progress towards a deeper understanding of the events, towards the memorial justice for the victims, but, at the same time, towards overcoming the hatred and the psychologically buried wish for retaliation.

Epilogue

In the case of Distomo's Massacre, a balance for 'memory's economy' does not exist -and should not be 'constructed'. On the side of the victimiser's, guilty oblivion, and subterfuge are prevalent (with a few exceptions). On the contrary, on the side of the victims, there is an excess of memory, if not, 'hyper-memory'. The only way there could be a balance is under the condition that the re-united German State will at last recognise its responsibilities and understand its moral duty to ask for hands -on repentance for the genocidal practices of the Nazi troops. In such a way it will symbolically restore, in the name of truth and, secondly, in the name of historical justice, the historical injustice of so many decades. Then, on the other hand, the victims' descendants will feel the need to look straight into the eyes of the Medusa of history. Not, however, with the look of blind desperation and vengeance against the one who was unjust and powerful, but with the knowledge that they are in a position to process, in many ways, their historical trauma ('memory exercise') and to deconstruct their victim-centric identity that was constructed exactly on this. Of course, such a progress will not exempt, definitively and forever, the burden of the past and the nightmare of history from either the victim or victimizing societies. However, the memory of the victim-society will no longer fester; the burden will not haunt its present and its future. The traumatic past will not burden their shoulders as an inescapable fate; it will not act on the collective organism as a devious cancer.

Invoking the balance in the memory's economy, creates in reality the conditions for adopting, by both sides (victimizers and victims), a policy of 'fair memory'. As Paul Ricoeur (2006) defines it, 'a fair' memory is at the epicentre of which historical truth is placed. It is a memory whose importance is not exhausted on the two extremities 'victimizer-victim', but a memory that could possibly become the property of all humans. A memory which could potentially forgive the victimizer, who as a pilgrim in a sacred place asks for forgiveness, but, under no circumstances, forgives his gruesome actions;

a memory that aspires to generosity and forgiveness in the victim. Finally, a memory that leads both sides to self-knowledge and awareness of solidarity and mutuality.

The world itself is not reasonable.
But what is absurd is the confrontation of this irrational
and the desperate desire for clarity
whose call echoes in the depths of man

Albert Camus *The Myth of Sisyphus* (1942)

Correspondence

Zeta Papandreou,
University of Aegean, Rhodes, Greece

George Kokkinos,
Kokkinos@rhodes.aegean.gr

Panayotis Kimourtzis,
kimouryzis@aegean.gr

Eleni Stefanou,
stephanou@otenet.gr

References

- Abric J. (1994) "L'organisation interne des représentations sociales: système central et système périphérique", in: Guimelli, C. (ed.) *Structures et transformations des représentations sociales*, Lausanne: Delachaux et Niestlé.
- Begemann, D. (2003) "Distomo 1944", in: Ueberschär, Gerd R. *Orte des Grauens. Verbrechen im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Darmstadt: Primus.
- Bickford, L. (2009) "Transforming a Legacy of Genocide: Pedagogy and Tourism at the Killing Fields of Choeung Ek.", *International Centre for Transitional Justice*, pp. 1-26.
- Blustein, Jeffrey (2008) *The Moral Demands of Memory*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, T. P. (2004) "Trauma, Museums and the Future of Pedagogy" *Third Text* 18(4), pp. 247–259.

- Cole, Elizabeth A. (2007) "Introduction. Reconciliation and History Education", in: Cole, Elizabeth A. (ed.) *Teaching the Violent Past. History Education and Reconciliation*, Lanham /Boulder /New York / Toronto/ Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Connerton, P. (1989) *How societies remember*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dosse, François (2008) *Paul Ricoeur. Les sens d'une vie (1913-2005)*, Paris: La Découverte / Poche.
- Duncan, C. (1995) *Civilising rituals: inside public art museums*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Hallam, E. - Hockey, J. (eds.) (2001) *Death, Memory and Material Culture*, Oxford and New York: Berg.
- Ibrahim, Y. (2009) "Holocaust as the Visual Subject: The Problematics of Memory Making through Visual Culture", *Nebula* 6(4), pp. 94-113.
- Kong, L. (2005) "Representing the religious: nation, community, and identity in Museums", *Social and Cultural Geography* 6(4), pp. 495-513.
- Le Goff, J. (1992) *History and Memory*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Macdonald, S. (2005) "The museum as a ritual site", in: Bouquet, M. – Porto, N. (eds.), *Science, magic, and religion: the ritual processes of museum magic*, Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- O' Neil, M. (1996) "Making histories of religion", pp. 188-199 in: Kavanagh, In G. (ed.) *Making histories in museums*, London and New York: Leicester University Press.
- Rüsen, Jörn (2004) "Trauma and Mourning in Historical Thinking", *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in History and Archaeology* 1 (summer 2004), pp. 10-21.
- Steele, S. L. (2006) "Memorialisation and the Land of the Eternal Spring: Performative practices of memory on the Rwandan genocide", refereed paper delivered at *PASSAGES: law, aesthetics, politics*, 13-14 July 2006, Melbourne, Australia [available online via www.law.unimelb.edu.au/cmcl]
- Van Alphen, E. (2002) "Caught by Images: On the role of visual imprints in Holocaust testimonies", *Journal of Visual Culture* 1(2): 205-221.
- Verdery, K. (1999) *The political lives of dead bodies*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Weber, C. (1998) "Performative states", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 27(1), pp. 77-95.
- Zelizer, B. (2002) "Finding aids to the past: bearing personal witness to traumatic public events", *Media, Culture, and Society* 24 (5), pp. 697-714.

In Greek

- Andriakaina, Eleni (2001) "Apo ti 'mnimi' stis 'mnimes': i 'glossiki strofi' kai i proseggisi tou parelthontos stis koinonikes epistimes [From 'memory' to 'memories': the 'linguistic turn' and social sciences' approach to the past]", *Dokimes* 9-10, pp. 31- 46.
- Barton, Keith C. – Levstik, Linda S. (2008) *Didaskondas istoria gia to syllogiko Agatho*, trans. Afroditi Theodorakakou, Athens: Metehmio. [Teaching History for the Common Good, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004].
- Bouschoten, R. – Vervenioti, T. – Voutira, E. – Dalkavoukis, V. – Bada, K. (eds.) (2008) *Mnimes kai lithi tou ellinikou emfyliou polemou* [Memories and oblivion of the Greek Civil War], Thessaloniki: Epikentro.

Daliani-Karambatzaki, M. (2009) Paidia sti dini tou ellinikou emfyliou polemou 1946 – 1949, simerinoi enilikes. Diachroniki meleti gia ta paidia pou emeinan sti fylaki me tis kratoumenes miteres tous [Children in the maelstrom of the Greek Civil War 1946-1949, modern adults. Continuing Study for children who stayed in prison with their detained mothers], Athens: Mouseio Benaki - Etaireia Psychokoinonikis Ygeias tou Paidiou (EPSIPE) - Scholi I. M. Panayiotopolou.

Georgiadou, Vasiliki - Rigos Alkis (eds.) (2007) Aousvits. To gegonos kai i mnimi tou. Istorikes, koinonikes, pschanalytikes kai politikes opseis tis genoktonias [Auswitch. The Fact and its memory. Historical, social, psychoanalytical and political facets of the genocide], Athens: Kastaniotis.

Georgiadou, Irini - Petrou, Michalis (1998) "Apoleia kai Istoría: i Peripeties enos Penthous [Loss and History: The Adventures of Grief]", in: Anastasopoulos, D. - Paradisiotou, A. - Stavrinou, E. - Kyriakidou, St. (eds.), Psychiko Travma kai Efivia. Fantasi, pragmatikotita kai i periptosi tis Kyprou [Psychological Trauma and Adolescence: Fantasy, reality and the case of Cyprus], Nicosia: Cypriot Association of Psychoanalytic and Psychotherapy Studies.

Kertész, Imre (2003) To Mythistorima enos Anthropou xoris Pepromeno [The Novel of a Man without Fate], trans. Yiota Lagoudakou, Athens: Kastaniotis.

Kokkinos, G. – Athansiadis, H. – Vouri, S. – Gatsotis, P. – Trandas, P. – Stefanos, E. (2005) Istoriki koulтура kai sinidisi. Apopseis kai staseis mathiton kai ekpedeftikon tis Protovathmias Ekpedefsitis gia tin istoria [Historical culture and consciousness. Views and attitudes of students and educators in Primary education on history], Athens: Noogramma.

Kokkinos, G. – Vlahou, M. – Sakka, V. – Kouneli, E. – Kostoglou, A. – Papadopoulos, Σ. (2007) Proseggizontas to Olokaftoma sto elliniko scholeio [Approaching the Holocaust in Greek School], Athens: Taxideftis.

Kokkinos, G. – Lambatos, G. – Athanasopoulou, A. (2008) I mateomeni outopia: Yiannis Gavriilidis, Nikos Karayiannis kai alloi syntrofoi [The Postponed utopia: Yiannis Gavriilidis, Nikos Karayiannis and other comrades], Athens: Taxideftis.

Kokkinos, G. (2010) "I dynamiki tis mnimis kai tis lithis sti dimosia sfera kai i Nomoi gia ti Mnimi sti Gallia [The dynamics of memory and oblivion in the public sphere and the legislation about memory in France]", in: Kokkinos, G. – Lemonidou, E. – Agtzidis, V. To travma kai i politikes tis mnimis. Endeiktikes ophis ton symbolikon polemon gia tin Istoría kai ti Mnimi [Trauma and Memory politics. Indicative Views of symbolic wars on History and Memory], Athens: Taxideftis.

Kokkinos, G. – Lemonidou, E. – Agtzidis, V. (2010) To travma kai i politikes tis mnimis. Endeiktikes ophis ton symbolikon polemon gia tin Istoría kai ti Mnimi [Trauma and Memory politics. Indicative Views of symbolic wars on History and Memory], Athens: Taxideftis.

Kokkinos, G. – Mavroskoufis, D. – Gatsotis, P. – Lemonidou, E. (2010) Ta sigkrousiaka themata sti didaskalia tis Istorias [Controversial issues in History Teaching], Athens: Noogramma .

Koliopoulos, Ioannis – Svolopoulos, Konstantinos – Hatzivasiliou, Evanthis –

Nimas, Theodoros – Scholinaki-Helioti, Haris (2007) *Istoria tou Neoterou kai Sygchronou Kosmou (apo to 1815 eos simera)* [Modern World History- from 1815 till today]. 3rd grade of General Senior High School and 4th grade of Evening Senior High School for General Education- Student Textbook, Athens: OEDV.

Konstantopoulos, Manolis – Atsalaki, Amalia (2004) "To Travma: Freud, Lacan. Sinentefksi me ton Paul-Laurent Assoun [Trauma: Freud, Lacan. Interview with Paul-Laurent Assoun]", *Ek ton ysteron (Pepromena tou travmatikou 1)* [Looking Back (The fates of trauma)] 11.

Louvi, Evaggelia – Xifaras, Dimitrios (2007) *Neoteri kai Sygchroni istoria* [Modern History], 3rd High School grade, Athens: OEDV.

Mandoglou, Anna (2010) *Koinoniki mnimi, koinoniki lithi. Ekdiles kai lanthanouses morfes koinonikis skepsis* [Social memory, social oblivion. Obvious and latent types of social thinking], Athens: Pedio.

Margaritis, Yorgos (2003) "I Enopli Antistasi. Kataktiseis kai sygkrousis 1942-1944 [Armed Resistance. Triumphs and conflict 1942-1944", pp. 111-158 in: Panayiotopoulos, Vasilis (ed.) *Istoria Neou Ellinismou 1770-2000*. 8th volume. I embolemi Ellada, 1940-1949. Alvaniko Epos – Katohi kai Antistasi – Emfylios [New Greek Histoty 1770-2000 8th volume. Greece in War, 1940-1949. The Albanian Epic- Occupancy and Resistance- Civil War], Athens: Ellinika Grammata / Ta Nea.

Skoulatos, V. – Dimopoulos, N. - Kondis, S. (2003) *Istoria neoteri kai Sygchroni* [Modern History], 2nd volume, 3rd Senior Integrated High School: OEDV [1st edition 1981-1982].

Todorov, Tzvetan (1998) "Oi katachrisis tis mnimis [Memories' Abuse]", in: Hassoun, Jacques – Thanasekos, G. - Benveniste, R. - Varon-Vasar, O. *Evraiki Istoria kai Mnimi* [Jewish History and Memory], trans. Kiki Kapsabeli, Athens: Polis.

Tsiandis, Ioannis (2009) "To psihiko travma ek ton ysteron [Psychological Trauma in retrospect]", p. xxxix, in: Daliani-Karambatzaki, Mando Paidia sti dini tou ellinikou emfyliou polemou 1946 – 1949, simerinoi enilikes. Diachroniki meleti gia ta paidia pou emeinan sti fylaki me tis kratoumenes miteres tous [Children in the maelstrom of the Greek Civil War 1946-1949, modern adults. Continuing Study for children who stayed in prison with their detained mothers], Athens: Mouseio Benaki - Etairia Psychokoinonikis Ygeias tou Paidiou (EPSIPE) - Scholi I. M. Panayiotopolou.

Frangoudaki, A. - Dragona, T. (1997) "Ti ein' i patrida mas" *Ethnokentrismos Stin ekpedefsi* [What is our country? Ethnocentricism in Education], Athens: Alexandria Hatzi, Haris – Pateraki, Lena (2009) "I Mnimi stin Psyhanalisi kai stin Nevroepistimi: Oi Eklektikes Sygliseis tous mesa apo ta erotimata tou Travmatos kai tis Istorikis Alitheias [Memory in Psychoanalysis and Neuroscience: Their Selective Covergences through the questions of Trauma and Historical Truth]", *Oidipous v. 2*, Athens: Potamos.

Vlahou, M. - Kokkinos, G. (2007) "Istorigi Sinidisi kai mnimi [Historical Consciousness and Memory]", in: Kokkinos, G. - Vlahou, M. - Sakka, V. – Kouneli, E. - Kostoglou, A. - Papadopoulos, S. *Proseggizontas to Olokaftoma sto Elliniko Scholeio* [Approaching the Holocaust in Greek School], Athens: Taxideftis.

DOES EARLY YEARS EDUCATION HAVE A ROLE IN CREATING CHILDREN'S NOTION OF DIFFERENCE AND DIVERSITY?

Kieran Lusted, English Primary School Teacher

.....

Abstract

The paper reviews initiatives to develop in the youngest pupils an awareness of difference and diversity. It examines the findings of a research project in Northern Ireland, the role of persona dolls, the author's first hand experience and the background literature. A central point is the importance of an historical narrative in helping shape and determine pupils' attitudes and beliefs. The evidence strongly indicates that pupils' beliefs and sense of identity are well formed by the age of five. The importance of this dimension of their education cannot be underestimated in relation to the long-term development of a plural democracy that recognises diversity and toleration.

Keywords

Attitudes, Beliefs, Early Years and Foundation Stage, Identity, Northern Ireland, Persona dolls, Self Identity, Values

Introduction

Notions of difference and diversity account for all those differences that occur between people as individuals and as groups, taking into account ethnicity, culture, gender, religion and nationality. As a starting point I am looking at a journal article (Connolly et al. 2006), "Addressing diversity and inclusion in the early years in conflict-affected societies: a case study of the Media Initiative for Children – Northern Ireland." It reports on an initiative in Northern Ireland, which aims at promoting and appreciating cultural difference and diversity. It is aimed at children aged between three years and five years of age. Then consideration is given to another initiative aimed at increasing children's sensitivities to notions of difference through the use of Persona Dolls. I reflect on two interesting examples of practice, then move on to consider the strengths of history and geography in the early years and show that children are capable of learning about diversity in the early years.

The Media Initiative for Children - Northern Ireland (MIFC-NI)

The Media Initiative for Children – Northern Ireland (MIFC-NI) uses three one minute cartoons and is supported by further curricula resources for use in early years settings. It is aimed at children aged between three years and five years of age. Although the focus of the article is on early years education in Northern Ireland its lessons are not constrained to that locality and can be applied

elsewhere. The article reports that there has not been much research into the development of young children's attitudes to issues of diversity and difference, although it does point to the earlier work of Connolly et al. (2002) which shows that, by the age of three, children in Northern Ireland started to show signs of aligning themselves with their communities. They reported that 60% of Protestant three year olds chose the British Union flag, as opposed to the Irish Tricolour, when asked which flag they liked the best; 64% of Catholic three year olds chose the Irish flag when asked the same question. By the time children had reached the age of six one third of all children were aware of which community they belonged to. Furthermore 15% made self-initiated derogatory comments about the other community during the survey.

Piloting

The MIFC-NI was initially piloted before being extended to a wider study. The pilot study comprised of 193 children aged between three and five years of age, attending playgroups, of which 88 formed a control group. Children's attitudes were tested before and after the programme. Cartoons were used to highlight the differences between people. They revealed three areas of difference; race, disability and culture. One of the cartoon characters was Kim a Chinese character, and was used to represent racial difference. Tom was a boy who wore a corrective eye-patch and so represented disability. Cultural difference reflected in two characters wearing Rangers and Celtic football tops. Both teams have long associations with the Protestant and Catholic communities in Northern Ireland.

Research design

Testing of the results was carried out using Quasi-experimental design. This is used when random selection cannot be used and as such can be seen as a criticism of this type of research. However as random selection was not possible the playgroups were carefully selected in a variety of rural and urban settings in areas reflecting the diversity of the region. As this study also used a control group it is possible to compare the outcomes and so it is possible to get a set of results that can be used to test the success of the pilot programme. There was also a half-day seminar attended by the playgroup leaders who were part of the pilot programme.

The pilot

The pilot had three main objectives. The first was to enable children to recognise when someone was being excluded. The second was to help children develop a sense of empathy, to understand how being excluded can make someone feel. The first two objectives provided significant results, reporting increases in children's understanding of exclusion. The third objective, using the cartoons described above, was to encourage children to be inclusive of those who are different. The results showed that the attitudes of the control group were unchanged, although there was an increase

in the willingness of children to play with a Chinese girl in the group and with the girl wearing a corrective eye patch, after the programme. The study found no change in relation to the cartoon children wearing the Rangers and Celtic tops. It was concluded that the pilot had been trying to address the issue of a Catholic Protestant divide that wasn't yet present among the young children. It was recognised that this had been identified, in an earlier study by Connolly et al. (2002) which showed that children started to affiliate themselves with one culture at about age five to six years. The study decided it was more appropriate to consider increasing the children's understanding of a variety of cultures and communities. Following the success of the pilot the programme it has subsequently been extended to children in over two hundred early years settings in Northern Ireland.

One point of interest, that arose from a seminar of the playgroup leaders, was that teachers in early years settings were uncomfortable dealing with sectarian issues and in some cases were afraid of what the parents would think. There were some instances of parents complaining about issues of sectarianism being addressed. The notion of practitioners being uncomfortable addressing issues is also made by Siraj-Blatchford (1994) who identifies that some teachers feel uncomfortable tackling racism as it may run counter to the parents own attitudes. However Siraj-Blatchford does not accept this avoidance tactic as racism is profoundly damaging to young children and wider society and should not be tolerated. Siraj-Blatchford points out we would not take parents views into account if there was the suspicion of abuse so why do it with incidents of racism, and that racism is against the law.

Ethnocentricity and Identity

It is necessary to briefly consider the ethnocentric nature of identity. Much of what makes up notions of identity and cultural reference points are handed down as part of an historical narrative. Cajani and Ross (2007) write about ethnocentrism being used to create a sense of belonging to a particular group. Inherent in the belonging is the sense that there are those who do not belong. In addition, it requires those who belong to see themselves as superior and devalue the worth and culture of those defined as not belonging. This leads to conflicts between the cultures as those who are seen as not belonging refuse to accept the value judgement placed upon them and their culture. Cajani and Ross (2007 p.30) continue to suggest a theory of culture that avoids the constraints of ethnocentrism. "Ethnocentrism is theoretically dissolved if the specifics of a culture are understood as a combination of elements that are shared by all cultures." This idea of considering common elements is seen as a starting point for the humanities and education and can be a good way of avoiding the pitfalls of stereotyping.

Persona Dolls

Another initiative aimed at teaching diversity and difference to children can be achieved through the use of Persona Dolls. Nutbrown (2002) writes about Persona Dolls and storytelling. Persona Dolls are given individual identities and characteristics, complete with background and life history. These identities have to be carefully constructed to avoid negative stereotypes and the transmission and reproduction of prejudicial views. The dolls' stories are designed to give young children the opportunity to consider issues such as race, culture, bias and diversity. They provide chances for children to recognise differences in people and enable them, through storytelling, to come to appreciate difference in others. Other stories encourage children to stand up for themselves against injustices. Nutbrown (2002) refers to the work of Derman-Sparks (1989) who suggest the stories take in events from children's lives and current affairs and history. The dolls' stories are told to the children who are able to ask questions about the story and discuss issues raised.

Children's creation of self-identity

Holden and Clough (1998) write that young children are active participants in creating their own self-identity. This is influenced by those around them and historical and cultural themes. Their notions of difference and different people and cultures are also directly influenced through images they see in the media. These early learning experiences can stay with children throughout their lives. This is why it is important to teach young children about the world around them and to learn about people and cultures from around the world.

A school experience example

On the theme of looking at different cultures in a reception class it was the time of the Chinese New Year. A programme of interesting activities was designed to provide the children with insight into the celebrations held by Chinese people all over the world at New Year. The activities included making a large dragon for a Dragon Dance and watching DVDs of people in China and London celebrating Chinese New Year. The children also had a Chinese meal. The school hall was used as four reception classes had a Chinese meal together. The food, complete with chopsticks, was sourced from a local Chinese restaurant. It was impressive to see so many young children trying out new foods and using chopsticks. The use of food in this context made it a real experience for the children and can only add to the value of learning about other people through something such as food, which is common to us all.

Understanding, tolerance, friendship and inclusion

Pollard (2008, p. 431) quotes the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, stating that education "shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups (Article 26, p2). Pollard points out that many educationalists, such as Carr and Harnett (2006), argue

that one of the purposes of education is to create an inclusive, democratic society. If this is the case, then it is clear that education has a valuable role to play in the development of a child's identity and how they respond to different people and cultures.

Factors influencing children's attitudes

Pollard (2008) continues to talk about factors that influence children's attitudes. Young children are not born with prejudices but acquire them as part of the process of socialisation. At home children become aware of the values of their parents and other family members. As they start to develop a sense of belonging to the family they then start to adopt the same values and beliefs. These values may be of a discriminatory nature; they may include ideas that are racist and sexist. Pollard (2008) writes that gender is very important in a young child's developing identity, with lots of children preferring same-sex friendship groups. Many of the differences ascribed to the sexes are socially constructed through the process of socialisation. When young children are in the process of formulating their identities and the ways they perceive other people it would make good sense that this is the time they are guided and helped to avoid the dangers of viewing other people and cultures in a negative light. Pollard (2008) says the work of Connolly et al. (2006) shows that, with some careful consideration, it is possible to show young children how racism and prejudice are wrong. Donaldson (1978) argues that children's intellectual capabilities are underestimated and that, from an early age, they are able to "decentre" and see things from other peoples points of view. As much of the research shows that these developments occur between the ages of three and six it makes a clear case for teaching notions of difference and diversity in the Early Years.

The school's role

The school is also a place where children will develop ideas about themselves and other social groups. If there are people there from minority backgrounds this will impact on how they view these people. In addition, the roles these people fill will also be of relevance, in shaping a young child's views of different ethnic groups. Children are also influenced by the ethos of the school and the values and attitudes displayed in the classroom and school. Things like school assemblies can be used to transmit values regarding diversity.

While in a primary school, I attended a whole school assembly, where the head-teacher spoke about her father's family, who are German. The talk was about his family's experiences of life in Germany during the Second World War. The talk touched on how the family were constantly hungry, as there were food shortages and how men were conscripted into the army, when they did not want to fight. It told of how they ended the war, hidden in a cellar, as the Americans were approaching and how they were treated humanely as the war ended. The talk was supported with photographs of the family at

the time and some related artefacts, such as a U-boat service medal. This served to really bring the talk to life and made the people in the photographs real. The talk was very engaging and poignant, as it addressed the similarities of conditions faced by populations during war. I thought it would be the first time that a lot of the children attending would have considered the similarities between the experiences of ordinary people, on both sides, during the war. The view stood in stark contrast to the notion of German nation as war machine. This assembly took place in November and linked in with other lessons around the Armistice, and made a positive contribution to developing children's understanding of differing views and aspects of a highly significant time in the history of the 20th Century. I have chosen to include this piece as I believe it reflects good practice.

Early Years Foundation Stage, 3-5 [England] and pupil attitudes

In the Early Years and Foundation Stage guidance document (DCSF 2008, p77) one of the six areas of learning is identified as Knowledge and Understanding of the World. It states that, "Babies and children need regular opportunities to learn about different ways of life, to be given accurate information and to develop positive and caring attitudes to others." The next point it makes is, "Children should be helped to learn to respect and value all people and learn to avoid misapprehensions towards others, when they develop their Knowledge and Understanding of the World." In the rest of the document the language is explicit, making reference to challenging stereotypes and racism, while promoting a respect for a diversity of cultures and beliefs.

History's and Geography's role

History and geography can easily be the vehicles for development of these aims. Weights (2008, p24) makes this point about history. "As it is essentially a subject that is concerned with people and places, it is also appropriate to link development in history to geography..." Through history children can learn about their cultural heritage and events in the past that shaped the world they live in today. Claire (1996) recommends that work on family history and personal timelines is a good starting point for introducing children to basic historical concepts. Clare (1996, p. 23) continues that, by recalling events from their lives, "children will start to understand that the legitimate subject of history is human lives and not dinosaurs, fairies, space or plants."

Harnett (2007, p. 26) writing on the subject of early years education, argues that, "history may provide opportunities for children to extend their knowledge of other cultures and societies and for children to be more accepting of societies and peoples different from themselves." Catling (2009), writing about geography, argues that from early childhood children develop a sense of the world around them which includes a notion of their national identity. In addition Halocha (2010, p.7) writes that the "concluding words of the geography section of the Plowden Report have even more

relevance today in our complex and often violent world: "The important thing ultimately is that people understand people, and in the primary school a significant contribution may be made to this end."(HMSO, 1967,p.235). So Halocha shows that the Plowden Report is still relevant today and it would appear that this is echoed by Ofsted (2011) who report the need to promote an understanding of people and places is even more crucial in today's world. Ofsted (2007) confirms that the principle aims of Every Child Matters can be met through the teaching of history, as it can promote an understanding of the world they live in.

Conclusion

To conclude, Connolly et al. (2006) show children develop a sense of cultural identity by the time they are six years old. Donaldson (1978) shows that children are capable of greater understanding and their abilities can be underestimated. If children are developing notions of identity and belonging at such an early age, complete with a sense of the other side, there is clearly a need for early years education to play its part in promoting a positive understanding of difference and diversity. This can be done through the subjects of, amongst others, history and geography. As young children can be influenced by their early learning experiences for the rest of their lives it can prevent negative views and stereotyping from becoming embedded in the young mind, and teach them that diversity is a positive aspect of our lives.

Contact Details

kieranlusted@hotmail.com

References

- Cajani, L. Ross A. (eds. 2007) *European Issues in Children's Identity and Citizenship 7: History Teaching, Identities, Citizenship*. Stoke on Trent .Trentham Books Limited.
- Claire, H (1996) *Reclaiming our Pasts; Equality and Diversity in the Primary History Curriculum*. Stoke on Trent. Trentham Books Limited.
- Connolly, P. , Fitzpatrick, S. , Gallagher, T and Harris P. (2006) *Addressing Diversity and Inclusion in the Early Years in Conflict-Affected Societies; a Case Study of the Media Initiative for Children – Northern Ireland*. *International Journal of Early Years Education*. Vol 14, No 3, pp263-278.
- DfCSF (2008) *Practice Guidance for the Early Years Foundation Stage*. DfCSF
- Donaldson, M. (1978) *Children's Minds*. London. Fontana Press.
- Halocha, J. (2010) *A Geographical Opportunity? – Taking a Fresh Look at the Primary Curriculum*. *Primary Geographer*, no 72, p5 – 7.
- Harnett, P. (2007) *Creating a Curriculum to Help Children in the Early Years Understand the World in which they Live: History and Children in the Early Years*. *Primary History*, no 46, p26 – 27.
- HMSO (1967) *The Plowden Report*.

- Holden, C and Clough, N. (eds.1998) *Children as Citizens Education for Participation*. London. Jessica Kingsley publishers.
- Nutbrown, C. (2002) *Research Studies in Early Childhood Education*. Stoke on Trent. Trentham Books Limited.
- Ofsted (2007) *History in the Balance*. Accessed 23/02/2011. <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/Ofsted-home/Publications-and-research/Browse-all-by/Education/Curriculum/History/Primary/History-in-the-balance>
- Ofsted (2011) *Geography learning to make a world of difference*. Accessed 23/02/2011.<http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/Ofsted-home/Publications-and-research/Browse-all-by/Documents-by-type/Thematic-reports/Geography-Learning-to-make-a-world-of-difference>
- Palmer, J. Pettitt, D. (1993) *Topic Work in the Early Years ; Organising the Curriculum for 4- to 8-Year Olds*. London Routledge.
- Pollard, A. (2008) *Reflective Teaching : evidence-informed professional practice*. (3rd edition) London Continuum.
- Siraj-Blatchford, I. (1994) *The Early Years Laying the Foundations for Racial Equality*. Stoke on Trent. Trentham Books Limited.
- Weights, R. (2008) *History in the Primary Curriculum: A Summary of the HA Primary History Committee's submission to the Rose Review*. Primary History, no 50 p24 – 25.

Bibliography

- Walliman, N.SR. (2011) *Research Methods: The Basics*. London. Routledge.

LESOTHO GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND HISTORY EDUCATION IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Mary N. Ntabeni, National University of Lesotho, Roma, Lesotho

.....

Abstract

The first aim of this study is to identify the Lesotho government policies pertaining to syllabuses, textbooks and the status of history which have had a direct and indirect bearing on history education since 2000. The second and more important purpose is to: (i) critique the implementation of three of those policies; (ii) highlight their impact on history teaching and learning in the junior secondary schools, and (iii) make suggestions for the survival and improvement of history education in Lesotho. The case study method that is used analyses data collected from the relevant documents, personal communications and semi-structured interview schedules.

Keywords

Government, Education policies, History Education, Lesotho, Secondary schools, Syllabus review, Textbooks, Textbook rental

Introduction

At the turn of the 21st century, history education in Lesotho was at its lowest ebb with only thirteen (13) out of over 200 secondary schools teaching history. Tsilane and Mathafeng (2007) have identified and analysed several factors such as examinations, teacher, principal, learner, teacher training, Development Studies, and the Ministry of Education and Training (MoET) as contributors to the decline. This was also the time that MoET - through the National Curriculum Centre (NCDC) and the respective subject panels – was completing the review and trial process of the junior secondary syllabuses. A quick internet search indicates that the review and piloting of syllabuses by governments (and other stakeholders) is a common practice worldwide. Looking closer to home in the English-speaking neighbouring countries of Botswana, Swaziland and South Africa, one can see examples of this practice for the general and history syllabuses (Mafela, 2010; Chisholm, 2003; Siebörger, 2000)

In addition to the revised syllabuses, the Lesotho secondary schools also experienced dramatic changes throughout the first decade of the 21st century which were brought by new government policies. In the process, history education was affected both directly and indirectly as indicated in the table below:

TABLE 1 Lesotho Government education policies, 2000-2009

Year	Policy
2000	Introduction of Free Primary Education; Trial examinations of the newly revised Junior Certificate (JC) syllabuses, including History
2001	Launch of the newly revised JC syllabuses country wide, including History (First JC examinations written in 2003)
2004	Textbook Rental Scheme extended to junior secondary level, starting with the first year (Form A), including History
2007	Introduction of Combined Government schools to accommodate Free Primary completers; History declared compulsory in ALL of them (First JC examination written in 2009)

Table I clearly indicates that the only policy with no direct impact on Lesotho's history education was the introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE) mainly because of the level at which it was introduced. On the other hand, the stakeholders of history education saw the large numbers of primary school pupils as a potential to increase the number of history students at secondary level. At the same time, the year 2000 was important for history (and other junior secondary subjects) in Lesotho because it marked the third and last year of the trial session at the end of which learners of the ten trial schools for history wrote the Junior Certificate (JC) examination in October-November of that year (Tsilane and Mathafeng, 2007: 35).

More importantly, Table I highlights three other policies of 2001, 2004 and 2007 - which are the subject of this study - that dealt with the launch of the new syllabuses, availability of and access to textbooks, and the new status of history in government schools respectively. The first two policies affected all junior secondary subjects, including history, whereas the last policy was specifically about history. All three policies have had a relatively positive impact on history education in Lesotho in the last ten (10) years although the government's plans did not run that smoothly when it came to implementation. This in turn spelled a different picture for the realities in the schools.

Introduction of a 'national' history syllabus

The first policy was the introduction of a national history syllabus which Lesotho's MoET launched in the first year (Form A) of all junior secondary schools immediately after publication of the JC trial results in January 2001. For history education, the review and consolidation of syllabuses into one was long overdue because up to that year schools had to choose between the Old and the Alternative Syllabus - known as History 512 and History 513 respectively - with more schools opting for the latter. Therefore, the word 'national' in the sub-heading really means 'one' syllabus for all junior secondary schools in Lesotho, and it is used in the same context as the national history curriculum of South Africa (Siebörger 2000).

Also, there are researchers who have found that neither of the two old syllabuses was really appropriate. For instance, in her abstract on the Alternative Syllabus, Khoiti (2000:xi-xii) points out that

...the syllabus, to some extent, was not appropriate to the age and ability of the pupils to whom it was being taught. The history panel members, the curriculum evaluators and the "history specialists" rightly pointed out that some of the topics in the syllabus needed to be modified to suit the readiness of the pupils especially in Form A. They also suggested the syllabus include much of the history of Lesotho

Similarly, in their discussion of how the examinations factor contributed to poor pupils' performance, Tsilane and Mathafeng (2007:11) also touch on History 512 and History 513, and refer to the former as "too foreign and abstract to the learners' environment." Therefore, it should be interesting to compare the themes of History 512 and 513 with those of the revised syllabus in (TABLE 2) below:

Form A	Form B	Form C
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction to History 2. Early inhabitants of Southern Africa 3. Formation of chiefdoms and kingdoms in Southern Africa up to European penetration: Basotho, Zulu, Ndebele, Swazi, Botswana, Namibians 4. European occupation of the Cape Peninsula and expansion into the interior of Southern Africa 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discovery of minerals and mining revolutions in South Africa 2. Scramble for Africa 3. Impact of colonialism in Southern Africa 4. The formation of the Union of South Africa 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa 2. Post-independence developments in the BoLeSwa countries: economic, political and social developments 3. Economic developments in Europe in the 18th century: Agricultural and Industrial revolutions 4. Developments of political ideas and economic systems in the 20th century 5. World Wars: the causes and results of the First World War 6. International and regional organisations: League of nations, United Nations, OAU/AU, and SADC

Source: Government of Lesotho, Junior Certificate History Syllabus (Maseru, Ministry of Education and Training, National Curriculum Development Centre, 2004), p.7

Understandably, of all the stakeholders of history education in Lesotho, the Lesotho History Teachers' Association [LHTA] was the most impressed by the review of the old syllabuses and the launch of only one new (or revised) history syllabus for all schools. Three years down the line after the first JC examination in 2003, the history teachers continued to be the most vocal about the positive changes the new syllabus had brought in their work (personal communication). In their remarks, the history teachers highlighted and emphasised the following good points about the new history syllabus:

- (i) it had cut the content - especially that of the Old Syllabus – and made it so manageable that it could be covered in the three years of preparation for better performance in the JC examination (see Table III);
- (ii) dealing with only one syllabus fostered co-operation and unity because teachers started scheming together, setting a common June test for JC candidates, sharing teaching strategies for tackling ‘unpopular’ themes or topics, and analysing the JC results in order to improve the pupils’ performance in the successive examinations;
- (iii) except for a few cases, the sequence of the themes followed logically from defining history to local, regional, and global issues, and
- (iv) overall, the new syllabuses were user-friendly (see TABLE 4) as a sample layout of the first theme in Form A)

History 512	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Candidates	23	22	-	-	-	-
Passes	9	16	-	-	-	-
Percentage	39	73	-	-	-	-
History 513	510	539	498	-	-	-
Passes	394	433	445	-	-	-
Percentage	77	80	89	-	-	-
Trial	539	624	642	-	-	-
Passes	479	560	399	-	-	-
Percentage	89	90	62			
Revised Syllabus	-	-	-	1132	1139	1157
Passes	-	-	-	813	942	988
Percentage	-	-	-	72	83	85

Source: Tsilane and Mathafeng (2007) Report on the Findings of the Research Project on the Factors responsible for the Decline of History Status in Secondary Schools’ Curriculum in Lesotho, Maseru, National Curriculum Development Centre (quoted from ECoL, Grade Analysis Reports, 2000-2005), p.35

There is need to research deeper into and conduct a closer analysis of the above results so as to include many more factors that came into play, besides the revision of the syllabus.

At the end of Form A students should be able to:

End of Level Objectives	Content	Notes
1. Define history	Prehistory Oral traditions Archaeology	Describe the careers that one can pursue after studying history
2. Describe how history is studied	Primary and secondary sources	Differentiate between primary and secondary sources

Table 4: FORM A - Introduction to History and its importance

The only main complaint that the LHTA raised about the new history syllabus was the duration of the JC examination which is reiterated by Tsilane and Mathafeng (2007:11): "The examination papers for both the Old and Alternative syllabuses were too long (3 hours) for J.C. learners." According to the ECoL setup, all JC candidates are examined at the end of three years on everything they have learned since Form A. History has only one examination paper made up of filling-in and the writing of six short and two long essays. The length and the demanding nature of the examination were the first concerns that one remarked about on joining the History Panel in 2001, and they continue to derail the efforts of the JC history candidates and teachers to this day. In addition, one had other concerns pertaining to the implementation of and the perspective of the content in the revised history syllabus, not to mention the same old 'talk-and-chalk' teaching method(s) that persist in spite of the new syllabus (but the last point belongs to another study).

For instance, the implementation 'process' – or rather 'automatic' manner - in which MoET launched the new junior secondary history syllabus (and the others) immediately after ECoL announced the JC trial results is another critical issue that needs to be considered. In contrast to the worldwide practice of revising syllabuses and then evaluating the pilot trial stage, Lesotho's new syllabus went 'national' without any time taken to evaluate the trial session from 1998 to 2000 so as to refine the revised syllabus. Thus, failure to do so overlooked the benefits reaped from such pilot trial valuations as exemplified by Queensland Studies Authority (QSA) in 2010 when it asked the evaluators to specifically analyse

- the internal consistency of the components of the syllabus
- the degree to which the syllabus communicates its intentions to teachers
- the suitability of the breadth and depth of the syllabus requirements
- the appropriateness of the assessment requirements of the syllabus
- the relevance of the subject to the students
- the resources found to be useful in the pilot schools
- the development of appropriate standards in pilot schools.

The evaluators of a trial pilot syllabus would also look at many other subject-specific features such as those listed below and taken from the last 18 (out of 21) tables of Khoiti (2000: vi):

- The teaching experience of both the history teachers and the panel members
- Clarity of the objectives of the history syllabus
- The appropriateness of the syllabus to pupils' abilities
- The suitability of the length of the syllabus

- Whether the content of the syllabus gives the pupils an opportunity to actually participate in history lessons
- The relationship of the syllabus material to the interest and experiences of the pupils
- Whether the syllabus must be sufficiently flexible to be used effectively by teachers and pupils of different school environments
- Whether the content of the history syllabus should be selected with an eye to relating it as far as possible to the pupils' experiences and backgrounds
- Whether the content or material that is carefully selected and organized is of more value to pupils and teachers than a rapid and superficial treatment of a greater amount of content material
- Whether it is important to consider the needs of the pupils and the society when selecting the subject matter for history
- Whether the history textbooks for the JC pupils had been appraised when the history content was selected
- Whether the pupils like studying history
- Whether history is so important that it should be made compulsory for every JC pupil
- Whether history helps pupils to obtain a job
- Whether the knowledge that is acquired from studying history cannot be applied in practical life situations
- Whether pupils would like studying history at a higher level
- Whether pupils regard history as a boring subject
- Whether history is so unimportant that it should be dropped out of the syllabus

That whole process of the pilot trial syllabus evaluation did not take place in Lesotho before the launch of the national syllabus in 2001.

The next concern to discuss is the perspective of the content in the revised History syllabus which still does not reflect much of the history of Lesotho, except for the 'Formation of Chiefdoms and Kingdoms' theme. Such a change of perspective would take place only when the teaching and learning of all the themes is done in the context of Lesotho, and where the teachers include a lot of code switching for important history concepts (where applicable), and to such an extent that the syllabus could actually be labeled 'Lesotho and the World.' For example, looking at the Form A theme of 'Introduction to History' (Table IV), it should be acceptable – especially at this level which has not had any solid history background - to find out from the learners (and their parents as a form of homework) the Sesotho versions of 'history, oral traditions, archaeology' and the like so that they can relate to –and even own - the history material which they learn in the second (and third) language because the Lesotho education system uses English as the medium of instruction from Grade 4 to tertiary level.[]

The above suggestion is not meant to challenge the Lesotho language policy, nor is it trying to engage in the current debate of 'What sort of history should school history be?' (www.history.org). On the contrary, the study merely proposes an approach that would gradually wean the post-primary graduates away from the Social Studies rote learning style, induct them into junior secondary historical studies, and lay a reasonably solid foundation and love for the subject in the successive levels. In the process, the history teachers will be addressing (i) the significance of the issue of approach in history as argued by teacher educators and historians such as Cooper (2006; 2009) and Seleti (2003) respectively, and (ii) the reproach that Mafela (2010) raises about the Botswana history syllabus when she states that "The current Botswana history syllabus still retains strong traces of its colonial origins" which is applicable to Lesotho.

Textbook Rental Scheme

The second policy that the GoL introduced in all its junior secondary schools in 2004 was a Textbook Rental Scheme (TRS). In his announcement of the need for and the importance of such a scheme, the Minister indicated that

the high level of unemployment in the country and skyrocketing textbook prices render it extremely difficult for parents to shoulder the responsibility of buying books for their children...The introduction of the Textbook Rental Scheme marks another important event in the development of the education system in Lesotho and indeed another milestone in the achievement of the strategic objectives of the ministry, which include improving access, quality and equity of education at all levels (www.gov.ls)

The TRS is not unique to Lesotho although it is understandably more common in developing countries (Printer 2000). Printer (2000) refers to textbook rental schemes as "simple in concept" and goes on to describe one model which is more or less the same as the version practised in Lesotho (except for the duration is five (5) instead of four (4) years):

The idea is simple. A pool of money finances the production of books to cover the needs of a certain number of pupils in a given subject. Schools rent the books to parents, who return the textbooks at the end of one year. Penalties apply to those who fail to return the books in good condition. Once the rental fee collections have covered the cost of the original books, usually four years later, subsequent profits are used to purchase new editions.

(<http://www.osi.hu/cpd/syndicate/trs.html>)

In fact, Lesotho's introduction of the TRS at secondary level was an extension of a policy that had been operating in the primary schools since 1982 (www.osi.hu). Thus, for the stakeholders of Lesotho's history education which they feel requires wide and sustained reading, the secondary level TRS was a long-overdue acknowledgement and reinforcement by the GoL of the indispensability of textbooks (and other teaching materials) in effective teaching and learning (Personal communication).

On the other hand, however buoyed the LHSTA's spirit may have been about the 2004 TRS, the government's implementation left much to be desired, especially when weighed against the country report by Mokhokhoba (www.osi.hu) which was in essence an evaluation of the scheme in the twenty-two years that it operated in primary schools. That is why one feels that the concluding section titled "Lessons to be learned by Countries Wishing to Establish a Textbook Rental Scheme" begs the question: by 2004, had the GoL learned anything from the primary schools to make the TRS more of a success at junior secondary level? Unfortunately, the answer is a resounding 'No' for several reasons specific to Lesotho, and because of the general nature of the TRS itself. The Budapest conference demonstrated that some of the TRS challenges were true of most – if not all – the countries that participated (www.osi.hu), but this study concentrates on the blunders that Lesotho could have easily avoided.

The most glaring mistake in the launching of Lesotho's TRS at junior secondary level was the time factor. The Minister's announcement of the scheme on 15 December 2003 was too late for it to be successfully implemented in January 2004, especially when one considers that Lesotho schools used to reopen in the third (which has since become second) week of the year. As one of the textbook evaluators whose invitations only came in early January, it became very easy to be skeptical about the success of the TRS, at least in 2004 because the late start ran the risk of poor quality regarding the evaluation performance and the publishing of textbooks, all of which ended up operating under unimaginable pressure caused by constant reminders of the time factor and revision of deadlines. As a result,

- the textbooks did not get to schools until the second session in July;
- some schools did not get enough textbooks for all their Form A pupils;
- the distribution ended up being nothing more than 'dishing out' of textbooks on arrival in order to make up for lost time, and in anticipation of immediate rental payments by parents.

Therefore, by the end of 2004, Lesotho's junior secondary TRS had proven to be a disaster because not all Form A pupils had books due to shortages, and very few parents had paid the

textbooks' rent of M260.00 (at par with the South African currency) allegedly because (according to some teachers) the FPE mentality had gripped the nation. Thus, the following year, the schools resorted to a self-defeating strategy - for effective teaching and the TRS objectives - where pupils would only get the textbooks on payment, and this meant double payment for the many who still owed the previous year's rent.

Delays in getting the textbooks to the schools and shortages dogged Lesotho's junior secondary TRS throughout its first three years – especially for the rural schools - mostly due to publishing and transport challenges. Meanwhile, every year student teachers who are on teaching practice placements cannot withhold their frustration over textbooks that are collecting dust in the schools' storerooms when they are needed in their classrooms. This untenable situation worsened in 2007 when the large numbers of the FPE graduates - projected at 55 000 - entered the junior secondary level. The GoL correctly identified that imminent challenge at a conference in Singapore (siteresources.worldbank.org 2006) but they once again failed the nation with the malfunctioning TRS and not getting ready for the influx of Form A pupils. In short, their myopia rendered unattainable the theory that "the revolving scheme sustains itself without an infusion of additional funds" (www.osi.hu).

Lesotho's poor planning and implementation of the TRS in the junior secondary schools inflicted a double blow on history education in that it suffered the consequences with the rest of the other subjects, and it also ended up with a totally unacceptable Form A textbook as discussed in the volumes of literature on all aspects of school textbooks in general and those of history in particular (www.historytextbooks.org) This brief critique highlights the two key issues that 'disqualify' the textbook at hand, namely, the content overload and the level of the language used.

To start with, the unpopularity of history in Lesotho translated into only two tenders for the Form A textbook for the TRS, one by Heinemann and the other by Longman. That of the former was already in the schools for History 513 but needed to be updated in accordance with the revised syllabus while that of the latter, though updated, was a book that was being used in the upper levels that covered many more themes beyond the Form A history syllabus. Therefore, it was not going to be suitable for Form A because of its detailed content and difficult language which rendered it too high for that level.

However, as governments and tenders go, by the end of the evaluation, the lower price tag of Longman's book had placed it at the top. Longman never condensed the content or toned down the language as presented before the National Curriculum Council (NCC) because, according to them,

those reservations were not in the report they got. Under the circumstances, the LHTA resorted to the old textbook which gradually became so hard to find that the teachers ended up having to provide elaborate notes for the learners. In other words, the new textbooks did not get to be used that much until 2007 when the GoL introduced yet another policy pertaining to the status of history in its new schools. One other problem with the TRS is that the five-year duration has long passed with no review and/or replacements of the 2004 textbooks, except for the Form A one.

History in new Lesotho government schools

In January 2007, when the FPE graduates entered the secondary level, history was made compulsory in all the new combined government schools that absorbed most of the Form A pupils. Up to that time, the junior secondary schools had only four (4) compulsory subjects: namely English - which is a failing subject - Sesotho, Mathematics and Science. The new policy elevated history above the other three social science subjects of geography, Development Studies, and religion with which it had competed for inclusion in the schools' curricula.

As could be expected, the LHTA and other stakeholders of history education in Lesotho welcomed the new status they had been fighting for, and which obtained in many other countries. However, that victory was short lived when the schools reopened, and the LHTA members and I met the 'new history teachers' at the first meeting in early February 2007. It soon dawned on everybody that about 95% of them had not trained as history teachers, and a few of them did not have any teacher training whatsoever. ...

Conclusion

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the government of Lesotho introduced three education policies pertaining to a national history syllabus (2003), the Textbook Rental Scheme (2004) and making history compulsory in all the new government schools in 2007. The good intentions but poor implementation of all three policies demonstrate a classic example of theory versus practice where there is a big difference between what was supposed to happen and what eventually happened. Therefore, while history education enjoys the positive impact of the new policies, it continues to suffer the general and subject specific consequences of the reality on the ground. There is also an urgent need for further research in all aspects of the new policies.

Correspondence

mntabeni@yahoo.co.uk

References

Chisholm, L. (2003) "The Politics of Curriculum Review and Revision in South Africa" `Oxford' International Conference on Education and Development.

Government of Lesotho (2004) Junior Certificate History Syllabus, Maseru, Ministry of Education and Training, National Curriculum Development Centre

<http://www.qsa.qld.edu.au> (2010)

Khoiti, M.M. (2000) A Critical Evaluation of the Lesotho Junior Certificate Alternative History Syllabus, M.A. Ed Thesis, Roma, National University of Lesotho.

Mafela, L. (2010) "Colonial Literacy and the Socio-Political Dimensions of the History Syllabus in Colonial Botswana", Literacy Information and Computer Education Journal Volume 1, Issue 2, June 2010 n.p. [accessed on 26/05/2011] from

<http://www.infonomics-society.org/LICEJ/Colonial%20Literacy%20and%20the%20Socio-Political%20Dimensions%20of%20the%20History%20Syllabus%20in%20Colonial%20Botswana.pdf>

Mokhokhoba, M. J. (2000) "Case Studies: Lesotho" n.p. in E.Sprouse (edited by F. Printer) Textbook Rental Schemes in Developing Countries, Budapest, Center for Publishing Development [accessed on 26/05/2011] from

http://www.osi.hu/cpd/policyresources/chapter03_lesotho.html

Open Society Institute – Center for Publishing Development (2000)

http://www.osi.hu/cpd/policyresources/index_trs.html

Siebörger, R (2000) "History and the Emerging Nation: the South African Experience" International Journal of History Learning Teaching and Research [accessed on 02.07.2011] from

<http://www.heirnet.org/IJHLTR/journal1/Siebörgered-kw.doc>

Seleti, Y (2003) 'A Changing Approach to History' Mail & Guardian 18-24 July [accessed on 01/07/2011] from **<http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/changing-approach-history>**

Sewall, G.T. (2004) *World History Textbooks: A Review* New York, American Textbook Council
[accessed on 07 July 2011]

www.historytextbooks.org/worldhistory.pdf

Taylor, T. (2000) *The Future Of The Past: Executive Summary Of The Report Of The National Inquiry Into School History* [accessed on 03/05/2011] from

<http://www.dest.gov.au/NR/rdonlyres/7C4508F1-AADF-4D0D-9B2D-8FA6F99A6E6C/4499/summary.pdf>

Tsilane, T. and Mathafeng, T. (2007) *Report on the Findings of the Research Project on the Factors responsible for the Decline of History Status in Secondary Schools' Curriculum in Lesotho, Maseru*, National Curriculum Development Centre.

PAST INTO PRESENT: CIVIC EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP IN SLOVENIAN HISTORY CURRICULA

Danijela Trskan, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

.....

Abstract

This article shows in what way and to what extent the elements of citizenship and civic education were included in Slovenian history curricula after 1945, especially those elements relating to national politics and its actions. On the basis of the documents inspected for elementary and secondary schools, issued before 1990, it has been established that the civic education and citizenship were explicitly included in the goals and content, but less so in the instructions for the curricula. Since in that period Slovenia was one of the six republics of the so-called Socialistic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, civic education related to directing young people to a positive attitude towards the state and all Yugoslav peoples. On the other hand, citizenship related to cohesion, solidarity or the so-called brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples. It included the joint contribution of building a socialistic social order, which was at the time essential for the national, religious and social diversity of Yugoslavia. Prior to Slovenian independence, Slovenian curricula had to focus more on the Yugoslav identity rather than on the Slovenian one. All contemporary history curricula in elementary and secondary schools in the Republic of Slovenia include various elements of civic education and citizenship, which display themselves in general, specific or competent goals. One important competence that can be encouraged through history lessons is developing a positive attitude towards democracy and developing responsible and critical citizenship. Young people learn about the process of Slovenian independence, whereas there is less emphasis on the political development of independent Slovenia, its achievements and problems after 1991. In the future, it is recommended that history lessons prepare pupils and students for responsible actions in a democratic society, primarily in the home environment, i.e. the school environment, and more broadly, in the national, European or international environment.

Keywords

Citizenship, Civic education, Curriculum, History, Slovenia, Yugoslavia,

Introduction

School is the environment in which young people first learn understanding, respect, co-operation and active inclusion within the school area.

If we do not become used to valuing the uniqueness of human cultures, beginning with our own, we will most likely not be able to value human diversity nor the common humanity that lies in the centre of the cosmopolitan ideal. Such uninterested, heartless individuals, who only value themselves and do not feel responsible towards anything, are a poor basis for democracy or no basis at all; democracy demands citizens who are sufficiently active. Education, in the sense of upbringing and schooling, is shaping interested people, active citizens. (Žalec, 2006, p. 77).

It is precisely elementary and secondary schools that can offer pupils and students numerous opportunities in regular instruction for developing an awareness of nationality, its cultural and linguistic heritage and diversity. According to Sardoč, activities carried out in schools and even outside of schools, should additionally offer other opportunities for becoming acquainted with the significance of active inclusion in a contemporary democratic society (2006, p. 104). Civic education should relate to the school education of young people and ensure that they become active and responsible citizens, capable of contributing to the development of the country in which they live (Sardoč, 2005, p. 18).

It is important that young people become acquainted with other topics connected with the organisation of the state and of the broader area, e.g. with actions in the European Union, solving the main problems of humanity, protecting the natural and cultural environment or the natural or cultural heritage, with the attitude towards other people and towards nature and its sources etc. (Krajc, 2010, pp. 3–4).

It is therefore important for civic education on the one hand to know and understand the state, the organisation of the state, the laws and constitutions and other symbols that are characteristic of a democratic state, and on the other hand active inclusion or citizenship, respect for human and civil rights and different cultures and nations, protecting the natural and cultural heritage, and developing a national identity. With its content, the subject of history also teaches pupils about states, their political, administrative, judicial and other types of order and about other state formations in the past; thus the political development of states usually also enhances familiarisation with national elements in the past.

According to Peter Vodopivec, history is that school subject without which citizenship lessons cannot be conceived.

Principles, institutions, values, forms and traditions of modern democracy are the fruit of a longer historical development and can therefore only be explained in light of their formation and establishment. (Vodopivec, 2006, p. 38).

In the subject of history, young people are to 'understand the past and the reasons for the current problems, respect cultural heritage and develop a sense of identity, which can be local, national, European' (Rustja, 2006, p. 139).

Thus we wondered to what extent the elements of citizenship, namely of knowing and understanding the organisation of the state, active citizenship, respect for human rights and shaping a national identity, were included in the history curricula published between 1945 and 1990. That was at the time of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which consisted of six republics and two autonomous provinces. The republics were: the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Socialist Republic of Montenegro. The autonomous provinces were: the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Likewise, it was intended to make a comparison with the contemporary history curricula in the Republic of Slovenia (20 years of independence in 2011). Since the greatest turning point for Slovenia was the year 1991, when it had gained independence, it was anticipated that during the time of Yugoslavia the curricula emphasised the socialist order, self-government and patriotism and the co-operation between nations more than the shaping of Slovenian and European identity, which is a characteristic of contemporary history curricula.

Since history is a compulsory subject in the Republic of Slovenia in elementary schools (a total of 239 hours), in general secondary schools (from 210 to 350 hours) and in secondary technical schools (103 hours), we determined separately for elementary schools, general secondary schools and secondary technical schools which learning goals in the history curricula related to citizenship and civic education, which teaching content included elements of citizenship or related to civic education, and whether the instructions for implementing history curricula also related to citizenship or nationality and what these instructions were.

The theoretical research applied a descriptive and explicative non-experimental method of pedagogical historical research, which was supplemented by the technique of content analysis or the analysis of history curricula. The presence or non-frequency analysis was employed (the

presence or absence of learning goals, teaching content and instructions in the curricula), as well as the contingency analysis (determining in what connection the elements of citizenship and civic education appear).

The theoretical research encompassed history curricula, namely 16 elementary school curricula, 8 general secondary school curricula and 6 secondary technical school curricula, which were published before 1990 in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and included the elements of citizenship, and 2 elementary school curricula, 3 general secondary school curricula and 2 secondary technical school curricula, which were in force in the Republic of Slovenia in 2011. In the rest of the article, the year in parentheses denotes the year of publication of the curriculum. The list of curricula is published at the end of the article in the references.

Citizenship and civic education in elementary school curricula

In the elementary school curricula, published before 1990, numerous learning goals related to the brotherhood and unity of nations, e.g. the brotherhood and unity of our nations and all the achievements of the National Liberation War must be strengthened in the pupils (1946, 1948a, 1950). Goals related to the love of the homeland, dedication to the homeland and its peoples were frequent (1948a, 1950). This means that teachers had to develop a patriotic consciousness in the pupils (1960, 1962, 1959, 1966, 1969) and deepen their love of the homeland of Yugoslavia (1983a, 1983b, 1984).

Immediately after World War II, learning goals related to the defence of the homeland or Yugoslavia, e.g. pupils were to become conscious and self-sacrificing builders and defenders of the homeland (1948b); in the 1980s, this defence was transferred to the socio-political organisation of Yugoslavia, namely pupils should be morally prepared to defend all the achievements of the self-governing socialist society (1983a, 1983b, 1984).

In the 70s and 80s, the learning goals already demanded that pupils in elementary schools had to be educated for democratic relations in a socialist society, particularly in the spirit of Slovenian consciousness and the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities (1973, 1975, 1979, 1983a, 1983b, 1984).

The teaching content mostly related to the political and constitutional order of the state of Yugoslavia and was harmonised with the socio-political development of Yugoslavia, which is also demonstrated by the following content, chronologically arranged according to the publication of the curricula:

- Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1947).
- The Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia: National Equality and a Federal Order; Brotherhood

and Unity of our Nations; People's Government; People's Front. The Constitution – Legalisation of the Achievements of the National Liberation Struggle (1948a, 1950).

- The Main Stages of Building a Socialist Yugoslavia: The Constitutional Act of 1953 and Social Governance; Characteristics of a Socialist Democracy; Significance of the Constitution of 1963 (1966, 1969).
- Building a Self-Governing Socialist Society in Yugoslavia: the Act on the Transfer of Companies to the Management of Work Collectives and the Beginnings of Self-Government; The Constitutional Act of 1953 and the Further Development of Self-Government and of Socialist Democracy; The Constitution of 1963; Constitutional Amendments and the Further Development of Self-Government, Democracy and Equality of the Nations and Nationalities of the SFRY (1973, 1975, 1979).
- Development of a Self-Governing Socialist Democracy: Self-Government and Socialist Democracy in Yugoslavia; The Role of the LCY (League of Communists of Yugoslavia) in Building a Socialist Self-Governing Society; The New Constitution of 1974 and the Amendment to It (1980 – Collective Leadership) (1983a, 1983b, 1984).

Only a few of the elementary school history curricula contained instructions (1946, 1947, 1948a, 1973, 1975, 1979, 1983a, 1983b, 1984). Immediately after World War II, pupils were to visit various battle sites, know the Yugoslav heroes from World War II well, and develop the spirit of true patriotism, self-sacrifice and awareness of the necessity of direction towards socialism (1948a). The subject of history was to develop in particular the love of one's homeland and strengthen the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples (1946, 1947).

In the 70s, the instructions mostly related to the history teacher who should be socially and politically well versed and active in a self-governing society.

A history teacher, especially one teaching the history of the NOB (National Liberation War) and the post-war period, must be a good expert – a historian, whose lessons derive from Marxist foundations; in addition, he or she must be versatile and well versed in pedagogy and politics. The teacher must constantly follow historical, theoretical-Marxist and political literature and follow reports in the mass media. He or she must also be a social worker who, by his or her example, educates pupils in accordance with the ideology of the Yugoslav socialist self-governing society. (1973, p. 136; 1975, pp. 28–29; 1979, pp. 165–166).

It was not until the 70s and 80s that the instructions began to relate to the teaching content as well. e.g. in the topic of the development of a self-governing socialist society in Yugoslavia teachers were to explain to the pupils that the Yugoslav peoples live happily and that the SFRY (Socialist Federal

Republic of Yugoslavia) is a powerful country, led by the CPY (Communist Party of Yugoslavia) (1973, 1975, 1979). The actualisation of the teaching content was to be carried out by pupils preparing interviews with members of self-governing bodies at the school, in working organisations and local communities (1983a, 1983b, 1984), which was at the time a characteristic of the organisation of self-government in the SFRY.

The introduction to the existing curriculum for elementary schools in the Republic of Slovenia from 2003 states that pupils orient themselves for life in the present and future, become accustomed to the positive evaluation of cultural heritage and to the understanding and respect for religious and other diversity. Contents from Slovenian history are to contribute to the shaping of a Slovenian national consciousness and identity in pupils, which is the essential difference in comparison with the curricula prior to 1990.

Among the general goals more goals are listed relating to civic education, e.g. that in learning Slovenian history pupils develop a consciousness of national identity and nationality, develop a respect for different cultures, religions, races and communities, gain knowledge of Slovenian cultural heritage and Slovenian cultural traditions, and become acquainted with the values that are important for autonomous group work and for life in a plural and democratic society, such as: tolerance, openness, peacefulness, tolerantly listening to someone else's opinion, mutual co-operation, respect for the fundamental human rights.

Although pupils become acquainted with national or Slovenian history in the past, only one topic is devoted to the history of the independent Slovenia (in the broader topic Slovenes after World War II), namely the topic Slovenia's Gaining of Independence and Its International Recognition. The curriculum suggests historical field trips, field work and visits to museums in order to develop a proper attitude towards the evaluation and preservation of cultural heritage, and suggests an actualisation of historical findings so that the pupils can qualify themselves for social orientation in the present time (2003).

It is written in the draft of a new history curriculum from 2008 (in force from 2011/12 onwards) that the subject of history (in addition to civic education and ethics) should communicate to the pupils values important from the point of view of education for a democratic citizenship. Thus more of the main general goals relate to civic education. While deepening their knowledge of Slovenian history, the pupils develop a consciousness of national identity and nationality and, based on examples from local history, become aware of the importance of cultural heritage. The pupils develop a respectful and tolerant attitude towards different cultures, religions and races and are susceptible to the values

that are important for life in a contemporary democratic society, such as tolerance in mutual contacts and relations, respect for otherness and diversity, mutual co-operation and the respect for human rights. Likewise, pupils become prepared for independent and responsible conduct in their lives as individuals and as members of society (2008).

The new curriculum (2008) dedicates two topics to the independent Slovenia (in the compulsory broader topic of Slovenes in the 20th and 21st Centuries), in which pupils learn to explain the reasons for Slovenes deciding on their own state of Slovenia and describe the characteristics of the constitutional order and life in the Republic of Slovenia. The curriculum encourages teachers to actualise historical findings, since by doing so they train pupils to actively and critically comprehend the contemporary world, and co-operate with other institutions, e.g. museums, archives and libraries, so that pupils develop a positive attitude towards preserving and evaluating cultural heritage.

It has been established that the new curriculum of 2008 emphasises civic education much more and dedicates a great deal of the general goals or competence of the pupils precisely to education for a democratic citizenship. What is missed is more content on the political order or development of the state of the Republic of Slovenia after 1991.

Citizenship and civic education in general secondary school curricula

As in the elementary school curricula, the learning goals in the general secondary school curricula in the 1940s and 1950s related to the self-sacrificing building and defence of the homeland of Yugoslavia (1948, 1951, 1955, and in the 60s to the building of socialism and the national pride and consciousness of the cohesion with the Yugoslav peoples (1962a, 1962b, 1962c, 1964).

In the 70s, the learning goals emphasised patriotism even more, e.g. that students are 'raised in the spirit of patriotism, brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav community of nations and of the strengthening of the democratic relations of a self-governing socialist society' (1975, p. 27).

The curricula included content connected with the socio-political development and constitutional order of Yugoslavia, as in the elementary school curricula. The content was the following: Creation of the FPRY (Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia) - Basic Principles of the Constitution; Adoption of the Constitution of the FPRY (1948); Basic Principles of the Constitution of the FPRY (1951); The Constitution of 1946, The Constitutional Act of 1953; Fundamental Principles of the National and Social Order of the FPRY; Bodies of the National Authority, Administration and Justice, Federal and Republican People's Assemblies, Their Jurisdiction and Executive Bodies; Federal and Republican Administration; Justice Bodies, Public Prosecution Service, Public Attorney, Commune and Commune

Communities; People's Committees and the Principle of Self-Government 1955); Development of Socialist Democracy and Self-Governing Socialism in Yugoslavia; LCY, Workers' Self-Management Act, Constitutional Amendments (1975). No instructions concretely relating to citizenship were found in the above-mentioned curricula.

In the contemporary general secondary school curricula of 2008 in the Republic of Slovenia an important role is held by history in the shaping of Slovenian national consciousness and national identity, while European and individual identity is also emphasised. The select historical contents contribute to the understanding of and respect for tolerance, human rights, democratic values and cultural diversity (2008a, 2008b, 2008c).

An important role in the contemporary general secondary school curricula is held by goals relating to the development of relations, conduct or viewpoints of students, since these relate to civic education. On the one hand, they are connected with Slovenian history, e.g. students get to know the historical past and present of the Slovenian nation and its achievements and strengthen the national consciousness and the consciousness of nationality; they develop an individual, national and European identity and are aware of the importance of Slovenian, European and global cultural heritage. On the other hand, the learning goals relate to a responsible and respectful attitude demonstrated by the students towards the protection of the environment, cultural heritage, diversity and otherness of religions, cultures or nations. In general secondary schools, students learn to respect human rights, equality and democracy, to value democratic and responsible citizenship, and can condemn all crimes against humanity, e.g. genocides, holocaust, and other forms of mass infringement of human rights (2008a, 2008b, 2008c).

The curricula also suggest the development of key competence for lifelong learning, among which particularly the social and civic competence can be pointed out.

Social and civic competences can be developed and encouraged at history lessons in the following manner:

- 1. By generating knowledge of a multicultural European society and by teaching about its main social, economical and political milestones;*
- 2. By positioning the national identity within the common European identity;*
- 3. By developing cultural dialogue and considering and respecting different views and by defending our own views and arguments supporting them;*
- 5. By developing an environment for overcoming prejudices and stereotypes;*
- 6. By developing and encouraging a positive attitude towards democracy, the respect of human rights, equality and towards a responsible and critical citizenship;*

7. *By understanding the fundamental international documents that define and describe human and civil rights;*
8. *By learning about past and present events and trends in Slovenian, European and World history;*
9. *By understanding the goals of various social and political movements;*
10. *By understanding European integrations and structures of the European Union;*
11. *By understanding and respecting various faiths and ethnical groups;*
12. *By respecting democratic principles and exhibiting ones readiness to be part of the democratic parliamentary system. (History Curricula, 2011, p. 40).*

One key competence for lifelong learning is cultural consciousness and expression.

Cultural awarness and expression can be fostered during history lessons:

1. *By forming a perception about our local, national and European cultural heritage;*
2. *By encouraging a positive attitude towards our local, national and European cultural heritage;*
3. *By encouraging a positive attitude towards the importance of preserving and protecting our cultural heritage;*
4. *By encouraging respect for cultural diversity and inter-cultural dialogue. (History Curricula, 2011, p. 40).*

In the curricula for general (2008a), classical (2008b) and technical (2008c) secondary schools, two broader topics relating to civic education are compulsory, namely Development of Democracy and Development of the Slovenian Nation in the 20th Century.

The broader topic Development of Democracy includes the following contents: The Enlightenment Idea of the Three Branches of Authority and the Development of Democracy until the 20th Century: Antique Democracy, Enlightenment, Development in the 19th Century; Democratic Systems between the Wars in the 20th Century; Totalitarian Systems: Fascism, National Socialism, Bolshevism; The Spread of Democracy after the Fall of the Berlin Wall in Europe and the World; Difficulties Faced by the Democratic Order in the Contemporary World. In this topic, students compare different forms of democratic orders in the past and present, as well as the achievements in the development of democracy in individual periods; above all, they develop a positive attitude towards human rights, equality and democracy and towards intercultural dialogue and tolerance (2008a, 2008b, 2008c). In the compulsory broader topic Development of the Slovenian Nation in the 20th Century, students become acquainted with the situation of the Slovenian nation in the first and second Yugoslavia and during World War II. Contents relating to the Republic of Slovenia are Slovenia's gaining of

independence, international recognition and cohesion of Slovenia; Slovenes in the neighbouring countries, emigrants, migrant workers and minorities in Slovenia. In this topic, students learn about the factors leading to an independent state and its inclusion in European integration, and about the situation of the Slovenes in the neighbouring countries, of migrant workers, emigrants and minorities in the Republic of Slovenia, and develop a positive attitude towards Slovenian national identity and statehood (2008a, 2008b, 2008c).

The curriculum for general secondary schools also includes the optional broader topic entitled Civil Society Movements and Human Rights. In this topic, students prepare themselves for democratic citizenship with the help of various contents (Movements for Freedom and Equality in the 19th Century; Women's Suffrage and the Inclusion of Women in Political Life; Declaration on Human Rights; Examples of Human Rights Violation in the 20th Century; Civil Rights Movements; Student Movements; Peace Movements; Global Interdependence and Challenges of Human Rights in the Contemporary World), since these familiarise them with the characteristics of the first organised movements for human rights and women's rights, thus developing a positive attitude towards equality and tolerance on the one hand, while on the other hand they are able to condemn human rights violations (2008a, 2008b).

Recommendations in the general secondary school curricula advise teachers to include activities in history lessons that develop values characteristic of a plural and tolerant society, and to discuss different historical topics from a local, regional, national or European point of view (2008a, 2008b, 2008c).

It has been ascertained that the secondary school curricula consistently educate students for democratic citizenship, since, they emphasise democratic values (respect for cultural heritage, human rights, equality, democracy, different religions, cultures and communities, different views and interpretations, opinions and standpoints etc.).

Citizenship and civic education in secondary technical school curricula

Civic elements were found in a technical school curriculum from 1964 in the subject entitled History of the Workers' and Socialist Movement, in which teachers were to encourage students to become future active builders of a socialist society (1964). The learning goals in the 70s and 80s demanded that teachers prepared students for building and defending socialist self-government and for the economic and cultural progress of the socialist society in Slovenia and Yugoslavia (1977, 1979, 1986a, 1986b), as is the case in the elementary school and general secondary school curricula. Teachers had to educate secondary school students 'in Yugoslav socialist patriotism, socialist humanism, in the spirit of brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities,

in reciprocity, solidarity and equal co-operation between nations' (1979, pp. 145–146; 1986a, pp. 3.11/1 and 3.11/2; 1986b, p. 3.13/1). They also emphasised that students should be familiar with the historical roots of Slovenian national consciousness and of the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities (1979, 1986a, 1986b).

Teaching content relating to the organisation of the state of Yugoslavia were very few; only the curriculum of 1948, with the subject entitled History and Legislation, included content connected with the constitutional and government organisation of Yugoslavia (Supreme Federal Bodies of National Authority in the FPRY; Federal Bodies of State Administration; Bodies of the National Authorities of Administrative-Territorial Units; People's Courts; Relations between National Authorities and the Bodies of State Administration; Public Attorney). Instructions for carrying out lessons were also few. The instruction was found that students should develop abilities for active co-operation in all forms of self-government (1979, 1986b) and consult socio-political literature (1977).

It is characteristic of contemporary secondary technical school curricula in the Republic of Slovenia that they mostly include Slovenian history in the compulsory teaching content. Thus general goals relate to Slovenian history, namely the students get to know the roots of present-day Slovenia, of the European Union and the world, become qualified for evaluating Slovenian cultural heritage and develop a consciousness of Slovenian national identity. Also among the goals are those relating to civic education, namely that students develop a tolerant attitude towards contrary-minded individuals, towards the diversity of the cultural, ethnic and linguistic world, i.e. nations, races, religions and religious movements in different historical periods. The subject of history contributes to students being able to function as critical and active citizens after finishing school (2006, 2007).

Students become acquainted with the development of Slovenian national identity and the formation of the Slovenian state in two topics. In the topic Yugoslav Crisis and Slovenian Path to Independence, students learn about some of the most important events and individuals influencing the decision of Slovenes on independence, the reasons for constitutional amendments and the call for a plebiscite on the autonomy and independence of Slovenia, the reaction of the Yugoslav political and military top, the course of the war for Slovenia, the retreat of the Yugoslav army and the path to Slovenia's international recognition, the symbols of the Slovenian state and the holidays. In the topic Europe and the Republic of Slovenia from the Gaining of Independence to This Day, students become acquainted with the constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, the elections, the electoral system and party life, the efforts of the Republic of Slovenia for a faster economic and cultural development (denationalisation, privatisation, entrepreneurship etc.), its inclusion in the European Union and NATO, and the life of the people in the Republic of Slovenia from the gaining of independence to this day (2006, 2007).

It has been established that the contemporary secondary technical school curricula place more emphasis on a review of Slovenian history, on Slovenia's gaining of independence and the development of Slovenia to this very day. The curricula also place special emphasis on goals in which the students gain and develop a positive attitude towards national identity, different nations and cultures and cultural heritage, which is highly appropriate for the 21st century.

Conclusion and suggestions

After 1945, history curricula included elements of citizenship that related to the political and social organisation of Yugoslavia at that time. At first, they related to the building and defence of the common homeland of Yugoslavia, and later to the building and defence of the socialist order of Yugoslavia. They emphasised the education of young people for the brotherhood and unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia, with Yugoslav identity in the forefront.

Before 1990, teaching content related to the constitutional and political organisation of Yugoslavia and particularly to the development of self-governing socialism. More goals, contents and instructions were present in elementary school, where teachers had to implement the curricula in such a way as to raise the young people in the so-called spirit of patriotism, love of Yugoslavia/homeland and socialism. By the end of the 70s, and particularly in the 80s, learning goals already appear that are directed towards developing a Slovenian national consciousness, in addition to Yugoslav consciousness or the consciousness of Yugoslav nations and different nationalities.

As in any other subject, the subject of history should also teach young people '(self-) responsible learning, tolerance, creative establishment of democratic social relations and respect for general civilisation values of (European) society, such as solidarity, human dignity, plural democracy, respect for human rights' (Židan, 2007, p. 16). In Slovenia, the curricula before 1990 had not approached this. A new approach to civic education was executed in the curricula published in independent Slovenia or after 1991.

Therefore the analysis of contemporary Slovenian history curricula in the Republic of Slovenia has shown that the history curricula include highly appropriate education for democratic citizenship and elements of civic education, which are discernible mostly from the general learning goals and special civic competence. The social and civic competence can be developed in history lessons in several ways: by teachers encouraging intercultural dialogue and tolerance, the consideration of and respect for different views and standpoints, the overcoming of prejudice and stereotypes, a positive attitude towards democracy, human rights and equality, responsible and critical citizenship, understanding of and respect for different religions and ethnic groups and democratic principles etc. Students

can develop a cultural consciousness with the help of teachers encouraging a positive attitude towards the preservation and protection of local, national and European cultural heritage and the respect for cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. However, more emphasis should be placed on the development of the independent state of the Republic of Slovenia from 1991 until today, particularly in elementary and secondary schools, since a detailed presentation of the development of independent Slovenia is only included in secondary technical school curricula.

We suggest that civic education begins with the domestic environment, the school environment or local history and consequently with activity in the home town, which should spread to the broader community or the state. Audigier states that a community always exists on two levels; namely, on the local level there is the place or town where a person lives and to which he or she belongs, while the other level is the level of the state (2002, p. 16).

Justin strives for civic education to be directed more towards the study of one's local community, in which activities for the young are directly accessible.

On this level they can become acquainted with the life stories of concrete people and understand the interests of individuals and the motives for political, voluntary, cultural, humanitarian and environmental action (Justin, 2006, p. 90).

Potočnik suggests that contemporary curricula should devote more attention to cultural heritage or 'to the habits, customs, holidays representing the cultural and spiritual tradition of the nation, while at the same time expressing the spiritual state and development of humans in the past and today' (2009, p. 146). To this we add that pupils, particularly in elementary school, should first get to know the heritage of their home town or narrower region, and later of the state.

History curricula could include the study of different elements through which pupils would learn of the rights and duties of people in the past, of how people and the young were included in the work of the local community, would recognise social, cultural, religious and other diversity, first in their own environment and later show respect, value and tolerance to the broader environment and the state as well.

Preparation for active citizenship is already necessary in school, which is why active activities and assignments can be applied more in the subject of history. The existing elementary school curriculum of 2003 suggests independent work with historical sources and self-education, historical field trips, field work, visits to museums; the new curriculum of 2008 recommends project work, research work,

field work, discovery learning, cooperative learning, role playing and simulations, independent work with different sources (written, pictorial, oral and ICT), visits to museums, archives and libraries. All general secondary school curricula from 2008 suggest different activities that develop inclination to the values that are characteristic of a plural and tolerant concept of history lessons and of democratic societies. They recommend the use of historical sources and different forms of communication (oral or written, debate techniques) or suggest the use of more active learning methods in secondary school. Secondary technical school history curricula from 2006 and 2007 suggest individual home work, project work, role playing, cooperative learning and work, visits to museums, local historical features and historic centres.

Turnšek Hančič also believes that in order to encourage active citizenship teachers should introduce into schools critical discussion, listening to contrary-minded individuals, intercultural dialogue and experiential learning methods, with which pupils would personally go through a new experience and connect it with life (2010, pp. 246-247).

According to Sardoč, civic education should lead young people towards political literacy (encourage them to know and respect cultural and historical heritage), towards critical thinking and the development of certain standpoints and values (it would encourage young people to gain the skills that are necessary for active inclusion in public life and would develop respect for oneself and others with the aim of achieving greater mutual understanding) and towards active participation in society (it would enable young people to become included more in the community in a broader sense, i.e. at an international, national, local and school level) (Sardoč, 2005, p. 18).

Within the subject of history, civic education should, on the one hand, prepare young people for citizenship, communicate knowledge of national political institutions, shape a national identity, contribute to the familiarisation with the rights and duties in the state and with its laws, and prepare young people for relations in the class, school, job etc. On the other hand, it should demonstrate positive values and the positive actions of humans in the past and present and more actively include pupils and students in the gaining of knowledge and skills (e.g. team work, voluntary research work, voluntary help in the subject of history for pupils with special needs, extracurricular activity etc.), thus raising pupils and students into future active democratic citizens.

Correspondence

daniijela.trskan@guest.arnes.si

Faculty of Arts, Askerceva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana,

References

- Audigier, F. (2002) The Basic Notions and the Key Competence of Education for Democratic Citizenship - Osnovni pojmi in ključne kompetence izobraževanja za demokratično državljanstvo Ljubljana, Informacijsko dokumentacijski center Sveta Evrope pri NUK: i2. History Curricula for Grammar Schools – Abstract.
[http://www.zrss.si/pdf/ZGO_History%20Curricula%20for%20Grammar%20Schools%20\(Abtract\).pdf](http://www.zrss.si/pdf/ZGO_History%20Curricula%20for%20Grammar%20Schools%20(Abtract).pdf) [26. 6. 2011].
- Justin, J. (2006) 'Civic Education: Slovenia and Europe - Državljska vzgoja: Slovenija in Evropa', in Barle Lahkota, A. et al. (eds.) Civic and Homeland Education: journal - Državljska in domovinska vzgoja: zbornik Slovenska Bistrica, Beja, pp. 90–99.
- Krajc, G. et al. (2010) EU in the School. Teachers' Manual on the European Union with Worksheets - EU v šoli. Priročnik za učitelje o Evropski uniji z delovnimi listi Ljubljana, Rokus Klett.
- Potočnik, D. (2009) History, New Teacher of Life - Zgodovina, učiteljica življenja Maribor, Založba Pivec.
- Rustja, E. (2006) 'New Role of History, Textbooks and Civic Education: Example of Textbooks for the 2nd Year of Secondary School - Nova vloga zgodovine, učbeniki in državljanska vzgoja: primer učbenikov za 2. letnik gimnazij', in Barle Lahkota, A. et al. (eds.) Civic and Homeland Education: journal - Državljska in domovinska vzgoja: zbornik Slovenska Bistrica, Beja, pp. 128–141.
- Sardoč, M. (2005) Civic Education in Europe: Challenges, Questions and Dilemmas - Državljska vzgoja v Evropi: izzivi, vprašanja in dileme. Državljska vzgoja v Evropi. Eurydice, informacijsko omrežje o izobraževanju v Evropi Ljubljana, Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport, pp. 3–9.
- Sardoč, M. (2006) 'Citizenship and Civic Education - Državljanstvo in državljanska vzgoja', in Barle Lahkota, A. et al. (eds.) Civic and Homeland Education: journal - Državljska in domovinska vzgoja: zbornik Slovenska Bistrica, Beja, pp. 100–107.
- Turnšek Hančič, M. (2010) 'The Public, Globalisation and Education - Javnost, globalizacija in izobraževanje', in Pikalo, Jernej (ed.) Nova državljanstva v dobi globalizacije Ljubljana, Založba Sophia, pp. 229–251.
- Vodopivec, P. (2006) 'History is Immanently a Civic Subject - Zgodovina je imanentno državljanski predmet', in Barle Lahkota, A. et al. (eds.) Civic and Homeland Education: journal - Državljska in domovinska vzgoja: zbornik Slovenska Bistrica, Beja, pp. 38–47.
- Žalec, B. (2006) 'Importance of Homeland Education - Pomen domovinske edukacije', in Barle Lahkota, A. et al. (eds.) Civic and Homeland Education: journal - Državljska in domovinska vzgoja: zbornik Slovenska Bistrica, Beja, 2006, pp. 70–81.
- Židan, A. (2007) Education for European Democracy - Vzgoja za evropsko demokracijo Ljubljana, Fakulteta za družbene vede.

List of elementary school curricula:

- 1946a: Curriculum for the First Four Classes in the Primary School - Učni načrt za prve štiri razrede osnovnih šol (1946) Ljubljana, DZS.
- 1946b: Curriculum for the First Four Classes in the Primary School 1947/48 - Učni načrt za prve štiri razrede osnovne šole za šolsko leto 1947/48; Curriculum for Upper Elementary Schools - Učni načrt za višje razrede osnovne šole za šolsko leto 1947/48. Vestnik Ministrstva za prosveto LR Slovenije, letnik II, Priloga 1. k 11. številki z dne 28. 8. 1947, št. 11.
- 1948a: Curriculum for Primary Schools, Lower and Upper Elementary Schools - Učni načrt za osnovne šole, nižje razrede sedemletk in višje osnovne šole (1948) Ljubljana, Ministrstvo za prosveto LRS.
- 1948b: Curriculum for General Secondary schools, Lower General Secondary Schools and Upper Elementary Schools - Učni načrt za gimnazije, nižje gimnazije in višje razrede sedemletk (1948) Ljubljana, Ministrstvo za prosveto LR Slovenije.
- 1950: Curriculum for Primary Schools - Učni načrt za osnovne šole (1950) Ljubljana, DZS.
- 1959: Syllabus and Curriculum for Elementary Schools - Predmetnik in učni načrt za osnovne šole. Objave Sveta za šolstvo LRS – Sveta za kulturo in prosveto LRS – Sveta za znanost LRS – Zavoda za proučevanje šolstva LRS. Posebna izdaja, avgusta 1959, II.
- 1960: Syllabus and Curriculum for the 6th, 7th and 8th Classes of Elementary Schools in Slovenia - Predmetnik in učni načrt za VI., VII. in VIII. razred osnovne šole v LR Sloveniji. Objave Sveta za šolstvo LRS – Sveta za kulturo in prosveto LRS – Sveta za znanost LRS – Zavoda za proučevanje šolstva LRS, letnik XI, avgusta 1960, št. 4.
- 1962: Syllabus and Curriculum for Elementary Schools - Predmetnik in učni načrt za osnovne šole (1962) Ljubljana, DZS.
- 1966: Introduction to the Syllabus and Curriculum. Purpose and Tasks of Elementary School - Uvod k predmetniku in učnemu načrtu za osnovne šole. Smoter in naloge osnovne šole. Predmetnik in učni načrt za osnovno šolo. Objave. Republiški sekretariat za prosveto in kulturo SRS, leto XVII, 15. 6. 1966, št. 2, 3, 4, 5.
- 1969: Syllabus and Curriculum for Elementary School - Predmetnik in učni načrt za osnovno šolo. Ponatis iz objav republiškega sekretariata za prosveto in kulturo 15. 6. 1966, št. 2, 3, 4, 5. Ljubljana: Prosvetni delavec, 1969.
- 1973: Elementary School. Content of Educational Work - Osnovna šola. Vsebina vzgojno-izobraževalnega dela (1973) Ljubljana, Zavod za šolstvo SR Slovenije.
- 1975: Elementary School. Content of Educational Work - Osnovna šola. Vsebina vzgojno-izobraževalnega dela. 6. zvezek (1975) Ljubljana, Zavod SRS za šolstvo.
- 1979: Elementary School. Content of Educational Work - Osnovna šola. Vsebina vzgojno-izobraževalnega dela (1979) Ljubljana, Zavod SRS za šolstvo.
- 1983a: Syllabus and Curriculum for Elementary Schools - Predmetnik in učni načrt osnovne šole (1983) Ljubljana, Zavod SRS za šolstvo.

- 1983b: Obligatory Syllabus and Curriculum for Elementary School - Obvezni predmetnik in učni načrt osnovne šole (1983) Ljubljana, Zavod SR Slovenije za šolstvo.
- 1984: Programme of the Life and Work of Elementary School - Program življenja in dela osnovne šole (1984) 3. zvezek. Družbenoekonomsko vzgojno izobraževalno področje. Ljubljana, Zavod SRS za šolstvo.
- 2003: History - Zgodovina (2003) Učni načrt: program osnovnošolskega izobraževanja. Ljubljana, Ministrstvo za šolstvo, znanost in šport, Zavod RS za šolstvo. http://www.mss.gov.si/fileadmin/mss.gov.si/pageuploads/podrocje/os/devetletka/predmeti_obvezni/Zgodovina [8. 8. 2007].
- 2008: History - Zgodovina (2008). Učni načrt. Osnovna šola. 6. razred: 35 ur, 7. razred: 70 ur, 8. razred: 70 ur, 9. razred: 64 ur. Sprejeto na 114. seji Strokovnega sveta RS za splošno izobraževanje 12. 6. 2008. http://www.zrss.si/doc/ZGO_UN_ZGODOVINA_OS%20doc%20popravki.doc, pp. 26. [24. 1. 2009].

List of general secondary school curricula:

- 1948: Curriculum for General Secondary Schools, Lower General Secondary Schools and Upper Elementary Schools - Učni načrt za gimnazije, nižje gimnazije in višje razrede sedemletk (1948) Ljubljana, Ministrstvo za prosveto LR Slovenije.
- 1951: Curriculum for Four Classes of Lower General Secondary School - Učni načrt za štirirazredno nižjo gimnazijo (1951) Ljubljana, DZS.
- 1955: Curriculum for Upper General and Classical Secondary Schools - Učni načrt za višje razrede gimnazij in klasičnih gimnazij. Začasni pravilnik o maturi (1955) Ljubljana, DZS.
- 1962a: General Secondary School. Material for Compiling the Syllabus and Curriculum - Gimnazija. Gradivo za sestavo predmetnika in učnega načrta (1962) Ljubljana, Zavod za napredek šolstva LRS.
- 1962b: Minimum Syllabus Requirements for the General Secondary School Curriculum - Minimalni pogoji predmetnika za učni načrt gimnazije (1962) Ljubljana, Zavod za napredek šolstva. LRS. Ljubljana.
- 1962c: Minimum Scope of the Subject Matter for General Secondary School Curricula - Minimalni obseg snovi za gimnazijske učne načrte. Objave Sveta za šolstvo LRS, Sveta LRS za strokovno izobraževanje, Sveta za kulturo in prosveto LRS, Sveta za znanost LRS, Zavoda za napredek šolstva LRS, Zavoda LRS za strokovno izobraževanje, leto XIII, v novembru 1962, št. 4, IV., pp. 82–98.
- 1964: General Secondary School. Material for Compiling the Syllabus and Curriculum - Gimnazija. Gradivo za sestavo predmetnika in učnega načrta (1964) Ljubljana, DZS.

- 1975: General Secondary School. Syllabus and Currilucum - Gimnazija. Predmetnik in učni načrt (1975) Ljubljana, Zavod SR Slovenije za šolstvo.
- 2008a: General Secondary School - Splošna gimnazija (2008) Zgodovina. Učni načrt. Obvezni predmet (280 ur). Sprejeto na 110. seji Strokovnega sveta RS za splošno izobraževanje 14. 2. 2008. http://portal.mss.edus.si/msswww/programi2008/programi/media/pdf/ucni_nacrti/UN_ZGODOVINA_280_UR_gimn.pdf [26. 9. 2008].
- 2008b: Classical Secondary School - Klasična gimnazija (2008) Zgodovina. Učni načrt. Obvezni predmet (350 ur). Sprejeto na 111. seji Strokovnega sveta RS za splošno izobraževanje 28. 2. 2008. http://portal.mss.edus.si/msswww/programi2008/programi/media/pdf/ucni_nacrti/UN_ZGO_KLASICNA_GIMNAZIJA_350_ur_gimn.pdf [26. 9. 2008].
- 2008c: Technical Secondary School - Strokovna gimnazija (2008) Zgodovina. Učni načrt. Obvezni predmet (210 ur). Sprejeto na 111. seji Strokovnega sveta RS za splošno izobraževanje 28. 2. 2008. http://portal.mss.edus.si/msswww/programi2008/programi/media/pdf/ucni_nacrti/UN_ZGO_210_ur_strok_gimn.pdf [26. 9. 2008].

List of secondary technical school curricula:

- 1948: Temporary Curriculum - Začasni učni načrt za strokovne nadaljevalne šole. (1948). Ljubljana, Komite za srednje in nižje strokovno šolstvo pri vladi LRS.
- 1964: Minimum Scope of the Subject Matter - Minimalni učni načrt za splošnoizobraževalne predmete v tistih vajenskih, industrijskih in drugih šolah s praktičnim poukom, ki se preosnavljajo v poklicne šole. Objave. Republiški sekretariat za šolstvo, leto XV, v februarju 1964, št. 1, IV.
- 1977: Common Programme Basis in Career-Oriented Education - Skupna programska osnova v usmerjenem izobraževanju. Predmetnik in učni načrti (delovni osnutek) (1977) Ljubljana, Zavod SR Slovenije za šolstvo.
- 1979: Common Programme Basis in Career-Oriented Education - Skupna vzgojnoizobrazbena osnova v usmerjenem izobraževanju (1979) Ljubljana: Zavod SR Slovenije za šolstvo.
- 1986a: Educational Programme of Secondary Education. Sociolinguistic Activity - Vzgojno-izobraževalni program srednjega izobraževanja. Družboslovno-jezikovna dejavnost SR (94)/86 (1986) Ljubljana, Zavod SR Slovenije za šolstvo.
- 1986b: Educational Programme of Secondary Education. Natural Science-Mathematical Activity - Vzgojno-izobraževalni program srednjega izobraževanja. Naravoslovno-matematična dejavnost. SR (95)/86 (1986) Ljubljana, Zavod SR Slovenije za šolstvo.
- 2006: History - Zgodovina (2006) Srednje strokovno izobraževanje, Tehnik mehatronike, tehnik oblikovanja, Katalog znanja, 68 ur. Katalog znanja je določil Strokovni svet RS za splošno izobraževanje na 92. seji dne 22. 6. 2006. http://portal.mss.edus.si/msswww/programi2008/programi/novikZ/KZ_SSI_ZGO_68_ur.htm [24. 1. 2009].

2007: History - Zgodovina (2007) Srednje strokovno izobraževanje (SSI), poklicno-tehniško izobraževanje (PTI), Katalog znanja, 103 ure. Določil Strokovni svet Republike Slovenije za splošno izobraževanje na 99. seji dne 15. 2. 2007. http://portal.mss.edus.si/msswww/programi2008/programi/drugi_del/SSI/KZ-IK/kz_zgodovina_ssi_in_pti_103_126.doc [24. 1. 2009].

'THEY HAVE COME TO DIFFERING OPINIONS BECAUSE OF THEIR DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS': DEVELOPING 16-19 YEAR-OLD ENGLISH STUDENTS' UNDERSTANDINGS OF HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION THROUGH ON-LINE INTER-INSTITUTIONAL DISCUSSION

Arthur Chapman, Edge Hill University, Ormskirk, England

.....

Abstract

There is widespread agreement among history educators that history education should aim to help students understand and explore multiple perspectives on the past. However, as international research and theorizing indicates, understanding historical interpretations and accounts can present significant conceptual challenges for history students. This paper draws on data sets developed through a collaborative online project involving 16-19 year old history students, academic historians and an education academic in discussion about historical interpretations, in order to explore empirical questions about how these students conceptualized historical interpretations and about the extent to which student thinking changed during these discussions. The paper explores the impact that challenging historical tasks and questioning strategies and online interaction with expert historical thinkers can have in developing student thinking and reflects on the relevance of this project to broader questions relating to inter-sector and inter-institutional collaboration.

Keywords

Historical interpretation, Historical accounts, Online discussion, Inter-institutional collaboration, Inter-sector collaboration

Introduction

The paper addresses two issues of importance in history education: first, the pedagogy of historical interpretations and accounts, and, second, the development of collaborative links between history in schools and colleges and history in universities.¹

Learning about historical interpretations and accounts is acknowledged to be a challenging area of historical pedagogy and practice (Ofsted, 2004; Kitson, Husbands & Steward, 2011). This paper aims to contribute to existing research and pedagogic literature focused on understanding and developing pupil thinking in this area of historical learning, by exploring the impacts of an online collaborative project – the History Virtual Academy (HVA) - that sought to develop 16-19 history students thinking about historical interpretations and accounts.

The value of developing subject disciplinary links between schools and colleges and universities is frequently acknowledged (for example, Derham and Worton, 2010) and, whilst concerns have been expressed about a widening breach between school and college and university history (Booth, 20005; IHR, 2005), there are indications that it is becoming easier to bridge the gap (Lavender, 2010) and there is an increasing body of practical experience of doing so in innovative ways (for example, YHW & HC, 2012). This paper aims to add to knowledge about how inter-sector links can be developed, through the description and dissemination of a successful model, and to add to knowledge about the impacts that inter-sector and inter-institutional links can have, through an analysis of change in student posts over the course of the 2008 and 2009 HVA discussions.²

The History Virtual Academy project

The History Virtual Academy project (HVA) is a research and knowledge exchange project that has been through three iterations since 2008 and that is on-going.³ The 2008/9 HVA was 'virtual' in the sense that it took place entirely online, through discussion boards embedded in university virtual learning environments, and it was an 'academy' in the senses, first, that it aimed to develop students' understanding of an academic discipline and, second, that it involved interaction between school and college history students and academics working in universities.

In 2008 the project involved fifteen students attending one school and one college, two historians and one education academic, and was delivered through the University of Cumbria's Blackboard virtual learning environment. In 2009 the project involved 72 students in one school and two colleges, two historians and one education academic, and was delivered through the Institute of Education, University of London's Blackboard Virtual Learning Environment. The students involved in both academies were all in the final stages of their secondary education and the majority of the

¹ An earlier version of this paper originated as a keynote presentation to the Lebanese Association for Educational Studies (LAES) conference, Learning and teaching history: Lessons from and for Lebanon in March 2011 published in LAES conference proceedings (Chapman, 2012(b)). I am grateful to the LAES for permission to reproduce material from that paper here. I would also like to thank Dr Katharine Burn, Professor Eric Evans, Lukas Perikleous and Dr Robert Poole for their comments on drafts of the LAES paper.

² See Chapman, 2012(a) for an account of two other examples of inter-institutional and inter-sector collaboration

³ The 2008 and 2009 iterations of the HVA were enabled by a Higher Education Academy (HEA) Subject Centre for History, Classics and Archaeology Teaching Development Grant and the 2011 iteration was enabled by support from the HEA History Subject Centre and Edge Hill University. An unfunded school-based iteration of the HVA is currently in process and further iterations of the HVA are planned, as part of a wider Virtual Academies research programme, focused on a number of subject disciplines, currently in development at Edge Hill University. I would like to take this opportunity to thank both the funders of the HVAs in 2008-11 and the participants in the iterations of the HVA analysed in this paper: Katy Allen, Dr Jane Facey and Judith Smith, and their students, and Professor Eric Evans and Dr Robert Poole.

students were 17-19 years of age. All the students who took part in 2008 HVA and the majority of the students who took part in the 2009 HVA were academic 'high achievers' in the final year of their studies who were preparing for an Advanced Extension examination in history and who were studying history at Advanced Level.

The project had a number of aims including the following:

- to break down barriers between school history and university history and to promote dialogue between teachers, academic historians and history education academics;
- to provide opportunities for students to learn about historical interpretation through online interaction with academic historians;
- to provide opportunities for students in different institutions to discuss and debate historical interpretation with each other; and
- to generate research data sets that could be used to explore a number of questions, such as, centrally, what can be learned from these processes about student thinking about interpretations questions and about how student thinking can be developed and advanced.

A History Subject Centre report on the 2008 and 2009 HVAs, presenting data on student and teacher perceptions of the project and reporting a preliminary analysis of a small sample of the student data, a paper analysing a small sample of 2009 HVA data in the context of findings of an earlier study and a paper, drawing on the data analysis presented here and on data relating to two other inter-institutional collaborations, have already been published (Chapman, 2009(a), 2011(d) and 2012(a)), and a book chapter, exploring how discussion boards can be used to develop student thinking, is in press (Chapman, 2012(c))⁴. This paper presents an analysis of aspects of the entire 2008/9 data sets relating to students' understandings of why conflicts of historical interpretation arise.

Theoretical Contexts: Understanding historical interpretation⁵

Multiple and often conflicting representations of the past are a persistent feature of contemporary national and global politics and culture (Samuel, 1994; Lowenthal, 1985 and 1998; Wertsch, 2002; Megill, 2007; Olick, et al., 2011) and there is widespread agreement that history education should aim to equip pupils with the conceptual tools and understandings that they will need to make sense of a multiply-storied and historied world (Kitson, Husbands and Steward, 2011; Stradling, 2003; Wineburg, 2007).

⁴ A Subject Centre report analysing aspects of the 2011 HVA is also available (Chapman, Elliott & Poole, 2012) and systematic analysis of the 2011 data sets is in process.

⁵ The text that follows in this section draws heavily on Chapman, 2009(b), 2011(a), 2011(d)-(e), and, in particular, on Chapman 2011(c), pp.97-99.

Research findings from a number of countries suggest that students often struggle to make sense of historical interpretations and that student preconceptions about the nature of knowledge can impede the development of their historical understanding (for example, Barca, 2005; Boix Mansilla, 2005; Gago, 2005; Hsiao, 2005; Lee, 1997, 1998, 2001 and 2005; Lee & Shemilt, 2003 and 2004; Maggioni, Alexander & VanSledright, 2004; Maggioni & VanSledright, 2009; VanSledright, 2011). Research suggests that students often hold tacit assumptions about how historical knowledge is produced, based on everyday ways of knowing and that these assumptions are likely to impede the development of their understanding of historical interpretation (Lee 1997, 1998, 2001; Lee & Shemilt, 2004). Students often assume, for example, that the past has a fixed meaning, that historical interpretations should mirror this fixed meaning, and, therefore, that there ought, in principle, to be a singular and definitive account of the past (Lee & Shemilt, 2004; Shemilt, 2000). Students who think in these ways tend to explain variation in interpretation in terms of subjectivity and 'bias' obstructing the process of knowing the past which they tend, also, to understand in terms of every day epistemologies modeled on direct experience⁶ and witness reports on experience. Consider the following example, from an interview with a 17 year old English student in which the student was asked to explain why differing interpretations of the past arise:

Historians... weren't around at the time... and they are basing what they do know on sources that have been written by past people who were around at the time and it is very debatable... how reliable they are and whether it is totally true or not and a historian can easily misinterpret something that is false to be true.... (Chapman, 2009(b), p.174)

For this student historians begin at a disadvantage – they 'weren't around at the time' and cannot have recourse to their own direct experience to ground knowledge claims about the past. Historians have, as a result, to rely on the testimony of those who 'were around' and had the opportunity to directly experience the past; however, such testimony is often unreliable – witnesses may not report their experiences veridically and historians may, therefore, be misled by false or partial reports: it is unsurprising, therefore, to find multiple accounts of the past since multiple errors about the past are possible and, indeed, on this student's account of historical epistemology, inevitable. For this student, there is 'a' truth, in principle, and historians ought, if witnesses could be relied upon, to be able to piece it together by re-assembling it from the fragments contained in contemporary reports based on experience; plural interpretations are a result of flaws in this process linked to the fact that some witnesses are unreliable in ways that we cannot fully know and to the fact that different historians will assess the reliability of witnesses differently.

⁶ Atkinson refers to these epistemic assumptions as the 'direct observation paradigm' (1978).

Students often model subjectivity and bias as operating at the level of historical writing also, as in the following example, from an 18 year old English student's response to a written task that asked the student to explain why historical accounts might vary:

History is retrospective, we rely on reports and accounts from which we may interpret. It is often difficult to ascertain an author's views or obtain information about his social standing or political ideas. This means that an historical event or period often has differing accounts due to bias, which could be due to political views, personal experience or any number of other reasons. This means that historians today are faced with differing interpretations of the same account and so they must decide which is to be believed. But even modern historians are subject to bias over certain periods or events which may lead to different interpretations from different historians. (Chapman, 2009(b), p.178)

For this student, when we seek to construct knowledge of the past we face the testimony problem that has just been described: historians must 'rely on reports' and 'must decide which' report 'is to be believed', and historians often lack the ability to determine which, if any, witness is in fact credible. The problem of witness bias is redoubled, however, since, for this student, historians are just as prone to distort what they see or hear as witnesses are and historians are themselves subjective and biased, and cannot necessarily be relied upon.

The models of historical knowing implied by the examples of student thinking just cited undoubtedly have value – political and other biases certainly do have an impact on the ways in which the past is understood and represented (Evans, 1997). The underlying epistemology is, nevertheless, naïve and does not capture how historians construct knowledge. Generally speaking, historians do not construct accounts of the past by collating together 'true' statements excerpted from witness testimony and you cannot write history simply by 'cutting and pasting'.

These student accounts also omit key features of historical knowing. Historians actively construct knowledge claims about the past, and, indeed, actively construct the past objects that they debate (Goldstein, 1976 and 1996), by interrogating and interpreting the traces of the past that remain in the present (Collingwood 1994; Megill, 2007). The questions that historians ask shape the claims that historians make about the past and historians read testimony and other forms of source material inferentially, contextually and subtextually, as much as they read them literally (Wineburg, 1991), and they ask questions of and about their sources that often could not have been anticipated, let alone answered, by the people who created them (Ginzburg, 1999 & 2011).

Developing an adequate understanding of historical knowledge creation involves understanding that history is about the active interrogation of the remains of the past by historians and that history involves the active construction of knowledge claims about the past through historical argument about the meanings of traces from the past that remain in the present. Clearly, on this account, the outcomes of historical interrogation will be profoundly shaped by the ideas and presuppositions that historians start out with – these ideas and preconceptions, after all, shape the questions that historians ask, the issues that they consider significant, and so on. However, historical practice is not a one way street and understanding the traces of the past involves dialogue and feedback loops: historians may start out with one question, for example, and then find that the source materials that they interrogate cause them to revise that question and begin again with a modified one (Megill, 2007).

Table 1 identifies some of the factors that are likely to be in play when historians set out to interpret the past, some of which are likely to play a part in any attempt to understand the past.

TABLE 1. Factors affecting historical interpretations of the traces of the past⁷

The claims that historical interpretations advance about the past are shaped by a number of factors, including the following:

- historians' orientation towards the past and understanding of what history is;
- historians' purposes in engaging with the past;
- historians' awareness and identification of traces of the past;
- historians' decisions about which traces have relevance to the issues they are interested in;
- the questions that historians ask of the traces that they select for analysis;
- the assumptions, concepts and methods that historians deploy as they interrogate and interpret these traces;
- the forms in which historians express the answers to their questions.

As Table 1 indicates, interpreting the traces of the past is a complex process and one that is not sufficiently explained by the subjectivity or bias of historians. Asking questions and answering them by conducting research involves making decisions. Factors such as subjectivity or bias can certainly shape decisions, however, no matter how 'biased' or 'unbiased' an historian may be, there are still decisions to be made and one's understanding of research and knowledge construction is as sophisticated as one's understanding of those decisions (Chapman, 2011). Although decisions can be made in subjective and motivated ways, to explain historical practice in terms of subjectivity is to miss a key point about it: historical knowledge

⁷ Adapted from Chapman (2011(a), p.98).

is constructed by communities with norms of practice and not by individuals (Grafton, 2003; Megill, 2007) and historical knowledge claims are assessed in communities of practice against norms of practice and succeed or fail to the extent to which they conform to these norms (Evans, 2001).

The History Virtual Academy project 2007-2009

A summary of the HVA structures and tasks⁸

The 2008 HVA set out to develop and explore student thinking about historical interpretation by asking students:

- to explain why historical interpretations vary; and
- to evaluate contrasting historical interpretations.

These issues were addressed by presenting students with two contrasting accounts of a group of English religious radicals from the mid-seventeenth century (the Ranters)⁹. It was not possible to find a common topic that students in different institutions had studied and this topic was chosen because none of the students had studied it. The texts had been used in an earlier study (Chapman, 2009(b)) and they were chosen because they presented the students with a dramatic historical disagreement in which one historian described and characterised a group (the Ranters) that the other historian dismissed as a 'myth'¹⁰. The students were asked to answer two questions: to explain why this disagreement may have arisen and to evaluate the conflicting interpretations. The explanatory question is relevant here and was phrased as follows:

How might you explain the fact that these historians say such different things about the Ranters?

Students were asked to answer these questions, to give feedback to each other online and then to rewrite their answers in the light of the feedback that they had received from their peers, from the discussion moderator and from two academic historians. Individual students from different institutions were organised into pairs during this exercise and asked to provide feedback to each other. The exercise took place between March and April 2008 and lasted approximately four weeks.

The 2009 virtual academy sought to build upon and improve the structure developed in 2008 and three revisions were made in the 2009 HVA¹¹. First, students in each institution worked in groups rather than individually and ten log-ons were allocated to each of the three participating institutions.

⁸ The description of the 2008 and 2009 HVAs in this section is necessarily brief. The structure and organization of these exercises is explained fully in Chapman, 2009(a), at pp.11-33.

⁹ These texts are available in Chapman, 2009(a) at pages 84-86.

¹⁰ The task was first used in Chapman, 2009(b).

¹¹ An explanation for these changes is provided at Chapman, 2009(a), pp.17-19.

Second, at the beginning off the exercise, the students were asked to answer generic questions about how they might explain historical disagreements and how they might evaluate conflicting accounts of the past. The explanatory question is relevant here and was phrased as follows:

Why do historians often come to differing conclusions about the past?

Students were then presented with historical documents relating to the Ranters and asked to debate the conclusions that could reasonably be drawn about this group on the basis of the documents. Finally, the students were presented with the two conflicting accounts that had been used in 2008 and were asked to answer the questions that had been used in 2008 in slightly modified form. Students were provided with academic and moderator feedback on their answers to the questions at a number of stages during the academy (see Table 2) and the students were also asked to comment on each other’s work. The students were organised into two discussion groups and half the students from each institution were allocated to each of discussion groups. The 2009 academy ran for around five weeks in February and March 2009.

The 2008 and 2009 HVA structures are outlined and compared in in (TABLE 2.)

HVA Structure 2008		HVA Structure 2009	
HVA Stage	Explanation	HVA Stage	Explanation
1. Historiography Task (1)	Students were asked to read two contrasting historical accounts and to answer two questions by making one post in answer to each question.	1. Historiography task (1)	Students were asked to answer two general questions about variation in historical interpretation and to post replies to posts made by other student groups.
2. Academic feedback	Students received individual feedback on each question from participating academic historians.	2. Academic feedback	Group feedback was posted by the historians on both questions.
3. Moderator feedback	The moderator posted generic feedback on both questions.	3. Document task	A collection of documents was posted to the VLE and students were asked to answer one question about the documents and to feedback on other students’ posts.
4. Peer feedback	Students were asked to make one post giving feedback to another student on their posts from Stage 1.	4. Moderator feedback (midway through stage 3)	Generic moderator feedback was posted to both groups on both questions.
5. Historiography Task (2)	Students were asked to revisit their original posts and re-post answers to the two questions in the light of the feedback that they had received from each other and from academics and taking account of the guidance in the moderator feedback.	5. Historiography Task (1)	As in 2008, students were asked to read two contrasting historical accounts, to answer two questions by making one post in answer to each question and to post replies to other student groups. The 2008 accounts were re-used as were the 2008 questions, in modified form.
6. Academic feedback	Students received summative individual feedback on each question from the historians.	6. Moderator feedback (midway through stage 5)	Generic moderator feedback was posted to both groups on both questions.
		7. Academic feedback	Summative group feedback on both questions was posted by the historians.

TABLE 2. The 2008 and 2009 History Virtual Academy (HVA) structures ¹²

¹² This table is based on Chapman, 2009(a), p.13 and p.19.

It is possible, in each discussion design, to compare how student thinking developed over the course of the exercise, because, in both cases, similar questions were addressed at the beginning and the end of the discussion. The two discussion designs are different in important respects, however, it is also possible to compare how student thinking developed in one discussion exercise with how it developed in the other because very similar, and in some cases identical, questions were used in both 2008 and 2009. The analysis that follows below compares student answers to the explanatory questions that they were asked and explores, first, the extent to which students' ideas changed over the course of the academies and, second, similarities and differences in student thinking in 2008 and 2009.

The HVA as an intervention: challenging students to interact and think in new ways?

The HVA was conceived as an exercise in cognitive challenge – its purposes included introducing students to the demands of studying history at university – and the project aimed to challenge students to develop new thinking in a number of ways:

- by asking students to interact with students they did not know in other schools and colleges;
- by asking students to make their thoughts 'public' (albeit on a restricted access site); and
- by asking students to interact with university academics.

The project challenged students in a number of specifically historical ways also. The project challenged students through the questions that it asked them to consider: although all 'Advanced Level' history students are required to engage with historical interpretations as part of their courses they are not often asked to think explicitly about why it is that differing interpretations of the past arise (Chapman, 2011(b), pp. 54-55); the HVA presented students with a metacognitive challenge (Donovan, et al., 1999) therefore, by requiring them to develop their thinking about the discipline of history and about the causes of historical disagreements.¹³ The students were also presented with a particularly challenging form of historical disagreement – as has been noted, the texts that they were asked to read disagreed fundamentally about a particular group in the past.

Challenge was embedded in the project also through the academic feedback that the students received, exemplified by the posts below.

¹³ In England the National Curriculum for History asks students in both primary and secondary schools to engage with different interpretations of the past, to explore why different interpretations arise and also to evaluate different interpretations of the past. These issues are also addressed in examination courses followed by 14-16 year old students (GCSE courses) and by 16-19 year old students (Advanced Level courses). Whilst public examination courses ask students to debate interpretations of the past (often expressed as judgements to be assessed) students are rarely asked to explain why different interpretations arise. I am grateful to Ros Ashby for stimulating conversations about metacognitive challenge and assessment for learning in history that have informed my thinking on these issues.

Much of what you say is persuasive but do be careful... to use labels carefully. It doesn't tell us all that much to know that [an author] was a Marxist. Marxists come in very different stripes and they frequently squabbled like ferrets in a sack - not least over how to react to the USSR invasion (sorry invitation to restore order!) of Hungary in 1956. It's seductive, but not usually historically warranted, to argue 'He is a Marxist, therefore...'. I'd be inclined to concentrate more on the evidence of the texts themselves which you do extremely well.

Historian 1, extract from feedback on student discussion board posts 2008 HVA

I think this response takes us a bit further than the first suggestion, that historians with preconceived ideas 'manipulate' information. If so, how and why would they get such ideas in the first place?

The suggestion that different people fit the same material into different contexts is more promising. In fact the first historian is an historian of popular movements, with longstanding radical sympathies, while the second is an historian of religion and ideas - I don't know of what sympathies. Does that context explain anything more?

Historian 2, extract from feedback on student discussion board posts 2008 HVA

As these 2008 examples show, academic feedback included praise but also, and more importantly, questioning that challenged the explanations that students had offered by asking them to expand, develop and / or revise ideas that they had expressed in their posts.

Similar feedback was provided by historians in the 2009 HVA although feedback was provided to whole discussion groups rather than to individuals. The following post-extracts exemplify this feedback.

I wondered whether the authors of the Group 2 post were being a little unkind to the 'subjectivity' of historians. You almost give the impression that historians 'choose' their sources on purely prejudicial considerations. Take also your German example. Isn't it likely that some German historians will go against the grain of national sympathy, particularly when that 'sympathy' was refracted through a national socialist lens? Group 5's response to the original statement was interesting.....

The authors of the Group 4 post wonder whether historians who have lived through a particular period may have 'better insight'. This is possible, of course, but circumstances can alter perceptions. Some historians might have been too close to events to be objective as historians when they were strongly influenced (for example in response to a humanitarian crisis) as observers...

Historian 1 extract from feedback on student discussion board posts 2009 HVA

Again, this feedback challenges students by pointing to ways in which the factors that they have invoked as explanations need to be considered and, indeed, explained, further before they can actually do explanatory work. A further example is given below.

We're generally agreed that historians' political views influence what they write, but how does this work? Is it like cheering for Arsenal or creationism, where supporters defend a fixed conclusion against every challenge? Or is it more about viewpoint, where (for example) being black or female or royalist makes one aware of issues that have been overlooked without necessarily leading one to fixed conclusions?

If bias is about clinging to pre-conceived positions in the face of evidence, what is the difference between bias and prejudice? Why should previous opinions be so firm as to over-ride later influences? How are they formed in the first place?

Does seeing things from a different viewpoint make one a better or a worse judge, or just a different one? If a football referee asks the linesman who has seen something different, does this introduce bias (after all, the linesman has only seen one side of what happened), or does it help the decision to have a different view point available? Would it matter if the linesman wrote the match report instead of the referee?

Historian 2 extract from feedback on student discussion board posts 2009 HVA

Again, students are asked challenging and probing questions to encourage them to develop their ideas in greater depth. Analogies with every day examples are also used to encourage students to think through the implications of what they are saying in the context of familiar practices and contexts and, thus, to draw attention to what they had yet adequately to explain.

Moderator feedback, from the participating history education academic (the author) also aimed to challenge students to develop their thinking. Moderator feedback in both HVAs was provided to the discussion forum as a whole rather than to the authors of individual posts and was presented, in the 2008 HVA, in the form of an embedded word document of 'Feedback Ideas for Question 1' that students might draw upon when commenting on each other's work.

- Are the historians asking the same questions or are they in fact answering different questions about the past? (It is possible to set out with different aims - to set out to describe something in the past, to explain it, to evaluate it and so on.)
- Do the historians examine the same source materials as they pursue their questions about the past?
- Do the historians ask the same questions of their source materials? ...
- Where different conclusions are drawn from similar facts or sources it may be because the

historians disagree about what these things mean. There are many reasons why they might. Consider these possibilities (and others that you can think of!) –

- Do they have differing understandings of the context (the period, the background situation and so on)?
- Are they defining concepts in different ways (if we disagree about whether a 'revolution' has occurred, for example, it may be because we are using different criteria to define the concept 'revolution')?

Moderator feedback extract 2008 HVA

Again, this feedback took the form of questions: dichotomous questions that asked students to explore possibilities that they may not have considered and also questions that were vehicles for introducing or highlighting issues to consider. The 2009 moderator feedback aimed to do the same things as the 2008 feedback. It was introduced dialogically, however, in the form of a post that replied to and acknowledged good ideas in student posts.

Many interesting ideas are emerging to explain the differences in the two historians' views and almost all the points that people have made focus on differences in 'interpretation'. It is clear that the two texts make sense of the documents in very different ways and draw different conclusions as a result! Some posts explain the differing conclusions that the authors draw in terms of their approach to the source materials. Do the historians use their sources in the same ways? Do they ask the same questions of the source materials?

Some posts suggest that the difference relates to the conclusions that the historians draw. This is a point about logic and argument, I think. Do the authors draw the same conclusions from the information that the sources can provide? Perhaps this dispute is about what it is and what it is not reasonable to conclude from the evidence, therefore?

Drawing conclusions, as a number of posts note, involves making assumptions. Perhaps this disagreement can be explained through the different beliefs that the historians hold – the different ideas that they bring to the evidence. Do they have different beliefs about the context, for example? One post makes an intriguing suggestion: it may be that the historians simply understand concepts differently – if one historian treats the Ranters as a movement and the other does not, perhaps it is because they have different conceptions of what a movement is?

Moderator feedback extract 2009 HVA

Data Analysis

The data set analysed in this paper consists of student posts made in the first and in the final stages of both the 2008 and 2009 HVAs ¹⁴. Twelve of the fifteen individual participants in the 2008 HVA completed both the first and the final stages of the exercise and sixteen of the thirty groups of students who took part in the 2009 HVA made posts at both the beginning and at the end of their participation. The purpose of comparing posts at the beginning and at the end of the exercise is to track change in student thinking across the exercise as a whole.

The post data set was analysed using an inductive coding strategy associated with grounded theoretic approaches to data analysis (Blaikie, 1993; Gibbs, 2002; Strauss and Corbin, 1998): the data set was analysed and coded in iterative cycles until a system of codes had been developed that could make sense of the entire data set. Twenty five descriptive codes were developed. These descriptive codes were then grouped into 8 broader code categories on the basis of perceived similarities of content and used to make comparisons between student posts made at the beginning and at the end of the HVAs. The code categories are summarized and explained in (TABLES 3.) There is no space here to exemplify the codes systematically, however, the discussion of student posts below analyses a sample of the student posts in some depth.

Code Category	Explanation
Sources of evidence	The quantity or quality of the source materials available to the historians.
Subjectivity	Aspects of historians' subjectivities – such as their backgrounds, their ideologies or values.
Present context	Aspects of historians' present context – such as the climate of opinion and the consensus prevalent at the time of writing and their nearness / distance from the past in question.
Innovation	Historians' desire to innovate and be distinctive in their accounts of the past.
Genre	The style of writing used or the type of history being written.
Analysis	Historians' techniques or the depth of their analysis.
Mode of Enquiry	Historians' purposes or aims and the questions historians ask.
Meaning construction	Historians' evaluation or interpretation of source materials and / or their conceptualization, classification and contextualization of these materials.

TABLE 3. Code Categories developed to interpret the data sets

¹⁴ In the 2009 HVA a number of students posted initial posts and posts revising their initial posts as replies to other students rather than as the 'final' stage of the HVA. The designation 'final' is used loosely therefore below in respect of the 2009 HVA.

Data Analysis: comparisons within and across the 2008 and 2009 data sets

General patterns across the data sets

The tables that follow record patterns in the distribution of explanations for variation across the 2008 and 2009 data sets, identified by the coding process, and allow differences in the type of explanation prevalent within and across the two data sets to be identified.

(TABLES 5(a) and 6(a)) summarise the coding distribution by respondent and HVA phase in the 2008 and 2009 data sets respectively and (TABLES 5(b) and 6(b)) summarise the distribution of instances of codes by HVA phase in the 2008 and 2009 data sets respectively. There are two tables for each data set because respondents often made more than one reference to ideas coded under each category.

In the final column of each table, the code totals for the first stage of the HVA are subtracted from the code totals for the last stage of the HVA to highlight differences in the incidence of types of explanation in the initial and final stages of the HVAs.

TABLE 5(a). A comparison of the numbers of respondents whose posts were coded under the code categories in the initial and in the final stages of the 2008 HVA

	2008 initial post respondent count (N=12)	2008 final post respondent count (N=12)	Final post respondent count minus initial post count
Sources of evidence	8 (66.7%)	7 (58.3%)	-1 (-8.3%)
Subjectivity	3 (25%)	4 (33.3%)	+1 (+8.3%)
Present context	4 (33.3%)	1 (8.3%)	-3 (-25%)
Innovation	0 (0%)	1 (8.3%)	+1 (+8.3%)
Genre	0 (0%)	2 (16.7%)	+2 (16.7%)
Analysis	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Mode of Enquiry	1 (8.3%)	4 (33.3%)	+3 (+25%)
Meaning construction	10 (83.3%)	12 (100%)	+2 (+16.7%)

TABLE 5(b). A comparison of the incidence of explanatory moves coded under the code categories in all respondents' posts in the initial and in the final stages of the 2008 HVA

	2008 initial post explanatory move count (N=43)	2008 final post explanatory move count (N=49)	Final post explanatory move count minus initial post count ¹⁵
Sources of evidence	14 (32.6%)	8 (16.3%)	-6 (-16.2%)
Subjectivity	3 (7%)	5 (10.2%)	+2 (+3.2%)
Present context	5 (11.6%)	2 (4.1%)	-3 (-7.5%)
Innovation	0 (0.0%)	1 (2%)	+1 (+2%)
Genre	0 (0.0%)	2 (4.1%)	+2 (+4.1%)
Analysis	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0%)
Mode of Enquiry	1 (2.3%)	4 (8.2%)	+3 (+5.8%)
Meaning construction	20 (46.5%)	27 (55.1%)	+7 (+8.6%)

TABLE 6(a). A comparison of the numbers of respondents whose posts were coded under the code categories in the first and last stages of the 2009 HVA (N = 16)

	2009 initial post respondent count (N=16)	2009 final post respondent count (N=16)	Final post respondent count minus initial post count ¹⁵
Sources of evidence	11 (68.8%)	4 (25%)	-7 (-43.8%)
Subjectivity	14 (87.5%)	6 (37.5%)	-8 (-50%)
Present context	9 (56.3%)	0 (0%)	-9 (-56.3%)
Innovation	5 (31.3%)	2 (12.5%)	-3 (-18.8%)
Genre	1 (6.3%)	1 (6.3%)	0 (0%)
Analysis	3 (18.8%)	0 (0%)	-3 (-18.8%)
Mode of Enquiry	3 (18.8%)	0 (0%)	-3 (-18.8%)
Meaning construction	4 (25%)	15 (93.8%)	+11 (+68.8%)

¹⁵ The percentages in this column subtract the percentage totals in the initial post columns of the table from the percentage totals in the final post columns of the table, as the post totals for the two phases differed as indicated in the first row of the table.

TABLE 6(b). A comparison of the incidence of explanatory moves coded under the code categories in all respondents' posts in the initial and final stages of the 2009 HVA

	2009 initial post explanatory move count (N=71)	2009 final post explanatory move count (N=40)	Final post explanatory move count minus initial post count ¹⁶
Sources of evidence	11 (15.5%)	4 (10%)	-7 (-5.5%)
Subjectivity	30 (42.3%)	6 (15%)	-24 (-27.3%)
Present context	13 (18.3%)	0 (0%)	-13 (-18.3%)
Innovation	6 (8.5%)	2 (5%)	-4 (-3.5%)
Genre	1 (1.4%)	1 (2.5%)	0 (+1.1 %%)
Analysis	3 (4.2%)	0 (0%)	-3 (-4.2%)
Mode of Enquiry	3 (4.2%)	0 (0%)	-3 (-4.2%)
Meaning construction	4 (5.6%)	27 (67.5%)	23 (+61.9%)

These tables must be interpreted with caution, since the data samples are small and patterns in the data are easily distorted by individual answers. Comparisons between the two data sets must also be treated with caution since, as Table 1 makes clear, the tasks set in each case differed: although students were asked to explain variation in interpretation at both Stage 1 and Stage 5 of both HVAs, in 2008 students were explaining differences in the same paired accounts about the Ranters whereas in 2009 students were answering a general question about interpretation at Stage 1 and a specific question about the Ranter accounts at Stage 5. Nevertheless, it is apparent, from the tables, first, that student responses changed between the initial and the final stages of both HVAs and, second, that they changed in different ways: the pattern of change in 2009 is much simpler than in 2008 – in 2009, 'meaning construction' is the only type of explanation that increases in incidence between the initial and final phases of the HVA, whereas five types of explanation increase in incidence in the 2008 data; in 2009, explanation in terms of historians' subjectivities declines dramatically whereas this type of explanation increases marginally in 2008. Common patterns of change are apparent in both data sets, despite these differences, although these patterns are much more dramatic in the 2009 HVA than in the 2008 HVA: it is apparent that explanation for variation in terms of 'sources of evidence' and 'present context' declined and that explanation for variation in terms of 'meaning construction' increased between the initial and the final stages of both HVAs. In other words, in both data sets, there is a decline in explanation for variation in terms of the materials available to the historians and the historians' temporal location and an increase in explanation in terms of what the historians do in order to make sense of the materials available to them.

¹⁶ See note 14.

What do these patterns mean at the level of individual responses and what changes do the patterns reveal in the students' approaches to explaining variation in historical interpretation? The comments that follow explore individual posts and attempt to make sense of some of these patterns.

Qualitative differences in student explanations across the data sets

A shift away from explanation in terms of the resources available to historians (what they have) and historians' temporal location (where they are) and towards explanation in terms of historians' meaning construction (what they do with their sources) implies change in at least some students' understandings of historians' agency in historical interpretation. The following student posts, coded as moving away from explanation in terms of evidence and historians' present contexts and towards explanation in terms of meaning construction over the course of the HVA, illustrate this change.

The two historians have differing arguments on the actions and existence of the Ranters for a number of potential reasons. Firstly, the historical argument of Text 1 was composed in the 'mid-1970's' whereas the argument of Text 2 was composed in the 'late-1980's'; this ten year differentiation may have resulted in new evidence coming to light that could hinder the argument of Text 1 and enforce that of Text 2...

Initial post extract 2008 Student 1

We have both assumed that this ten year gap has provided historian 2 with new evidence... that has transformed... understanding... It is more likely... that they have come to differing opinions because of their differing interpretations of the same sources; be it for personal religious reasons or other.

Final post extract 2008 Student 1

In this student's first post, changes in interpretation are explained by agencies other than historians: things happen ('new evidence.... coming to light') and these things shape what historians do. In the student's second post it is the historians who have agency and who 'come to... opinions... because of their interpretations'.

A very similar pattern is apparent in the following example.

The historian of text 2 was writing the source in the late 1980s as compared to Historian 1 who wrote his extract in the mid-1970s. In this decade there may have been new evidence come to light regarding 'The Ranters' resulting in a shift in opinion between the two historians.

Initial post extract 2008 Student 2

Okay, you have gone straight in with the same point I have, looking at the provenance of the sources (which we don't really know anything about!) instead of reflecting upon the evidence and the argument for each of the interpretations..... We haven't looked at whether the historians are actually answering the same questions. Upon reflection, I think the first text is more about who they were and what they believed in whereas the second text focuses more on the question 'were they?' instead of 'who they were'.....You have said the same as me, that the historians have their own opinions but you haven't said WHY... looking back at the sources, I can see that they disagree as they have each interpreted the sources they have differently, leading them to two completely contrasting opinions. Again, I think this difference also depends on the hypothesis each of the historians is working on - if they are answering two different questions then yes, obviously the content is going to have a different focus resulting in two contrasting opinions.

Final post extract 2008 Student 2

Again, these posts indicate a shift from a passive representation of historians, represented as acted upon by their sources, to a representation of historians as actively responsible for the claims that they advance and as making decisions: in the final post historians interpret sources, ask and answer questions and 'work on... hypotheses' and a relationship is posited between historians' hypotheses / questions and the conclusions to which they come. The differences in the accounts are presented in terms of historians' activity, and not as the result of contingent factors about the record to which historians passively respond.

Similar changes in the conceptualization of what historians do were apparent in a number of other posts that did not shift away from the 'different sources' explanation. In the example below, the student's initial post does not provide any explanation for variation but simply summarizes what the historians had said. Their second post does model historians as agents but as biased and subjective agents. Finally, their third post models historians' activity as legitimate and as having a logic – as a question of reasoning rather than subjectivity and rhetoric.

The main reason that historians hold different opinions is that whereas the author of text 1 suggests that the Ranters posed a challenge to society, the author of text 2 denies their very existence.

Initial post extract 2008 Student 3

This difference is primarily based on a disparity in interpretation, not due to a difference in evidence. Indeed, both use the same evidence, such as the Blasphemy Act of 1650, but twist this evidence to suit their argument.

Subsequent post extract 2008 Student 3

Historian one is willing to believe that references to Ranters from contemporary sources constitute evidence which substantiates their existence. He takes fragmentations of evidence, such as reference to them in a contemporary play, as proof they existed.

Final post extract 2008 Student 3

The examples discussed above all suggest that changes occurred between the first and the final stages of the 2008 HVA in the ways in which many of the students modeled historians' activity and these examples indicate a shift away from a passive representation of historians and towards active explanations for variations in accounts in terms of historians' interpretive decisions. The following sequence of posts illustrates similar shifts in thinking in the 2009 data set.

Historians could come to different conclusions regarding historical events because of the sources that the historian had used. Different sources have interpretations of events and this can affect what the historian using them concludes. Also the historian may have a better insight into an event if they were there or have access to first-hand account rather than using other historians' conclusions. Another factor in drawing different conclusions is the personal bias of the historians. This can include the social background, which can affect interpretations of movements such as chartism, where a historian with a working class background would be more inclined to favour the chartists. The political background of the historian can affect their conclusion. A communist historian would have a very different conclusion of the Russian Revolution to a socialist.

Initial post extract 2009 Student Group 4

Some historians choose to interpret sources in a more subjective light, being more critical of any inferences that can be drawn. Historian A suggests that the four sources about the Ranters suggest that they did exist, whereas historian B claims that four sources is not a satisfactory amount to draw a feasible conclusion from. Some historians may choose to accept the attributes of the sources, for example historian A uses pamphlets written by Ranters to argue that they did exist, whereas historian B does not seem to think this is relevant. Furthermore, it is the interpretation of the sources that determines the conclusions which are to be drawn.

Final post extract 2009 Student Group 4

Again, the first post models historians as more acted upon than as acting: historians are described as using different sources. However, source contents 'affect' historian's claims and, when bias is discussed, historians are again passive and 'affected' by their own social and political backgrounds. In the second post, however, historians are very clearly agents. Whereas, in the first post, 'sources... can affect what the historian... concludes' and the 'background of the historian can affect their conclusion', in the second post the actual (and the conceptual) grammar is reversed and 'it is the interpretation of the sources that determines the conclusions which are to be drawn' and the historians who draw conclusions and construct interpretations are autonomous in these activities.

(TABLES 5(a) to 6(b)) indicate that a number, and in most cases a minority, of the students continued to explain variation in interpretation throughout the HVA in terms of factors such as historians' evidence or historians' subjectivity and that, in at least one case (see Table 5(a)), students moved towards explanation in these terms over the HVA. The following posts exemplify these posts.

The following student group was coded as moving from a stance that explained difference in terms of historians' meaning construction and towards explanation in terms of historians' subjectivities.

As mentioned by most of the individuals on this discussion board, personal opinion of individual historians do[es] indeed affect judgement and, as such, conclusions drawn about the past. However the underlying reason is far simpler than that. Anyone who has researched, or tried to research a particular topic have been overwhelmed by the amount of material upon said subject... Even in areas where it may appear that material is reduced, debate to whether the material is reliable, or even usable, may lead to differing opinion.

Therefore the underlying reason to why historians come to differing conclusions about the past is because to select a manageable and readable (or even to create a conclusion) they must be selective about the material and the opinions they include. This selection of material differs for each historian (and is often directed or influenced by either the point they are trying to make or personal opinions) and this difference is what creates different conclusions.

Initial post extract 2009 Student Group 6

It may seem obvious to suggest that the selection of primary sources is the only reason that the Historians differ so widely in their opinion upon the Ranter. Indeed this makes some sense... Yet 'Historian B' suggests that there are only 'four direct Ranter sources from which to construct their arguments'... This, therefore, cannot explain why such radically different opinions... [are] formed.

Thus one must consider the socioeconomic or political views each historian may have, and indeed any 'point to prove' they may have. To do with the Ranters one must consider the historians views... on the social climate of the period they are studying.... As such it may be suggested that these, often subconscious, influences are what affect the historians viewpoints and as such cause the different viewpoints offered by the different historians.

Final post extract 2009 Student Group 6

In this student group's first post it is very clear that historians have to make decisions in order to construct meanings about the past: historians have to make decisions about the selection of evidence, historians engage in debates about the principles on which to select evidence and, strikingly, subjective opinions, which are dismissed as a sufficient explanation for variation in the opening lines of the response, are described as emerging from debates of this kind rather than as determining their outcomes ('debate... may lead to differing opinion'). The student group, then, appears to have begun the HVA discussion with understandings of how historians work that many of the students arrived at through the discussion. The student group's final post argues very much the opposite case, however: in the second post historians are acted upon by factors beyond their control – their prejudices and subconscious thinking 'cause' historians to articulate different 'viewpoints'. It is tempting to read this outcome as suggesting a restricted understanding of the kinds of interpretive decisions that historians have to make (see Table 1). In the first post, they show that historians have to make decisions about the selection of sources and, therefore, that subjectivity is not a sufficient explanation for historical disagreement. In the second post it is recognised that the texts in question suggest that selection is not an issue in this case and the post argues that subjectivity is the explanation for variation: there only seem to be two options, for this student group – subjectivity or selection – and where one is ruled out the other must apply.

The second example has a great deal in common with examples discussed earlier.

It is obvious that personal opinions will play a vital role in any historian's final conclusion... Also, if the historian is researching something that they have heard about briefly, their final judgment may be affected... Furthermore, the socio-political and socio-economic background of the historian will undoubtedly influence the conclusion of their study. A Russian historian living during Stalin's lifetime would have been inclined to write positively about his predecessor, Lenin. Similarly, the intended audience will also weigh heavily in the historian's mind while he/she is writing. The time of writing will also have a profound effect on the historian's judgment...

Initial post extract 2009 Student Group 7

The two historians have come to different conclusions for a variety of reasons. Historian A makes many face value assumptions about the sources, such as Coppe's pamphlet which was described as 'evidence' of the Ranter challenge against middle class society....

Historian B picks up on this lack of solid evidence making no assumptions, but at the same time only offering a limited conclusion in that the Ranters did not exist...

These striking differences are due to the way they have interpreted the sources and that they are simply two different historians that understand the concept of Ranterism differently.

The historians have different ideology and political predispositions, with Historian A being more 'left wing' and open minded hence leading to the assumptions made; and Historian B more 'right wing' making cautious estimates rather than wild assumptions

Final post extract 2009 Student Group 7

Here, as in earlier examples, the student group's first post models historians as *passive and acted upon* and their second post models historians as *active and as making decisions*. Their second post, however, invokes subjectivity, in the form of ideological bias, in order to account for differences in the historians' interpretive 'assumptions'. It is plausible to suggest that, although the student group's understanding of what historians do appears to have been sophisticated by the HVA process, they still lack explanations, other than subjectivity and bias, which can account for historians defining concepts in variable ways.

Conclusions

The participants in the 2008 and 2009 HVAs are not a representative sample of 16-19 year old history students and their postings to the discussion boards reflect the questions to which they were responding, the influence of the feedback and input that they received from academics and from each other and their readings of each other's posts: the data discussed above is clearly subject to both sample bias and task effects and can only ground tentative conclusions.

The discussion of the 2008 and 2009 data sets above provides support for the claim that the experience of taking part in the discussions had an impact on the ways in which the students who took part explained variations in historical interpretation: a claim that is most demonstrable in the case of the 2009 data set and that is illustrated, for example, by the dramatic increase in the number of students who explained account variation in terms of meaning construction at the end of the exercise.

The discussion of qualitative data above also suggests that the HVA process enabled at least some of the students to develop their thinking beyond the stances that they initially adopted and there are grounds, evidenced in the discussion of the grammar of student thinking above, to suggest

that the HVA discussions had some dramatic effects on student understanding of the ways in which historians are active in their construction of knowledge claims about the past. This conclusion needs to be treated with caution, of course: short term change in what students say in an online discussion environment is not evidence of durable change in how students think, nevertheless, the changes in the ways in which some of these students discuss what historians do are striking and suggestive.

These conclusions have relevance for the aim, identified in the introduction to this paper of developing closer links between subject disciplines in schools and colleges and in universities. The HVA exemplifies a way in which inter-sector and inter-institutional collaboration can work, and the analysis of post data above suggests that challenging discussions of the kind developed through the 2008 and 2009 iterations of this project can have identifiable and positive impacts on student thinking and disciplinary understanding.

Correspondence

arthur.chapman@edgehill.ac.uk

References

- Atkinson, R. F. (1978) *Knowledge and Explanation in History: An Introduction to the Philosophy of History* London and Basingstoke, Macmillan.
- Barca, I. (2005) 'Till New Facts are Discovered': Students' ideas about objectivity in History' in R. Ashby, P. Gordon & P.J. Lee (eds) *Understanding History: Recent Research in History Education*, International Review of History Education, Volume 4 London and New York, Routledge Farmer.
- Blaikie, N. (1993) *Approaches to Social Enquiry* Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Boix Mansilla, V. (2005) 'Between Reproducing and Organizing the Past: Students' Beliefs About the Standards of Acceptability of Historical Knowledge' in R. Ashby, P. Gordon & P. J. Lee (eds) *Understanding History: Recent Research in History Education*, International Review of History Education, Volume 4 London and New York, Routledge Farmer.
- Booth, A. (2005) 'Worlds in Collision: University Tutor and Student Perspectives on the Transition to Degree Level History' *Teaching History* 121, pp 14-19.
- Chapman, A. (2009(a)) *Supporting High Achievement and Transition to Higher Education Through History Virtual Academies* Warwick, History Subject Centre. Available at: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/cross_fac/heahistory/elibrary/internal/cs_chapman_highachievement_20091001. Accessed 5 August 2012.
- Chapman, A. (2009(b)) *Towards an Interpretations Heuristic: A Case Study Exploration of 16-19 Year-old Students' Ideas About Explaining Variations in Historical Accounts*. Unpublished Ed.D thesis. University of London, Institute of Education.

- Chapman, A. (2011(a)) 'Historical Interpretations' in I. Davies (ed) *Debates in History Teaching* London and New York, Routledge.
- Chapman, A. (2011(b)) 'History 16-19' in I. Davies (ed) *Debates in History Teaching* London and New York, Routledge.
- Chapman, A. (2011(c)) What Does it Mean to 'Think Historically' and What Do We Know About How to Develop Children's Historical Thinking? Workshop Rationale and Summary Nicosia, Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, Available at: http://ahdr.info/ckfinder/userfiles/files/October_workshop_Arthur_Chapman_write_up.pdf. Accessed 22 January 2012.
- Chapman, A. (2011(d)) 'Twist and Shout? Developing Sixth-form Students' Thinking About Historical Interpretation' *Teaching History*, 142, pp 24-33.
- Chapman, A. (2011(e)) 'Understanding Historical Knowing: Evidence and Accounts' in Perikleous, L and Shemilt, D. (eds) *The Future of the Past: Why history Education Matters* Nicosia, The Association for Historical Dialogue and Research / UNDP-ACT.
- Chapman, A. (2012(a)) 'Developing English Advanced Level School and College History Students' Understanding of Historical Thinking Through Online Interaction with Academic Historians: Three Case Studies' 2012 Yearbook of the International Society for History Didactics, 33, pp 21-40.
- Chapman, A. (2012(b)) 'Beyond 'Bias' and Subjectivity? Developing 16-19 Year-old Students' Understandings of Historical Interpretations Through Online Inter-institutional Discussion' in R. Ghusayni, R. Karami & B. Akar (eds) *Learning and Teaching History: Lessons from and for Lebanon. Proceedings of the Third Conference on Education Organized by the Lebanese Association for Educational Studies Held in Beirut, Lebanon, 25-26 March 2011* Beirut, Arab Cultural Center.
- Chapman, A. (2012(c)) 'Using Discussion Forums to Support Historical Learning' in Terry Haydn (ed.) *History and ICT* London, Routledge. (Forthcoming)
- Chapman, A., Elliott, G. & Poole, R. (2012) *The History Virtual Academy Project: Facilitating Inter and Intra-sector Dialogue and Knowledge Transfer Through Online Collaboration* Warwick, History Subject Centre Available at: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/cross_fac/heahistory/elibrary/internal/br_chapman_hva_20120117/ Accessed 22 January 2012.
- Collingwood, R.G. (1994) *The Idea of History*. Revised Edition with Lectures 1926-1928 Edited by W.J. van der Dussen. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Derham, P. & Worton, M. (eds) (2010) *Liberating Learning: Widening Participation* Buckingham, University of Buckingham Press.
- Donovan, M. S., Bransford, J. D. & Pellegrino, J. W. (eds) (1999) *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience and School* Washington, D.C., National Academies Press.
- Evans, R. J. (1997) *In Defence of History* London, Granta Books.
- Evans, R.J. (2001) *Lying About Hitler: History, Holocaust, and The David Irving Trial* New York, Basic Books.

- Gago, M. (2005) 'Children's Understanding of Historical Narrative in Portugal' in R. Ashby, P. Gordon & P. J. Lee (eds) *Understanding History: Recent Research in History Education*, International Review of History Education, Volume 4 London and New York, Routledge Falmer.
- Gibbs, G. R. (2002) *Qualitative Data Analysis: Explorations with NVivo* Maidenhead, Open University Press.
- Ginzburg, C. (1999) *History, Rhetoric and Proof* Hanover and London, University Press of New England.
- Ginzburg, C. (2011) *Threads and Traces: True, False, Fictive* Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, University of California Press.
- Goldstein, L. J. (1976) *Historical Knowing* Austin & London, The University of Texas Press.
- Goldstein, L.J. (1996) *The What and the Why of History: Philosophical Essays* Leiden, New York & Köln, E.J.Brill.
- Grafton, A. (2003) *The Footnote: A Curious History* London, Faber and Faber.
- Hsiao, Y. (2005) 'Taiwanese Students' Understanding of Differences in History Textbook Accounts' in R. Ashby, P. Gordon & P. J. Lee (eds) *Understanding History: Recent Research in History Education*, International Review of History Education, Volume 4 London & New York, Routledge Falmer.
- Institute of Historical Research (IHR) (2005) *History in Schools and Higher Education: Issues of Common Concern*, Conference Website Available at: <http://www.history.ac.uk/education/sept/index.html>. Accessed 8 September 2011.
- Kitson, A., Husbands, C. & Steward, S. (2011) *Teaching and Learning History 11-18* Maidenhead, Open University Press & McGraw Hill Education.
- Lavender, L. (2010) *History in Schools and Higher Education: Enhancing the Study of our Subject and Understanding the Transition to HE* Warwick, History Subject Centre. Available at: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/cross_fac/heahistory/publications/briefingreports/historyinschoolsandhe. Accessed 19 October 2010.
- Lee, P. J. (1997) "'None of Us Was There": Children's Ideas About Why Historical Accounts Differ' in S. Ahonen, A. Pauli, et al (eds) *Historiedidaktik I Nordern 6*, Nordisk Konferens om Historiedidaktik, Tampere 1996 Copenhagen, Danmarks Laererhojskle.
- Lee, P. J. (1998) "'A Lot of Guess Work Goes On": Children's Understanding of Historical Accounts' *Teaching History*, 92, pp 29-35.
- Lee, P. J. (2001) 'History in an Information Culture: Project Chata' *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 1(2). Available at: <http://www.heirnet.org/IJHLTR/journal2/journalstart.htm>. Accessed 14 March 2011.
- Lee, P. J. (2010) 'History Education and Historical Literacy' in I. Davies (ed) *Debates in History Teaching* London and New York, Routledge.

- Lee, P.J. & Shemilt, D. (2003) 'A Scaffold, Not a Cage: Progression and Progression Models in History' *Teaching History*, 113, pp 13-23.
- Lee, P. J. & Shemilt, D. (2004) "'I Just Wish We Could Go Back in the Past and Find Out What Really Happened": Progression in Understanding About Historical Accounts' *Teaching History*, 117, pp 25-31.
- Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Maggioni, L., Alexander, P. & VanSledright, B. (2004) 'At the Crossroads: the Development of Epistemological Beliefs and Historical Thinking' *European Journal of School Psychology*, 2 (1-2), pp 169-197.
- Maggioni, L. & VanSledright, B. (2009) 'Walking on the Borders: A Measure of Epistemic Cognition in History' *The Journal of Experimental Education*, 2009, 77 (3), pp 187-213
- Megill, A. (2007) *Historical Knowledge / Historical Error: A Contemporary Guide to Practice* Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2004) *Ofsted Subject Conference Report: History. Report of a Conference on Interpretations of History Held at The Museum of British Empire and Commonwealth, Bristol on the 30 June - 1 July 2004.* Available at: [http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/Ofsted-home/Publications-and-research/Browse-all-by/Education/Curriculum/English/Primary/Ofsted-subject-conference-reports-2003-04/\(language\)/eng-GB](http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/Ofsted-home/Publications-and-research/Browse-all-by/Education/Curriculum/English/Primary/Ofsted-subject-conference-reports-2003-04/(language)/eng-GB). Accessed 14 August 2009.
- Olick, J., Vinitzky-Seroussi, V, & Levy, D. (eds) (2011) *The Collective Memory Reader* New York, Oxford University Press USA.
- Samuel, R. (1994) *Theatres of Memory, Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* London and New York, Verso.
- Stradling, R. (2003) *Multiperspectivity in History Teaching: a Guide for Teachers* Strasbourg, Council of Europe. Available at: <http://tandis.odihp.pl/documents/hre-compendium/CD%20SEC%202%20ENV/PARTNERS%20RESOURCES/CoE%20Multiperspectivity%20in%20history%20teaching%20ENG.pdf>. Accessed 9 September 2010.
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Processes for Developing Grounded Theory* Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi, Sage Publications.
- VanSledright, B. (2011) *The Challenge of Rethinking History Education: On Practices, Theories and Policy* New York and London, Routledge.
- Wertsch, J.V. (2002) *Voices of Collective Remembering* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Wineburg, S. (1991) 'On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach Between School and Academy' *American Educational Research Journal*, 28 (3), pp 495-519.

Wineburg, S. (2007) 'Unnatural and Essential: the Nature of Historical Thinking' *Teaching History*, 129, pp 6–11.

Young History Workshop & Historians Connect (YHW & HC) (2012) *Young History Workshop & Historians Connect (Project Website)*. Available at: <http://www.younghistoryworkshop.org.uk/>. Accessed on 5 August 2012.

International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research, Vol. 11.1, 2012, 2012, pp 215-227

PROVINCIALISM AND COSMOPOLITANISM IN UNIVERSITY HISTORY TEACHING: A TEN-COUNTRY SAMPLE OF COURSE OFFERINGS

Alexander Maxwell

.....

Abstract

History departments across the world specialize on teaching local history, i.e. the history of the country in which they are located. Teaching local history is just and proper, but can become a problematic provincialism if non-local history is neglected. Comparing history departments across the world shows the extent of provincialism or cosmopolitanism. To compare like with like, the article concentrates on university systems in a region with a population between four and five million people: Ireland, Norway, Saxony, Singapore, Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, New Zealand, Queensland, British Columbia, and Louisiana. Three tests allow readers to evaluate the provincialism or cosmopolitanism of a university department's course offerings.

Keywords

Australia, Botswana, History, Curricula, Cosmopolitanism, Course offerings, Eurocentric, Europe, Germany, International history courses, Multi-cultural, Multi-ethnic, National history, North America, Oxford University, Provincialism, South Africa, World HISTORY,

What should students of history learn? The profession of history surely benefits from the variety of answers to this question. From the perspective of geographic specialization, however, two different philosophies compete for scarce classroom time. Some classes enable students to study their own society, and thus improve their self-knowledge, while other courses enable students to expand their knowledge of other societies. Universities seeking to provide a well-rounded education should consider the geographical diversity of their course offerings. If history education focuses entirely on local history, it remains provincial, since it does not prepare students to engage with other cultures. Cosmopolitan education can help create cross-cultural understanding and thus contribute to a sense of global citizenship, but might equally be defended in terms of national interests: ignorance about the outside world can pose dramatic costs. Either way, history departments should consider the geographical diversity of their course offerings.

A cosmopolitan attitude toward history teaching obviously rejects Eurocentricism, understood either as a focus on Europe, or as a focus on "the West." Universities in Europe (and in North America

and Australasia) should teach their students about China, India, Latin America and the Middle East. Nevertheless, universities in China, for example, also have an obligation to teach about India, Latin America, the Middle East, and so on.

Cosmopolitan History Teaching and the Problem of Provincialism

Course offerings provide a handy measure of cosmopolitanism in history teaching. If a university in the United States, for example, offers a course on the history of South-East Asia, then it offers American students a chance to see the world through South-East-Asian eyes, and thus broaden their horizons. Details matter, of course: an American university course on the Vietnam War, for example, may focus on American experiences, rather than the experiences of Vietnamese, Cambodians, and so forth. While the title of a university course may not reflect its content, the proliferation of online course catalogues facilitates the study of cosmopolitanism and provincialism in tertiary education.

Prestigious European universities remain highly provincial. The overwhelming majority of history courses offered at Munich's Ludwigs-Maximilian University (2008/09 p. 23), which in 2007 ranked a respectable third in Germany's CHE Rankings (Die Zeit, 2009), discuss Europe; the exceptions view the non-European world through European eyes; e.g. "Multi-Ethnic Societies in the Early Modern Period: The Portuguese and Dutch Colonial Empires." Moscow State University (n.d.1) teaches history in thirteen departments, seven focus on the Slavic world. Only the department "Modern and Contemporary History of European and American Countries," concentrates on non-European culture. Though Russia shares a land border with China, Russian students apparently learn about China only in the context of non-regional courses such as "History of International Relations" or "Evolution of the World Economy." While Yasemin Nuhođlu Soysal and Hanna Schissler (2005, p. 3) suggest that "national history has lost in importance practically everywhere," the decline of narrowly nationalist history has evidently not led to a global perspective.

North American, Australian or New Zealand institutions rarely exhibit such extreme continental provincialism; work on "Western Civilization" courses in America (Carnochan 1993, pp. 69-71) and Australia (Partridge 1965, 19-30) suggest that national curricula in settler societies sometimes teach more European history than local history. European settler historians nevertheless see in Europe the roots of their own culture, which hardly counts as cosmopolitan. Ball State University in Muncie Indiana (2008) devotes 39% of its courses to the United States, and 25% to Europe: 64% of Ball State's courses cover "Western Civilization." American or European content, furthermore, probably dominates Ball State's non-regional courses, such as "Selected Topics in Military History." Non-Western courses account for only 9% of Ball State's offerings.

Critics of Eurocentric “western” universities must recognize that post-colonial universities display an equivalent provincialism. Fiji’s University of the South Pacific (USP), which claims to be “the premier provider of tertiary education in the Pacific region,” has chosen an explicitly provincial mission to “research consulting and training on all aspects of Pacific culture” (USP n.d.1). It devotes 53% of its courses to Pacific History, without offering any courses on Africa, Latin America, or Asia. USP (n.d.2) offers only two courses with a non-Pacific focus: “The United States in World History” and “The British Empire and Commonwealth.” Founded in 1968, USP is admittedly a young institution, and no university in Fiji can compete with Harvard or Yale: the American institutions both have endowments over three times larger than Fiji’s GDP (Fabrikant 2007; Schworm, 2008). USP has four full-time teaching staff, Oxford University (n.d.) by its own count employs “about a hundred.”

Nevertheless, history students at USP have few opportunities to study non-Pacific perspectives. Given Fiji’s large Indian population, USP might consider introducing a course on Indian history.

The University of Cape Town (UCT) shows an equivalent provincialism. UCT’s webpage (n.d.1) proudly claims to be “oldest university history department in sub-Saharan Africa.” Madrid’s “Ranking Web of World Universities” names UCT the best university in Africa (n.d.1), and 385th in the world; the same rankings consider USP 38th in the Pacific (n.d.2) and 1,312nd worldwide. UCT offers 22% of its courses on African history, but only offers one only regionally-themed course on a non-African subject (the Holocaust). Admittedly, an unusually large proportion of UCT’s history courses (2007) are thematic and several cover non-African experiences: “Memory, History and Identity,” for example, explores how “countries such as South Africa, Rwanda, Germany and Brazil have approached their traumatic histories.” Nevertheless, at the time of writing, 15 of 16 (94%) of UCT’s history faculty members give a South African topic among their research interests. UCT discusses Britain, France, and United States as forces that act upon Africa, but not in their own right.

Yet such provincialism is neither inevitable nor universal. The University of Botswana (2003-04), ranked a modest 33rd in Africa and 5,262nd in the world (“Ranking Web of World Universities,” n.d.1), offers courses on “China and Japan,” “India and South Asia,” both “Modern Britain” and “the British Empire & Commonwealth,” a two-part sequence on North America, and a two-part sequence on Latin America. Botswana’s African coverage remains strong, accounting for 19% of all courses; African history also dominates staff publications (University of Botswana n.d.1). The University of Botswana shows that mid-level institutions can develop non-local expertise, and its cosmopolitanism seems all the more remarkable given the department itself boasts “the longest record of Africanized curriculum and staffing” south of the Zambezi, and aspires to “research and teach History which is centered on Africa” (University of Botswana, n.d.2).

The world's elite universities devote considerable resources to non-local history. In a single term, the University of Oxford (2008), which the Times Higher Education Supplement ranks third in the world and Europe's strongest in Arts and Humanities (2007), has offered courses on India, Africa, China, Latin America, and the Muslim world. Harvard University (2007-08), the world's strongest university according to an admittedly problematic "Academic Ranking of World Universities" from Shanghai Jiao Tong (2008), taught courses on every continent except Antarctica: 7 on East Asia, 4 each on Latin America and the Middle East, 3 each on South Asia and Africa, and "Australia Old and New." In the 2008-09 school year Yale University (2008-09), listed as the strongest American graduate school for history (US News, 2008), offered 9 courses on East Asia, 6 on Latin America, and 4 courses each on the Middle East, South Asia and Africa. In 2009, Australian National University (2008a), which Shanghai Jiao Tong named the best University in the Asia-Pacific region, offered 14 courses on continental Europe, 5 courses on South-East and South Asia, 4 courses on East Asia, and 3 each on the Middle East and the United States. ANU's history department does not offer any history courses on Latin America, but its Spanish department fills the gap with two courses on "Current Affairs in the Spanish-Speaking World."

Despite their breadth, however, all these elite universities offer exhaustive coverage of the history of their host societies. Oxford's course catalogue is difficult to quantify, since it often lists the individual lectures of a semester-long course, but its exceptional coverage of Great Britain by offering "introductory coverage" distinguishes seven eras of British History: 300-1087, 1042-1330, 1330-1550, 1500-1700, 1685-1830, 1815-1924, and "since 1900" (Oxford, 2009, p.2). America's elite universities also devote considerable resources to American history. A full 24% of history courses offered at Harvard (2008) focus on American history, including courses on the African and Asian-American diasporas. Ignoring courses with no regional context (e.g. "What History Teaches"), American history also accounts for 24% of Yale's history courses (2008-09). Australian history also accounts for 10% of ANU's undergraduate courses (2008).

Explaining provincialism

Disproportionate attention to local history draws inspiration and justification from the "Ziggy Marley" philosophy of history: "If you don't know your past, you don't know your future." The history department at the University of Nairobi (n.d.), for instance, takes as its motto: "Know Your Past and 'Know Thyself'." The University of Minnesota, Morris (n.d.) claims that "history provides identity," and Seattle Pacific (n.d.) suggests that "people without a consciousness of their past (both failures and triumphs) have forfeited an understanding of who they are." The University of Adelaide (n.d.) believes that history "gives you back your past," since "communities need history to give dimension

and meaning to the present." History-as-identity sometimes resembles cheerleading, particularly if politicians or governments set course content, and, at its worst, degenerates into national, racial or religious bigotry. Nevertheless, educating students about local history remains important: students should understand the history of the society in which they live.

In particular, liberal governments might seek to further knowledge of minority cultures to promote good relations within a multi-cultural or multi-ethnic state. Australian National University for example, supports the Ph.D.-granting "Australian Centre for Indigenous History." Leipzig University supports an Institute for Sorbian Studies, and Yunnan University hosts China's leading center for the "History of Yunnan Ethnic Groups." Several universities in the United States offer African-American history and various other forms of "ethnic studies." History departments located in a region with multiple cultural heritages are right acknowledge them: Vernadskiy Tavricheskiy University in Simferopol (Crimea) boasts distinct institutes for Russian and Ukrainian history, as well as experts on medieval Crimean cultures in a department of Ancient and Medieval history. A university in Cluj, a town with Romanian, Hungarian and German heritages, offers not only Romanian-language courses in Romanian history, but Hungarian-language courses on Hungarian history and German-language lectures on "the history of Germans in Romania" (Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai 2007-08).

Initiatives to promote inter-cultural knowledge nevertheless remain provincial in a global context. Chinese students studying Yunnan province, for example, are still studying China, and Americans studying African-American or Asian-American history are still studying the United States. Local specialization becomes provincialism if a history department fails to develop any expertise in non-local history. University history departments therefore should give their students the chance to acquire knowledge about unfamiliar cultures.

The most meaningful test of cosmopolitan history education is the presence of advanced courses devoted to different world regions. While few universities can aspire to the breadth of coverage offered at Oxford or Harvard, even modest institutions can offer a few courses about the wider world. Some advocates of global history may wonder whether cosmopolitanism requires area expertise. Patricia Lopes Don (2006, par. 6), for example, memorably disparaged "the composite area studies approach"; while David Northrup (2005, par. 1) argued for history teaching that "challenges perspectives arbitrarily based on national, regional, and cultural units." Michael Geyer (2005, p. 206) has similarly suggested that "the task is to make transparent and accessible the lineaments of wealth and violence that compress humanity into a single humankind."

World historians may seek to transcend area studies in an individual course, but history departments should not: curricula must be judged differently from syllabi. While a first year course in "global history" may touch on events across the world, any course that crams multiple continents into a single semester provides only superficial understanding. Significantly, several university programs devoted to world history adopt a "composite area studies approach" at the institutional level. A program in "Contemporary Global Studies" at Lewis University (n.d.), for instance, requires its students to pick a regional concentration: in addition to a core curriculum, students take either three courses on Latin America, three courses on Asia, or three courses on "Europe/Eastern Europe." The University of Minnesota (n.d.) offers more regional concentrations; students choose from Africa, East Asia, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, Russia, or South Asia. A two-year program called "Global Studies – A European Perspective," jointly administered by four European universities (in Leipzig, London, Kraków and Vienna) and four non-European partners (in Nova Scotia, Victoria Australia, California, and South Africa), offers several regional courses, such as "Regions in Globalization: Africa," "Regions in Globalization: Europe," "Regions in Globalization: Middle East," "World Regions of Global History: Africa," "World Regions of Global History: East Asia," and "World Regions of Global History: America" (Leipzig University, n.d.).

Provincial and non-provincial history courses cater to different segments of the education market. Students can select a university whose strengths match their interests, so provincialism at one university may be less problematic if a nearby institution fills the gap. Zürich University (n.d.), for example, has a significant program in East Asian studies, while Basel University (2008) boasts enough African expertise to offer five courses a semester. Rather than remain mediocre in two fields, in other words, Zürich and Basel have developed complementary expertise. While complementary expertise hurts undergraduate education, it offers obvious benefits to post-graduate students and faculty research, and thus seems a reasonable response if financial constraints limit a university's ambitions.

Cosmopolitanism in Comparative Perspective

A systematic comparison of provincialism in history education, therefore, must consider history curricula within a university system, not just an individual institution. A selection of history systems provides a comparative perspective. Consider ten university systems from several world regions: the Irish Republic, Norway, and Saxony (in Europe); Singapore (in East Asia), Lebanon, and the United Arab Emirates (in the Middle East) New Zealand and Queensland (in the Pacific); and British Columbia and Louisiana (in North America). Some of these regions are wealthier than others, but all support multiple universities, and all serve a region with a population between 4 and 5 million people.

The university system of an independent country admittedly differs from that of an province, American State, or German Bundesland. Linguistic obstacles form a significant barrier for Norwegian students who wish to study abroad; students from Saxony, Louisiana, or Queensland can more easily leave their home region. Queensland's proximity to Sydney makes it the least self-contained system covered in this study. For several students, however, local options are the only options: financial constraints or family obligations can inhibit university choice.

To measure cosmopolitanism globally, one can divide the world into a series of cultural regions, and then count how many courses offered in a particular university system are devoted to each. This study divided the world into eight regions: Europe, North America, East Asia, South Asia, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and the Pacific. Courses lacking any geographical component form a final "non-regional" category. Popular non-regional courses include variants of "World History" and "The Second World War," though I counted "World War One" as European history. Classification, inevitably, required judgment calls. Russia counted as "Europe," Myanmar as "South Asia," and the rest of South-East Asia, including Indonesia, as "East Asia." North Africa counted as "Middle East," not "Africa."

Figure 1 shows upper-division history courses offered in the sample countries as a percentage. Similar statistics about Yale and Australian National University are offered for comparison. The final column on national history shows the percentage of courses devoted to "national" history, a subset of the home region and thus double-counted. For example, 77% of Irish university courses cover Europe, but 37% specifically examine Ireland; all courses counted in the final column were thus also counted in the first column ("Europe"). In Louisiana, the "national history" column represents courses devoted to the American South; in UAE courses on the history of the Gulf. All figures were rounded to avoid the appearance of excessive accuracy; non-zero percentages below 0.5 percent rounded up to 1.

Fig. 1 – Percentage of courses devoted to different world regions (10 university systems)

Region National	Europe	North America	East Asia	South Asia	Latin America	Africa	Middle East	Pacific Region	Non-regional courses
History									
R. Ireland	77	5	1	1	-	1	1	11	37
Norway	48	1	-	1	-	2	2	44	16
Saxony	53	5	8	5	-	6	6	16	21
Singapore	13	9	43	4	-	-	2	18	11
Lebanon	22	7	1	-	-	-	54	16	14
UAE	5	3	3	-	-	3	78	8	13
New Zealand	32	9	7	4	2	-	1	23	21
Queensland	35	9	9	9	-	-	-	12	26
B. Columbia	33	27	7	2	4	2	4	18	20
Louisiana	29	33	5	1	6	6	2	19	11
Yale	36	24	6	3	4-	3	3	22	24
ANU	36	6	10	6		-	6	26	6

British Columbia has most cosmopolitan history offerings, covering every world region except the Pacific. British Columbia may also boast the best university in the sample: the University of British Columbia (UBC), which the Shanghai rankings consider 36th in the world, and 34th in social sciences. Saxony owes its cosmopolitan offerings mostly to the similarly exceptional Leipzig University, whose low Shanghai ranking reflects methodological bias against the humanities, and against non-Anglophone scholarship. New Zealand achieves a good balance partly through complementary specialization: all of New Zealand’s universities offer Asian history except for Waikato, but Waikato offers all of New Zealand’s courses on Latin America. Louisiana’s Universities neglect the Middle East, South Asia and the Pacific, but boast strong coverage of three non-local world regions: Europe, Latin America and Africa.

University systems everywhere teach Europe and the United States: great powers apparently attract historical attention. China’s rise may also explain why North American and European universities teach more East Asia than South Asia, Latin America, Africa, or the Middle East. Proximity, by contrast, seems surprisingly unimportant: Saxon universities devote more attention to India than Singapore and the UAE combined. Asian universities show little curiosity about world regions that are non-local and non-“western”: students in Lebanon, Singapore, and the UAE cannot study Latin America, Africa, the Pacific, or South Asia.

The use of English as a language of instruction appears to make little difference to the provincialism of university history education. While speakers of German, French or Arabic may travel abroad to study, speakers of Norwegian must choose between study in Norway and study in a foreign language. Nevertheless, Norway's university system has evidently not sought to ensure cosmopolitan history offerings. Instead, the most striking trend appears to be the relative cosmopolitanism of British settler societies: British Columbia, Louisiana, Queensland and New Zealand boast much more diverse coverage than the former British colonies Singapore and UAE. Ireland, finally, is the most provincial university system discussed.

The varying degrees of cosmopolitanism in university history education presumably reflect local conditions. Universities may have financial incentives for concentrating on local history. National history is popular among budget-passing legislators, fee-paying students, potential donors, and the public at large. Most students attend university in their home country, and frequently wish to study "their" history. Exchange students taking history courses can be reasonably presumed to have some interest in the destination country. Both researchers and postgraduate students can access local archives without expensive travel, so universities may achieve excellence in local history more easily than the history of a distant region. Thus, Kansas University at Lawrence (n.d.) offers both "The History of the Plains Indians" and "Kansas History." Uruguayan history would be a specialty subject outside of Uruguay, but four courses cover it at Montevideo's Universidad de la República (n.d.). Prague's Charles University (n.d.) offers 35 different courses on Czech history, and the University of Seoul (n.d.) offers 85 courses on Korean history.

Students may also take courses in local history because of future career prospects reward such knowledge. If, hypothetically, most history graduates teach in high schools, and if, hypothetically, high school history curricula emphasize "national history," then student demand for cosmopolitan education may be slight. All of these circumstances, however, may change if educators, policy makers, or other political actors come to see the value of cosmopolitan education.

What is to be done?

Assuming the will to offer cosmopolitan history training, what should universities aspire to teach? I end with recommendations. Universities should:

(1) Offer courses in at least four different world regions. All the university systems discussed above meet this test, as do 18 of the 25 individual universities in the sample. An individual university that fails this test may wish to acquire expertise in a region not covered at nearby universities.

Universities who wish pass the test should try ensure that their coverage is more than mere tokenism: Singapore's course on Islam, for instance, does not provide deep expertise on the Middle East, nor does Lebanon's introductory course on East Asia.

(2) Ensure that at least 25% of courses cover foreign cultures. A cosmopolitan history programme should, I suggest, develop expertise in a region with a radically different cultural tradition by hiring faculty staff who have conducted primary source research in the region in question. For this test, "foreign" is meant broadly: Australian universities cannot count researchers working on Britain or the United States; Singaporean universities should not count scholars of China. No history department in the Republic of Ireland passes this test. Irish universities might wish to follow the Swiss example and select complimentary areas of expertise, since at present, Irish students interested in the world beyond Europe and America must study abroad. Sharjah University in the UAE, similarly, should develop expertise outside the Middle East.

(3) Ensure that no more than 1/3 of courses cover 'national' history. This suggestion may be impossible for minor universities to implement: technical colleges wishing to hire one history instructor will understandably focus on host societies. Universities are right to teach local history, and even right to teach it disproportionately, but in an age of globalization, universities can only fulfill their broader mission to their students and their host societies if they also look outwards to the wider world.

Correspondence

Alexander Maxwell@vuw.ac.nz

References

- USP, n.d.1 About USP, Available from: <http://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=about_usp>, [2 October 2008].
- USP n.d.2. Faculty of Arts and Law – School of Social Sciences. Available from: <<http://sols3.usp.ac.fj/cfinder/pcrsedb.pl?subj=HY&form=full>>, [5 October 2008]
- Australian National University, 2008. History Major Overview. Available from: <<http://studyat.anu.edu.au/majors/ARTSMHIST;courses.html>>, [29 September 2008].
- Ball State University(2008) Department of History, Fall 2008 Course Offerings. Available from: <<http://www.bsu.edu/history/article/0,,57860--,00.html>>, [1 October 2008].
- W.B. Carnochan, W.B. (1993) *The Battleground of the Curriculum: Liberal Education and American Experience*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1993.

Charles University, n.d. Specializační přednášky. Available from:
 <http://ucd.ff.cuni.cz/specia_prednasky.html>, accessed 10 September 2008

Don, P.L. (2006) "Establishing World History as a Teaching Field: Comments from the Field," *The History Teacher*, vol. 36, no. 4.

Fabrikant, G. (2007) "Yale's Endowment Grows 28%, Topping \$22 Billion," *New York Times*, 27 September. Available from:
 <<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/27/business/27yale.html>>, [5 October 2008].

Geyer, M. (2005) "World History and General Education: How to Bring the World into the Classroom." In: Hanna Schissler and Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal, eds., *The Nation, Europe, and the World*, New York, Berghahn.

Harvard University (2007-08) Courses, 2007-2008. Available from:
 <<http://www.courses.fas.harvard.edu/~history/courses.cgi>>, [10 September 2008].

"Current Courses in History," n.d. Available from:
 <<http://www.history.ku.edu/courses/Current%20Courses%20in%20History.doc>>, [10 September 2008].

Leipzig University, n.d. Global Studies – A European perspective. Available from:
 <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/zhs/emgs/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=27&Itemid=41>, [25 September 2008].

Lewis University, n.d. Contemporary Global Studies. Available from:
 <<http://www.lewisu.edu/academics/contemporary-global-studies/index.htm>>, [25 September 2008].

Ludwigs-Maximilian University(2008/09) Kommentiertes Vorlesungsverzeichnis Geschichte WS 2008/2009, Online-Version (laufend Aktualisiert). Available from
 <http://www.geschichte.uni-muenchen.de/download/kvv_online.pdf>, [29 September 2008].

Moscow State University, n.d. Departments of the Faculty of History.
 <<http://www.hist.msu.ru/English/departments/index.htm>>; for Chinese history course titles see
 <<http://www.hist.msu.ru/English/departments/ModernEuUS/index.html>>, [23 September 2008].

Northrup, David (2005) "Globalization and the Great Convergence: Rethinking World History in the Long Term," *Journal of World History*, vol. 16, no. 3.

Oxford University, n.d. University of Oxford, Faculty of History. Available from:
 <<http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/>>, [23 July 2011].

Oxford University (2009) Lecture List for Michaelmas Term 2008. Available from:
 <<http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/lecturelist/documents/MT2008.pdf>>, [30 September 2008].

Partridge, P.H. (1965) "Universities in Australia," *Comparative Education*, vol. 2, no. 1 (November).

"Ranking Web of World Universities," n.d.1. Top Africa, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Available from:
 <http://www.webometrics.info/top100_continent.asp?cont=africa>; [5 October 2008].

"Ranking Web of World Universities," n.d.2. Top Oceania, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Available from:
 <http://www.webometrics.info/top100_continent.asp?cont=oceania>, [5 October 2008].

Seattle Pacific University, n.d. Why Study History? Available from:
 <http://www.spu.edu/depts/history/why_study_history.html>, [10 August 2006].

Schworm, P(2008) "Harvard's Endowment Surpasses \$34 Billion," Boston Globe, 24 January. Available from <http://www.boston.com/news/local/articles/2008/01/24/harvards_endowment_surpasses_34_billion>, [5 October 2008].

Shanghai Jiao Tong (2008) Academic Ranking of World Universities – 2008. Available from: <[http://www.arwu.org/rank2008/Top500_EN\(by%20rank\).pdf](http://www.arwu.org/rank2008/Top500_EN(by%20rank).pdf)>, [29 September 2008]; on their research methodology, see
 <[http://www.arwu.org/rank2008/ARWU2008Methodology\(EN\).htm#M1](http://www.arwu.org/rank2008/ARWU2008Methodology(EN).htm#M1)>, [11 October 2008].

Soysal, Y N & Schissler H. (2005) The Nation, Europe, and the World, New York, Berghahn.

Times Higher Education, 2007. QS World University Rankings 2007 – Arts & Humanities. Available from: <http://www.topuniversities.com/worlduniversityrankings/results/2007/subject_rankings/arts_humanities/>, [30 September 2008].

UCT n.d.1 About Us... Available from:
 <<http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/history/newsite/aboutus.htm>>, [1 October 2008].

UCT, 2007. Undergraduate Courses Offered in 2007. Available from:
 <<http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/history/newsite/courses.htm>>, [1 October 2008].

Universidad de le República, n.d. Departamento de Historia del Uruguay. Available from:
 <<http://www.fhuce.edu.uy/academica/cienciasHistoricas/uruguaya/varios/cursos.pdf>>, [30 September, 2008].

Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai (2007-08) Planuri de învățământ - Anul universitar 2007-2008. Available from: <http://hiphi.ubbcluj.ro/hiphi/planuri/lic_3/ir.htm>, [30 September 2008].

Universität Basel (2008) Lehrangebot HS 08. Available from:
 <<http://histsem.unibas.ch/studium/lehrveranstaltungen/das-aktuelle-lehrangebot/>>, [10 September 2008].

Universität Zürich, n.d. Ostasiatisches Seminar. Available from:
 <<http://www.ostasien.uzh.ch/index.html>>, [5 October 2008].

The University of Adelaide, n.d. Why Study History. Available from:
 <<http://www.arts.adelaide.edu.au/historypolitics/ug/history/>> accessed 10 August, 2006.

University of Botswana (2003-04) 2.4.2. BA History courses. Available from:
 <<http://www.thuto.org/ubh/ub/courses.htm>>, [2 October 2008].

University of Botswana, n.d.1. Staff Publications. Available from:
 <<http://www.thuto.org/ubh/ub/bb.htm>>, [2 October 2008].

University of Botswana, n.d.2. About the History Department. Available from: <<http://www.thuto.org/ubh/ub/hisdep.htm>>, [2 October 2008].

University of Minnesota, n.d. Institute for Global Studies. Available from: <<http://igs.cla.umn.edu/ugrad/individualized.html>>, [25 September 2008].

University of Minnesota, Morris, n.d. Why Study History? Available from: <<http://www.mrs.umn.edu/academic/history/history.html>>. [10 August 2006].

University of Nairobi, n.d. Motto of the History Department of the University of Nairobi, Available from: <http://www.uonbi.ac.ke/acad_depts/history/history.htm>, [10 August 2006].

University of Seoul, n.d. Korean History" (list of courses). Available from: <http://humanities.snu.ac.kr/eng/se01_ac/se01_ac_i/se01_ac_i02/se01_ac_i02.jsp>, [10 September 2008].

US News and World Report, 2008. Best Graduate Schools. Available from: <<http://grad-schools.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/grad/his/search>>, [29 September 2008].

Yale University, 2008-09. Yale College Programs of Study, Fall and Spring Terms 2008-2009, History. Available from: <<http://students.yale.edu/oci/ycps/ycpsProgramCourses.jsp?subject=HIST&dept=History&term=200803&term=200901>>. [29 September 2008].

Die Zeit, 2007. Ranking Compact History, Available from: <http://ranking.zeit.de/che9/CHE_en?module=Hitliste&do=show_l1&esb=33&hstyp=&ab=0&order_left=5#r>. [29 September 2009].

IJHLTR – Information and Instructions for Authors

IJHLTR –submissions for publication

IJHLTR invites submissions on pure and applied research into History Education, including

- academic and professional articles;
- curriculum research - development reports and evaluations;
- literature reviews;
- position papers and reports;
- monographs; n.b. because of their length, monographs will be published separately as supplements.

Criteria for acceptance for publication: submissions should:

1. make a contribution to the academic and professional discourse on History Education within either an educational, social or political setting;
2. relate to the relevant academic and professional literature;
3. be written in standard English;
4. follow appropriate academic conventions, see below.

IJHLTR aims to publish all submissions that meet the criteria

Refereeing

An international panel of referees will review submissions and provide feedback to authors.

Refereeing responses and related comment fall into four categories:

- (a) Acceptance without amendments
- (b) Acceptance with minor amendments
- (c) Acceptance after some rewriting (comment in the form of specific guidance)
- (d) Rejection (reasons given)

Details of Submission

Please email papers to:

hilary.cooper@sky.com

heirnet@ex.ac.uk

Submissions:

Length

maximum - 6,000 words.
[4,000 words preferable]

Type face / layout

Word Processor	Word
Font	Arial
Font size	11
Spacing	Double

Title Page [separate sheet]

Title:

- Capitalise each word

Author

- forename or initials
- surname
- institution or affiliation
- town/city
- country

Correspondence

- corresponding author
- email address of named contact author
- email addresses of co-authors

The Submission

Title:

- Capitalise each word
- Italics

Author

- forename or initials
- surname
- institution or affiliation
- town/city
- country

IJHLTR – Information and Instructions for Authors

Abstract

- abstract [the word]- bold, title case, non-italic
- colon following
- text - italicised
- length c. 200-250 words

Keywords

- the word , bold, space above and below abstract and the first section
- keywords : Capital letter for first word in a phrase, lower case for other words separated keywords/phrases by a comma
- up to 20 keywords

Section titles

- capital letter start, lower case throughout
- bold
- single space above and below

Sub-sections

- capital or lower case letter start, as appropriate
- bold
- double space above

Sub-sub sections

- capital or lower case letter start, as appropriate
- bold
- text runs on

Text

- no justification to right
- start paragraphs flush with left border

Quotations

- blocks of text - indent .63cm., no quotation marks
- inside the text - use quotation marks, single quotation mark at start and end of quote

References in text

single reference

- round bracket - open (
- surname: capital letter then lower case
- comma
- date
- comma
- page or pages p. or pp.
- page or page numbers
- round bracket - closed)

double or multiple references, and, author named in text

- semi colon between list of references
- two authors cited within a set of brackets - and is &
- author named in text, date of article follows in brackets

Numbered explanations in text

put these as endnotes at the end of the article before acknowledgments

Figures

Mentioned in text as Fig. number, i.e. Fig. 1

- Fig. with full stop after
- space and number
- caption - capital letter start, rest lower case, not bold
- running numbers in text from 1-n.
- inserted immediately after paragraph, or as is best for publishing, i.e. if a full page figure

Tables

Mentioned in the text in brackets, (Table 1)

- CAPITALS FOR TABLE
- running number plus full stop
- inserted in text as soon as appropriate before or after mention
- caption - capital letter start, rest lower case

Capitalised Abbreviations

- give abbreviation after first full use of term within the text
- use square brackets []

IJHLTR – Information and Instructions for Authors

Correspondence

- capital first letter, italic i.e. Correspondence
- no space
- full postal address
- email address

References: Harvard Referencing System

please use this version:

http://education.exeter.ac.uk/dll/studyskills/harvard_referencing.htm

In association with

