International Journal of Historical Teaching, Learning and Research

Volume 5 Number 2 July 2005

ISSN 1472 – 9466

Editorial Board

History Education Centre:
Faculty of Education,
University of Plymouth
UK
www.ex.ac.uk/historyresource
J.D.Nichol@ex.ac.uk

Editorial Board

Editors
Jon Nichol, University of Exeter, EnglandRobert Guyver, College of St. Mark and St. John, Plymouth, England
Kate Watson, University of Exeter, England
Jacqui Dean, Leeds Metropolitan University, England

ICT Consultant/Webmaster
Kevin O'Connell, University of Exeter, England

Assistant Editors
Keith Barton, University of Cincinnati, USA
Hilary Cooper, University of Lancaster, England
Richard Dargie, University of Edinburgh, Scotland
Ross Dunn, San Diego State University, USA
Peter Fisher, University of Newcastle, England
Stuart Foster, University of Georgia, USA
Penelope Harnett, University of the West of England, Bristol, England
Terry Hayden, University of East Anglia, Norwich, England
Peter Lee, Institute of Education, University of London, England
Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, Director, Euroclio, Brussels, Belgium
Garry Mills, University of Nottingham, England
Rob Sieborger, University of of Cape Town, South Africa
Andrew Sokholov, Ushinskii Pedagogic University, Yaroslavl, Russia
Yosanne Vella, University of Malta
Sam Wineburg, Washington State University, USA
Suzanne Wilson, Michigan State University, USA

Editorial

History, Citizenship and Identity

9. 48 a.m. on the 7th July 2005 brought graphically to the forefront of my mind the interface between History Education, Citizenship and the Global Village in which we all live. After a reasonably civilised breakfast and a congenial browse through *The Times* I was walking from the hotel with a colleague to our meeting. As we turned out of Tavistock Square the bus bomb exploded with a deep, sickening, heavy and terrifying thud. Terrorism in its most traumatic and visible form had been transplanted once more into the centre of British national life. The transplant this time had not come via the cultural milieu of a section of society who felt they lived in an occupied and brutalised colony, Northern Ireland. It was home grown and genuinely indigenous through the medium of Jihadists born and raised in Leeds, England. It became starkly clear that their British education had done nothing to give them a sense of belonging and identity, indeed, the converse. While History Education cannot claim in terms of both the cultural messages and the mentality that it develops for citizenship in a liberal, plural democracy to have the answer to the Jihadic threat, it can certainly be placed at the forefront of an educational agenda that helps ensure that we do not cultivate, foster and develop a deadly enemy within.

This volume of IJHLTR addresses head on a number of crucial general issues of education for the citizens of the Global Village. It draws upon a wide range of countries, cultures and academic traditions, ranging from South America to the Balkans, Russia and the United Kingdom. All of the papers share a common theme; how can pupils genuinely develop an understanding of their position in the world through the medium that history provides? History as such has the two faces of mythology: mythos and logos.

Mythos is the repository of the common stories that we can draw upon and share in constructing our own individual and collective identities. *Logos* is the other side of the history education equation; the syntactic and substantive concepts that give the discipline its form and shape, the processes and related skills that historians draw upon, their protocols in undertaking historical study and enquiry in different modes, for example be it as a biographer, family, local, diplomatic, economic or social historian. *The logos* dimension is what gives 'Doing History' its educative value, it equips young citizens with the thinking tools to be informed, sceptical enquirers who can ask searching questions and demand answers that are evidentially based and plausible. As such, historical education enables the myths, legends and stories that provide the rich repository of national identity to be subject to rigorous scrutiny. Viewing them through the historical lens enables them to emerge as stronger and more substantial supports for the civilised society that we all cherish and succour. History Education can be an ingredient in the antidote to the poison of extremism in whatever form it takes, be it fundamentalism, communism, capitalism or some other ism that claims the right to force itself down the throats of the rest of society. Or, as occurred, on the 7th July, to blow them up at will and without mercy.

Jon Nichol

Developments in Heritage Education in Europe: EUROCLIO's Enquiries Compared

Lieke van Wijk, **EUROCLIO, The Hague, The Netherlands**

Abstract *This paper reviews three surveys carried out by EUROCLIO in 1999, 2003 and 2004 and discusses the results which provide information about the different ways in which the key concepts of heritage and national identity in European history education are dealt with.*

Keywords Heritage education in Europe

Heritage education questioned throughout Europe

In the work of EUROCLIO, the European Association for history educators, heritage education has always played an important role. It figures in our projects on the learning and teaching of history, as well as in the comparative European inquiries we undertake annually. During the training course EUROCLIO organises each year in cooperation with different History Teachers' Associations in Europe the programme is partly devoted to visiting heritage sites and studying local possibilities of on-site education.

Cultural heritage is a key element in history curricula and history textbooks throughout Europe. However, when it comes to defining cultural heritage, a problem occurs. How is cultural heritage valued and what is the learning objective when working with pupils? What can be understood by the term 'national heritage'? In one interpretation heritage is a way of preserving and introducing pupils to their culture and the physical remains of the past. Another interpretation embodies a rather theme park mentality: the past can be seen as a source of entertainment for the present. Some see heritage as an instrument to strengthen national identity and national pride (Leeuw-Roord, 2004, pp 39-41, 49). Besides differences in interpretation, the term heritage is rather confusing as well (Quaedvlieg-Mihauilovic, 2004). What is the meaning of *national* heritage? Is it the heritage of the nation, the state or the inhabitants? Would the term *cultural* heritage neutralize the underlying pattern of values and meanings which automatically come with the term 'national heritage'? But what culture are we addressing? In this article I will use the term heritage education in a limited way, leaving out cultural aspects, but aiming specifically at on-site education.

In two of EUROCLIO's surveys, in 1999 and 2004, we encompassed the fact that heritage education is not always recognised as an integrated part of the subject of history (Trigt, I.van, 1999, pp. 21-25; Leeuw-Roord, J. van der, 2004). In 1999 EUROCLIO organised its Annual Conference and International Training Course in Edinburgh, Scotland under the theme 'Heritage Education and National Identity'. An international inquiry among History Teachers' Associations in 36 countries was a part of the preparation of this conference. In 2004 *Heritage Education*, a new comparative inquiry among 33 respondents followed in cooperation with the pan-European federation for heritage Europa Nostra. Europa Nostra is a non-governmental organisation, which has existed now for over 40 years and has worked to promote Europe's cultural heritage, both built and natural, see www.europanostra.org.

By taking a close look at the results of the 1999 and 2004 inquiries I intend to describe the situation, positive aspects and the problems encountered in the heritage education in Europe in the past years. Would the outcomes of the 2004 questionnaire show that the outcomes of the 1999 survey still stand? With help of other EUROCLIO

questionnaires I aim to draw a consistent picture and draw conclusions at the end, with recommendations for future heritage education.

Heritage and national identity as concepts in European history education

Both studies show that many pupils visited heritage sites and were enthusiastic about the experience. In the 1999 study it came out that all European pupils did visit museums during school time. In most countries they also visit churches (93%), local environments (93%) and castles (83%). War memorials (64%) and archives (48%) are visited less frequently. The 2004 questionnaire showed that the interest of history educators in Europe in heritage education is still large and a majority of pupils reacted very positively to visiting heritage sites. In most countries (79%) it is a common practice to visit heritage sites. In many countries it is practice to visit heritage sites as part of the history course.

In the 1999 questionnaire the number of visits and the ages of pupils were investigated. Most European schools organised one to five visits per year for their pupils. Most visits were made when pupils are between 11 and 16 years old. The number of visits usually diminished as pupils grew older. Latvia came out as country with the most visits; Switzerland was the country with the fewest visits. Unfortunately in the 2004 research these questions were not asked, so no account could be made of any changes or similarities with the situation as studied five years before.

Visiting a site, the most popular activity in on-site education in Europe was filling out worksheets. Role-play in history education turned out to be hardly used in most countries. Educational staff as well as educational programmes were available at most European historical sites.

The outcomes of the 1999 and 2004 questionnaires show that heritage is taught in most classrooms throughout Europe. 14% of the answering country pays *very much*, 48% pays *much* attention to national heritage in their curricula and in 38% the answer is *little*. In most countries it is a common practice to visit heritage sites as a part of history education, despite the fact that history curricula in Europe have rarely integrated heritage education in their requirements.

In general most countries consider heritage more important than teaching about national heroes and military events. However the 1999 research outcomes show a difference between Eastern and Western European countries. Most Eastern European countries reported that *very much* or *much* attention is paid to national hero's and national military events. The Czech Republic and Slovenia form an exception to this rule, whereas in Iceland and United Kingdom the situation is the opposite. An explanation of the concentration on national heroes and military events could lie in the fact that before 1991 the history of the former Soviet countries was written in Moscow. There had been very little room for the history of their republics. After independence national history regained space and was given priority in the newly written history curricula (Leeuw-Roord, 1989, pp. 19-20). The 2004 EUROCLIO questionnaire *Belonging to Europe*. *Small Nations – Big Issues* shows that since 1999 enhancing national identity has become a curriculum aim also in Western European countries (Kostense, 2004, pp. 44-45).

What is the position of the concept of heritage in history curricula throughout Europe? In the 1999 questionnaire 57% of the respondents answered *much* or *very much* to the question whether heritage is a key-concept in the history curriculum. Exactly the same picture emerges from the 2004 responses to this question: Albania and Georgia answered *very much*. Austria, Belarus, Estonia, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Northern Ireland, Macedonia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Scotland, Slovakia and Ukraine answered *much*. The role of building national identity in the history curriculum is much more important, 75% of the respondents answered.

National identity in most curricula is given more attention than heritage. Therefore in most countries national history is emphasised in the history curriculum. In 2004 we asked for the aim of the teaching materials presented at heritage sites and used in heritage education. The respondents answered that the materials are *often* (26%) and *regularly* (39%) used to strengthen national identity and/or national pride.

In the wide comparative research *School History on the Move. Changes in history Teaching and Learning in the Decade of Educational Reforms*, which EUROCLIO undertook in 2003, the impact of the process of educational changes in school history over the past ten years was considered. In this survey also questions about heritage education and the curriculum for history are addressed (Leeuw-Roord, 2004). According to the response almost everywhere in Europe history education is supposed to enhance citizenship, democracy and critical thinking skills and should help the students to understand the world they live in. These aims certainly have gained ground in the past ten years, whereas the respondents were convinced that the traditional aims of strengthening national identity and patriotism have lost their prime position as the purpose of history in the curriculum. This research also shows cultural heritage has become more important in the classroom, as well as on-site education (Leeuw-Roord, 2004, pp. 22-27). It also showed what respondents in 2003 were expecting about changes in education as moving from a nationalistic approach to a more inclusive and international approach.

It seems that in the EUROCLIO survey of 2003 the respondents expressed a rather optimistic view. They noticed a clear movement away from the traditional and mostly nationalistic approach in history education. When we look at the outcomes of the 1999 and the 2004 studies aiming specifically on heritage education, we see a different picture emerge. National history and heroes have gained immense popularity in the public debate which influences the approach to history education.

Multicultural and international dimensions in heritage education

Are heritage classes used to look beyond the national borders and look into greater perspectives? Only in 13% of the answering countries did the history of migrants and minorities form part of the curriculum in the 1999 survey. Georgia, the Netherlands and Romania responded that pupils study the history of migrants and minorities *much*. The other respondents answered *little* or *very little*; only Azerbaijan and Bulgaria answered *no certainty*. The same pattern can be seen in the attention given to history of localities: only 30% of the countries give *much* or *very much* attention to the history of their localities. The focus on national history results in little attention for both the history of localities and the history of migrants and minorities. If we look at the outcomes of the 1999 and the 2004 questionnaires it shows that heritage education can hardly be classified as multicultural and international. Most lessons referring to heritage underline the episodes and processes of national history and tend to strengthen national identity and pride while ignoring the European dimension. It is merely focused upon the national heritage of the dominant community.

In 2004 we asked the respondents to classify the relation of the heritage teaching materials with the social and cultural variety in their country. Do the materials consider the relations between poor-rich, man-woman, child-adult, and the different ethnic and religious groups in their society? 39% of the respondents answered *often*, 26% answered *regularly*, whereas 30% said *hardly* and 5% could not tell. Two thirds of the respondents are positive about this relation, which is promising. Nevertheless as the question was put in general, we cannot conclude this would serve pupils' understanding of a multicultural society.

The respondents clearly stated their wish for a more multicultural context in the teaching of local heritage: 50% answered *yes* and 38% answered *very much*. The

other 12% reported *not really* and even *no.* The respondents from Kyrgyzstan explained: 'teachers may do it, but there is no place in the curriculum for multicultural reflection'. Answers to both questionnaires can be studied at EUROCLIO's Secretariat in The Hague.

It was generally accepted among the participating Associations that living in a multicultural society demanded a new concept and context in teaching about heritage. In Europe there is scarcely emphasis on multicultural aspects in history curricula. Responses to the 2004 questionnaire showed that the teachers would very much welcome teaching materials which would also shed light on the European roots of their local and national heritage and explicitly explore its multicultural context. Although there was a difference in opinion about the stage of multiculturalism, others related it also to travel abroad, the enlarged European Union and the fact that nowadays societies are trying to find their place within international history.

Another picture which emerges from the 2004 questionnaire is that neither educational authorities nor curricula seem to explicitly advocate an international dimension for heritage education (The Hague Forum, 2004). Only in topics which are closely connected to international events such as the history of World War I and II, were some wider perspectives noticed. In some countries a more international dimension is linked to a higher level of education. In 52% of the answers the presented teaching materials at the heritage sites were *hardly* linked to an international context. However teaching about trade, culture, travel, migration and war did occur within an international perspective, according to 26% of the answers *often* and 13% *regularly*.

The responding History Teachers´ Associations stated that national history and heritage should not be taught without reference to an international context. The Associations considered that pupils would understand history better when they perceive the linkage between local and international events and trends and find out about differences and similarities in local and a more international or European heritage. However it was also pointed out that there should be support to place local heritage into a wider international or European dimension.

Problems related to heritage and school history

It is far from easy in Europe to organise a trip to a heritage site. Problems arising from the planning of out-of-school visits to heritage sites include in the first place the density of the curriculum closely followed by the logistic and financial difficulties with organising an excursion and a lack of adequate and international teaching materials. Throughout Europe heritage education is acknowledged as a curriculum requirement but it lacks a clear implementation in the history programmes. Therefore it is not an integrated part of the learning and teaching of history. This also shows in the fact that teacher in-service training in Europe does not prepare teachers for on-site education. For a successful integration of heritage education into the history curriculum this is an essential requirement.

Financial and logistical difficulties formed another problematic area in preparing school visits to heritage sites. In the 1999 questionnaire we asked whether financial support was granted by the government to visit heritage sites. In most countries (71%) such support was absent. If the government supported these visits, it was merely in Western European countries. Reductions or free access to sites did exist in most countries (96%). It is however not only the lack of financial support that prevents visits to be made more often. The 2004 results showed that in some countries teachers are obliged to find a substitute for classes when they are on a field trip or excursion. Teachers often not only have to find a substitution, they also have to pay for their day off school, which makes it almost impossible in many countries to

go on a school trip. In other European countries health and safely regulations discourage teachers from undertaking on-site education.

The 2004 results also show a lack of appropriate teaching materials for heritage education in many European countries. The Associations of Belarus, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Moscow and Serbia-Montenegro indicated that there were hardly materials at all. When teaching materials exist, it is reported that these materials are not easy to obtain. Materials were often published solely by museums and did not relate to classroom practice. The teachers indicated that they would prefer the internet or a CD-Rom as a source to up to date information on heritage education and teaching guidelines.

Heritage education at school is generally focused on the heritage of the dominant community (Kostense, 2004, pp. 42-51, 47-48). Preferably it should be inclusive and focus also on the multicultural and international aspects of heritage.

Recommendations

From the 1999, 2003, 2004 and other surveys discussed here a picture emerges about the status of heritage education in Europe. The pleasure and learning aspect for educators and their pupils in visiting and learning from heritage sites is obvious. Unfortunately still a lot of effort has to be taken to make heritage visits possible for many pupils in Europe for more than once a year. However it is clear that policy and curriculum makers have to reduce the difficulties that face educators who wish to arrange such visits.

However, the content of the heritage teaching materials has also to be taken into account, as well as the approach from the educator. A growing Europe demands another focus in heritage classes, towards a European dimension. On the other hand, throughout Europe a trend towards a more nationalistic approach is at work, contrary to the future envisaged in the 1990's. Hopefully this is only a temporary reaction to the perhaps frightening power coming from Brussels. In general a tendency towards a more European or international dimension of the learning and teaching of history is highly desirable. In the light of the existing and dangerous gap between more and more groups in society of different backgrounds it is wise to look at a multicultural and inclusive way to teach about our common cultural heritage.

Correspondence

Lieke van Wijk, Project Manager EUROCLIO, The Hague, The Netherlands, Lieke@euroclio.nl

References

www.europanostra.org
The Hague Forum (2004) *Heritage and Education: A European Perspective?* The Hague.
Kostense, N., (2004) 'EUROCLIO Questionnaire 2004: The Results', in *Belonging to Europe – Small Nations. Big Issues. Relations between Local, National Regional, European and World Dimension in History*, Bulletin vol. 20, The Hague.
Leeuw-Roord, J. van der, (2004) 'Heritage and History Education at Schools', in The Hague Forum (2004) *Heritage and Education: A European Perspective?* The Hague.
Leeuw-Roord, J. van der, (2004) *History Changes*. *Fact and Figures about History Education in Europe since 1989* Hague.
Quaedvlieg-Mihailovic, S. & Graf Strachwitz, R. (2004) (ed.), *Heritage and the Building of Europe*, Berlin.

Trigt, I. van, (1999) ‘Heritage and national identity in European history education’, in *Heritage and National Identity*, Bulletin vol. 12, The Hague.

Citizenship through History – What Is Good Practice?

Peter Brett, St. Martin's College, England

Abstract *Citizenship education is playing an increasingly central role in the curriculum in the age of terror. The introduction of a new subject into the English curriculum is always problematic: the 'folk' culture of individual teachers, their departments and schools are often resistant to change. History needs to respond to the challenge of Citizenship education as it is centrally placed to take a leading role. Indeed, the rationale for History in the 21st century suggests that History teachers should prioritise their role in educating pupils to become fully active and responsible citizens of plural democracies.*

Keywords

Assessment for Learning, Citizenship case studies, Citizenship, Community educaton, Concepts, Cross curricularity, History curriculum, History education, History teachers, Integration, Interpretations, Pedagogy, Significance, Teaching History

Introduction

From the perspective of some History teachers, Citizenship can be viewed as an unwelcome newcomer parking its tanks on the lawn of what is seen as natural History territory. Good History teachers have been developing students' political literacy, conceptual understanding and analytical skills in a variety of contexts for many years. School History departments in England have on the whole proved tremendously resourceful over the past decade in adapting variously to National Curriculum revisions (1995 and 2000), the demands of the key stage 3 strategy, and injunctions to incorporate cross-curricular key skills such as literacy, ICT and work-related learning into History lessons. For some Heads of History Citizenship has been seen as one government initiative too far and a dilution of the identity of History as a subject in its own right. OFSTED inspection evidence consistently judges History to be amongst the best taught subjects in the curriculum. Many would subscribe to the notion, 'If it ain't broke, don't fix it'. Citizenship educators have yet to convince most history teachers of how incorporating a Citizenship focus explicitly into their teaching can make for a better History lesson. Lacking this conviction, it is hardly surprising that a significant number of History teachers have paid only lip-service to what seems to be yet another cross-curricular requirement.

To add to these factors, there is some understandable jealousy about Citizenship being made a statutory subject for all pupils until the age of 16 when – almost alone in Europe - a majority of students in England are allowed to drop History at the age of 14. Moreover, if anything, the Humanities subjects are in danger of further marginalisation within proposed reforms of the 14-19 curriculum. There are also deeper-rooted philosophical concerns among some History teachers relating to the idea that the discipline of history might be used in order to serve some other moral and social agenda – Kinloch (1998), for example, has argued that history's intrinsic goals and practices should be the only starting point and measure of quality in classroom history. There is a reputable lineage in this view linking to the thinking of influential historians such as Sir Geoffrey Elton who concluded that,

> the historian is in the first place concerned with the people of the past – with *their* experiences, thoughts and actions – and not with the people of the present, least of all with himself. (Elton, 1991, p.43)

History is not alone in taking a cautious view about the potentially annexationist implications of Citizenship. Several R.E. specialists, for example, have been keen to delineate the frontiers and differences between R.E. and Citizenship as being as significant as the commonalities, e.g. Watson (2002); Blaylock (2003); Huddleston (2003).

Conversely, from the perspective of the over-stretched Citizenship co-ordinator, History represents something of a managerial problem. The Head of History dutifully ticked plenty of the relevant boxes when the cross-curricular Citizenship audit was undertaken but there does not seem to have been much progress since then. The Citizenship co-ordinator would like to collect some evidence of pupils' cross-curricular learning – from 2004 there was a statutory duty to report on the Citizenship achievements and the progress of students by the end of key stage 3 and yet assessed Citizenship activities and outcomes from across the curriculum, including History, have generally been notable by their absence. The Citizenship co-ordinator is also coming under pressure as OFSTED inspection evidence accumulates that cross-curricular approaches to Citizenship are often lacking in terms of both definition and rigour:

- 'In most schools, fundamental questions about the nature and purpose of Citizenship have not been given due consideration'
- 'A problem in some schools that have chosen a cross-subject route is the failure of the citizenship co-ordinator to move heads of department to reconsider aspects of their curriculum'
- 'Where pupils have chosen a cross-curricular approach in which the citizenship elements are implicit, there is no tangible programme overall, and pupils are not necessarily aware that they are studying Citizenship.' (OFSTED 2003)
- 'Most schools are not making close links between the three strands of the National Curriculum – knowledge, the skills of enquiry and communication, and participation and responsible action.'
- 'For those schools which have established complex arrangements for delivery of citizenship, assessment is likely to be particularly problematic, as information has to be brought together from several sources.' (OFSTED, 2004)

Faced with this kind of external critique, the Citizenship co-ordinator is looking for allies and yet often History teachers are keeping their heads down and spurning the request to incorporate yet another addition into their much revised schemes of work.

Statutory Citizenship : Issues and Problems

As the Citizenship National Curriculum has emerged as a statutory new subject in England since September 2002 the marriage between Citizenship and History has not always been an easy one. How can history teaching respond to the challenges and opportunities provided by citizenship education ? The representation of two parties communicating across a barricade of mutual misunderstanding is of course over-drawn here. There is much common ground. But there is an urgent need to define models of what good practice in terms of an effective marriage of Citizenship and History looks like. Interestingly, the citizenship-history link is judged much less problematic in some European countries than it is in England. Citizenship and History can be seen as natural partners - this was confirmed by Sir Bernard Crick, the founding father of the modern Citizenship education movement in England:

> My personal view, that I have had to be a little bit discreet about at times, is that of all the other subjects History may have (should have) overall the greatest role to play…Seeley long ago said that politics without history has no root, and that history without politics has no fruit – and I take it that even then he meant both the disciplines and the activities. The most common reason that something happens is that some antecedent thing or things occurred in the proximate past, and so on back as far as one needs to understand…And I think the professional case is strong also. Historians in discussing alternative interpretations of complex events, say of the English Civil War…, the growth of the franchise, political and social change, are developing the kind of skills of informed discussion and concern for evidence that are at the heart of the Citizenship order and, indeed, the practice of citizenship. [Foreword to J. Arthur et al (2001)]

If it is possible to uncover the factors and principles that make for quality history teaching and to show how these naturally support citizenship, then it would seem to be a fair assumption that both subjects would be better off.

Cross-curricularity

Nevertheless it is fair to acknowledge that teaching and learning subjects via cross-curricular routes is always complicated – co-ordination of how Citizenship is taught through History and other subjects is complex and time-consuming. Are there shared understandings across different school departments, including History, as to the nature of the Citizenship National Curriculum? Certainly, it is currently rare that History teachers see themselves explicitly as teachers of Citizenship – they are also unlikely to have received any Citizenship INSET or professional development. How often is a Citizenship co-ordinator freed up to monitor the quality of Citizenship work undertaken across different school subjects and spend time talking and joint planning with, for example, the Head of History? There is often a lack of clarity in relation to who is responsible for assessing pupils' citizenship work across the curriculum and few developed models and mechanisms for doing this effectively. Too often the cross-curricular approach begins and ends with a Citizenship audit with little subsequent exploration of the implications of ticking a particular box. The audit should constitute the beginning of a journey of enhancing learning, not the end product of a managerially satisfying but ultimately impoverishing paper chase. As Christine Counsell (2002) reminds us, *'*cross-referencing an extra column in a work scheme cannot take the place of serious theorising and creative reflection. Mere coincidence of content is not a cross-curricular link'. Tweaking the ubiquitous planning grids helpfully provided by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) (see Freeman 2002) might work as a bureaucratic 'mapping' exercise but focus, imaginative learning activities and teaching skills are required to truly bring the History/Citizenship link to life and stimulate deep learning and engagement.

Citizenship and the History Curriculum

Plenty of observers have drawn attention to the 'coincidence of content' and then left it at that. For example, it has been noted that History provides opportunities for pupils to:

- Broaden their experience of different peoples and cultures and appreciate the pluralist nature of British and European society;
- Understand how values and human rights emerge within a society;
- Analyse a variety of societal perspectives at both national and international levels;
- Discuss the validity of evidence, motivations and opinions of people in different social, economic and political contexts;

- Develop the ability to make value judgments and be familiar with the moral aspects of studying history;
- Learn about the development of British democratic processes; and
- Trace the development of citizens' rights

[Slightly adapted from Wright and Arthur (2001): 27]

In most cases, however, unless lingered upon and developed, the citizenship learning to be gained from touching upon these areas in History lessons is likely to remain superficial and implicit. Moreover, simply mapping an overlap of content between History and Citizenship is not enough. Only when a sustained dialogue and series of investigations is set up between past and present are the Citizenship 'opportunities' likely to be grasped. Without an explicit focus upon Citizenship learning objectives, high-flown, if honourable, aspirations such as those outlined above are likely to remain vague and unconsolidated in pupils' minds.

Integration

Andrew Wrenn (1999) usefully enjoined History teachers in addressing History's opportunity to support critical citizenship to 'Build it in, don't bolt it on' but only a small advanced guard of History departments have sought to embed some of his excellent practical advice. More typical are the History departments which mirror the misunderstandings of Citizenship exemplified in the following example highlighted by OFSTED:

> A History department offered work on the suffragettes as an example of teaching about democracy. This represents a misunderstanding of National Curriculum Citizenship. It is true that the study of suffragettes involves specific concepts and terminology that form a very useful starting point for addressing citizenship. However, unless that work leads on to some work of substance on democracy, voting rights today, equal opportunities, and other issues, the contribution to citizenship is limited at best and often only implicit.
> (OFSTED, 2003)

It is important, however, to acknowledge that the History teaching community has sought in positive ways to build bridges between History and Citizenship in the past decade. Two issues of the journal *Teaching History* have been devoted to exploring links with Citizenship in August 1999 and March 2002. Citizenship was incorporated as a key element of the Historical Association's 2002-2012 vision for history presented at its 2002 *Past Forward* conference. And even before the advent of the Crick Report, influential history teacher educators were underlining the contribution that history could make to citizenship education. There was a clear recognition that history contributed substantially to pupils' political learning:

> The National Curriculum History document is full of developing possibilities for developing political learning: an understanding of change and continuity, cause and effect, the development of historical knowledge and interpretation, and the use and deployment of historical sources are all vital to any form of political understanding. So, whether one looks at the content, the concepts or the skills, history teaching is a potentially rich seam for developing the political education of young people.
> (Davies and John, 1995 - see also Kerr, 1993)

The role of history

A range of studies have underlined the capacity of History to illuminate key Citizenship issues such as identity (Phillips, 2003), European awareness and citizenship (Davies, 1995), values in the diversity of human experiences (Stow, 2000), global citizenship (Davies, 2001), social and cultural diversity (Haydn, 2001), moral thinking (Arthur, 2001), conflict resolution (Ghere, 2002) and the development

of democracy (Lang, 1999). The latter article listed some of the major points in the development of democracy which are seldom covered below the age of 16 in England (and not often then): The English Revolution 1649-1660; the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, the American Constitution, The Declaration of the Rights of Man, Nineteenth Century Parliamentary Reform, the development of modern political parties. Lang noted,

> If we never teach about democracy – democracy in action, democracy working – we can hardly be surprised if pupils pick up the only half-hidden message that democracy is dull, and apply it in real life.

As Rob Phillips (2002) reminded us it is worth constantly asking the question what kinds of people do we want to help produce via the history curriculum. He argued for a history curriculum which encouraged pupils to:

- Think independently
- Present substantiated arguments
- Communicate effectively
- Co-operate and learn from each other
- Be curious
- Interrogate evidence
- Appreciate more than one point of view and a range of different interpretations

All of these are vital to develop the kinds of critical skills, open-mindedness and independence of mind that are vital to a broad citizenship education. [John Slater (1989) perceptively described this as 'informed and responsible scepticism' – he noted that,

> If history does not guarantee attitudes and aspirations it is a necessary if not a sufficient condition which might enable the making of informed choices. It cannot guarantee tolerance though it may give it some intellectual weapons. It cannot keep open closed minds though it may sometimes leave a nagging grain of doubt in them.

Beyond this Phillips argued for a History curriculum which sought to:

- Produce citizens who have a properly informed perception of their own identity, as well as those of others
- Actively promote an inclusive, as opposed to exclusive, view of community, society and nation
- Cultivate a depth of vision among pupils which addresses some universal values such as tolerance, social justice and honesty
- Cultivate a view of the world which looks outwards not inwards

All of these are objectives shared fully by citizenship educators but they are keen that History colleagues foreground and underline these objectives in their teaching rather than expecting them to be absorbed by a mysterious and indirect process of osmosis. History teachers will agree with the goals outlined here but then often fail to make an explicit commitment to will the means to achieve the goals – there is a fear that a sustained focus on these issues will somehow take pupils away from the core business and substance of history.

Theory into practice: problems

Having said this, there are very real practical difficulties facing over-stretched Heads of History even if they are committed to incorporating Citizenship explicitly into their schemes of work. Colleagues in, for example the English, Geography and R.E. departments have less of a stretch to accomplish when they come to address respectively media awareness, understanding of global trading patterns or issues

relating to Human Rights. These subject areas emerge organically from existing schemes of work and, within their respective subject Programmes of Study, deal naturally with the contemporary and topical. Good History teachers have always sought to make parallels between past and present in order to enhance students' understanding but the working territory of History is the past. Explicit teaching of Citizenship in a History context may mean on occasions interweaving History and contemporary politics lessons within the context of an over-arching sequence of lessons. The transferability of understanding about monarchy and rights in – say – the Early Modern period to the context of the early Twenty First Century is less obvious to young people unless History teachers are prepared to engage students consciously in a more extended and explicit dialogue between past and present. It may, however, make for a more engaging and focused History lesson as the following feedback to a beginning History teacher from a college tutor indicates.

Context: A relatively weak Year 8 lesson with an able group on the 1688 'Glorious Revolution' and the subsequent Bill of Rights (which could have been a really interesting Citizenship lesson)
Key Question: How did the Glorious Revolution affect the balance between King and Parliament?
Intended learning outcomes:

Understand that the struggle for power was a long-term issue in relations between King and Parliament

Understand the importance of the 1689 Bill of Rights

Able to discuss and identify the consequences of the Glorious Revolution

Lesson summary:
Opening re-cap on 1688 and 'Divine Right'. Nice idea to gain an overview of the shifting balance between King and Parliament through the 17th Century – children do this 'actively' through coming to the front and making choices. Some chronological confusion. Moved into a card sort activity in pairs – children seek to distinguish 'causes' of 1688 events from 'what happened'. Task was a potentially valid one but instructions/rationale were not clear. Teacher interaction with the children tended to focus upon what they were doing rather than probing their thinking. Teacher attempted to draw strands together in an end of lesson plenary.
Selected Tutor Comments:

The children were insufficiently clear about the purpose of this lesson beyond the content of the events of 1688. It got bogged down in content and the mechanics of doing. Other aspects of learning were potentially more useful and interesting than this e.g. There was the potential to both broaden and deepen the focus of the lesson through interesting contemporary parallels. You needed to do more to establish the 'point' of this lesson at the start – your intended learning outcomes are OK but needed underlining. Probably a better way of teaching this lesson would have been through making more explicit Citizenship links, comparing both the role of Parliament and the nature of individuals' 'rights' between 1689 and today. This would have helped to get the pupils talking and engaged.

Assimilating Citizenship

So how can established subject areas like History contribute to the successful delivery of the citizenship curriculum whilst remaining true to the spirit and content of their own subject discipline? Batchelor (2003) has some constructive suggestions to make in this area. He suggests that it would be useful for Citizenship co-coordinators to issue guidelines in order that subject specialists understand the specific requirements that an education for citizenship entails. There is sometimes a chasm between the thinking of policy-makers and classroom teachers when the nature of citizenship is discussed. He suggests that these guidelines should make explicit:

- how the subject they are teaching contributes to understanding of citizenship
- how it can exemplify the operation of values and concepts important for citizenship and
- how it may help students to develop their skills of analysis, critical judgment, expressing a point of view or participating co-operatively with others

To this might be added the utility of sharing a variety of practical examples of what good cross-curricular Citizenship in a History context looks and feels like. How might this framework be developed and expanded so that it makes sense to History teachers in the busy context of their everyday classroom lives?

Case Study: Citizenship through History

At Trinity High School, Manchester – an academically successful, multi-cultural, Church of England 11-18 comprehensive – Year 9 pupils undertake an 8-10 week unit of work in their History classes on 'Protest', incorporating the Luddites, Peterloo, the Chartists and Suffragettes. This starts with a visit to the Peoples' History Museum in Manchester where students are actively involved in a 'living history' performance with actors 'in role' as the black Manchester Chartist, William Cuffay and the local suffragette, Hannah Mitchell.

- Citizenship activities building upon the students' historical learning include:
- Looking at the Six Points of the Chartists 'Peoples' Charter' and using this as a starting point to explore the role of Parliament today. The students also explore the merits of the case for Votes at 16 and create a contemporary Peoples' Charter which they share with audiences outside the classroom. Links are made to Y8 elections for representatives on Manchester's Youth Council.
- Considering the role of the law in protecting childrens' and workers' rights in the early nineteenth century and today (in an observed lesson, the teacher used the famous early Nineteenth Century images of children working in dangerous factory conditions and asked the students what kinds of issues would be pursued by Health and Safety officials today!)
- Discussing the purpose and effectiveness of Trades Unions in the early Twenty First century – pupils look at the role of symbols and iconography and create their own Union badges;
- Evaluating the methods used by pressure groups to try to change things. The violent tactics of the Luddites and some of the Chartists and Suffragettes are compared to the peaceful methods adopted by Martin Luther King in the following unit of pupils' work in History.
- This is a popular approach – over 50% of pupils opt to study History at GCSE. The school is looking to identify one piece of 'in depth' Citizenship work undertaken in History to include in students' Citizenship portfolios.

How does History contribute to the understanding of citizenship?

The Crick Report sought to establish a framework – a light touch, flexible curriculum - which would encourage schools and colleges to develop effective citizenship education in ways that best suited their needs, context and strengths. To a degree, however, practice often lags behind policy in all areas of education. A gap can appear where national policy is attempting to bring a significant shift in teacher attitudes and classroom practice in a relatively short space of time. This is certainly the case in relation to Citizenship education in England. It is important for History teachers to appreciate that there are very different and competing definitions of citizenship. There are various ways in which citizenship education can be interpreted and approached. For example, citizenship as knowledge (Usher, 1996), action (Habermas, 1994), community (Etzioni, 1995), rights and responsibilities (Giddens, 1994), public and private morality (Beck, 1998), inclusivity (Lynch, 1992; Arnot, 1997; Lister, 1997) and locality (Cogan and Derricott, 2000). But it has been noted that:

> These competing definitions and models of citizenship and citizenship education are important precisely because they point towards the potential for an incoherent vision and varied practice of citizenship education to develop in English schools. (Kerr et al. 2003).

This, in practice, is what has taken place as Citizenship has been introduced as a new National Curriculum subject into the broader school curriculum. A lack of understanding about the place of Citizenship in the curriculum at the top of schools and colleges has often lead to it being assigned low priority by head teachers and senior management teams. It follows that if there is not something identifiable – by pupils as well as teachers – as Citizenship within the school curriculum, for example, if it dissolves implicitly into tutorial time, it is going to be pretty hard to provide a coherent programme of citizenship education and assess pupils' knowledge, skills and understanding.

Conceptualising approaches to Citizenship Education

A key way of conceptualising approaches to Citizenship education has been to think in terms of:

- Education ABOUT Citizenship
- Education THROUGH Citizenship
- Education FOR Citizenship

The former is easiest to teach and to assess – it is largely content-led and knowledge-based. It lends itself to didactic teaching and learning approaches with teacher-led, whole-class teaching as the dominant medium. It is related to a traditional civics model and many History teachers will view this as how they can contribute, through related work in the area of History, to the Citizenship agenda. However, on its own this approach is a negation of what active and engaging teaching and Citizenship should be about – with little opportunity for, or encouragement of, student interaction, involvement and initiative. Education THROUGH Citizenship involves students learning by doing, through active, participative experiences in the school or local community. In the United States this is known as 'Service Learning'.

The danger here is that the emphasis is upon the service as opposed to the learning and that voluntary work or projects are undertaken in a way which disaggregates 'skills' and there is a knowledge vacuum. Simply undertaking a socially useful and desirable activity as a 'good' citizen, which is participative and encompasses community involvement, such as charity fund-raising or visiting an old people's home, does not of itself constitute National Curriculum Citizenship. Education FOR Citizenship encompasses the other two approaches and involves equipping students with a set of tools which will enable them to participate actively and responsibly within their communities in adult life. In other words, it is the inter-relatedness of skills and knowledge which is the key. (History teachers can assuredly see the sense in this approach given the battles that have been fought within their own discipline over this particular terrain!). Citizenship educators are seeking to think through the rationale behind an integrated vision of subject knowledge which contextualises the fostering of skills.

To do otherwise risks a reductionist view of Citizenship whereby young people are rehearsed in the disaggregated 'skills' of Citizenship, as expressed in the second and third strands of the National Curriculum Citizenship Programme of Study relating to the skills of 'enquiry and communication' and 'participation and responsible action' but do so without a clear map of the political landscape within which these skills are to be exercised (Brett and West, 2003). History thus brings plenty of positive elements of both knowledge and conceptual understanding to the Citizenship table.

Aiming to achieve the Crick vision of changing the political culture is a noble end; young people having a sense of the possibility of change and an understanding of their role in bringing about change. The key is that the process of doing citizenship and assessing learning needs ultimately to be owned by the students – undertaken with them and not done to them. Good History teachers will be cognisant of the 'assessment for learning' strand of the key stage 3 strategy encompassing a sharing of learning objectives, self and peer assessment and the constructive uses of assessment for formative purposes and will have been feeding some of these ideas through into their History teaching. There are useful principles here to feed across into thinking about Citizenship through History in that the approach is student-centred and consultative.

However, it is important to be realistic about where we are 'at' in assessing the quality of students' classroom experience and learning in Citizenship. The kinds of assessment mechanisms that are important to Citizenship e.g. self-assessment; peer assessment; portfolios of evidence; oral work and debate; community projects; a focus on the 'soft' skills of negotiation, team work and participation all have under-developed pedagogic roots in theory and research evidence although progress in this area is starting to be highlighted (e.g. Jerome, 2003). Skills (such as reasoning, collaborating, communicating, presenting, debating etc..) and dispositions (such as empathising, tolerating, reflecting and being open-minded) require very different forms of assessment compared to those used to test retention of factual knowledge. In many of these areas, practice is in the process of development in schools rather than secure and established.

The 'Assessment for Learning' group made a statement which applies very directly to citizenship:

> Teachers will not take up attractive sounding ideas, albeit based on extensive research, if these are presented as general principles which leave entirely to them the task of translating them into everyday practice – their classroom lives are too busy and too fragile for this to be possible for all but an outstanding few. What they need is a variety of living examples of implementation, by teachers with whom they can identify and from whom they can both derive conviction and confidence that they can do better, and see concrete examples of what doing better means in practice.
> (Black and Wiliam, 1998)

In practice this is what has happened with Citizenship. The field then is open for confident, enthusiastic History teachers to seize the initiative and to take 'active' and engaging approaches to key stage 3 History one step further. History can contribute directly to pupils' Citizenship knowledge, conceptual understanding and skills.

How can History exemplify the operation of concepts important for citizenship?

A key context of Citizenship relates to political literacy – it is important for pupils to be able to explore big Citizenship organising ideas in active and engaging ways and then think through ways of investigating concepts such as 'Power', 'Freedom', 'Justice' 'Equality', 'Democracy', 'Protest' 'Rights' and 'Fairness' (see Douglas, 2002). These kinds of concepts crop up very naturally in History lessons. Ideally, pupils can be encouraged to understand and use the language of Citizenship from an early point in their courses and re-visit ideas in different contexts and at increasing levels of sophistication. One approach to assist History teachers to build this language of Citizenship is to see 'political literacy' as a route into understanding education for Citizenship. This has been regarded as one of the key strands of Citizenship in the Crick Report and may be the defining element as it clearly signposts learning to a particular body of knowledge, centring upon politics.

To say that someone is 'literate' is to indicate a range of *skills* and *knowledge* held and practised by that person. It suggests that (s)he has access to the meaning of commonly used words and language structures in both the written and spoken form. It is demonstrated in the ability to express ideas, feelings and intentions and to communicate meaningfully with others who hold the same language. Literacy, to put it crudely, is a 'doing' skill. Crucially, literacy empowers. It secures pupils (and adults) access to information bases, and grants a measure of independence. There is a subtle interplay – in the context of both History and Citizenship lessons - between conceptual understanding, contextual knowledge and skill development. Without conceptual understanding of the 'language of political discourse' then pupils' independence is constrained. If they do not explore what can be meant by 'democracy' and its characteristics, then how can they scrutinise a politician, within Parliament, who claims to be acting democratically ? If they are denied contextualised skill development, then, even if they perceive dissonance between politician's rhetoric and the reality on the ground, they are ill equipped to register protest and work for change. They are disempowered and rendered 'illiterate'. In this way, 'political literacy' informs both the enquiry and participative elements of Citizenship. Participation *evolves* from a position of knowledge and a capacity to identify strategies for action.

History teachers could usefully think about progression in relation to the understanding and use of concepts such as 'rights' or 'protest'. This highlights planning for conceptual understanding and relevant application. One model might start from a relatively simple definition in Year 7 'A right is..' exemplified in the context of learning about the Magna Carta or the absence of rights accorded to peasants in the Medieval period. In Year 8 there might be a recognition of different types of rights in the context of Early Nineteenth Century factory and social reforms in Britain. In Year 9 there may be a focus upon the contested nature of some rights in the context of Twentieth Century warfare and totalitarian regimes. The definition of different types of rights can lead to exploring why some rights may be more valued than others and by whom. This 'hierarchy' of rights clearly opens up a wealth of enquiries about values and about challenges to the existing hierarchy. The same applies to the issue of protest – in Year 7 the focus might be upon <u>why</u> individuals protest against governments (in the context of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381). In Year 8 the focus can shift to appreciating different <u>methods</u> of protest – in the context of say parliamentary reformers and chartists. By Year 9 pupils will be in a good position to start to evaluate the <u>effectiveness</u> of different Twentieth Century protest movements from Gandhi through to Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela (or as Andrew Wrenn (1999) puts it – if 'we followed the concept of tolerating dissent through the key stage 3 National Curriculum History Study Units, pupils would build enough knowledge to analyse the ideas in the UN Charter for themselves'. At each point teachers will aim to site developing conceptual understanding within a meaningful context for the pupils. This kind of approach within History lessons would be a particularly valuable contribution towards pupils' citizenship education.

In terms of Citizenship, concepts are contested territory and are far from static. One of the challenges for Citizenship educators is to find ways to enable young people to recognise that concepts such as freedom, power or rights will be pertinent to debate within several contexts but that their application, if not their meaning, may be contested by different parties involved. For example, murals across the sectarian divide in Northern Ireland demonstrate a common call for freedom, but clearly the definition of how and what this freedom comprises differs across communities. Contemporary debates regarding the response to asylum seekers and towards war against Iraq highlight the appropriation of the concept of tolerance by those on

different sides on the debate. For example, there was debate over the parameters of 'tolerance' of dissent once war was declared. This was expressed in terms of the 'responsibility' of a citizen to support their armed forces or indeed the government, versus the 'right' of a citizen to protest against a government's choice of action. However, only by examining the nature and origin and expression of such differences in usage can pupils really engage with 'other peoples' experiences' and 'views that are not their own' (National Curriculum programme of study). Whilst the 'values and dispositions' aspect of the Crick Report may be less explicit in the final National Curriculum Orders, clearly an exploration of contested concepts can also help to refine young people's understanding of values.

How can History contribute towards active and participative Citizenship ?
It almost goes without saying that History is a superb vehicle to help students to develop their skills of analysis, critical judgment and expressing a point of view. Historians have also become highly skilled in fostering nuanced and sophisticated empathetic thinking in the context of pupils' historical study. All of these cross over directly and map against key elements of learning set out in the Citizenship National Curriculum Programme of Study. Less well defined is how History contributes to the 'active', participative component of Citizenship – the third strand of the Citizenship National Curriculum Programme of Study. In essence, it may help historians to have hovering in their thoughts the question 'so what?'. Pupils may have explored a controversial, engaging historical topic deploying their skills of research and source analysis and been fired with passion and enthusiasm for a topic but 'so what ?'

Citizenship education at its active heart involves students' engaging in some kind of a 'change action'. Having learned about and researched an issue they then seek to do something about it and 'make a difference'. The change action does not mean necessarily changing the world but working towards something that aims to communicate knowledge and understanding to others in a persuasive way – the creation of a display, a PowerPoint presentation, a role-play or an assembly designed for peers or younger pupils – in other words a conscious act of advocacy directed at an internal or external audience which aims to engage hearts and minds. The audiences might include other pupils, teachers, parents, councillors, police officers, representatives of community organisations, MPs or young people in other countries through school linking projects.

History teachers, too, are keen to develop students' ability to communicate their ideas and to transform knowledge and information. Put ve.ry simply, children learn most effectively in History, too, through doing - that means sifting, selecting, discussing, evaluating, interpreting, questioning and juxtaposing. To transform is to make judgements and choices. Good history is also about advocacy and awareness of a sense of audience. Yet History teachers may be missing a trick in not engaging with a more transformative agenda. There is plenty of justification for such an approach derived from respected sages ranging from E.H.Carr to John Dewey. Carr thought that the function of the historian 'is neither to love the past nor to emancipate himself from the past, but to master and understand it as the key to understanding of the present'. Dewey, in his key work of *Democracy and Education* believed that education utilises 'the past for a resource in a developing future' (Dewey, 1966 93). Central in this respect is the issue of history's unique contribution in terms of 'understanding the human present in the light of its past or, more fully, the desire to understand, assess and direct the human present – and thus shape the human future' (Walsh, P. (1993) quoted in Phillips (2003). Historians continue to debate and disagree about the intrinsic and extrinsic benefits to be gained from the study of History – the link with Citizenship points towards the extrinsic side of the spectrum.

At least four recent innovations and approaches in thinking about teaching and learning in History classrooms have excellent potential to both enhance historical learning and contribute to effective Citizenship education. They each offer clear answers to the 'so what ?' question and have the capacity to build in a Citizenship 'change action'. They can be characterised under the headings of:

- Community involvement and local history;
- New approaches to 'Significance'.
- Historical Interpretations; and
- Generating moral outrage;

Community Involvement and Local History

'Community involvement can be illustrated through a local history project that requires, for example, the gathering of evidence about the changing purpose and function of a local site that may be deemed to be worthy of re-development or preservation. The views of local people today could be used as a means of developing insight into the changing value (sentimental, financial and other) that we place on the remains of the past' (Davies, 2000). What is valuable about using a local site is that it offers the opportunity to develop 'active citizenship' in effective ways, as well as being worthwhile and motivating History. Just such an approach was impressively exemplified in a project overseen by Gary Clemitshaw (2002) which integrated ICT as well as History and Citizenship. The site being investigated by Y8/Y9 pupils was a derelict Nineteenth Century cemetery in Sheffield. Within a sequence of five lessons the first lesson explored via a card sort and high quality whole class discussion the question 'Why was a new cemetery needed in Sheffield in the 1830s?'. This helped to establish a context of the economic and social context of this period. In the second lesson, pupils visited the site – their main aim was to generate as many questions as they could formulate. In a third lesson back at school pupils interrogated a website created by the 'Friends of the General Cemetery' and shared answers to some of their questions. In the fourth lesson pupils sought to reach conclusions about what moment in time constituted the highpoint of the cemetery's existence. They engaged in an active living graph exercise using thirty statement cards about the history of the site dating from 1834-2002.The final lesson represented the Citizenship adornment to the class investigation. It was modelled on 'the very real conflicts and debates that are occurring about what should be done about the site'. In a role-play simulation, three teams of pupils took on the roles respectively of the Friends of the General Cemetery (heritage and environmental concerns); a property development company and Sheffield City Council – the owners of the site. The Council had to adjudicate on two competing planning applications. This was an impressively joined up model for community involvement – as the author notes – 'the impetus to the ambition to involve the local community in debates and action related to the site is potentially great'.

Significance

Two influential contributions to debates about History teaching (Hunt (2000) and Phillips (2002) have argued for a fruitful linkage between developing the idea of historical significance and approaches to Citizenship education. Phillips argued that historical significance had not received the attention that it merited in History teaching – 'this is rather odd because historical significance or resonance lies at the very heart of the subject. If history teaching is not about demonstrating the importance and significance of our subject then what is it about ?'. Drawing upon the ideas of Geoffrey Partington ((1980) the following factors were seen as contributing to what made an event significant

- Importance to the people living at the time

- Profundity – how deeply people's lives had been affected by the event
- Quantity/Scale – how many lives were affected
- Durability – for how long people's lives had been affected
- Relevance – the extent to which the event contributed to an increased understanding of present day life.

Developing a range of curriculum materials as part of a research project in Wales, the value of this framework came through in motivating teaching and learning materials. On the First World War topic, for example, looking at the durability question pupils studied newspaper accounts of the 80th anniversary commemoration of the armistice (which generated substantial press coverage) and by analysing local memorial stones to the soldiers who died during the war, answered the question, 'Why is it important to remember the First World War?' The structured approach to significance was also applied to the question, 'How important is the Industrial Revolution to our lives today?'. This followed through from a starting point case study of Merthyr Tydfil to an exploration of the nature of industrial changes in Wales, linking to the bigger picture of Britain and the rest of the world. Phillips argued that his approach provided opportunities 'to raise citizenship-related issues such as commemoration, global awareness and anti-racism'.

In considering the use of historical significance in the classroom, Martin Hunt takes as his starting point the question, 'How can historical significance be used to answer the question, 'why are we studying this ?''. Hunt argues that:

> History teaching is enlivened when pupils feel that they can engage with issues that they see as still relevant to their lives today. It is also enlivened when pupils, either individually or in groups, are asked to make decisions. The consideration of significance promotes not only the ability to explain and support a case, but also encourages pupils to consider where they stand on some of the significant and enduring issues that arise from the study of people in the past (Hunt, 2000, 52).

This is clearly a corner stone of a liberal and democratic education and a pre-requisite for effective citizenship. Assessing the contribution of people in the past encourages pupils to develop their understanding of human actions and motives as well as the attitudes and the ideas that gave rise to such actions. Within the context of topics such as the feudal system, child labour, law and order and revolts, the history teacher can draw out the significance of specific events to the wider consideration of human conduct and motivation. He suggests a range of useful and explicit links to Citizenship. For example, in addressing 'Laws' in the context of the Peasants' Revolt, Pilgrimage of Grace, Jacobite Rising, Luddism or Prohibition he suggests asking questions like 'Why do we obey the law?' and 'When would it be right to break the law?'. For the concept of 'Taxation' in the context of the 1381 Poll Tax, Ship Money, window tax and income tax he suggests the citizenship questions 'Why pay taxes?',' Should we evade taxes ?' and 'What is an unjust tax ?'. He suggests a wide range of practical and active tasks to assess significance. The focus on significance provides a clear answer to the 'so what ?' question and provides some strong links to good citizenship learning.

Interpretations

History teachers have become used to teaching about 'interpretations of history' since it was introduced as a new area of focus when the National Curriculum was first launched in 1991. Still poorly understood in some quarters, this key element of the History Curriculum contains the potential for all kinds of exciting teaching and learning. History teachers may well have useful lessons to share with Citizenship colleagues. Essentially, this aspect of the History curriculum focuses upon the construction and present day uses (and abuses) of History. Pupils are asked why is

this Hollywood film, this TV documentary, this historical theme park, this museum display, this artistic reconstruction, this modern historical novel, this debate among today's historians, constructed in this way ? Who influenced it ? Who is it for ? What impact will it have on our own society ? The approach is great for exploring myths and folk memory – such as the existence of Robin Hood, the 'Braveheart' interpretation of Scottish History and the Blitz spirit – and for understanding and critiquing 'heritage' interpretations of the past borne as strongly of nostalgia as any historical reality. The potential pay-offs for both Citizenship and demonstrating the contemporary relevance of History are substantial. A number of contributors to the debates about History and Citizenship such as MacAleavey (2000), Wrenn (1999) and McCully (2002) have taken 'interpretations' as their starting point.

Tony MacAleavey was the first and probably most influential curriculum thinker to explore and popularise thinking about the use of historical interpretations (He was the main author of *History Non-Statutory Guidance* published by the National Curriculum Council in1991 and wrote influentially on the topic in *Teaching History* in 1993). He has argued (2000) that work on interpretations can be linked explicitly with citizenship education – in both areas it is fundamental 'to value a respect for truth and evidence in forming or holding opinions'. Andrew Wrenn (1999) provides examples of activities which provide this link. He shows, for example, through use of the views of contemporary politicians and Victorian textbooks how pupils can explore the ways in which British identity and citizenship have changed over time. He also gives examples from the American West and recent events in South Africa of how the past can be manipulated to justify or bolster definitions of identity in the present. Alan McCully (2002) working with pupils from Protestant, working class, loyalist estates near Belfast, has written about a recent project in Northern Ireland where pupils are engaged in deconstructing emotive modern interpretations of Northern Irish History in TV drama and films and subsequently think through perspectives they would normally shun. Clearly the lines between History and contemporary politics blur much more quickly in this working context. Historical interpretations and notions of citizenship are contested in ways which require sophisticated teaching and learning strategies and skilful unpicking.

Generating moral outrage

History is a superb vehicle for cultivating moral sensibility and human sympathy. Young people have a strong sense of equity and fairness. Many approaches to link History and Citizenship suggested by History teachers and educators seek to key into a sense of moral outrage and make links between historical inequality or persecution and contemporary domestic or global politics. Examples of such approaches range over issues such as the unfairness of the pre-1832 electoral system in Britain (Lyon, 2001), gender relations (Davies et al, 2002), slavery (Wrenn, 2001; Phillips, 2002) and the Holocaust (Hammond, 2001). Geoff Lyon created a 'fixed', deliberately unfair role-play simulation game whereby candidates and campaign managers seek to secure the election of Whig or Tory candidates under the pre-1832 election system using a full range of persuasive and coercive campaigning tactics. Only at the end of the game does the teacher reveal the loaded nature of the exercise:

> We expect games – and electoral systems – to be fair. If they are not, we might well feel outraged. Arousing pupils' emotions in this way is deliberately intended to help them understand that the topic matters….Finally, the current importance of the right to a fair vote, and the exercise of that hard-won right, can be discussed. Why are British people apparently more ready to vote for karaoke artists than for politicians? Do pupils intend to vote in elections – why or why not?

Ian Davies and colleagues followed up a lesson focusing upon why women were not allowed to vote at the beginning of the Twentieth Century and a chronological focus upon the changing roles and rights of women through the Twentieth Century with a deliberately provoking decision-making scenario. A British woman, five years in the future had just become the highest paid lawyer in the world. They then contrasted four different interpretations of how historians in fifty years time might view this development and judge contemporary society (turning point and a backlash encouraging a return to female domesticity; example of the achievement of full equality; symbol of women's increased dominance over men; unimportant – a backlash against materialism anyway).

The Slave Trade and the Holocaust are usually part of the core key stage 3 History curriculum and the subject matter clearly evokes a strong emotional response from pupils with clear links to contemporary inequality, persecution and racism. The topics provide evidence of the worst systematised impulses and excesses of human behaviour. Phillips (2002) and Wrenn (2001) both make explicit links between the slavery topic and Citizenship. Influenced by the work of Pankhania, Phillips was keen to ensure that opportunities are found within the History curriculum to demonstrate that black people have made a major contribution towards the development of Britain. He cautioned that constant images of slave subjugation have the potential simply to reinforce superior/inferior stereotypes; therefore an important role was to demonstrate black people's role in their own emancipation, rather than emphasise the role of white reformers like William Wilberforce. He advocated exploring the life of Olaudah Equiano to demonstrate his contribution to the anti-slavery movement and to grasp the opportunity to 'unmask' black history. Topics like this could lead History teachers quite naturally to subsequently develop related Citizenship themes and lessons related to contemporary attitudes towards travellers and asylum seekers or current manifestations of racism nationally and internationally.

The Holocaust, too, provides a range of possibilities to embed aspects of citizenship thinking and learning into classroom practice. Yes, there is a uniqueness to the circumstances of systematic persecution of Jewish people undertaken by the Nazis in the 1930s and 1940s but there are also many more universal lessons. Significantly, for the past four years St.Martin's secondary PGCE beginning teachers of History, RE and Citizenship have taken part in two day conferences exploring cross-subject approaches to Holocaust Education. They meet and listen to the story of an indomitable survivor of Auschwitz and learn of the specificity of Nazi oppression in the 1930s and wartime Eastern Europe but they also subsequently jointly plan Holocaust day events and activities for Year 7,9 and 11 groups. Invariably, the proposed activities tend to foreground citizenship learning outcomes and seek to draw out contemporary parallels with more recent genocides in Rwanda, Kosovo and Iraq. It is human rights, human stories, the relationship between the individual and the state, the rights and wrongs of obeying the law in totalitarian regimes and the responsibility of the international community when confronted with the details of atrocities that beginning teachers are keener to explore with young people than the precise details of the Nuremburg Laws or the Final Solution. Who is to say that they are wrong in making these curriculum choices.

The 'change action' here hopefully happens in pupils' minds – as citizens of the future they may have an enhanced sense of injustice and what it ought to mean to be human.

Conclusion

Without a strong underpinning in historical learning, the Citizenship curriculum is rootless. As we have seen, Sir Bernard Crick placed History at the top of his list of

National Curriculum subjects that could enhance Citizenship. In the Final Report of the advisory group he chaired it was noted that:

> The emphasis in History on the use of evidence and processes of enquiry can help pupils to discuss and reach informed judgements about topical and contemporary issues which are the lifeblood of citizenship and to develop the confidence to take informed action.

However, pinning down precisely how the areas of History and Citizenship achieve the undoubted potential for synergy and joint working has subsequently proved more difficult. As Ian Davies has written:

> It is a cause of professional concern that the links between history education and citizenship education have in real terms been neglected. The outpouring of rhetoric is a poor substitute for a few good lessons on a regular basis in all our schools.

There are important lessons to be learned by citizenship educators from developments in History pedagogy in the past 10-15 years and the thinking and work of people like Denis Shemilt (1987), Christine Counsell (2000), Tony McAleavey (1994), Alaric Dickinson (1997) , Peter Lee (1996) and Michael Riley (1997, 2000). The latter in particular, has been enormously influential in helping teachers to identify overarching themes for enquiry mixing 'overview' and 'depth' approaches, plant key questions in pupils' minds and then plan sequences of lessons which move towards the resolution of an interesting historical problem by means of a substantial and motivating activity at the end. Perhaps less thoroughly explored has been the extent to which History teachers on the back of historical enquiries can help pupils to 'take informed action'. This paper, through synthesising a variety of transformative approaches to the History Curriculum and sharing ideas about Citizenship 'change actions' has aimed to provide signposts to assist History teachers take a further step forward in addressing the 'so what ?' question. If History teachers are able to demonstrate the kinds of explicit links to Citizenship outlined here at least once across their schemes of work in each Year group and then demonstrate and assess clear Citizenship learning outcomes as a result of this work, not only will they be further underlining the fundamental relevance of History in the Twenty First Century curriculum but they will also receive the eternal gratitude of Citizenship co-ordinators desperate to demonstrate that the Citizenship curriculum at their school has both coherence and rigour.

Correspondence

Peter Brett, St. Martin's College, Lancaster, England, LA1 3JD

References

Arnot, M. (1997) 'Gendered citizenry: New feminist perspectives on education and citizenship', in *British Educational Research Journal* 23, 3/275-93.
Arthur, J. et al. (2001) *Citizenship Through Secondary History (Citizenship in Secondary Schools)* Routledge, London.
Arthur, J. & Wright, D. (2001) *Teaching Citizenship in the Secondary School* David Fulton, London.
Arthur, J. & Phillips, R. (eds.)(2000) *Issues in History Teaching* London, Routledge.
Batchelor, A. (2003) 'Are you wearing your citizenship spectacles ?' in *Teaching Citizenship* 5/34-42.
Batho, G. (1990) 'The history of the teaching of civics and citizenship in English schools' in *Curriculum Journal* 1/91-100.

Black, P. & Wiliam, D. (1998) 'Inside the Black Box: Raising Standards Through Classroom Assessment', in *Phi Delta Kappan*, October 1998.
Blaylock, L (2003) 'Why citizenship needs to take its spiritual and religious frontiers more seriously', in *Teaching Citizenship* 6/24-29.
Brett, P. & West, E. (2003) 'What subject knowledge is needed to teach citizenship education and how can it be promoted?', in *ITT Citized* June 2003 newsletter
Carr, E.H. (1961) *What is History?* Macmillan.
Clemitshaw, G. (2002) 'Have we got the question right? Engaging future citizens in local historical enquiry', in *Teaching History*, 106/20-27.
Counsell, C. (2002) Editorial in March 2002 edition of *Teaching History*.
Crick, B. (1998) *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in School : Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship* QCA.
Davies, I. (2001) 'The history teacher and global citizenship', in Arthur, J. et al. (2001) *Citizenship through secondary history History (Citizenship in Secondary Schools)* Routledge, London.
Davies, I. (1995) 'Education for European Citizenship and the Teaching and Learning of History', in Osler, A., Rathenow, H.F. & Starkey, H. (eds.) (1996) *Teaching for Citizenship in Europe*, Cassell, London, pp.149-160.
Davies I. & John, P. (1995) 'Using History to develop citizenship education in the National Curriculum', in *Teaching History* 78/5-7.
Davies I. (2000) 'Citizenship and the teaching and learning of history', in J. Arthur and R. Phillips (Eds.) (2000) *Issues in History Teaching* Routledge, London.
Davies, I., Hatch G., Martin, G. & Thorpe, T. (2002) 'What is good citizenship education in history classrooms ?', in *Teaching History* 106/37-43.
Douglas, A. (2002) 'Educating for real and hoped for political worlds: ways forward in developing political literacy' *ITT Citized website.*
Etzioni A. (1995) The *Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities and the Communitarian Agenda* Fontana, London.
Elton, G. (1991) *Return to Essentials. Some Reflections on the Present State Of Historical Study* Cambridge University Press.
Freeman, J. (2003) 'New opportunities for History: implementing the citizenship curriculum in England's secondary schools – QCA perspective', in *Teaching History*, 106/28-31.
Ghere, D.L. (2002) 'Recent world crises simulations', in *Teaching History* 103/22-25.
Giddens, A. (1994) *Beyond Left and Right: The Future of Radical Politics* Stanford University Press, CA.
Habermas, J. (1994) 'Citizenship and national identity' in Van Steenburgen, B. (ed.) *The Condition of Citizenship* Sage Publications, London.
Hammond, K. (2001) 'From horror to history: teaching pupils to think about Significance', in *Teaching History* 104.
Heater, D. (2001) 'Citizenship education in England: historical features', in *Teaching Citizenship* 2 Autumn 2001 p.12-19.
Huddleston, T. (2003) 'The relationship between citizenship and R.E.', *Teaching Citizenship*, 7/40-43.
Hunt, M. (2000) 'Teaching historical significance', in J. Arthur and R Phillips (eds.) *Issues in history teaching* Routledge, London.
Kerr, D. (1993) 'History', in Edwards, J. & Fogelman, K. (eds.) *Developing Citizenship in the Curriculum* David Fulton, London.
Kerr D. (2001) 'Citizenship education and educational policy-making', in J. Arthur et al. Citizenship through Secondary *(Citizenship in Secondary Schools)* Routledge, London.
Kerr, D. et al (2003) 'Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study: First Year Findings – Establishing a Baseline for Developing Citizenship Education' (Paper presented to the *British Educational Research Association* conference, September 2003).

Kinloch, N. (1998) 'Learning about the Holocaust: moral or historical question ?', in Teaching History 93.
Lambert, D. (2003) 'Citizenship through the humanities', in *Pastoral Care in Education*, 21, 3/19-23.
Lang, S. (1998) 'Democracy is not boring', in *Teaching History* 96/23-27.
Lister, R. (1997) *Citizenship: Feminist perspectives* Macmillan, Basingstoke.
Lynch, J (1992) *Education for Citizenship in a Multi-cultural Society* Cassell, London.
Lyon, G (2002) 'Reflecting on rights: teaching pupils about pre-1832 British Politics using a realistic role-play', in *Teaching History* 103/28-31.
OFSTED (2003) *National Curriculum Citizenship : Planning and Implementation 2002/03.*
OFSTED (2004) *Citizenship in secondary schools* Subject reports 2002/03: HMI 1991 February 2004.
Phillips, R. (2002) 'Historical significance – the forgotten key element?', in *Teaching History* 106, pp.14-19.
Phillips, R. (2003) 'History, Citizenship and Identity', in *Past Forward* (Historical Association) p. 37-41.
QCA (1998) *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy* QCA Publications.
Slater, J. (1989) *The Politics of History Teaching : a humanity de-humanised*? Institute of Education, University of London.
Slater, J. (1992) in Lee, P., Slater, J., Walsh, P., White, J. & Shemilt, D. (1992) *The aims of School history: The National Curriculum and Beyond* The London File: Tufnell Press.
Stow, W. (2000) 'History : Values in the diversity of human experience', in Bailey, R. (ed.) (2000) *Teaching Values & Citizenship across the Curriculum* Kogan Page, London.
Usher, R. (1996) 'A critique of the neglected assumptions of educational research' in Scott, D. and Usher, R. (eds.) *Understanding Educational Research* Routledge, London.
Walsh, P. (1993) *Education and Meaning: Philosophy in Practice* Cassell Educational, London.
Watson, J. (2002) *Citizenship Education and its Impact on Religious Education* Farmington Fellowship Report, Norwich : University of East Anglia, School of Education and Professional Development.
Wrenn, A. (1999) 'Build it in, don't bolt it on: history's opportunity to support critical citizenship', in *Teaching History* 96.
Wrenn, A. (2001) 'Slave, Subject and Citizen', in Arthur, J. et al. *Citizenship through secondary history (Citizenship in Secondary Schools)* Routledge, London.

The Current State of the 4-19 History Curriculum in England and Possible Future Developments: A Qualifications and Curriculum Agency Perspective

Jerome Freeman, QCA Consultant, History and the Social Sciences

Abstract *The QCA has a responsibility to keep the 4-19 history curriculum and qualifications under review in England. This is partly achieved through an annual cycle of monitoring, research and evaluation which has been ongoing since 2000. As a result, the organisation is in the unique position of being able to provide a national perspective on the current state of primary and secondary history in England.*

This paper will provide an overview of the strengths and weaknesses of 4-19 history, and an insight into some of the recent work that is being undertaken in response to QCA's monitoring findings and in relation to the possible future developments in the wider curriculum and qualifications.

In particular, it will focus on QCA's recently launched 'Innovating with History' website. This new resource, which builds on existing best practice, aims to help primary and secondary history teachers to make full use of the increased flexibility in the national curriculum to design courses that engage and motivate pupils, improve progression, and ensure that history contributes more fully to wider curriculum goals.

The implications of 14-19 reform for history will also be considered. These include both the opportunities this may provide for a review of existing history qualifications, and how the subject can begin to address some of the challenges posed by unitisation, personalised learning, a greater reliance on teacher assessment, and increased competition from the growth of vocational and other qualifications.

Keywords English National Curriculum for History, History Curriculum, History, Qualifications and Curriculum Authority

Introduction: The current state of the 4-19 history curriculum in England

Background

History's unique contribution to the curriculum is its focus on the past in Britain and the wider world. Pupils develop a chronological framework for their knowledge of significant events and people; they consider how the past influences the present, and they begin to understand more about themselves as individuals and as members of society. Through the study of history pupils develop a range of evidential and communication skills that are prized in adult life.

In England, the study of history is compulsory from 5-14. The statutory requirements for the subject are set out in the national curriculum, which was most recently revised in 1999/2000. History also features significantly in the 'knowledge and understanding of the world' strand of the Foundation Stage curriculum (3-5 years). Students wishing to study history beyond the age of 14 do so through examination courses leading to qualifications. The standards and broad structures of these are governed by criteria devised by QCA in consultation with other key players.

History is strong in higher education and history graduates continue to be highly employable.

The subject community is given support by active, and mutually supportive, subject organisations, including the Historical Association, the National Association of Advisers in History, the Schools History Project and the History Teachers in Education Network.

Progress

Evidence emerging from QCA's monitoring activities suggests that steady progress continues to be made in several key areas of 4-19 history.

The implementation of the revised national curriculum

In the majority of schools, the revised national curriculum has been successfully implemented and the increased flexibility in the programmes of study for history is beginning to lead to more innovative and creative planning, especially at key stage 3. Primary schools have tended to rely heavily on the DfES/QCA scheme of work and QCA is currently publishing additional units for key stages 1 and 2 with a view to encouraging a greater diversity of approaches to planning in history. Most primary and secondary schools maintain at least adequate provision for history despite other curriculum pressures.

High standards and the quality of teaching in secondary schools

Standards in history continue to rise and compare well to those in many other subjects. In 2003, 64.5% of pupils achieved grades A*-C at GCSE history which is slightly better than the previous year. There was an increase in the proportion of pupils achieving the highest grades at GCE A Level with 49.6% of the entry gaining grade A or B compared to 45.8% the previous year. Successive OFSTED annual reports confirm that, on the whole, the subject is very well taught: its most recent subject reports state that:

> the quality of history teaching is good in just over half of primary schools and three quarters of secondary schools. There has been a significant improvement in pupils' achievement in key stage 3.

The majority of schools are delivering coherent programmes of history aimed at engaging the pupils' interest and promoting their knowledge and understanding of the past.

The relative popularity of history 14-19

History at GCSE and A level continues to be popular with high entries in both qualifications for 2003. 218,565 pupils were entered for history at GCSE. This represents an increase in candidates of 3% since 1998 which is beginning to reverse an earlier decline. A level history was the fifth most popular subject with 42,018 entries, a rise of 5.9%. The increase was even more dramatic at AS level with 50,026 entries in 2003, a rise of 22.6% since 2001.

Areas of (continuing) concern

Various concerns about aspects of history in schools persist with some continuing to receive close attention in the media.

Aspects of primary history

Although standards in primary history are improving, provision is variable across schools. Much depends on the enthusiasm of primary teachers and the role and status of the history co-ordinator. Many primary teachers are not subject specialists and do not have access to regular and properly funded in-service training in history. As a result, ineffective planning and assessment and the priority sometimes given to other subject areas have affected the quality of teaching and learning in history.

A significant number of schools are still placing too much emphasis on content coverage at the expense of the development of historical knowledge, skills and understanding, while some are failing to make meaningful links between the studies

at key stage 2. Many still do not have adequate assessment procedures in place and, where planning is weak, little worthwhile evidence of pupil progress is generated.

In response, QCA continues to publish a wide range of guidance materials to support primary history teachers and the impending DfES initiative on subject specialism may go some way to filling the training gap.

Aspects of key stage 3 history

While the quality of history teaching is good and pupils' detailed knowledge and understanding of specific aspects of the past is not in doubt, their ability to fit these into the broader historical context by the age of 14 is less secure. QCA, in partnership with the SHP, is developing guidance materials for teachers on developing pupils' understanding of chronological frameworks at key stage 3.

The quality of assessment at key stage 3 is inconsistent. Whole school policies such as target setting sometimes distort the use of the attainment target in history, resulting in the unnecessary subdivision of levels and over-levelling of pupils' work. Guidance for history teachers will be developed though QCA's 'Innovating with History' website.

Most schools now make use of ICT in history with word processing, Internet research, and electronic presentations the predominant activities. However, the quality of ICT in history and the extent of its use are variable. Initiatives from BECTa and the DfES Strategy should go some way to ensuring that the effective use of ICT though history becomes more widespread.

Schools are addressing the inclusion requirements contained in the national curriculum but most are focusing primarily on differentiation. Too many schools have yet adequately to tackle issues of diversity through history or to appreciate its relevance to pupils' lives. Guidance and resources such as QCA's 'Respect for All' website are available to schools but further awareness raising along with appropriate INSET maybe required if any headway is to be made.

The future status and place of history in the wider curriculum

Some of the anxiety expressed in recent years by history practitioners about the future status and place of history in the wider curriculum remains. The pressures on curriculum time show little sign of abating and there are fears that history, in primary and secondary schools, might be marginalized as a result. However, the reinstatement of the requirement to teach the full programme of study for history at key stages 1 and 2, along with the proposed entitlement to humanities (14-16), and the introduction of a humanities specialism for secondary schools have helped to allay these concerns. In addition, the recent DfES commitment to promoting subject specialism in schools has received an enthusiastic response from the subject associations for history.

The media's perception of the state of school history and the proportion of British history in the national curriculum

History in schools continues to receive an undue share of criticism, which tends to overshadow the achievements of the majority of schools and students. Prominent historians such as David Starkey (Sunday Telegraph) criticise school history for being too narrow and for neglecting facts and narrative at the expense of historical skills. He argues, along with others, for a return to a much more traditional approach to the teaching of (British) history. Although there is evidence suggesting a narrowing, in some schools, of the history curriculum, particularly at 14-19, with depth pursued to the detriment of the broader historical context, overall standards in history are high. The requirements of the national curriculum ensure that British history

features prominently in lessons at key stages 1 to 3 and that a balanced approach is taken to historical narrative and skills with the primary focus being on developing pupils' knowledge and understanding of the past. Teachers usually cite the time allocated to history as a key factor in determining the quality and value of provision. It appears to be holding steady in most primary schools but in a small minority of secondary schools it has been reduced.

AS/A level history

Concerns have been expressed in the media and by a minority of teachers that the modularisation of AS/A level has led to an undue fragmentation of the learning experience for students and a narrowing of the history curriculum offered by some schools. In addition, the pressure brought on by extra examinations at the end of Year 12 has led to less time for wider reading and extended research. The result, according to the critics of these specifications, is a less thoughtful, less intellectual approach to the study of history, and one which may fail to provide strong foundations for undergraduate study.

On the other hand, student numbers taking history are up and evidence from QCA monitoring suggests that many teachers welcome the flexibility and variety inherent in the current modular structure, the range of assessment methods employed, and the opportunity provided by Curriculum 2000 to update resources and teaching plans.

The proliferation of 20th century modern world history at GCSE and A level

A widely expressed concern, endorsed by Thomas Matussek, the German Ambassador for the UK, is the increasing prevalence in many schools of modern world history (particularly Nazi Germany), where the same ground is sometimes covered several times. A distinction should be made here between the national curriculum which is dominated by British history, and the prominence of Nazi Germany and other twentieth century dictatorships in the option choices made by some schools at GCSE and A Level.

Likely explanations for this are:

- the increasingly pragmatic approach taken to teaching examination courses, brought about by the pressure for better results, with a consequent 'playing safe' by selecting familiar topics that build directly on pupils' prior learning;
- modern world history is frequently cited as having more appeal to pupils;
- widespread teacher expertise in modern history may also militate against schools choosing other periods of history;
- the commercial considerations of awarding bodies and publishers mean that modern world history courses are generally more plentiful and well resourced.

While it is true that modern world history, most particularly Nazi Germany, features prominently at GCSE and A level, the depth of treatment, the comparative analysis, and the intensity of methodology can justify this. Furthermore, many schools select the period of the European Dictators as part of well constructed courses overall. Problems only arise where teachers select a narrow and overlapping set of units. More evidence is needed on these trends which QCA will continue to monitor closely.

New developments

QCA's 'Innovating With History' website at www.qca.org.uk/history

In response to some of the issues raised by QCA's monitoring programme and to research carried out for the QCA Geography and History Curriculum Development Project, a website for primary and secondary history teachers has recently been developed.

This new resource, which builds on existing best practice, aims to help primary and secondary history teachers to make full use of the increased flexibility in the national curriculum to design courses that engage and motivate pupils, improve progression, and ensure that history contributes more fully to wider curriculum goals. It also provides a 'gateway' to the many other websites offering support for teaching and learning in history.

The materials on the website include examples of innovative and effective practice drawn from a range of schools. Users will ultimately be able to access examples relevant to each key stage in the following areas:

- Improving curriculum planning (long-, medium- and short-term curriculum planning).
- Developing assessment (assessment of and for learning in history).
- Contributing to the wider curriculum (history's contribution to the wider curriculum).
- Improving learning (sections on teaching historical interpretations and developing pupils' chronological understanding).
- Improving subject leadership (guidance for history co-ordinators and heads of history).

There is also a *History Matters* section on the website that offers information and support on matters relating to history across the whole 3-19 spectrum including cameos submitted by teachers, who describe how an aspect of curriculum development in history worked in their school, news of the latest developments in history, and guidance on effective key stage 2/3 transfer in history.

The current website is just a beginning. The site is seen as an evolving resource for history teachers, with further examples of innovative and effective practice being collected and added to the site during the coming year.

Figure 1

14-19 Reform

The context for change

In February 2004, the Tomlinson Working Group published an interim report which outlined its recommendations of 14–19 reform for England. These included a proposed diploma comprised of *a core, common skills and main learning*, the possible unitisation of qualifications to be offered as individual components within the diploma, a reduction in the overall assessment burden with a greater emphasis on teacher assessment, a move towards personalised learning for all students, and an enhanced role for 'high status' vocational education. If these are implemented they will have major implications for all subjects including GCSE and AS/A Level history.

In anticipation of these changes, the HA has set up the Historical Association Curriculum Project (HACP) with the help of funding from the DfES. It aims, in the first instance, to consult and report on the current state of school history 14-19, and to make recommendations about the principles and criteria that might underpin it in any future shaping of the 14-19 history curriculum.

The case for change at GCSE

'There is a general agreement among history teachers that GCSE history is in need of a radical shake-up.' *Dr Michael Riley, Times Educational Supplement, February 2004.*

GCSE history specifications were first introduced in the mid 1980s when circumstances were quite different and have not changed greatly since that time. As a result, there has never been a clear relationship between these qualifications and the content of the programme of study at key stage 3 which first emerged in 1991. Critics also argue that best practice in teaching and learning is frequently not carried through from the national curriculum into GCSE where it is stifled by the current assessment structures.

'Exam questions are often sterile exercises, especially those on source evaluation and on interpretation.' *Chris Culpin, GCSE History, Past Forward: a vision for school history 2002-2012, The Historical Association.*

'Source work has become formulaic and dull, … and there is no provision for assessing the construction of historical narrative.' *Sean Lang, Keynote address, HACP Consultative Conference, Churchill College, Cambridge, April 2004.*

In addition, students are faced with an ever-expanding choice of courses, including a raft of new vocational qualifications. The number of students taking GCSE history currently stands at around 218,000, which means that nearly two thirds of them do not choose history after the age of 14. According to recent research, although many young people enjoy the subject, they and their parents cannot always see its direct relevance to their future careers. GCSE history has to meet the needs of a wider range of students or face possible marginalisation in the future.

The Tomlinson Working Group's proposals may provide the opportunity for a wholesale reform of GCSE history in the longer term, while in the near future QCA's GCSE history hybrid pilot will explore the subject's potential contribution to vocational learning, connecting history to the world beyond the classroom.

A model for change: the GCSE history hybrid pilot

QCA began work on the GCSE history hybrid pilot last year. In consultation with key interest groups including teachers, the subject associations and awarding bodies, a draft framework was developed which, for the first time, links history to related areas of vocational learning through a GCSE qualification. Around 50 schools and colleges will be recruited to pilot this new qualification which will give students the chance to follow a range of general and vocational history pathways.

As well as developing links to related vocational areas, the pilot offers a unique opportunity to trial new approaches to teaching, learning and assessment at GCSE, building on the existing good practice increasingly seen in many schools, especially at key stage 3. Students could, for example, be assessed on their ability to design and write a series of web pages for a local historical site, or critically to evaluate an existing museum display depicting a period of history they have studied during the course.

The history hybrid will be made up of a core (equivalent to half a GCSE) and two optional units chosen from a range of general and vocational options to make up the full GCSE.

All students will take the history core which will cover aspects of local, national and international history. They will have the opportunity actively to engage with the history of the locality to find out how it relates to their own lives and how they might become involved in its preservation for future generations. They will learn about the work of museums, galleries and sites as part of a detailed enquiry focusing on a period of national history. In addition, they will investigate how an event in recent global history has been portrayed in the media and why this should matter.

GCSE History Hybrid Specification
The History Core (50%) ***General with links to related vocational areas***
PLUS
One optional Unit (25%) ***General or vocational***
PLUS
A second optional Unit (25%) ***General or vocational***

Figure 2

The optional units present opportunities for students to specialise according to their aptitudes and interests by following either general or vocational pathways. These units will enable some students to follow up an interest in a particular aspect of the history core in greater depth through studies on the role played by key individuals

and events, studies on the impact of specific trends and developments, or studies that make comparisons with other periods in history. Others could use their history to enhance their understanding of areas of work and employment through units on growing contribution to the economy of heritage tourism, the management of local historical sites, and the work of archaeologists, museum curators or journalists.

Conclusion

At present there are no plans to revise the national curriculum programmes of study for history and the Tomlinson Working Group has still to publish its final report on 14-19 reform. However, this does not prevent the history curriculum from continuing to evolve as a subject in the medium term through developments involving schools, the subject associations or other organisations. QCA's 'Innovating with History' website and its GCSE history hybrid pilot are two such examples.

Correspondence

Jerome Freeman, Qualifications and Curriculum Authority,

83 Piccadilly, London W1J 8QA
Email FreemanJ@qca.org.uk

From Russia with Love: A History Curriculum for the 21st Century

Jon Nichol, Faculty of Education, University of Plymouth, UK

Abstract *In the late 1990s we were privileged to create and have taught a pilot history curriculum for primary school children in two schools in two Russian provinces. The curriculum was created around a set of first and second order concepts. Crucially, it was aimed to develop a range of thinking and process skills that would equip pupils to be effective citizens in the emergent liberal democracy of post Soviet Russia within the concept of a framework of substantive concepts that related to key features of Russia's past.*

Keywords Conceptual understanding, Democracy, History curriculum, Process skills, Russia, Substantive concepts, Thinking skills

Background

A post cold war world

The last decade of the 20th century saw a sea change in the political systems of the Soviet Bloc and a corresponding re-orientation of international politics. Following the fall of the Berlin War in November 1989 and the unravelling of the Soviet State in 1991, the Cold War became a memory instead of something we all lived with. In its place we have the age of capitalism, nationalism, terrorism and the new ideological war between Islamic fundamentalism and the Born Again Christianity of America.

Political Education and the History Curriculum

While the years of revolution from 1989-92 that tore apart the Soviet Empire were at the epicentre of a social and political earthquake, the shock waves spread out and impacted in different ways in different places. Kohl's nemesis in Germany and the collapse of the Apartheid regime in South Africa were testimony to the unwitting prop that the struggle with Communism had given them. When this buttress was taken away, these two great pillars of the Western struggle against the Evil Empire crumbled. Similarly, to make a causal link between the events in the Soviet Bloc from 1989 and the disintegration of Apartheid in South Africa is perhaps simplistic and facile. But, unequivocally both countries had experienced, using a much-abused word, 'revolutions'. Consequently, in both Russia and South Africa by 1993-94 we were facing a profoundly different and rapidly changing scenario in educational terms. In both countries there had been a history curriculum in schools that was overtly political: its role was to shape and mould the ideologies, beliefs, attitudes and values of its citizens. In both countries the history curricula were no longer acceptable in the Brave New World of post totalitarian governance. But, what could and should be put in the place of the old history curricula? It was our good fortune to become peripherally involved in the debate in both countries over the shape of History Education through the medium of the Nuffield Primary History Project that John Fines and I directed. In Russia we were privileged to create a primary school history curriculum: this paper is a commentary on the thinking that went in to the construction of that curriculum. As such, it is directly relevant to the teaching of Citizenship as an English National Curriculum subject. Indeed, it is the basis for the development of the History with Citizenship core element of the PGCE History course at the University of Exeter. It could also be of more general relevance in England when the current curricular iceberg is breaking up in response to the radical proposed reshaping of the 14-19 curriculum (Tomlinson, 2004). Already this initiative

is having a major impact upon the evolution of the Citizenship curriculum for the 7-14 age range.

The Russian Context: Yaroslavl and the School Curriculum

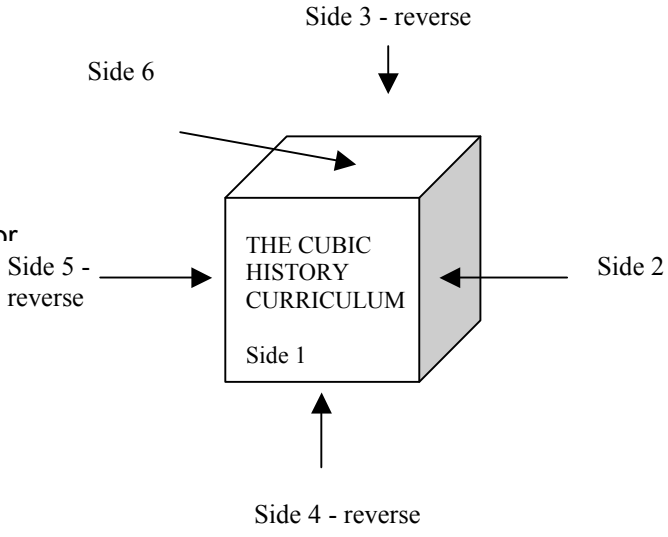
In 1992 we were invited to participate in a conference in the Russian city of Yaroslavl, 200 miles north of Moscow, on the nature and role of History in all phases of education. Yaroslavl has a population of c. 600,000 people. It is a major river port, a crossing point on the Volga for the Trans-Siberian railway and it has a large petro-chemical industry that used to make synthetic tyres for most of Russia's tractors. A long-term outcome of the conference was that The Nuffield Foundation funded a small-scale primary History teaching project in Russia from 1994-97. The remainder of this paper relates to the planning of its Russian primary history curriculum. The curriculum we produced was for the first two years of schooling in Russia, i.e. for 7-9 year olds. It was located in Yaroslavl oblast [province] in two schools and in a third school in the neighbouring oblast of Pereslavl.

Principles for Curriculum Planning

In developing a primary history curriculum in Yaroslavl for our Russian colleagues we drew upon a set of both explicit and implicit principles. These reflected a complex range of social, cultural and pedagogical influences. For analytical purposes we can divide the influences into six categories and represent each as the sides of a cube. Within the overall cube the mini-cubes comprise the history curriculum's building blocks: each block has its unique mix of the six elements, see figure 1. Indeed, each individual mini-cube within the block can contain any number of the cube's six elements, each in different proportions. The concept of a Cubic Curriculum draws upon the pioneering work of Ted Wragg at the University of Exeter: to him many thanks for his inspiration. Each of the cube's faces divides into a number of columns: the columns intersect to provide mini-cubes that combine different elements from the six sides.

The six sides of the History Cubic Curriculum are:

1 Historical Content and National Identities
2 Forms of Knowledge
3 Substantive Concepts
4 Skills and Processes
5 Schools of History & Protocols for Enquiry
6 Syntactic Concepts



Historical Content and National Identities: Side 1

A history curriculum is a **political curriculum**: those involved in the debate on the creation of the Yaroslavl History curriculum saw political education as its main function. Political education had two main facets: the development of the temporal

dimension of personal identity and the attitudes, values, beliefs and ways of thinking needed to be citizens in a democracy. The Yaroslavl imperative closely mirrors the tension between liberal and civic republicanism that was a central factor in the evolution of the English National Curriculum for Citizenship. (Lockyer, 2003, pp. 2-3; Crick, 2002, p. 14) Teaching history is the teaching of political awareness and understanding, often disguised as Citizenship Education. Political awareness and understanding is multi-faceted, involving both rights and duties, and, as active citizens, an understanding of major issues that are a central concern to all citizens. Active citizenship is not a new concept: it is a means to an end, the securing of a polity grounded in the values, beliefs and ethics of its citizenry, although it can be directed towards different ends: Palme Dutt in 1962 in a series of lectures at Moscow University argued that active citizenship would secure a Marxist government in Britain, a proposition that today seems absurd. Yet he made his claim at the height of the Cold War, the year of the Cuba blockade, when the world did seem to have a genuine choice between communism and capitalism. (Palme Dutt, 1963)

Central to political education's temporal dimension that is the province of history education is the choice of content, the stories from the past that children assimilate to give them a sense of national identity, belonging and commitment to the nation state. An often hidden, but massive influence, is the contested area of the development of pupils' personal identity in relation to 'models' of national identity transmitted through selected stories that different interest groups advocate. Debates rage within the 'political nation' about what version of national identity the curriculum should enshrine. We define the 'political nation' as those who influence the shape and form of what government can and do, both locally, regionally and nationally. In the context of national educational policy and practice, the net of the 'political nation' covers a wide pool ranging from politicians, academics, civil servants, the media, local government luminaries and religious leaders to influential loonies of all persuasions. Remember Ronald Reagan's White House witch! In Britain Robert Phillips has reported on the curriculum debate that raged from 1989-92 between the left, the centre and the right over the English History National Curriculum's content (Phillips, 1998) and upon current research into the relationship between views of national identity and the history curriculum in the rest of Britain [BRISHIN] (Phillips, 2003). This begs the issue of what do we mean by national identity? At present within Britain we have the fascinating sea change in English national identity with the crystallization of Scottish and Welsh nationalism in the form of their own parliaments, government and electoral systems. Are citizens of England English or British? And, if so, what is the difference? Does national identity depend upon one, some or all of the elements listed below? How many does an individual have to carry before the scale tips to give you your national imprimatur?

- *Birthright*, handed down from father/mother to their children, but without any geographical location
- *Cultural*, arising from a definable common culture
- *Educational* – only those who have had a certain type of education can be deemed worthy of citizenship.
- *Ethnic*, linked to particular ethnic groups?
- *Financial* – the ability to pay a certain sum of money ensures Citizenship, either formally through agreed procedures or informally via bribes.
- *Geographical*, with lines on a map determining who is or is not a national
- *Heritage*, including a society's values and attitudes
- *Ideologica*l, with those who do not wear the ideological badge being debarred from citizenship
- *Legal* – the meeting of legal criteria before Citizenship can be granted
- *Religious*, the criterion dependent upon religious identity and affiliation

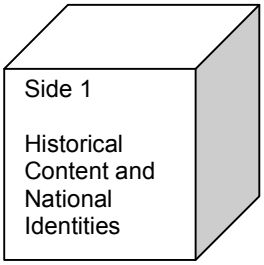
Daily we see the interplay of these factors within the maelstrom of contemporary international and national politics where citizenship is a key issue. To our Russian hosts the nationalistic factors were clear in creating a Russian primary history curriculum. Russians are a proud and defiant race, with a clear, overriding sense of national identity, as Antony Beevor's deeply moving masterpiece *Stalingrad* testifies (1998). Beevor draws upon the personal testimony of countless Russian soldiers and citizens to show that love of the 'motherland' provided the cast-iron spine of resistance to the German 6th Army. In the context of the disintegration of the USSR and the emergence of national states within its old carapace the Yaroslavl team therefore consciously chose content that related to a sense of **Russian** national identity. The team not only drew upon the stories of the great and good, but also looked at a wide range of social issues and developments. Each piece of content was chosen from the perspective of what it might mean to the developing national identity of the pupils.

A second factor in content selection was to create a **Contemporary History** Curriculum. In 1964 Geoffrey Barraclough published an epoch changing book, *An Introduction to Contemporary History,* that perhaps alters how we should look at the history curriculum. Barraclough defined 'contemporary history' as the history we need to know to illuminate and develop our understanding of the present. It is not history that traces developments moving forward from points in the past: it is history that looks back from the present in order to draw upon the past to understand the world that we live in.

> History of the traditional type starts at a given point in the past – the French Revolution, for example, or the Industrial Revolution, or the settlement of 1815 – and works systematically forward, tracing a continuous development along lines running forward from the chosen starting point. Contemporary history follows – or should follow- an almost contrary procedure. Both methods may take us far back into the past, but it will be a different past. (p 17-18) Contemporary history begins when the problems which are actual in the world today first take visible shape.(p. 20) (Barraclough, 1964, pp. 17-18, 20).

As such, a Barrocloughian 'Contemporary History' curriculum is supremely relevant and practical. What we learn is what we need to know to create our personal, social, cultural and political identities. It also implies a radically different approach to teaching history in schools, and, to the related issue of teaching Citizenship within the History context.

Accordingly, we drew up a 'Contemporary History' Primary History Curriculum for Years 1 & 2 [8-10 year olds] of historical study from the following topics. We should stress that these topics provided a context: but, as such, they were acquainting the pupils with a wide range of 'stories' to help frame their personal identities in relation to Russian national consciousness. For fuller details, please see Figure 1.



'Stories' drawn from Russian History and National Identity

- Stone Age
- Bronze Age
- Russia and the Vikings
- Russian Medieval Warriors &The Mongolian Invasion
- The Case of Prince Dimitry's Assassination in 1591
- Ivan IV
- Poltava Battle in 1709.
- The Story of Pavlic Morozovî (the pioneer): Stalin and the Kulaks

Social History

- 'Domostroi' - Russian 16th century Housemaster Code
- Foreign Travellers and 17th century Life In Russia
- Life in the Russian village
- The Russian Peasant House
- The Life of Kornei Chukovskii

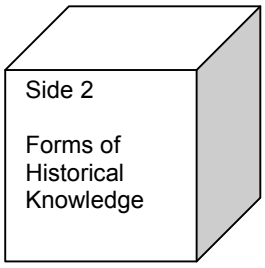
Personal, Family, School and Local History

- Timeline Of Your Own Life
- Family Histories
- School History
- The Foundation of Yaroslavl
- The History of Yaroslavl

Forms of Historical Knowledge: side 2
In our teaching we wanted the pupils to experience different forms of historical knowledge: outline study, study in depth-detail, thematic study and turning points. The idea of 'form' has influenced and shaped the History curriculum in England. It made up the second side of our curricular cube.

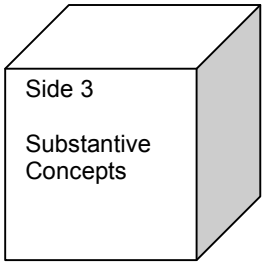
The four elements we considered, with examples, were:

Form of Historical Knowledge	Example
1. *Outline over a period of time*	*Russia and the Vikings*
2. *Study in depth - detail*	*The assassination of Ivan IV*
3. *Thematic study*	*Life in the Russian village*
4. *A turning point in History*	*The Battle of Poltava*



Substantive Concepts: derived from the historical content pupils study: side 3
The content of the curriculum, and the forms of knowledge in which they are presented, lead us to substantive concepts that pupils can learn. Substantive concepts are words that we use to shape, organize and categorise information. A concept is like an empty, transparent plastic sack; shape, form and content come from what you put inside it. Substantive concepts take three main forms, thematic, organisational and specific. Thematic concepts span different periods. Organisational concepts are linked to individual periods, e.g. Medieval Russia. Specific concepts derive their meaning from specific contexts, e.g. kulak. Substantive concepts are an element that pupils can return to continuously, they extend, deepen and refine their understanding of them, drawing upon an ever extending range of examples.

Thematic
conquest
monarchy
serfdom
communism



Organisational
Bronze Age
Stone Age
Viking Russia
Medieval Russia
Mongolian Invasion

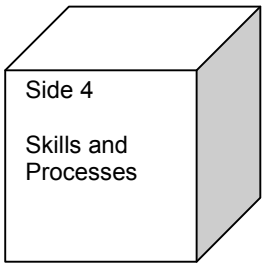
Specific
Kulak
Russian Peasant House

Side 4 Skills and Processes: - enquiring and entering into the past.
Sides 1-3 focus upon the content dimension of the curriculum: the substantive. The skills, processes, protocols and syntactic dimension: history as form of enquiry, make up sides 4-6. These elements are introduced during the first two years of historical study: the pupils return to them in a progressive, coherent way throughout their historical education. A central concept in our planning was the idea of a 'spiral' curriculum that would cumulative and reflects the cognitive and emotional development of children.

Historical study involves children in the process of historical learning from the start of an enquiry until its conclusion. Studying the past develops and draws upon a set of intermeshed and interdependent skills. While the skills below are presented as a sequential list, they are both recursive and parallel: i.e. they can occur in apparently random order, in different sequences, at the same and different times and be returned to and extended as and when necessary. Historical study is holistic in nature: for purposes of analysis we break it down into separate elements.

1. *Challenge* Face the pupils with a challenge, with problems to solve
2. Q*uestions and questioning* Questions focus and drive on an educational enquiry.
3. *Framing and organisation of an enquiry* Planning and execution of the plan
4. *Investigation***:** working on sources

    - comprehend, extract, record and systematically store, organise and reference data;
    - judge historical evidence and the reliability of what it tells us,
    - select, collate and synthesise evidence from the sources,
    - think both logically, imaginatively and creatively about the situation, tying ideas to the evidence available



5. *Hypothesise and speculate* Review the evidence and information and come up with possible solutions to the problem posed, and answers to the questions asked.
6. *Interpretations* Evaluate different solutions to the historical problem, and the different answers to the questions.
7. *Resolve the enquiry* To reach a conclusion
8. *Communicate findings* to a specific, intended audience using a particular genre. There are literally hundreds of thousands of genres for representing historical knowledge

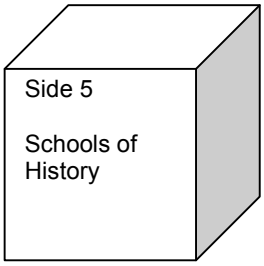
Historical study also develops in children a range of core skills. These cover:

- Inter-personal and social skills
- The ability to work together, to cooperate, to build up teams, to divide up work equably among team members, to create and develop team identity and pride.
- ICT skills

- Literacy: the skills of observing, reading, recording, writing and communicating in a written form
- Numeracy
- Oracy: the ability to listen and to verbally communicate in a whole range of ways

Side 5 Schools of history: Teaching and learning protocols
In Yaroslavl we developed a primary history curriculum that reflected different schools of historical learning. Each type of history has its own set of skills and processes, relating to the subject matter and context of study. These make up the detailed protocols we draw upon for undertaking a particular form of historical study. We go about 'doing' family history very differently from 'doing' a biographical history. In our planning we engaged pupils with different ways of 'doing history'. Our curriculum introduced the pupils to these ideas at their level: they would be returned to again and again throughout their historical education.

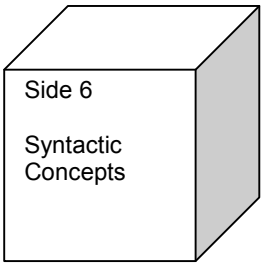
	Types of history	*Historians*
1	The detective metaphor	The historian as detective
2	Family history	The family historian
3	Local History	The local historian
	:The school	
	:The locality	
4	Biography	The biographer
5	Archaeology	The archaeologist
6	Narrative	The story-teller
7	History and Fiction	The novelist
8	Visual representation	The artist
9	The moving image	The film maker
10	Music	The composer



Side 6 Syntactic Concepts

In studying history we develop an understanding of structural concepts that give the discipline its identity. We can identify eight such concepts:

1 chronology
2 continuity
3 change
4 cause
5 consequence
6 points of view of people / interpretations of history
7 historical situations, requiring a sense of period, time, place and society
8 historical evidence



Theory into practice
Figures 1 & 2 indicate the pattern that the Yarsolavl Primary History curriculum took. We decided to introduce history after the pupils were literate enough to read printed sources. The first year of formal schooling follows a preparatory kindergarten period in which securely lays the foundations for literacy.

In the first year of the Yaroslavl Primary History curriculum we introduced pupils to history as an evidential based, problem solving discipline. Sources and activities were pitched at the pupil's levels. In the second year the curriculum took the concept of schools of history as the basis for planning out the curriculum. So, we acquainted pupils with history as detective work, the family and local historian, the historian as

biographer, archaeologist, artist, film-maker and the writer of creative, imaginative stories.

We should stress that this introductory course would serve as the foundation upon which to build the subsequent curriculum: the idea of a spiral curriculum in which at each stage we enrich, extend and build upon the earlier foundation of concepts is a useful principle for the curriculum designer.

The relationship of the sides of the cubes to each other can be seen in the example of The Case of Prince Dimitry's assassination in 1591 [side 1]. This was a study in depth, in detail [side 2]. The main substantive concept involved was monarchy [side 3]. In terms of skills and processes the pupils drew on all of the elements in side 4 of the cube. The protocol that they used was the historian as detective. The children had to present their findings as the prosecutor in the court of history [side 5]. In relation to the syntactic concepts of the discipline the enquiry had four main elements: causation, interpretation, situation, historical evidence [side 6].

Conclusion

The Yaroslavl Primary History Curriculum was far more than a paper exercise: the three full-time members of the Russian team planned, resourced and taught the programme over two years in three Russian schools. We commissioned an external evaluation that reported positively in terms of the quality of pupil learning and the highly interactive teaching style that the project team developed.

Correspondence

Jon Nichol, Faculty of Education and Life Long Learning, University of Plymouth, Exmouth Campus, Exmouth, Devon

email J.D.Nichol@ex.ac.uk

References

Barraclough, G. (1964) *An Introduction to Contemporary History* Penguin.
Beevor, A. (1999) *Stalingrad* Penguin.
Phillips, R. (1998) *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State: A Study in Educational Politics* Cassell.
Phillips, R. (2003) 'British Island Stories: History Schools and Nationhood', in *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, Vol. 3/1, pp. 5-9.
Tomlinson, M. (2004) *14-19 Curriculum and Qualifications Reform*: *Interim Report of the Working Group on 14-19 Reform,* DfES.
Wragg, E.C. (1992) *The Cubic Curriculum* London, Routledge.
Palme Dutt, R. (1963) *Problems of Contemporary History* London, Lawrence & Wishart.
Crick, B. (2002) *Democracy: A Very Short Introduction* Oxford, Oxford University Press,.
Lockyer, A. (2003) 'Introduction and Review' in Lockyer, A., Crick, B. & Annette, J. (eds) *Education for Democratic Citizenship* Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing.

Figure 1

RUSSIAN PRIMARY HISTORY CURRICULUM [Yaroslavl Oblast] **YEAR 1 [Year 2 of full time education]**		
History is about finding out about people through asking questions, investigating sources and reaching conclusions based upon evidence		
Weeks	*Topic*	**Learning Objectives**
1-2	History is about people	To make children realise the idea that History is about people in the past and not just about things that happened
3-4	History means asking questions about people	To learn to ask questions about people in order to obtain information from the sources
5-6	Using objects as historical sources	To learn about life in the Stone Age using a stone axe as the main source of information To write a history of the stone axe
7-8	Using objects as historical sources [2]	To reconstruct the life in the Bronze Age working with the evidence found in a tumulus
9-10	Chronology – timeline What is a timeline?	To form the idea of a timeline and of how it can help the historians; developing a sense of chronology
11-12	Chronology – timeline [2] A timeline of your own life	To learn how to create a timeline of your own life
13	Place – maps and plans What is a map?	To learn what the map can tell a historian How maps differ
14	Maps and plans [2] A sense of place	To reconstruct the Vikings' travel in Russia, using maps as historical sources: Scandinavia to Byzantium through Kiev-Russia
15-16	Maps and plans [3] Map of northern hunters island A sense of place	To learn how to make a map using sources of information
17-18	Looking at pictures as historical sources [1] Trade in Russia	To learn how to explore systematically the meaning of a picture part by part To use the imagination to complete a picture in the minds of the pupils
19-20	Looking at pictures as Historical Sources [2] Russian Medieval Warriors. The Mongolian Invasion	To use an artist's picture as an historical source
21-22	Reading documents [1] 'Domostroi' - Russian 16th century sources	To develop the skill of using documents
23-24	Reading documents [2] Foreign travellers accounts of life in 17th Century Russia	To learn how to use documents for reconstructing life in the past.
25-26	Buildings as sources [1] What can buildings tell us about people?	To learn how buildings differ, what they are used for, what they can tell a historian about people who build / visit / live in them
27-28	Buildings [2] The Russian peasant house	To examine the inside and outside of the peasant house To find out what the life in Russian village looked like several centuries ago

Figure 2

RUSSIAN PRIMARY HISTORY CURRICULUM [Yaroslavl' Oblast] **YEAR 2 [Year 3 of full time education]**		
We can write our histories of the past from many different points of view including: the detective, the family historian, the biographer, the archaeologist, the local historian, the artist, the filmmaker and the novelist.		
Weeks	*Topic*	*Learning Objectives*
1-4	History Mysteries: the historian as a detective - the case of Prince Dimitry's assassination in 1591	To learn how to solve history mysteries using clues from the past To give different interpretations of a problem using the information taken from different sources
5-6	Family history: the historian as a family historian	To understand the importance of learning family history
7-8	Family history: The historian as a family historian [2]	To make children write their own family histories
9-10	Biography: the historian as a biographer	To learn what a biography is, what sources can help us to create a person's biography
11-12	Biography: The Historian as a biographer - Part 2: The Life of Kornei Chukovskii	To find out about K.Chukovskii's (a famous children's author) To write Chukovskii's biography, using the sources
13-14	Archaeology: the historian as an archaeologist	Reconstructing the past as the archaeologists do it – 'the dig'
15-18	The local historian: school history	To get acquainted with the history of the school To write a 'school history'.
19-22	The local historian: local history: the town	To write a joint book titled 'The History of Yaroslavl'
23-24	Artistic reconstruction: The historian as an artist - 'Ivan IV in the Yard of his House with his Guard'	To clarify the idea of what a historical picture is To create an historical picture using sources of information.
25-26	Artistic recreation: The historian as an artist [2] Drawing the medal for Russian participants in the battle of Poltava	To get acquainted with the basis of heraldry To create a picture of a medal for awarding to the participants in the battle of Poltava, 1709
28-30	Film: the historian as a film maker The foundation of Yaroslavl	To learn how to create an historical film To write a script of the film
31-34	History and fiction: The historian as a writer The story of Pavlic Morozovi (the pioneer who betrayed his father, the kulak, to the Soviet authorities)	To learn how to write a story on the base of historical sources To form the idea of how the author's position can influence the contents of the creative work

How to Teach Serbian History Students about School Failure and Cultural Diversity

Lidija Radulović and Vera Rajović

Abstract *History teaching in Serbia has a clearly identified political role. Paramount is the need to reform history teaching to transform it from a form of indoctrination to a mode of study that develops the knowledge and understanding that educated citizens require. The paper examines a thinking skills approach to history that will equip students with the cognitive tools that they need to be members of the new democratic societies that are emerging from a decade of conflict.*

Keywords
Conceptual understanding, Enquiry based learning, History teaching, Multiculturalism, Pedagogy, Psychology, Thinking skills, Transmission model of teaching

Introduction

Three contextual factors arising from the authors' professional and cultural backgrounds affect this paper.

- The broader societal context in several aspects is relevant for teaching and learning history. Post-war circumstances have an influence on history as scholarship since scholars determine the way society interprets recent and past events. This leads to a shaping of public opinion that sometimes conflicts with initiatives aimed towards building a contemporary democratic society. The status of the state is still re-examined (structure, name, borders, constitution). The transition processes aimed to establishing Serbia as a democratic community continuously raise numerous questions. All these circumstances in a non-directive manner increase general perception by the people of how important history scholarship and teaching is, but also the risk for it to be used and abused for political purposes;
- The changing role of teachers in the contemporary world and current developments in teacher education, policy and scholarship;
- Our professional accountability for the quality of teacher education combined with efforts to develop professionally through critical review of our own praxis introduce changes according to contemporary standards within the local context.

In order to understand our position as history teacher educators, we find it important to talk about circumstances related to Serbian history teacher education policy. Professionally we are a psychologist and pedagogue assigned to train future history teachers, both secondary and high school. Accordingly, we have a limited background in history education. The next characteristic is the relationship between three components of history teacher education: the main part (85.62% of classes) consists of academic history courses, while 6.25% involves teacher education courses and the remainder consists of studying languages, both modern and ancient.

Teacher education courses are divided into three areas each being covered by one discipline:

1) psychology for teachers,
2) pedagogy and didactics
3) history methodology teaching

The predominant pedagogic approach in this system is content based teaching that makes students more oriented towards learning a specific body of information, rather than building connections between the course disciplines. This makes students perceive teacher education as a supplement to what they would consider as their main focus – becoming a historian. This fact is also related to the teacher professional status: low payment together with low prestige place teaching among the least desirable professions. The features of History teacher education are common to teacher education in general: predominantly academically oriented, lack of interdisciplinary courses, lack of teaching methodologies and a systemic approach to Teacher Education (we have been writing about these issues in Radulovich, L. & Rajovich, V., 2001.

One more relevant aspect is related to the approach to history scholarship and teaching embedded in University history courses. It is about how our historians view history and its teaching as science across all school levels together with university studies. Briefly, history is characterized as a study of the past exclusively. There is no connection between what we could learn from the past in order to understand the time we live in, or to be able to relate current events with what we could deduce as future consequences of our actions. Feature of academic history and its teaching at all levels are:

- The memorizing of a great number of specific, discrete knowledge-facts ('rucksack model') instead of a problem solving and critical thinking skills acquisition approach;
- The dominant view of history as a history of wars and military-political developments as opposed to a history of civil society, culture and social groups.

These are features of the system, with big individual differences among teachers at all levels and across the courses. The reasons that individual initiatives do not become part of the national system are diverse. How can we bring about change?

We believe that one of the most promising strategies to provide opportunities for teachers to learn from one another and empower them in front of 'authorities' is the networking of teachers and teacher educators. Next, it is important to mention the efforts made by the previous Ministry of education (that was in power from March 2001 to the 2004 elections) to reform the whole education system. Among others, a vital aspect of these reforms was introducing Education for Democratic Citizenship: introducing a Civic Education course as an optional course starting from first grade (elementary and secondary school) and planning cross-curricular forms of EDC. These innovations were prepared by previous programs developed by various unofficial bodies that covered education for democracy, children rights, non-violent communication, etc. In the current system, we do not have a policy regarding the development of civic education teacher training. In general, civic education and history teaching are organized and practised independently of each other. One additional circumstance important for our practice and for this paper topic is the fact that Higher Education (including history studies) is not yet reformed. The university sector has officially adopted the need to reform HE. Preliminary steps have been made, but reform is yet to be undertaken. Our investigations described in this paper can be viewed within that frame of reference.

How to Make Teacher Education Courses More Relevant For History Teachers

This question has become part of reviewing our professionalism in order to identify possible solutions at different levels. Through collecting student feedback and interactions with colleagues, we identified the following aspects that we could include in our psychology and pedagogy courses to make them more relevant for prospective history teachers:

The aims: critical thinking and problem solving

We argue that our aims are to teach critical thinking skills so that future teachers can autonomously develop their own historical understanding (cause-consequence relationship, having the courage to hold a personal opinion, achieving an insight into personal motivations, skills to use readings actively – beyond the author's interpretation, communication skills development, cooperative work skills...). Developing problem solving skills together with an interdisciplinary approach can help students in studying history as well as with learning how to address the problems that may arise during their teaching practice.

Methods
Here we try to teach and provide examples of different teaching methods by using them in our own teaching practice. Doing so, we expect our students to use us both as their teaching model and as a resource of the whole range of classroom management and teaching strategies. In addition we introduce methods and techniques such as group work, cooperative learning methods, techniques for introducing a subject, and ways of motivating and engaging students in active learning.

Content
It is, maybe, the most difficult job to identify common topics that are legitimate parts of our courses, but have relevance in studying history too. But, if we have an understanding of history as a tri-dimensional process (not only the past), we connect it with active citizenship, and then an educator's intent is always societal-political action. This leads us towards the ideas of cross-disciplinary topics that could be interesting from both educational and historical aspects. One of these topics is multiculturalism. We are here presenting a lesson sample that, we find, shows certain ways of identifying intertwined topics among these areas.

Lesson sample: School success and cultural diversity

The objectives
- Introducing a diversity of potential sources of student failure and an understanding of cultural diversity as one of the possible causes of school failure;
- Introducing a diversity of compensatory programs and their potential influence;
- Providing students with insight into the meaning of specific social circumstances from the different educational theoretical frameworks;
- Providing students with an understanding of the need for educational intervention in order to prevent school student failure – as a prerequisite to introducing interactive teaching theory;
- Fostering development of the skills required for students to connect theoretical knowledge with everyday experience; skills for thinking critically about societal practices (identifying sources of the issues, foreseeing the possible solutions consequences...);
- Fostering sensitivity for recognizing and understanding social issues in the world of education;
- Developing a readiness to understand and actively accept differences among people;
- Developing a readiness to recognize, re-examine and solve inter-cultural problems;
- Developing a readiness to act in everyday life – individual accountability;
- Developing communication, teamwork skills and competencies ;
- Learn interactive and cooperative teaching methods – providing students with the opportunity to experience interactive methods and feel the learning benefit out of them.

Concepts analyzed
- Intellectual difficulties as cause for failure

- Culturally handicapped students as cause for failure

- Culturally diverse students as cause for failure

Procedure
1. Students are to be divided in small groups of 4-6 through a play-like activity. The groups could stay the same throughout the lesson. For the rest of the class it is important to have six small groups working.

2. Group discussion
a) Instruction: 'Imagine, you are a teacher already, and one of your students is not advancing in your history classes the way you would expect him/her to. Your task as a group is to produce as many ideas as you can on possible reasons for his/her relative failure.' Student work on the task and choose the reporter for the group.
b) Presentation of the ideas that groups have produced and collection of all the ideas on a poster
c) Discussion follows small group presentations
The questions for the discussion:
1. Where could you find the reason for a student to be failing (related to the individual student, his/her family, environment, or...)?
2. Could anything coming from the school cause student to fail?
3. Could it be anything you do or say?

3. Mini lecture: Possible reasons for academic failure
The lecture is based on teacher notes based on the outcomes of group discussion. Its purpose is to introduce cultural diversity together with understanding of a range of causes of student failure in school.

4. Work on group problem solving
Each of six groups is assigned one of three problems relating student diversity with their school failure: type of cultural background, socio-cultural deprivation and intellectual developmental delay. Besides the type of the problem to be solved, each group is assigned one of the educational roles - policy makers or teachers. So we have six groups working on three different problems from the perspective of one of two roles.

Group problem solving activity is followed by group answers presentations with a discussion by whole class: how do they see the solution proposed by a group; would they suggest any other possibilities; what could be strengths and weaknesses of each solution?

This activity's purpose is to make students think differently about the origin of student failure: to extend the range of possible causes from those ascribed to student shortages, to school as an institution that does not provide a context for diverse student's survival under the same roof, with the same rights and opportunities. Here is a good moment for introducing interactive pedagogy model of education and leave it open for another session.

Evaluation
Evaluation is assessed on two levels:

- The lesson level – student productivity during activities is monitored, students are asked what they have gained and learned; evaluation sheet is used in order to assess student perceptions of being engaged in different lesson activities;

- Evaluation from the point of integration in a broader context (history/teacher training relevance) – the impact on student understanding of similar topics will be followed up.

Inquiry as educators' culture

The teaching unit presented here could be analysed in terms of its 1) relevance to educational studies and 2) relevance to history/civics. In terms of educational studies (pedagogy and psychology) objectives contributing to student development are:

- Understanding the causes of failure
- Understanding strengths and shortages of compensatory programs for early education
- Understanding theories of education
- Acquiring teacher role as part of professional identity development
- Raising awareness and sensitivity for educational issues

In respect of relevance to history/civics, objectives contributing to student development are:

- Learning about multiculturalism as a concept useful for understanding both contemporary societies and the changes inside one society over time;
- Learning about multiculturalism as a point of view comprised of 1) a body of concepts (diversity, individual differences, tolerance...), 2) an attitude (assertive, respect for 'others') and 3) readiness to recognize and solve emergent problems, as well as to act accordingly.

This teaching unit plan is part of teacher educators' intentions that are aimed to overcome a lack of authentic teacher preparation for professional tasks that might arise in a real classroom, with real pupils when facilitating their learning of history. This inquiry is not about looking for so-called 'content correlations', it is not about offering separate answers on issues of educating a historian vs. educating a teacher, but educating a competent history teacher.

Conclusion

What have we learned from this and similar experiences? Follow up shows that the most difficult concept to understand is 'cultural diversity' and then 'cultural handicap'. When we ask students to produce the ideas for how to teach failing pupils in these three contexts, the results show the same pattern:

- The number and quality of their ideas are greatest when they are about intellectual deficits;
- It is hard for students to make a distinction between cultural handicap and cultural diversity when searching for proper strategies how to deal with learning/teaching issues and teaching to prevent failure.

These results were collected through monitoring diverse activities in the sessions that engaged students in producing original ideas for action, as well as through student answers on exam questions. There were difficulties students faced even when they were requested only to distinguish among the concepts about failure. We have found that there are several reasons for understanding student failure stemming from cultural diversity and the challenges it brings for our history students. Even when we study literature, we can notice that writers and researchers in the field recognized the hypothesis about cultural handicap vs. cultural diversity as separate causes of school failure later. Also, setting up a strategy to deal with this type of student failure requires us to ask a number of questions related not only to education policy, but also to macro societal and political issues. In addition, there are questions of values:

about the relationship between educational and other societal institutions, the aims of education, relationships between different cultures, etc. All this means that understanding this body of issues is a challenge, but that teaching units like the one we have described could serve as an opportunity for future history teachers to acquire knowledge and skills that are relevant for their careers.

We can continue looking further for areas of study that are of a crucial relevance for history teacher education as a whole, overcoming the existing two separate processes of teacher education and history education.

Our inquiry led us to engage with a range of cross-curricular concepts like diversity, multiculturalism, individual vs. societal development, prejudices, human and child rights, interpersonal relations, ethics, institution and individual relationships, activism and tolerance for the unknown. An important component of teacher education should be active participation in curriculum development aimed at learning how to re-examine existing concepts of history teaching (offered by policy makers together with scholars) by integrating that view of history as history through creation (progress), cooperation and cultural development.

The list could be endless and all the ideas to complete it are welcome!

References

Radulovich, L. & Rajovich, V. (2001) 'Teacher Education in Yugoslavia', in *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, Volume 2, Number 1.

Further reading

Dana, N.F. & Yendol-Silva, D. (2003) *The Reflective Educator's Guide to Classroom Research: Learning to Teach and Teaching to Learn Through Practitioner Inquiry,* Thousand oaks,CA, Corwin Press, Inc.
Ecker,A. (2000) 'Key-questions for the training of history teachers', in *Teachers and their University Education at the Turn of the Millennium,* Faculty of Education, Charles University, Praha.
Hyland, A. (2000) *Teacher Education in the South – Systems; Current Developments; Issues and Emergent Themes,* draft paper for the Invitational Conference for Teacher Education Professionals in Ireland – North and South. Belfast 18th – 20th May 2000.
Mirkovic, M. & Crawford, K. (2003) 'Teaching History in Serbian and English Secondary Schools: a Cross-Cultural Analysis of Textbooks', in *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, Vol.3 Number 2.
Steele, J. L., Meredith, K. S., Temple, C., & Walter, S. (2001) *Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking – Guidebooks I-VIII,* CIP.

Teaching History from Documents in the Family Archives: A Social Experiment with Brazilian Children

Maria Auxiliadora Schmidt and Tânia Braga Garcia, **University Federal of Parana / Brazil**

Abstract *The current work presents results of a second phase of the research that took place in the period from 2003 to 2004, bringing together teachers and children from the 3rd. grade of Primary Sate Schools in the city of Campina Grande do Sul, Parana State, Brazil.*

The research was carried out as part of the activities of the project 'Recreating the History of Campina Grande do Sul'. Developed from the co-operation between the Federal University of Parana and the city's Town Hall. In the first phase the project had as its principal aim the promotion research, identification, and analysis of documents in the family archives and to produce supporting educational material for use in the classroom. In this phase we have taken as our reference point the renovation of the concept of written local history (Ossana) and of documents (Le Goff), as well as the concept of documents in the family archive (Artiéres), as fundamental to the work with teachers and children, obtaining interesting results in the renewal of History teaching methods, as well as producing a teaching manual about the history of the city, which was completed collectively. In the second phase we took as a reference point the studies of the students' previous knowledge (Barca) to explore the material previously produced, with the aim of analyzing the relation between the students and the historical evidence (Lee, Ashby) and its importance in the construction of an historic narrative (Cooper).

Keywords
Brazilian history, Family history, Freire, Historical skills and processes, History as interpretation, History curriculum, History teaching, History, Identity, Local History, Rusen

Introduction

In Brazil primary schools children attend from 7 to 14 years, in 8 school grades. This is the only school phase that the government is obliged to offer. The first phase of primary school teaches children from 7 to 10, with only one teacher for each grade, who doesn't have special qualifications in the different areas of knowledge. These teachers, in the main, studied only until high school, although today the government has made compulsory university teacher training.

The teaching of History, since its official introduction in 1931, has been organized in the form of Social Studies for children from 7 to 10, and in the form of History content for students from 11 to 14. In 1979 the National Ministry of Education carried out a syllabus reform and the National Syllabus Parameters were presented, suggesting specific History content in all grades of primary school. Particularly in the first 4 grades, the teaching of History continues to focus on local history. It's important to stress that the changes introduced by the National Syllabus Parameters have not yet been realized in the classroom, due mainly to the precarious training of teachers, and conditions of work e.g. lack of teaching material for example.

The Study

With this in mind we organized the project Recreating Histories, whose principle objective is the supply, in the form of a university extension period, of some of the

needs of teachers of the first 4 grades of primary school. This project includes a technical co-operation agreement between the university and the school representatives (The County Secretary of Education) with the participation of university researchers, scholarship holders, schoolteachers and students and also the pedagogy team from the Secretary of Education. This project has already developed two research trials: the research Recreating the Histories of Pinhais, and the research Recreating the Histories of Campina Grande do Sul. This work presents partial results of the second research programme, whose main object was to investigate ways of training teachers to work with the local history content, bearing in mind the development of the historical awareness of the students. The expression 'recreate' chosen in the name of the project is justified on the understanding that local history is already told, in a way, through the presentation of documents about the regional or national history. However the aim is to re-tell with another perspective.

The city of Campina Grande do Sul is located in greater Curitiba (the capital of Parana State) and it has 35,100 inhabitants, 8 urban schools, and 4 rural schools. In the first phase of the project, developed in 2002, 11 schools, 29 female teachers, one male teacher, and approximately 350 students around 9 years old were involved.

The search for new ways of approaching new history content that would lead to the development of an historic awareness in the students of these schools, found a problem in the fact that the locality had no archives or other places where one could seek an organized source of documents. So the first phase of the project returned therefore, to the objectives of recalling and registering elements from the memory and the history of the local inhabitants, involving in the research teachers, university scholarship students, and researchers.

Theory

In the context of the project, the contributions of Freire (1987) were taken as a way to confirm the contents of the pedagogy processes. The teaching and the learning should be built up from identification, in a local context and also in wider spheres, of diversity and inequality which make up the social reality. These are expressed and understood in different ways by learners, which imposes a need to organize the teaching of History from the perspective of the actual learners. A second reference in the history study field is related to a conception that understands the teaching of History as a study of the experience of all men (Thompson 1981). This perspective indicates that one should give the syllabus a theme content, with the objective of recovering personal and collective experience in time. Still on the subject of a history study view, a concept of local history was understood as the teaching strategy (Ossana,1994). This signifies a special way of tackling learning, construction and understanding of historic knowledge from the propositions connected to the student's interests, their knowledge and likes, their cultural experience, with the possibility of developing activities linked directly with every day life, understood as a concrete expression of wider problems. For Ossana (1994) working from local history guarantees epistemology control from selected clippings integrated into the whole of historic knowledge. It can also be an instrument to facilitate the construction of an historic awareness, which is fuller, less uniform, and does not hide specific points. These leading references of the project led us to a methodological option, which is to train the teachers in the work with historical documents, especially in the form of family archive documents (Artieres,1998; Germinari, 2001). Such documents can be found inside a variety of homes, stored or filed in a disorganized way.

Model

The first activity of the first phase of the project was to promote three meetings with teachers for theoretical-methodological clarification, and the organization of an activity called the Memory Game. Using all the elements of the Memory Game a

collection of content was organized to be worked with, made up of a group of results for the collection of data and information about the existence of documents in the form of archives. The intention was to involve both the school community and the wider community in the process. Over four months the schools, students and teachers were involved in the research of documents at the same time seeking to influence the community to partake in the project, allowing access to these personal documents and their memories and histories. The activities were thought of and planned as teaching strategies and resources. In this way as the tests were realized, students and teachers developed in the classroom, teaching activities and learning about the themes researched, analyzing different documents, discussing and comparing collected evidence trying to manipulate their previous knowledge about the aspects of local and general history.

These activities developed in the schools generated a rich production from the students – texts, drawings, comic strips, and interviews which constituted a starting point for the production of teaching materials, including a book *Recreating the Histories of Campina Grande do Su*l to be used by the teachers in their classes. In addition, the group of activities developed for locating documents in family archives and the process in transforming these documents provided a starting point for the teaching and learning of History in relation to historical problems and conclusions. It allowed us, together with the teachers, to discuss the development of an historic awareness, theirs and the students'. This was understood as a necessary pre-requisite for the orientation in a present situation which demands action, that is, as a specific way of orientating the real situations of life today, whose specific function is to help understand past reality to enable us to understand current reality (Rusen 1992).

The second phase of the project had its beginning in 2003, with the participation of the same teachers and children. In this phase the book Recreating the Histories of Pinhais was ready, and the teachers continued receiving advice on how to work in the classroom. Firstly, the advice was in the sense of giving continuity to the Memory Game activities, continuing in the research and in the work with the documents in the form of family archives. Secondly, more systematic advice was given to the teachers to work from students' previous knowledge, elaborating ways of investigating, analyzing and planning an intervention based on historical documents. At each meeting held during the year 2003, a total of eight, the teachers presented dossiers which they had created from their own experiences as well as discussing them and organizing the lesson plans for the next lessons.

Main Results

The dossiers as well as the accounts of the teachers' experiments done in class, and also the material produced by the students, constitute an interesting source of research about the teaching of history. A sample of these dossiers was selected with the 3rd grade teacher's account about the work done with 21 nine-year old students.

Implications

The theme worked on by the teacher was 'Names of Campina Grande do Sul'. Her established objectives were:

1. That the students show a certain understanding of the concepts of a settlement, village, district, parish and county.
2. That the students describe some changes in the meaning of the name which the city received through time.

In her account the teacher says, 'I tried to detect through drawings, what the students know about the meaning of the words settlement, village, parish ,district and county.

I investigated the students' previous knowledge about these words, without my intervention.' The teacher gave the following activity:

VILLAGE, PARISH, DISTRICT, COUNTY:

WHAT I THINK ABOUT

It is necessary to remember that in Brazilian history, these concepts were being determined by the political administrative organization of the country. In this way a settlement has no legal meaning, comprising a small group of houses and people; a parish has the same meaning as the site of the church, indicating the effective presence of the priest and the Catholic church; a village was already legally defined, with the implanting of administrative organs and representatives of government authority and the counties are independent administrative units, with the presence of legislative, executive and judiciary power. A village was called a district when, in spite of economic autonomy, it belonged to another county.

The teacher selected, in groups, those who drew pictures with the same characteristics, those who already had some knowledge about the content, and those that had different ideas of the meaning of the words. In this phase the majority of the children showed some notion about the concept of village and county, not withstanding, all of them related the concept of district and parish with their current experiences. In this way, all the 21 children indicated in their drawings the concept of 'Distrito' (district) as a synonym for police station 9 in Brazil the place where the police authority is represented; a 'Freguesia' (parish) as a synonym of a commercial site (the word fregues is popularly used to designate shop customers).

The students were told to look for and identify written documents which gave clues to the different names that the city had already had. For this some Memory Game tasks were done. At the same time the teacher selected in the book *Recreating Histories of Campina Grande do Sul* (that had been elaborated in the first phase of the project) the documents that could help the students in the lessons. She says in her dossier:

> With the help of the book *Recreating Histories of Campina Grande*, we read and we explain some written documents: laws, marriage certificates, and

other documents like party invitations in the current parish of Sao Joao, which has maintained the same name given to the old parish. So we made a time line on a large sheet of paper, being interdisciplinary with maths in the calculation of the years. Interested in knowing the names that our city had had, my students searched for other old documents. We explored those that they found in this new search. The oldest was from 1924, an identity document. Besides observing the names we explored other existing themes also calculating the age of the document and its value. Aiming for a better understanding of content, they produced little books with the names of the county, containing year, name, characteristics and drawings.

One sample of the students' books:

The names of our county

In 1873 the Parish of Campina Grande do Sul was built, a place that had the presence of a priest.

In 1666 a small village was born

A place with few inhabitants and few houses

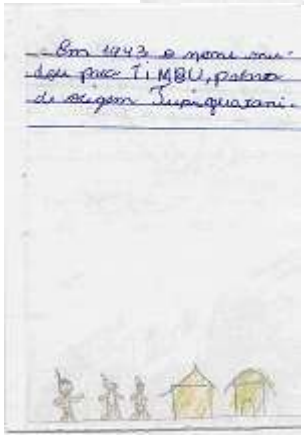
.

In 1889 it changed to Campina

In 1891, the inhabitants went to Grande village which had the streets and asked for a change from the government administration.

Name back to Campina Grande Village

In 1890 J. M.G. changed its name to Vila Glicerio.



In 1939 the county was extinct and the region turned into a district, one part in Piraquara and the other part in Bocaiúva do Sul.

A district doesn't have a liberty to make laws

In 1943 the name changed to Timbu, a word which came from the Tupiguarani Indians.

.

.

In 1961 the region became a county again, still with the name Timbu.	In 1956 the population asked and the government assigned the name of Campina Grande do Sul to the county.

Applications

We observe that the teacher used the documents intentionally, which as Ashby confirms (2003) reveals her commitment to project learning activities that encourage her students to work with various types of materials that the past left behind. In spite of emphasizing the informative level of the documents, the teacher provoked and respected some of the students' conclusions, as one can observe in interventions in the text of the book, when the students, based more on the oral tradition which exists among the local residents, than in the consulted documents, gave popular explanations among the reasons for the changes in the name of the city.

The use of the documents by the students was an important factor for them 'to believe' in the changes that took place in the meaning of the place name. None of the texts written by the students in their little books kept the concepts of district and parish.

One of the difficulties also overcome while working with documents was the understanding that, in the locality of Campina Grande do Sul, there was no sequence of political-administrative transformations, as in many places in Brazil, which change from settlement to county in a linear way.

Conclusions

From the analysis of documents prepared by the teachers some conclusions from this work can be reached, that indicate changes in the relation which teachers and students had with this historical knowledge. It provides evidence of overcoming the concepts of the past as something given that happened, and not as an interpretation. The increase in value and familiarity of the teachers with historic documents can also be considered as a positive result of the project, as well as a renewing of their interest in historic knowledge, and therefore the teaching of it. This phenomenon also happened with the students' parents and families. The importance of this is very significant particularly because in Brazil, even the most recent syllabus changes consider this to be only a part of a methodological strategy of teaching, and not a way of assuring the students' historic learning.

The next step in the work with the teachers has been to plan for a more systematic investigation of the historic documents with the intention of making deductions and conclusions as well as emphasizing its importance for the construction of historical

narrative by the students. The production of teaching materials, particularly the book *Recreating Histories of Campina Grande do Sul* resulted in a real 'discovery' on the part of teachers, students, and people of the community – that their history is important, and that they too are historic characters. For the university investigators, the project has shown possibilities of reflection and dialogue within Brazilian government schools, in spite of the limitations involved.

Correspondence

Maria Auxiliadora Schmidt
University Federal of Parana / Brazil.
email schmidt@qualityware.com.br

Tânia Braga Garcia
University Federal of Parana / Brazil.
email taniabraga@terra.com.br

References

Artieres, P. (1998) 'Arquivar a própria vida', in *Estudos Históricos: arquivos pessoais* Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas, v.11, n.21, 9-34.
Ashby, R. (2003) 'The concept of Historical Evidence: Curriculum demands and children's understandings', in *Educação Histórica e Museus*. Barca, I (org) Univ. do Minho,pp.37-55.
Barca, I. (2003) *Seminário realizado na Univ. Federal do Paraná*. Curitiba (Apontamentos)
Cooper, H. (2002) *Didática de la Historia em la educacion infantil e primaria* Ministério de Educacion Cultura y Deporte/Centro de Investigacion Educativa-CIDE/Ediciones Morata.
Freire, P. (1987) *Pedagogia do Oprimido* Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.
Germinari, G. (2001) *O uso metodológico de documentos em estado de arquivo familiar no ensino de história nas séries iniciais da escola fundamental* Curitiba. UFPR. Dissertação de mestrado. Programa de Pós-Graduaçao em Educação.
Melo, M.C. (2001) 'O conhecimento tácito substantivo histórica dos alunos – no rasto da escravatura', in Barca, I. (ed) *Perspectivas em Educação Histórica* Univ. do Minho.pp43-53.
Ossana, E.(1994) *'Una alternativa en la ensenanza de la Historia: el enfoque desde lo local, lo regiona'*, in Vazques, J. (ed) *Ensenanza de la Historia. Colección Interamer*, Buenos Aires.
Rusen, Jorn. (1992) *El desarollo de la competência narrativa en el aprendizaje histórica. Una hipótese ontogenética relativa a la conciencia moral* Propuesta Educativa. Argentina, n.7, outubro.
Schmidt, M.A. & Garcia,T.B. (2003) *Recriando Historias de Campina Grande do Sul* Prefeitura Municipal de Campina Grande do Sul/Universidade Federal do Paraná.
Thompson, E. (1981) *A miséria da teoria. Ou um planetário de erros. Uma crítica ao pensamento de Althusser* Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.

The Use of Stories in the Teaching of History

Dursun Dılek and Gülçin Soğucaklı Yapıcı, The University of Marmara, İstanbul/Göztepe, Turkey

Abstract *This research was undertaken between 2002 and 2003 by using qualitative research techniques. The study consists of two phases. In the first stage a story was written by the researchers about Anatolian Seljuks History. In the second stage, this story was taught and the lessons were video recorded. Interpretative analyses were made of dialogue between pupil-teacher, pupil-pupil and teacher-group and of pupils' creative work undertaken during the lesson.*

According to the findings of this study historical stories have important functions in the development of pupils' historical understanding, and contrary to the principle of the Piagetian approach, which asserts learning develops in relatively rigid sequential stages which are qualitatively different, moving from concrete to abstract thinking, it is understood that primary students can learn from abstract to concrete. We shall call this 'abstract thinking specific to childhood'. Stories can be used as vehicles for exposing and developing this potential. History has an abstract nature so it may be said stories have an important role in developing abstract thinking and historical understanding.

This study offers some suggestions for consideration in teaching history.

Key words Abstract thinking. Historical story, Historical understanding, Ironic, Kieran Egan, Mythic, Historical Narrative, Romantic

Introduction

The use of stories has been a powerful tool in history lessons through teacher's activity based on traditional teaching techniques. Storytelling is usually seen as a part of instruction method and is not included in problem solving techniques. Therefore, it has been neglected by Piagetians. Paradoxically, teachers' resistance to problem-solving methods results in an attitude that there is no need to improve their existing instructional approach grounded in narrative genres.

Story and Fictionalisation

Fictionalisation is an abstract process which includes the imagination of both historical materials and images in a sequential order in one's mind. In this process, the historian/writer interacts with historical materials through his/her imagination. These interactions in a story or an historical text are transferred to the listener/reader as verbal/oral symbols. One who reads/listens to the historical story that reflects the experience of teller/writer re-constructs it through his/her own experiences. In this re-construction process reader/listener empathises with the writer of the story or its heroes through his/her imagination by using his/her creative thinking skills (such as knowledge, logic, identification, associative and intuitive thinking). In the end of this process personalised original works are produced. So, both story making and story listening/reading can be assessed as a process which includes creative thinking. Egan (1978; 1988) describes four stages for historical understanding and he attributes a special significance to stories in these stages. These stages are below:

Mythic Stage (ages 4 to 9)
Children have no conception of time, place, causality, and otherness. However, they have similar needs as myth-tellers. These needs are the explanations of the world by contrasting opposites. There are stereotypical good and bad people and right and wrong. The content of the primary curriculum is usually prepared in accordance with

the subjects and concepts which are related to children's close environment. But, children tend to identify directly with monsters and talking animals living in strange places. They perceive the world through images that they create in their imagination and such abstract concepts as love, hate, fear, right and wrong which constitute their affective world, rather than concrete concepts included in the content of primary curriculum.

Romantic Stage (ages 9 to 15)
Children develop a sense of appreciation of the autonomy of the outside world with the concepts of historical time, continuity, causality and otherness. The child feels him/herself in a world that is created in the story and s/he identifies him/herself with the heroes and shares their triumphs.

A sudden interest arises in discovering the limits of the world. The child is influenced by the magic of events in the story in terms of exaggeration, oddness, perfection and so on. S/he prefers to make romantic connections with the most strong and noble characters and powers of the story and identifies him/herself with them. The child increasingly makes individual connections with the past. Concept of otherness, including a sense of living in different places and times and different life styles, takes place in the centre of imagination and interest of a typical romantic child.

Philosophic Stage (ages 15 to 20)
This stage occurs in the form of developing individual connections with the past. The past is not only seen as a series of stories and lives, but also as a dynamic and unique story. Students see history as their own personal story of a past that determines their present world and identities. Principles and laws explaining endless and chaotic situations excite students. Then, the aim of historians and the learning of history are to discover the principles and laws.

Ironic Stage (ages 20 and upwards)
The student understands that principles and generalisations are insufficient to explain the past's unique events and the historian's intellectual activity is more effective. So, s/he constructs his/her historical understanding according to this point of view. In this stage, students' historical understanding reaches the level of 'history for its own sake'.

Egan sees the physical activity of the child as central to learning which the teacher observes. But, there are learning models developed which are specific to each individual and learning is realised beyond the observed behaviour of the learner. So it cannot be possible to develop standardized learning models based on generalised stages. Actually, the concern for developing stages in learning, as in the Piagetian approach, may prevent the development of more advanced cognition.

It can be argued that the world of the past is even much closer to the child's imaginative world than the concrete world in which s/he lives because s/he meets a past in which s/he is able to practice such concepts as goodness, badness, fear, happiness etc. and a world in which s/he can feel the sense of otherness through identification and empathy (see Egan, 1978). The sense of otherness directs pupil to identify him/herself with an historical character. This is the first level of making empathy needed for historical understanding. Therefore, it is a functional tool in the development of primary children's historical thinking.

Features of Stories

Relationship between History and Story Adults' and children's interest in documentaries, historical fiction and stories rather than school history (see Watts, 1972) indicate the possibility of consumption of the past when it is presented as a

fiction. So, fictional creativity is a main vehicle in both stories and historical studies to construct different versions of the past. Historian's creativity consists of three stages:

- Understanding creative effects of human behaviour on the traces of past.
- Using a creative imaginative activity in order to fill the gaps in the process of reconstruction of the past.
- Historian's style which distinguishes him/her from the others.

Abstract thinking specific to childhood Although primary children are widely accepted as being at Piaget's concrete operational stage of thinking, we believe that they can think abstractly through developing imaginative and associative thinking (Dilek, 2002a) through and with the use of stories. In reality, the child's world of the imagination is an indicator for his/her potential abstract thinking.

Images of places, events and characters described in a story and establishing connections between them in the mind of reader/listener are formed through activation of associative, intuitive and creative thoughts which are the basis of abstract thinking specific to childhood. This kind of thinking is richer than our understanding of adult abstract thinking that seeks concrete equivalents for things with logical limits. In other words, a child realises his/her learning from abstract to concrete while s/he enlivens symbolic expressions in the story through images in his/her mind, instead of beginning from concrete events. As a result, in the child's fiction of the past, there are battlefields, castles, towns etc. and human links with them and human reactions and behaviours in response to them which are re-described his or her mind.

Re-constructing a Story through Imagination Place, time, people and events described in a story through symbols and words are linguistic codes, and are still unanalysed messages because they are not enlivened in the reader's/listener's mind. The reader/listener transforms these components into images in his/her mind by using these messages. Namely, intellectual activity associated with these unanalysed messages conveyed by language, is a function of abstract experiment and shows that there is a relation between language and thought. Likewise Vygotsky (1985) observed that children have less difficulty in expressing their abstract thoughts when they develop their vocabulary. As he (1985, pp. 101-2) pointed out, the child can make amazing connections to reach generalisations and is able to make astonishing transitions when s/he ventures to force the limits of his/her own thinking which is based on his/her experiment of a small concrete world. His argument may be accepted as evidence for 'abstract thinking specific to child'. So studying texts which are related to concrete experiments of children may have a part in developing imagination and abstract thinking.

On the basis of Mehler and Bever's research, Chomsky (2002, p. 138) mentions that intelligence has no developmental stages as Piaget and his colleagues investigated and argues that there is a possibility that intelligence has some different features. He considers that abstract stage described in Piaget's research, may be realised in the early stages of intellectual development, and the child's experiments are the process of adaptation to the existing intellectual structure. Hayek (1969) argues that individuals who have no concrete experiments can easily make abstract connections with things. These arguments show that history can be learned from early ages and children's potential can be a starting point for this learning. Capita, Cooper and Mogos (2000) also argue that learning history in early ages helps individuals not to develop prejudices about the past.

Stories, by defining events, facts and historical characters, send messages to the child's mind through symbols. These messages are re-organized by creative thinking skills of the child and initiate imaginative processes. According to Fines (2002)

imagination consists of *static* and *dynamic* processes. While static imagination refers to functions of seeing and depicting historical components in a period of time, dynamic imagination includes more complex processes of knowledge, experience, empathy and logical thinking. Static imagination re-produces images which are close to original ones. On the contrary, dynamic imagination re-constructs historical reality through using creative thinking processes.

Teachers and Pupils' Roles in Story Based Activities

The teacher acts as informer, demonstrator, facilitator or interpreter when s/he uses stories in the teaching of history. Depending on this, pupils' activities are varied. The teacher may frequently ask questions (closed/open) while s/he tells a story and give opportunities to children to ask their own questions about the story. Although not used in this research, maps, pictures, illustrations, etc. can be used when a story is told. The use of stories may be supported with drawings that reflect their content.

When a story-based activity includes drawings or re-productions of materials described in the story they have features of historical evidence. When questioned about these materials described in the story in terms of how they were made and for what purposes and when the development of historical events and responses of people of the past are discussed, there is a possibility that children may study like historians and develop a sense of appreciation for history.

Research Methodology

The focus of this study is to find out the effectiveness of story related activities in terms of developing historical understanding. The first hypothesis examined is a common claim that history cannot be understood if it is not concretized for primary children under the auspices of such principles as 'learning from concrete to abstract', learning from simple to complex' and so on into academic debate. Secondly, we test the hypothesis that learning can be realised through moving 'from the abstract to the concrete' relying on the idea of 'abstract thinking specific to childhood', as it is called by the researchers of this study. The study examines the individual's attempt to associate existing abstract thought with concrete experience through literature.

This study was designed as classroom based action research relying on qualitative research techniques. Research was carried out in a sixth grade class of eleven year olds at Ihsan Sungu Primary School in Istanbul between 15th of December 2002 and 15th of January 2003.

Data gathered from the classroom practices were analysed through a hermeneutic approach. Pupils' answers were analysed according to Egan's and Fine's levels of historical understandings.

Findings and Interpretations

Findings were classified under three headings based on the telling of a story written by us called 'Grandfather Seljuk' to the class of eleven years olds. The story was divided into parts. At the end of reading each part, children were asked to make drawings of events, materials and historical characters. During story reading, the teacher asked questions, gave feedbacks and made explanations.

Pupils' Drawings
Pupils concretized events, artefacts and historical characters through drawings. Pupils were not shown the original pictures and photos of the materials and historical characters described in the story. Similarities and differences were analysed between these drawings and original descriptions.

A flask, which pupils were asked to draw, was described in the story as below:

> Servants were pouring rose sherbets into our glasses from a ceramic flask, being very round like a globe, it has a peafowl figure on its surface. There were two handles next to the rim of this interesting flask which is like a ball.

Below, a photo of the original flask and a pupil's drawing deriving from above description are given:

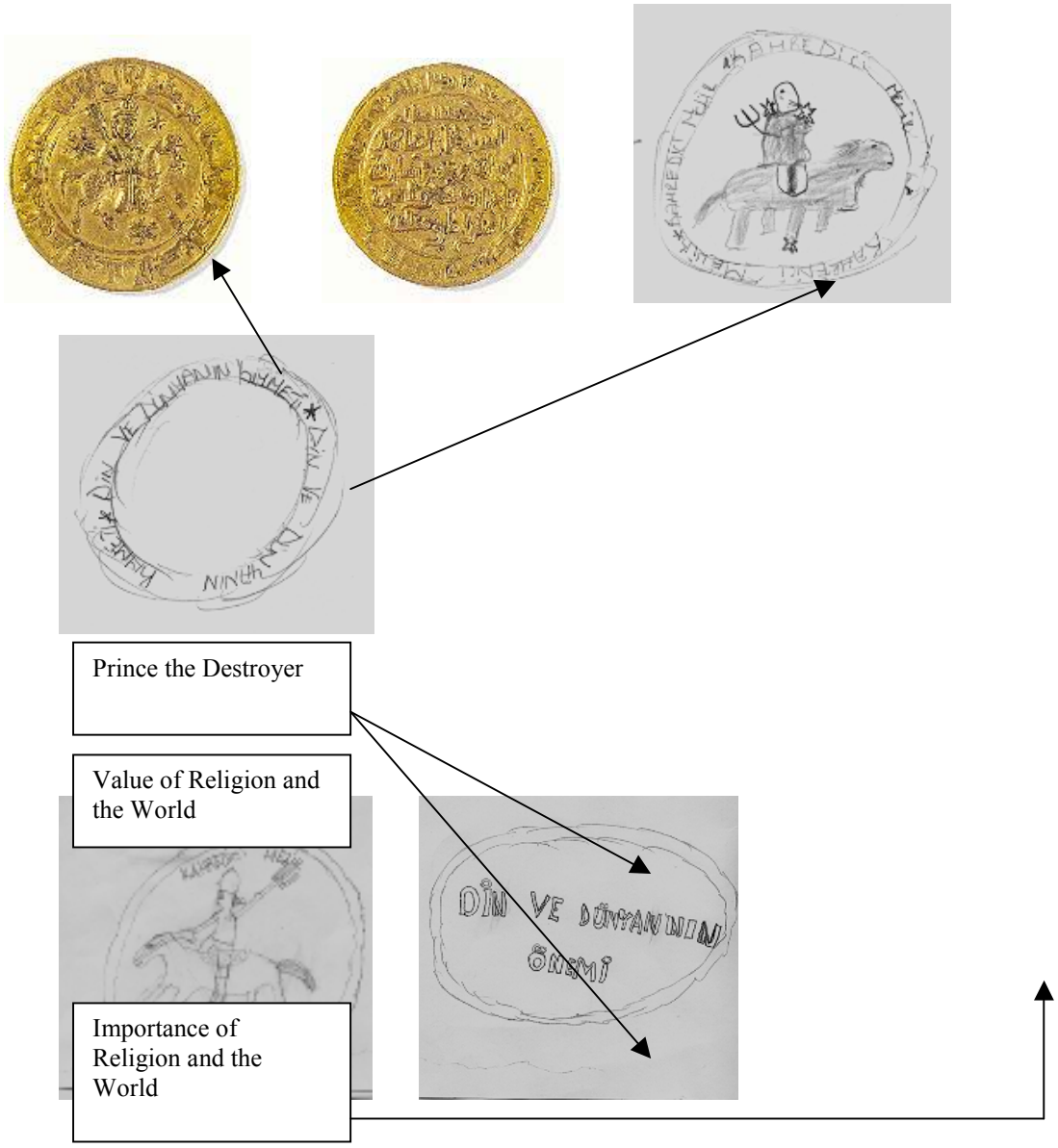
Drawing 1

As can be seen the pupil's drawing is very similar to the original flask. The pupil transferred the image of the flask that he formed in his mind to his drawing by using components of the flask described without creative activity. It can be said that this is an example of using static imagination.

Pupils were asked to draw pictures of a coin minted in the name of Suleiman Shah during his reign. The coin was described in the story below:

> A round metal… Suleiman Shah mounted on his horse was depicted on the front side of the coin. He was carrying a weapon in his hand reaching to his shoulder. This interesting weapon looked like a fork with three prongs. This was a pitchfork that had been used since ancient times. There were three six-angled stars over his each shoulder and down of the legs of his horse. 'Destroyer Prince' was printed in Arabic letters on the surrounding part of the front side of the coin. '[He is] the value of religion and the world' was written on the back of the coin.

Below are the original coin and drawings by two pupils derived from the description in the story:

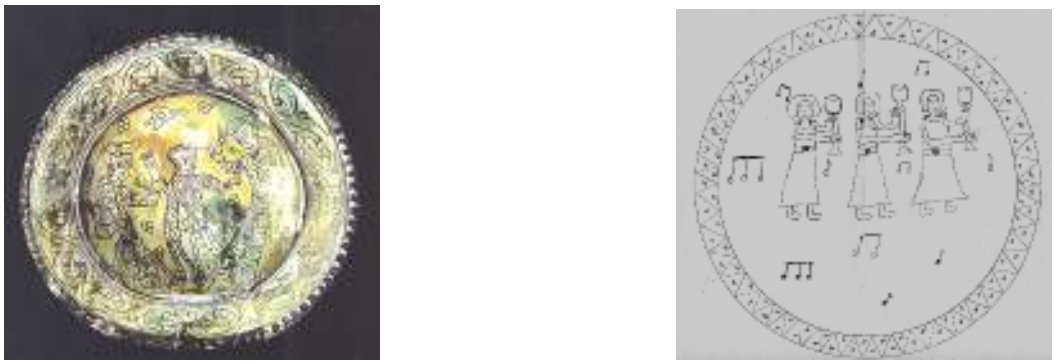


Drawing 2

In general, pupils' drawings look quite like the original coin that was not seen by pupils before and can be seen as products of static imagination process. But these drawings have some details that show transition from static to dynamic imagination process. For instance, although headgear, saddle, boots were not described in the story, these are shown in *drawing 2* as in the original coin. The pupil used logical and experimental understandings of dynamic imagination process in order to fulfil the gaps because of lack of information given in the story. These understandings are related to addition of details by using description of the coin as primary source in the story given and were formed through a process of interaction between pupil and the story.

Below, the original plate and pupils' drawing derived from the description in the story are given:

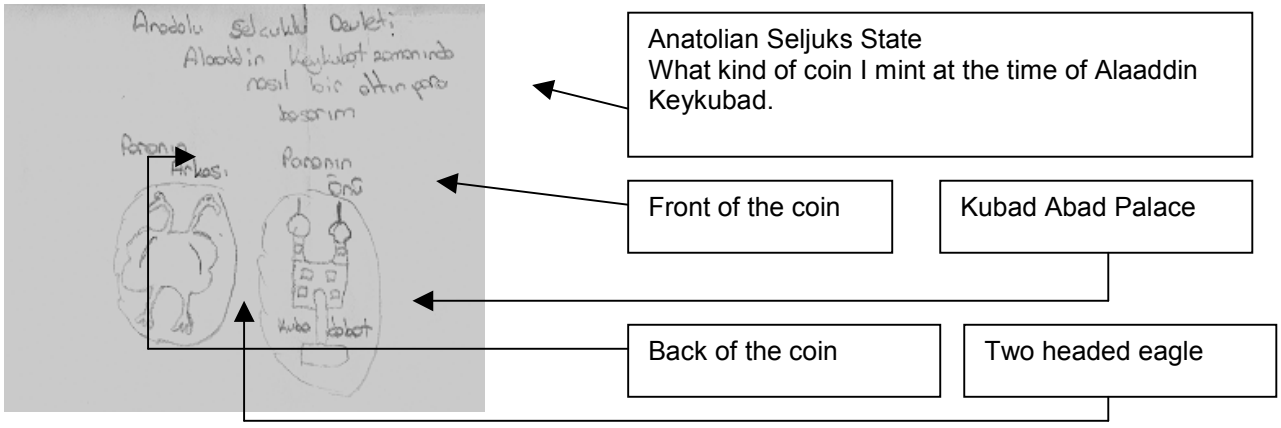
> There were very beautiful plates that I have never seen before in the big bronze trays which were brought us by menservants. On the plate three dancing women were drawn wearing very long dresses which had large designs. Women were holding glasses. The edges of the plate were decorated.



Drawing 3

Drawing 3 can be seen as an example of features of transition from the static to dynamic imagination process. In this drawing, while the pupil drew features that were given in the description, he also added musical notes on the plate in order to make women figures more reflective of the tones of the musicians' instruments which were mentioned in the wedding feast description of the story.

When creative thinking skills of children are developed, processes of dynamic imagination (knowledge, empathy, experiment and logic) are put into use. Likewise, *Drawing 4* indicates the presence of these. It can be said that a coin was thought of as a sovereignty symbol because the pupil drew a two headed eagle, which is the symbol of Anatolian Seljuks, on the back of the coin and Kubadabad Palace is on the front side, which shows the economic power of the state. In the same way, the teacher mentioned that a coin was one of the symbols of sovereignty. The pupil drew figures needed for this sovereignty symbol by using descriptions given in the story. In the story a metaphorical connection was made between two rival dynastic brothers (Mansur and Suleiman Shah) and a two headed eagle. This also shows that children may produce works via associative connections that are historically acceptable. These works are similar to interpretations and historical facts that historians reach at the end of the abstract thinking process.

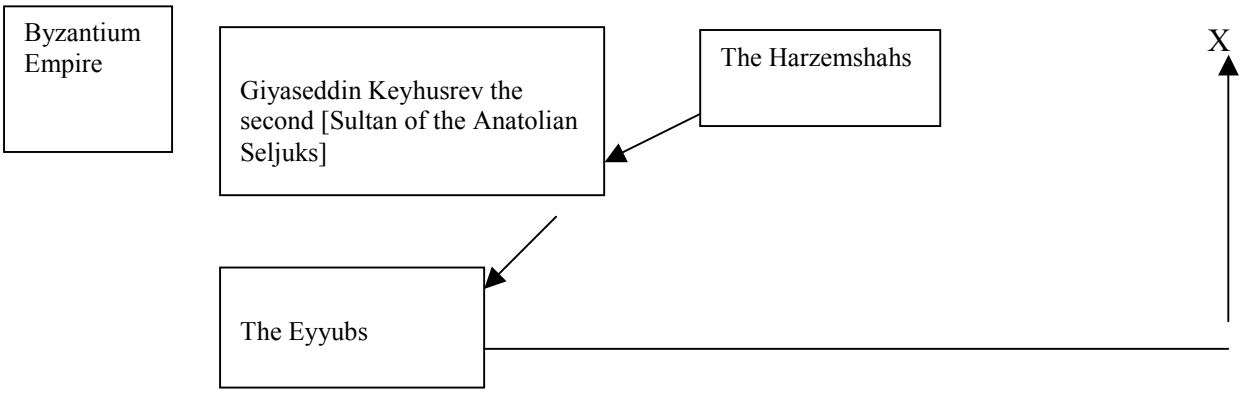


Drawing 4

Pupils' Answers

Pupils' answers were analysed according to historical understanding by using both Egan's (1978) and Fines' (2002) explanations.

After the story reading activity, pupils were asked to answer: 'If you were Giyaseddin Keyhusrev the second (Sultan of Anatolian Seljuks) what war tactic would you use against the Mongols?' A war tactic developed a pupil is given below:



> The Eyyubs, Harzemshahs and Giyaseddin Keyhusrev the second make peace. I could sent an army to the X place by establish an army. Then, I bring an army that stayed in Turkey to the Harzemshahs's place. The army in the X attacks the Mongols. Then the army in Harezmshahs's place attack the Mongols. And the Mongols were being defeated by sticking in two armies. I could use the same tactic for Byzantium. At the end both states would be destroyed, three states would be united.

It can be said that, being affected by the War of Miryokefalon between Seljuks and Byzantium in the story, the pupil made a war plan which is similar to traditional Turkish war tactics (spurious withdrawal/eyebrow tactic). This, may show that skill of making generalisations, in which Egan (1978) calls the philosophic stage and which he believes develops between the ages of fifteen and twenty, and creative thinking including logical thinking, in which Fines' (2002) imaginative approach starting from knowledge, are used.

When the teacher described the War of Miryokefalon, pupils linked it with the War of Uhud (a war between Muslims and pagans at the emergence of Islam). In connection with this the teacher asked children 'How do you link Miryokefalon with Uhud?' Two of the students answered this question as below:

> Pupil A:
> The War of Uhud; the Prophet Mohammed made war against anti-religious people. The Crusades [in this case, it was the case war of Miryokefalon]; becoming united Christians, made a war for the purpose of saving holly places from Muslims.

> Pupil B:
> If I make connection between Miryokefalon and Uhud, I say that the same tactic was used in both wars [This pupil made a generalisation that 'if the enemy that escapes, is chased by a unit, that unit is defeated'. In Uhud, a small group of archers leaving their places chased the enemy, but they were defeated. Likewise, in Miryokefalon Byzantium army chased a small Turkish unit but it was defeated by the main Turkish army that was located in behind.]

Most of the pupils' answers were classified as romantic because the story used in this study included a lot of romantic level elements. However, some students such as pupil A and pupil B needed to make connections between Miryokefalon and Uhud. Generalisations that they reached by making connections and explanations for the

drawing above, may show that some primary students also reach historical understandings of what Egan called philosophic stage, though he pointed out that this is usually typical of older students. Fines called this the dynamic imagination process.

Video records

Interactions between pupil and teacher and between pupil and pupil were analysed according to Egan's typology of historical understanding that pupils demonstrated through empathy and identifying with historical characters through story. The first dialogue relates to a pupil's identification with an historical character:

Teacher	Well, who did Suleiman Shah [Sultan of Anatolian Seljuks] apply to when there was a conflict?
Pupils	To Melikshah [Emperor of All Seljuks] [Teacher repeats he applied to Melikshah]
Teacher	Well, what did Melikshah do?
Pupils	[He sent] a commander whose name was Porsuk.
Teacher	Well, who was the person that Porsuk fought?
Pupils	Mansur.
Teacher	Well, what happened at the end?
Pupils	Porsuk killed Mansur.
Teacher	Yes, did Mansur die? [Teacher draws X on the writing of Mansur on the blackboard]
A boy pupil	No! He didn't die.
Teacher	Dead… Well, our Mansur was dead [in the story].
Teacher	Now then, Porsuk won. Who did win when Porsuk won?
Pupils	Suleiman Shah.

There was a pupil called Mansur in the class. As can be understood from this dialogue, the pupil identified himself with Mansur in the story. Some of the pupils preferred to be supporters of Mansur, while the others supported Porsuk when the teacher read the related section. One may argue that as there was a pupil called Mansur in the class he could easily identify himself with the historical character Mansur. Nevertheless, pupils' attempts to identify themselves with Suleiman Shah or Tutus who were in conflict show that pupils of this age can also be at what Egan called the romantic level in terms of historical understanding. At this stage, pupils meet the concept of 'otherness' by sharing and understanding thoughts and feelings of past people and establish personal relationship with them.

In the process of empathising, which is different from identification, the individual attempts to understand and interpret the feelings and thoughts of an historical character with whom s/he empathises in an historical context. The interpretation includes not only historical empathy but also dynamic imagination. For this reason pupils used such expressions as 'if I were him I could do this' in the story activity. This is related to a pupil's process of empathising based on an historical event in the story.

[The teacher asks 'if pupils have different military tactics' after explaining how the Turks used a military tactic in order to win the war of Miryokefalon.]

Teacher	What war tactic could the Turks have used? If the Turks hadn't used traditional war tactics. Now, Rah… [a boy pupil] will show us.
Pupil	We have arrows. I mean arrows with fire. There were good marksmen archers. There were archers here. If there were archers here.
Teacher	Umm there were in fact.
Pupil	There were. There were archers…

Pupil	Now, if I were [him]…I don't locate [archers] I wouldn't do. Here, as Byzantium army was there. Here were the Turks. Armies came in this way after the Turks escaped.
Other pupil: Rah	But, when the Turks escaped was the Byzantium army going to forward?
Pupil	Well, I said this too. I was going [to send] them [a small amount of Turkish Unit]. How can I say? I was going to send them to the way of death. Then, because when these [the Turks] were dead, Byzantium certainly could say that they won the war. They were going to drop their swords. After this, here the Turks moving here [the Turkish units which were located both side of the mountain] were going to kill all of the Byzantium army that had no sword and shield.

The teacher, while reading the story, told that the Turks won the war because they used traditional Turkish military tactics in the war of Miryokefalon.

The pupils used the dynamic imagination process, which included creative thinking, in addition to empathy and identification. The pupil reconstructed the war of Miryokefalon based on historical conditions. In this dialogue the pupils engaged in what Fines defined as knowledge, experiment, empathy and logical thinking processes that are involved in developing historical understanding.

The knowledge and creative thinking that pupils gained when they engaged with historical stories enabled them to make fictional constructions through empathising and identifying with characters like Kilic Arslan the Second who won the war of Miryokefalon. This meant they could produce interpretations that are logically acceptable. A close look at the verbal data in terms of Egan's stages of historical understanding shows that such construction relates to his romantic and philosophic stages. This cannot be explained through binary oppositions of the mythic stage. Maybe the best explanation for this is that the pupils made genuine mental constructions of a past event without generalising. Instead, the pupils had made a transition to some features of the ironic stage. Likewise, instead of accepting as a generalisation that the Turks always won a war when they used traditional military tactics, pupils understand as a result of questioning that they in fact developed different tactics.

Findings from our research suggest that it is possible to use 'abstract thinking specific to childhood' when teaching history through story. Findings indicate the particular Egan stages achieved.

Conclusion and Suggestions

This study aimed to find out how history can be learned without concretization by asking how stories can be used in the teaching of history. The story was made up of difficult and complex texts for primary school children, beyond what the Piagetian approach accepts as being possible at the concrete level of cognitive development. The stories provided challenging situations for pupils' learning to develop. Deriving from the events, characters and phenomena in the story such activities as drawing pictures, making war plans, answering open and closed questions, empathising and identifying with historical figures were taking place in the class.

Findings were obtained through these activities in which pupils, by transferring them as images in their mind, constructed more or less different versions of the past as historians did. These findings can be interpreted as the outcomes of a process of concretising messages conveyed from abstract symbols of the story after transforming them into images in the mind. Instead of providing a learning environment by using teaching materials such as pictures, photographs, CDs,

textbooks in accordance with a Piagetianist approach, pupils were given opportunities to listen a historical story in which they could think creatively and with which they could grapple mentally. In other words, a historical topic was narrated according to its abstract nature, and this narration was supported for concretising through pupils' historical interpretations and constructions (writings and drawings).

But this concretising may be thought of in terms of the needs to create authentic works and to share these works with others (see Dilek, 2002b) which is different from reinforcement of learning. This sharing enables the teacher to give feedback by determining pupils' historical understandings and perceptions. The argument developed in this research is that learning is realized through a circular process with three dimensions. The first dimension is individual that is the mental activities of a pupil. The pupil constructs things that the teacher teaches in this dimension. The second is to share creative constructions that are developed further through interaction between the individual and group or class with these. Creative work is revealed as reflections of reciprocal interactions different from the first construction. The third is the dimension of a process based on teacher's feedback through continuous interaction with a group or class. The teacher gives feedback to pupils' answers for questions that they ask from the beginning of telling or reading a historical story. This feedback is spread out along the learning process. Consequently, these three dimensions take place in a circular process in learning.

Theories of learning reduce learning to a mechanical level through attempts to form classifications and formulas. At the same time, it has been paradoxically stated that learning occurs individually in this mechanical view. It seems that pedagogic-pragmatic claims for concrete understanding combine with the need for connection with technological developments (such as working principles of computers) in exploring learning. Little importance has been given to the priority of the abstract in learning, and direct teaching techniques have been little utilized for the sake of Piagetianist approaches in which learning is based pupils' stages of pupil development.

This study conveys the priority of putting the abstract in historical learning on to the research agenda. It has showed in the action part of this study that abstract thinking specific to childhood could be realised through the use of historical stories. Below some suggestions are given in the lights of findings of this study:

- Levels of historical understanding can be developed through historical stories and texts irrespective of pupils' ages.
- Classroom activities such as listening, reading and explanation can contribute pupils' skills of making historical interpretations.
- Through stories challenging learning environments can be provided in which pupils use their dynamic imaginations.
- Stories provide opportunities for pupils to study like historians in order that they can construct the past which may be one of the ways of effective teaching.
- The use of stories can improve pupils' skills of language, their abstract thinking and questioning.
- Teachers or pupils may contribute to the content of history lessons by activities of reading or writing stories.

Correspondence

Dursun Dilek and Gülçin Soğucakli Yapici
The University of Marmara
İstanbul/Göztepe, Turkey

email dursundilek@marmara.edu.tr

References

Blyth, J. (1989) *History in Primary Schools* Milton Keynes-Philadelphia: Open University Press.
Capita, L., Cooper, H. & Mogos, I. (2000) 'History, Children's Thinking and Creativity in the Classroom: English and Romanian Perspectives' in *International Journal of Historical Learning*, Teaching and Research 1 (1), pp.14-8.
Chomsky, N. (2002) *Dilve Zihin. Çev. A. Kocaman*, Ankara: Ayraç.
Cooper, H. (1995) *The Teaching of History in Primary Schools: Implementing the Revised National Curriculum* London: David Fulton.
Department for Education (1995) *History in the National Curriculum* (England) London: HMSO.
Dilek, D. (2002a) *Tarih Derslerinde Öğrenme ve Düşünce Gelişimi* 2. Baskı. Ankara: Pegem-A.
Dilek, D. (2002b) 'Sosyal Bilimler Öğretiminde Öğrencilerin Yeteneklerine Dayalı Konu Merkezli Öğretim (Dursun Dilek) Tekniği', in *Tarih Öğretimi ve Yeni Yaklaşımlar Ulusal SempozyumuÇanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi,* (10-12 Ekim 2002).
Egan, K. (1988) *Teaching as Storytelling: An Alternative Approach to Teaching and the Curriculum* London: Routledge.
Egan, K. (1978) 'Teaching the Varieties of History', in *Teaching History,* 21, 20-3.
Fines, J. (2002) 'Imagination in History Teaching', in *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research,* 2 (2), pp.63-8.
Hayek, F. A. (1969) 'The Primacy of the Abstract', in Koestler, A. & Smythies, J.R. (eds) *Beyond Reductionism* New York: Macmillan.
Hayes, D. (1996*) Foundations of Primary Teaching* London: David Fulton.
Hoodless, P. (1998) 'Children's Awareness of Time in Story and Historical Fiction', in Hoodless, P. (ed) *History and English in the Primary School: Exploiting the Links* London: Routledge.
Knight, P. (1993) *Primary Geography Primary History* London: David Fulton.
Lee, P. J. (1991) *Historical Knowledge and the National Curriculum*, in Aldrich, R. (ed.) *History in the National Curriculum* London: Institute of Education, University of London and Kogan Page.
Lee, P. J. (1996) 'Children Making Sense of History', in *Education 3 to 13*, March, pp.13-9.
Vygotsky, L. S. (1985) *Düşünce ve Dil. Çev. S. Koray* İstanbul: Kuram.
Watts, D. J. (1972) *The Learning of History* London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan.

The British Empire and Commonwealth in World War II: Selection and Omission in English History Textbooks

Stuart Foster, Institute of Education. University of London

Abstract *The study of history through school textbooks arguably is still the predominant medium for classroom learning in England. History textbooks are a powerful influence upon the development of the attitudes, values, perceptions and understanding of young citizens. Nowhere is the role of textbooks in personal orientation more pronounced than in textbooks on the Second World War. The paper analyses the overt and implicit messages that such textbooks present to their readers. The conclusion is pessimistic; textbooks are Anglo-centric within a Euro-centric and Caucasian world picture. They need to reflect a sensitive picture of race and ethnicity, and the relative roles and importance of the nationalities and communities that were actively engaged in the struggle against the Axis powers. As such, they should positively represent the rich and diverse stories of all races that research has revealed to have played a seminal role in The Second World War.*

Keywords

British Commonwealth, British Empire, Citizenship, English History, History teaching, Identity, Nationalism, Racism, The Second World War, History textbooks

Introduction

The Second World War stands as the most devastating and destructive conflict in human history. To a degree never experienced by previous generations it was a war that blurred the distinction between combatant and non-combatants, that mobilised the vast human, economic, and technological resources of entire populations, and that legitimised ferocious and brutal assaults on civilians. Estimates suggest that a staggering 60 million people lost their lives during the Second World War as more than 1 trillion dollars was expended on the conflict. The economic, political, social, and economic consequences of the war were profound. In political terms alone, World War II led to a seismic shift in the status and influence of the world's major powers. It ushered in a new era of superpower conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, accelerated the decline of the French and British empires, precipitated the appearance of new democratic governments in Germany and Japan, and witnessed the emergence of communist China.

On a scale equally unprecedented in human history the war was a truly global event. More than 60 nations representing 1.7 billion people or three quarters of the world's population were consumed by the conflict. Military actions raged in Asia, Africa, Europe, and on the world's major oceans. The war engaged citizens from Argentina to India, Australia to Iran, and Thailand to Kenya. Few peoples of the world remained beyond the ruinous grip of war. Understandably, therefore, the Second World War typically stands as a landmark episode in history education throughout the world. In England its inclusion in the history curriculum is assured and the presence of the Second World War in history textbooks guaranteed.

Significantly, however, despite the global sweep of the war, analysis of textbooks commonly used in England suggests that schoolbooks devote almost exclusive attention to the 'principal' Allied and Axis powers. Accordingly, the actions of Britain, USA, and the USSR, routinely are portrayed fighting the Axis powers of Germany, Japan, and to a lesser extent, Italy. However, although textbooks acknowledge the broad geographical reach of the war, few books offer sustained attention to the contributions of nations and peoples beyond the 'major powers'. In some respects focus on the Allied and Axis nations is understandable. For example, the human cost

of the war fell heaviest on the Soviet Union who suffered the loss of approximately 20 million people. Economically the United States spent more on the war than any other nation and Britain and her Empire and Commonwealth committed more than ten million troops to active combat. Equally the part played by Japan and Germany in precipitating the war in the respective Pacific and European theatres and their combined commitment of more than 11 million troops demonstrate their central role in the conflict.

Nevertheless, although some justification can be made for primary focus on the major Allied and Axis powers, the widespread absence from textbooks of other nations, cultures, and ethnic groups determines that history students will learn about the war from a disturbingly limited and narrow perspective. Absent from their understanding of the war will be any knowledge of the contributions of other nations and any sensitivity to the accomplishments, actions, and complex perspectives of peoples from other diverse cultural and national backgrounds. Indeed the apparent omission of perspectives other than those traditionally considered mainstream illuminates serious deficiencies in contemporary history education.

To explore these issues more fully this study is broadly divided into four parts. First, through story line, content, and pictorial analysis four contemporary history textbooks routinely used in history classrooms in England are analysed. Although analysis focuses on portrayals of people from the British Empire and Commonwealth, primary focus is placed on the manner and extent to which peoples from India, Africa, and the Caribbean feature in textbook representations of the Second World War. Second, based on the findings of relevant historical scholarship, attention is drawn to the experiences of colonial peoples during World War II. Third, the study illuminates and explains the reasons for the apparent gulf between the historical record and the information contained in history textbooks. Finally some broader suggestions for ensuring the emergence of a more inclusive history education are offered.

Portrayal of peoples from the Empire and Commonwealth in history textbooks

Textbook sample

Following a wide-ranging review of secondary history textbooks currently available on the market in England, textbooks were selected for analysis that met four criteria which required that the textbook (a) was designed to support study in a Modern World GCSE History course[1] (b) devoted prominent sections or chapters to the study of the Second World War (c) was produced by a major publishing house and was widely adopted in schools throughout England, and (d) was published since 2001 *(*see Fig. 1*).*

Author(s)	Principal Title	Publisher	Total Pages	Publication Year
David Ferriby & Jim McCabe	Modern World History	Heinemann	288	2002
Tom McAleavy	Modern World History	Cambridge University Press	273	2004
Allan Todd	The Modern World	Oxford University Press	304	2001
Ben Walsh	GCSE Modern World History	John Murray	427	2001

[1] The General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) course is a two-year examination course for students aged 14 to 16. The GCSE is taken in individual subject areas and assessed at national level by one of four independent examination boards. The Modern World History course is among the most popular GCSE courses adopted in secondary schools throughout England.

Figure 1: The four textbooks selected for analysis.

Analysis

Drawing on the author's previous research studies (e.g., Nicholls and Foster, 2005; Foster and Nicholls, 2005; Foster, 1999; Foster and Rosch, 1997; Foster, Morris, and Davis; 1996; Foster and Morris 1995) and methodological considerations raised by other scholars in the field of textbook research (e.g., Foster and Crawford, in press; Schissler and Soysal, 2005; Nicholls, 2003; Crawford, 2000; Hein and Selden, 2000; Pingel, 1999; Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991; Schissler, 1990; Bergahn and Schissler, 1987) textbooks in this study principally were analysed using story line, content and pictorial analysis. Primary attention was given to qualitative analysis; however, quantitative measures were used to explore the relative emphases of selected areas of content (e.g., the number of visual images devoted to the actions of troops from the Empire and Commonwealth or the priority given to the study of World War II relative to other events of the twentieth century).

Guiding research questions used for these analyses focused on three overreaching and interrelated issues:

1. How, in what way, and to what extent does the Second World War feature in Modern World History textbooks typically used in England?
2. What key topics, events and theatres of war typically receive most prominent attention?
3. How, in what way, and to what extent are the experiences of peoples from the Empire and Commonwealth portrayed in textbook narratives and photographic representations?

Results

1. How, in what way, and to what extent does the Second World War feature in Modern World History textbooks typically used in England?

Without exception all four modern world history textbooks cover the twentieth century from the causes of World War I to global events in the late 1980s and the early 1990s (e.g., the break up of the Soviet Union, demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, the end of Apartheid). As indicated by the chart below (Fig. 2), on average the Second World War accounts for between 7.32% and 12.5% of textbook coverage. The number of pages devoted specifically to the war ranges from 20 to 38 with discrete chapters assigned to the subject a common feature. For the most part the Second World War is considered an essential component of twentieth century study and holds a status similar to that of other popular topics such as: Russia and the USSR 1900-1941; Germany 1918-1945; USA between the wars; and The Cold War. Although some difference in the way the war is presented exists (e.g., one book focuses on Britain and the Second World War, whereas another sets World War II in the context of international relations 1919-1989), it is abundantly clear that World War II enjoys a prominent position. Indeed, if analytical coverage of World War II was extended to include the causes of the Second World War in some books it would occupy more pages than any other twentieth century topic (e.g., in Ben Walsh's book coverage would constitute 63 pages or 14.75% of the total).

Authors(s)	Principal Title	Chapters or Sections	Pages devoted to WWII	WWII pages as % of total book
David Ferriby & Jim McCabe	Modern World History	Chapter 3: Britain and the Second World War	pp. 121-147 26 pages	9.02%
Tom McAleavy	Modern World History	International Relations 1919-1989 (pages from Nazi-Soviet Pact to Fall of European Empires	pp. 74-94 20 pages	7.32%
Allan Todd	The Modern World	Chapter 9: The Second World War and Chapter 10: Britain and the Second World War	pp. 148-186 38 pages	12.5%
Ben Walsh	GCSE Modern World History	A. Chapter 10: The World at War 1939-1945	pp. 279-316 37 pages	8.66%

Figure 2: Coverage of World War II in modern world history textbooks

2. What key topics, events and theatres of war typically receive most prominent attention?

Although the textbooks vary in their respective portrayals of the war, two areas of emphasis appear most salient. First, all four of the English textbooks principally view the war from a western European or British perspective. Accordingly generous coverage is given to various topics including Blitzkrieg and the German army's rapid advance through Europe, the fall of France, the evacuation at Dunkirk, the Battle of Britain, the Blitz, the Battle of the Atlantic, the bombing of Germany, D-Day and the Allied advance towards Berlin in 1944 and 1945. Three books devote on average 14 pages to the span of events listed above. In contrast, attention to the war in the Pacific constitutes four pages in Todd, two pages in Walsh, a few paragraphs in McAleavy, and is entirely absent from the book authored by Ferriby and McCabe. Similarly, although events on the Eastern Front receive attention in every book, their portrayal varies from a maximum of four pages in Walsh to a few sentences in both Ferriby and McCabe and McAleavy. Significantly, apart from mention of military campaigns in North Africa, no other aspect of war receives more than a few sentences. Overall, therefore, textbooks concentrate detailed attention on conflicts in Western Europe with the war in the Pacific, in North Africa, and on the Eastern front generally receiving very cursory portrayal. Involvement of peoples and nations beyond these geographical areas is almost entirely ignored in contemporary history textbooks.

In keeping with this parochial focus, the second feature of textbook treatment of World War II is the relatively consistent attention given to the impact of World War II on the home front in Britain. With the exception of McAleavy's book, which concentrates on the political and military aspects of war, the three other books generously portray the impact of the war on civilian life in Britain. Typically based around organizing questions such as 'How did the war change life in Britain?' (Ferriby and McCabe, p. 134) or 'How did the war affect civilians?' (Walsh, p. 298) all three books devote entire sections of between 11 and 15 pages to the subject. Common topics include evacuation, conscription, censorship, and propaganda, civilian defence, air raid precautions, food and rationing, and the experience of the Blitz. Each of the topics is impressively supported by an array of written sources and visual images including emotive photographs portraying, for example, evacuees or properties devastated by bombs, propaganda posters, oral histories, diary entries, and personal recollections.

Of note, three textbooks give special attention to the role of women in war. Each book on average devotes two pages to the topic providing numerous examples of how women contributed to the war effort. The textbooks acknowledge that more than seven million British women, eight times the amount of the First World War, were employed in various capacities including the Women's Land Army, the munitions industry, the civil service, and the armed forces. Significantly, although issues associated with equality and changing social attitudes towards women are raised in some textbooks, issues of racial equality remain strikingly absent.

3. How, in what way, and to what extent are the experiences of peoples from the Empire and Commonwealth portrayed in textbook narratives and photographic representations?

For the most part history textbooks ignore the contributions and experiences of peoples from the Empire and Commonwealth during the Second World War. Despite the fact that Britain drew on the resources and support from all reaches of the Empire, typically reference is made solely to 'British forces', 'British victories', and 'British troops'. Where reference is broadened to include military activities with other nations, the term 'the Allies' frequently is employed. Abundantly clear, however, is that 'the Allies' refers to US, British, and less frequently, Soviet collaboration and rarely includes the scores of other nations involved in the global conflict. Accordingly, Ferriby and McCabe make no mention of any nations beyond these three allied powers and their principal adversaries: Japan, Italy, and Germany. Similarly, except for one fleeting reference to Canadian involvement in the D-Day landings, McAleavy's text completely ignores the contributions of peoples from the Empire, Commonwealth, or indeed any other part of the world. Allan Todd's, *The Modern World*, is also parsimonious in its attention to the contributions of other nations and peoples. According to Todd, the war in Western Europe is a British and US affair; Italian and German troops are defeated in North Africa by the British; and despite a single reference to Australian troops and 'British and imperial forces', success in the Pacific largely occurs as the result of American military strength. Furthermore, although reference is made to Japanese conquests in Burma, Singapore, Malaya, and the impending threat to 'the important British colony of India', (p.165) no mention is made to the significant number of troops from Africa, India, New Zealand, Australia, and other nations who gave their lives ensuring the eventual defeat of the Japanese army.

Ben Walsh's, *GCSE Modern World History*, is slightly more sensitive to the involvement of other nations. Occasional reference is made to forces from 'Britain and the British Commonwealth and Empire'. Three sentences also are devoted to the importance of Canada's entry into the war, and Australian troops are credited with the defeat of Japanese forces in New Guinea in August 1943. In particular one paragraph stands out:

> The conflict between the Allies and Japan was fought over a vast territory and involved millions of American troops as well as troops from Britain, India, Australia, and New Zealand. Some 120,000 Africans also fought for the Allies in the Burma campaign. India provided over 2.5 million men and women for the armed forces and spent a staggering 80 per cent of its wealth in 1943-44 on the war effort (p. 295).

This acknowledgment of the involvement of other peoples marks a refreshing departure from convention. Unfortunately the paragraph is remarkable for its rarity. Indeed these three sentences stand in woeful isolation against the more than 120 pages of text analysed in this study. Furthermore, despite Walsh's acceptance that the war reached beyond the narrow confines typically portrayed in most textbooks,

the overall impression one forms from reading his book is that the war principally was a conflict between on the side, Germany and Japan and on the other, Britain, the USA, and the Soviet Union. Without question, references to the involvement of individual nations within the Empire and Commonwealth are severely restricted.

If narrative portrayals of people from the Empire and Commonwealth are rarely included in textbooks, visual representations prove little better. A striking feature of contemporary history textbooks is that they are visually appealing and colourful with narrative text typically occupying less than fifty percent of page content. Unlike textbooks produced in previous generations, textbooks today are adorned with maps, graphs, diagrams, photographs, pictures, cartoons, and posters. Likely these powerful visual sources play a significant role in shaping students' consciousness of the past. Analysis of photographic portrayals contained in the four textbooks, however, further illustrates how textbooks entirely ignore the involvement of peoples from the Empire and Commonwealth.

Fig. 3 below shows the number of photographic images contained within chapters relevant to the Second World War in each of the four books. It also shows the amount of times peoples of colour from the Empire and Commonwealth appear in these photographic representations.

Author(s)	Principal Title	Total Pages Analysed	Photographic Representations of the Second World War	Photographic Representations of People of Colour From the Empire and Commonwealth
David Ferriby & Jim McCabe	Modern World History	26	10	0
Tom McAleavy	Modern World History	20	16	0
Allan Todd	The Modern World	38	29	0
Ben Walsh	GCSE Modern World History	37	31	0

Figure 3: Photographic Representations of Peoples of Colour From the Empire and Commonwealth

As can be seen, out of a total of 86 photographic representations in the textbooks not one image portrays peoples of colour from the Empire and Commonwealth.

Overall, therefore, narrative and photographic analysis of the four textbooks demonstrates that representations of people from the Empire and the Commonwealth are woefully limited. In some textbooks they remain entirely absent; in others they often appear without context or explanation. Significantly, in the scores of representations of troops and civilians affected by the war in England only the experiences of white people are captured; as people of colour remain invisible. Given that many researchers have argued that textbooks have a powerful impact on how students come to know and understand the past (e.g., Foster & Crawford, in press; Schissler & Soysal, 2005; Marsden, 2001; Hein & Selden, 2000; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991) it is reasonable to ask whether such narrow and limited representations of the Second World War are acceptable. Based on an analysis of relevant historical scholarship, the next section focuses on the experiences of colonial peoples during World War II. In so doing it raises serious questions about the continued failure of contemporary history textbooks to draw on this important historical record.

The British Empire and Commonwealth during World War II: The Historical Record

Scope of British Empire and Commonwealth

At the beginning of the twentieth century the British Empire -- formed after 300 years of trade, conquest, and settlement, -- represented the world's most influential and powerful political and economic entity. At the outbreak of the Second World War the Empire held sway over a population approaching 500 million people, approximately a quarter of the world's population, and claimed more than 30 million square kilometres, equivalent to more than 20 per cent of the world's total land area. Its reach, power, and influence were unparalleled. The experience of nations living under the shadow of British imperialism varied considerably. Canada (1867), Australia (1901), New Zealand (1907) and South Africa (1910) enjoyed 'Dominion status' which ensured that through 'full internal self-government' (Perry, 1988, p. 124) a degree of autonomy from Britain existed. By contrast on the Indian sub-continent, in the Caribbean, and in most African colonies the wishes of the colonials largely proved subservient to the needs of the mother country. Indeed, whereas most British colonies were not consulted when Britain declared war on their behalf in September 1939, for the most part each Dominion individually decided when and how they would enter the war.

Although primary attention in this study is accorded to the 'hidden histories' of peoples from Africa, India, and, to a lesser degree the Caribbean, recognition should be afforded to the contributions of other members of the Commonwealth, especially those from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Particularly, as the previous section has illustrated these countries receive only fleeting treatment in most English history textbooks.

Australia, New Zealand, Canada

Despite some shared concerns that British war strategists did not always consider the perspectives of the Dominion powers, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia generally were prepared to sacrifice enormous resources and military personnel to the Allied cause. Whether out of a sense of mutual interest or sentimental loyalty, when war broke out in Europe each nation immediately took sides with the British forces. As early as December 1939, for example, Canadian troops were despatched to Europe and in January 1940 Australian and New Zealand forces bolstered military commitments in the Middle East. By war's end these three nations had made vital contributions in each the three major theatres of war: Europe, North Africa, and the Pacific.

In all, more than 200,000 New Zealand men and women served in the armed forces during the war. Of these 140,000 were despatched overseas largely to fight in campaigns in the Middle East and Italy. In total 11,625 sacrificed their lives during the Second World War. The contribution of Australian forces to the global conflict also was significant. During 1940-41 Australian troops served in campaigns in Egypt, Libya, Syria, Palestine, Crete, Greece, Malaya and Singapore. After repelling menacing advances by the enemy in Europe and the Pacific, by 1942 Australian forces had contributed impressively to Allied successes on a range of battlefronts including the deserts of North Africa, the jungles of Papua New Guinea, and the seas of the Pacific Ocean. Furthermore, The Royal Australian Navy played an important and diverse role in the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. At the peak of the war, out of a population of seven million more than 500,000 served in the armed forces with hundreds of thousands more engaged in munitions, or building roads and airfields. In total Australian battle casualties amounted to 72,814.

Canada's involvement in World War II was equally impressive. Serving in every major theatre of war Canadian troops witnessed action in, for example, Hong Kong,

Sicily, Italy, and North Western Europe. Canadian forces also stood on vital guard duty in Britain during the period of greatest threat of German invasion and Canadian naval vessels proved invaluable during the vital Battle for the Atlantic. Most notably Canadian forces made a huge contribution to the D-Day landings of June 1944 and the subsequent Allied advances into central Europe during 1944 and 1945. At its maximum strength in 1943 Canadian armed forces amounted to half a million, of whom 43,000 tragically were killed in combat.

Africa, India, and the Caribbean during World War II

The involvement of troops from the Empire and Commonwealth became particularly expedient after initial military successes of the Axis powers had closed off the Mediterranean to the British. Re-establishing links and supply routes to the Middle East, India, and East Asia were critical to Britain's strategic success. Significantly, therefore, Indian and African forces substantially reinforced troops from Britain's Dominions. As the war gathered momentum the contribution of these colonial troops assumed even greater significance. Unfortunately, however, as illustrated earlier, history textbooks typically overlook the role that these nations and peoples played during the Second World War. Sherwood and Spafford (1999) similarly have argued that 'British school history is nearly always silent about the participation of black people in the Second World War…The war, so resonant in the British consciousness, is not recognised as being a black British story as much as it is a white one' (p. 1). Accordingly, in this section close attention is paid to diverse and complex wartime contributions, experiences, and perspectives of non-white colonial peoples.

Raw figures alone suggest the undeniable contributions made by colonial troops. Despite their commonplace absence in textbooks, in reality approximately 500,000 Africans, more than 7,000 Caribbean people, and a total of 2.5 million Indians fought for Britain during the Second World War (Sherwood & Spafford, 1999; Furedi, 1999; Perry, 1988; Killingray, 1986). In total 170,000 Commonwealth men and women lost their lives or went missing as a result of the war (Somerville, 1998). Colonial troops saw service in military campaigns across the globe. During the course of the war, for example, the Fifth Indian Division fought against the Italians in Sudan, the Germans in Libya, and the Japanese in Burma, Malaya and Java (Visram, 1986).

Recruitment and support

The attitudes of colonial troops and citizens to the war were diverse and complex. Moreover, as historian David Killingray (1986) has noted, 'African reactions to military service are largely unrecorded' (p. 82). Nevertheless, available evidence suggests that opinion and attitudes varied considerably. Some, like Nigerian Chief Anthony Enahoro who declared, 'We prayed for British victory…we accepted the slogan 'We fight for Freedom' quite literally' (Sherwood & Spafford, 1999, p. A4), considered loyalty to the British cause a natural and desirable state of affairs. Others were less enthusiastic. Some saw no distinction between Nazism and imperialism and wondered, 'If this was their war or Britain's, a global response to a deadly threat or a white man's colonial exercise' (Somerville, 1998, p. xviii). Significant elements in India were reluctant to fight for the British. Indeed, through its 'Quit India' programme and a campaign of civil disobedience, the influential Nationalist Congress Party proved fierce opponents of British rule and British military directives (Fryer, 1989; Visram, 1986). Many colonial citizens went to war for practical or personal reasons. For example, some went for adventure, to acquire new skills, or to enjoy the social and welfare benefits the military had to offer (Killingray, 1986; Oliver and Atmore, 1981). Others went for economic reasons. Accordingly, historian F. W. Perry (1988), who concluded that Indian enthusiasm for the war was 'neither unanimous nor consistent', also remarked that, as most of the Indian army originated from rural communities, 'when farming was prosperous recruitment tended to decline and vice versa. (p. 117).

What is clear is that after initial reservations, the British government recognised the need for military conscription throughout its colonies. Whitehall also appreciated the important role that propaganda would have to play in encouraging loyalty and commitment from its imperial subjects. Revealingly a British Government propaganda directive of 1944 emphasised that 'the aim must be to present a picture of the moral and material strength of Britain and the Empire designed to arouse not only admiration and goodwill but also a sense of pride in membership of the Empire' (Sherwood and Spafford, 1999, p. B16). Arguably sustained and intensive attention to propaganda in the colonies offers some indication of British concerns about the level of colonial opposition or indifference to the war.

African nations during World War II

Whether willing or unwilling the contributions made by the peoples of the British Empire and Commonwealth proved very significant in the war effort. For example, the commencement of active war on the African continent soon swelled the number of regiments in both East and West Africa. In response to demands for personnel in East Africa and by the emerging threat of being surrounded by potentially hostile Vichy French territory in the second half of 1940, West African forces expanded to four times their pre-war size (Perry, 1988). In East Africa defence forces were established in Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Kenya. Following Italian entry into the war in 1940, African forces were instrumental in the occupation of Italian East Africa and further expanded operations to include active serve in Somaliland, Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles and the Middle East (Perry, 1988). With the defeat of the Axis powers on the African continent in 1942 imperial authorities re-evaluated their prejudiced and traditional position of using African soldiers only on African soil. The expedience of war caused a radical shift in strategic thinking (Killingray & Rathbone, 1986) which resulted in African troops being deployed to Ceylon and then to Burma in order to fight the Japanese. African troops also fought in the Mediterranean campaign and in the Allied advance through Italy from 1943-1945. In all more than 160,000 Africans were sent abroad to fight.

A vital aspect of the contributions of Africans to the war was the huge numbers of people recruited for military labour. As David Killingray's (1986) exhaustive study of labour mobilisation in British colonial Africa during the war graphically illustrates the 'vast majority' of army recruits were enlisted as non-combatant 'labourers in uniform'. These men originated from every colonial territory and 'served as labourers on docks, in stone quarries, building fortifications and for general construction work'. In addition non-combatants were employed as signallers, fire fighters, lorry drives, pioneers, porters, carriers, as well as performing garrison duties. Indeed, although some scholars dispute the primacy of his claim, Killingray concluded that Africa's greatest contribution to the war 'was in the steady supply of military labour that substituted for European and American troops in the Middle East and North Africa campaigns' (p. 90).

India during World War II

When war broke out in Europe in September 1939 fewer than 200,000 personnel served in the Indian army. Soldiers were largely drawn from agricultural communities and the army remained an 'unmodernised force' (Perry, 1988). By the war's end, however, more 2.5 million men and women were in service and the Indian army and the Royal Indian Navy had made a significant contribution to the combined Allied victory (Perry, 1988, p. 117).

Prior to the breathtaking advance of the Japanese army in 1942, Indian troops committed to overseas service principally acted in supporting roles in Egypt, Malaya, Iraq, the Persian Gulf, and Burma. After 1942 however India became deeply involved in the war as the nation's orientation shifted to India's eastern front. Initially

Indian troops shared in Allied setbacks in Malaya and Burma and, when Singapore fell in February 1942, tens of thousands of Indian troops were captured by the Japanese. By 1943, however, Indian troops served under Mountbatten's ultimately successful South East Asia Command and 'in early 1944 the Seventh Division's heroic stance at Kohima broke the force of the Japanese advance on Assam, and thereafter they shared in General Slim's triumphant return to Burma' (Spear, 1979; p. 216). After defeating the Japanese, Indian forces were the first Allied troops in Thailand, Indo-China, and the western islands of the Dutch East Indies (Perry, 1988).

India's contribution to the defeat of Japanese forces in the east additionally was matched by military service to the west. Indian troops shared in the impressive defeat of Italian and German forces in North Africa and vigorously participated in campaigns in Iraq, Syria, and the Persian Gulf. Furthermore, Indian involvement in Italy increased the size of British participation in the area by fifty percent.

Significantly despite common dissatisfaction with continued British rule in India, Indian military personnel typically served with commitment and distinction. As historian Percival Spear (1976) noted, 'Though the Indian heart was not in the war, the Indian war record is nevertheless impressive…[and] the army itself had a distinguished record' (p. 215). As a measure of their bravery Indian service personnel received 4,000 awards for gallantry and 31 Victoria Crosses (Sherwood, 2001) and the Indians were reputed to have 'among the best troops turned out by either side.' (Spear, 1979, p. 215). In total an estimated 36,000 Indian troops were killed or reported missing in action during World War II, with a further 65,000 wounded. Little doubt remains that India's military contribution to the war was particularly important at a time when British resources were stretched to their limit. Indeed historian F. W. Perry (1988) concluded that 'without the Indian Army Britain would have been quite unable to meet her many commitments in the Middle East and Far East' (p.120).

The Caribbean during World War II

In terms of numbers, size, and scale the involvement of the Caribbean islands could never match the contributions made by Indian and African forces. Nevertheless the Second Word War was very real to West Indian people who, like their European counterparts, concerned themselves with blackouts, air raid shelters and the need for a robust home defence. The disturbing immediacy of the war is illustrated, for example, by the reminiscences of one Jamaican who noted how,

> Down in Kingston town, at a place they call Parade, they had two lists put up – a list of men reported missing and a list of men reported dead. And that list would go on and on…Sometimes you'd go and see the name of your cousin; you'd go back a few days later and see your friend's brother reported dead' (Somerville, 1998, p. 174).

In the early years of war Caribbean involvement principally was devoted to guarding the ports, constructing military installations, and securing strategic locations, such as the extensive oil installations in Trinidad. However, with US entry into the war and the increasing German U-boat offensive, British colonies in the West Indies came under increasing threat. As a result, in January 1942 a full-time battalion was mobilised in Jamaica and another in Guyana with further expansion, including the creation of the North and South Caribbean forces, occurring throughout 1943. Thousands of Caribbean men and women joined local home commands including 1287 people who served in the Trinidad Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve.

Although more than 6,000 Caribbean personnel were recruited by the RAF principally as ground crew, West Indian troops did not see extensive overseas service until late in the war. Thus, in September 1944 the 1,200 strong Caribbean regiment, who had received military training in the United States, arrived in Italy before joining garrison

forces in Middle East (Sherwood & Spafford, 1999; Perry 1988). Some 30 West Indians served as aircrew and in total 90 Caribbean men received military decorations, including 7 distinguished service orders and 64 DFC's. Accordingly, although the numerical contributions of military personnel from the Caribbean did not rival those of many other nations who participated in the war, the achievements of West Indian men and women were not without consequence. Certainly, for history textbooks to leave their role unrecognised is not only to ignore the historical record but also to deny the sacrifice made by the hundreds of Caribbean people who were killed or wounded during the Second World War.

War beyond the military

The role of the colonies in World War II extended well beyond the actions of military personnel. In particular Britain exploited its relationship with its colonies in two key ways. First, the colonies offered supply centres and bases for the armed forces. For example, more than 100,000 troops passed through West Africa during the war and countries like Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria served as staging posts and strategically important military bases. Aircraft desperately needed for campaigns in the Middle East and North Africa initially entered the continent via West Africa. In addition, once use of the Suez Canal was ruled out, West African ports serviced and supplied allied shipping on their way to India and beyond (Sherwood and Spafford, 1999; Killingray and Rathbone, 1986; Spear, 1976). In east Africa vast amounts of supplies and material were moved north from Kenya to Egypt along the Africa Line of Communication route. Here, Egypt, under British control throughout the war, operated as the focal point for Middle East command (Killingray and Rathbone, 1986). Similarly while India became an important supply centre to campaigns in the Middle East and the Pacific, after 1940 US bases also were established and expanded in the West Indies (Sherwood and Spafford, 1999; Perry 1988). Such developments demanded that huge numbers of colonial workers were pressed into service in, for example, construction, supply, and maintenance (Killingray, 1986).

The second way that Britain exploited its colonies was through the widespread acquisition and use of raw materials, foodstuffs and resources produced by its imperial subjects. From the colonies came vital agricultural supplies of sisal, maize, wheat, tea, sugar, rubber, jute and cotton. In addition, although the British largely prohibited the development of industry in its colonies, it nevertheless took advantage of the Empire's rich mineral wealth in bauxite, iron, steel, manganese, tin, coal, timber, gold and diamonds (Sherwood & Spafford, 1999; Killingray & Rathbone, 1986; Spear, 1976).

Abundantly clear is that Britain's increasing thirst for materials, foodstuffs and manpower saw to it that colonial economies were continuously subverted and exploited. British officials showed little or no concern for local interests as they instigated ruthless price controls, coerced colonial labour, and unapologetically dictated colonial economic policy. Overall the war exacted a heavy economic price on many African colonies. Similarly, India, which diverted more than 80% of its annual budget to the war effort, and the Caribbean islands extensively shared in the huge and intolerable economic cost of war.

Racism in war

Despite the impressive involvement of colonial troops in World War II textbooks typically remain silent on the exploitation of colonial people, the endemic racism experienced by many, and the personal and gripping stories of individuals who sacrificed their lives for the Allied cause. Both in Britain and in the Empire little doubt exists that the Second World War was fought in a climate of 'stark racial prejudice' (Somerville, 1998 p. xviii). The unapologetic discrimination of people of colour in

both civilian and military life was an uncomfortable and ubiquitous feature of the war years (Fryer, 1984). 'Black men were not even permitted to lie alongside the white corpses of their fellow men,' historian Christopher Somerville noted, and 'some were issued with spears and clubs, rather than rifles and grenades' (p. xviii). Colonial troops routinely received inferior rations, lower pay, and discriminatory treatment. Furthermore it proved almost impossible for black troops to advance in rank and status. Significantly, no professionally trained black officer was established in the British army and, as one Kenyan soldier complained, 'an African's rank was meaningless to British soldiers' (Sherwood & Spafford, 1999, p. 23).

Britain's military planners also were exceedingly keen to avoid any circumstance in which black or Indian troops might embrace 'ideas above their station'. As Frank Furedi (1999) noted, 'in one form or another matters of race had become integral to imperial decision making' (p. 188). As such the War Office proved reluctant to allow African troops to serve in Europe and Whitehall planners wanted to avoid any situations in which colonial troops could be 'contaminated with unacceptable ideas' held by African-American troops, thus 'subverting the existing racial balance of the Empire' (Furedi, 1999, p. 188). Unquestionably the war and its aftermath led both to an irreversible crisis in the culture of imperialism and a severe blow to white prestige. In this climate few in the British government wanted to exacerbate the problem by bringing colonial troops into contact with peoples who might fuel their aspirations. Thus, the maintenance of a status quo in which everyone knew 'their place' determined British imperial policy during the war (Fryer, 1984).

Significance of World War II for Britain's Former Colonies

As the textbook analysis illustrates the significant wartime contributions of colonial peoples remains largely unrecognized. Similarly, few textbooks see fit to examine how the war affected the future of Africa, India, and the Caribbean post-1945. Typically textbooks move from selected coverage of World War II to the emergence of the Cold War in Europe. Once again, the important history of colonial people routinely remains unexplored. The impact of war on colonial people was, however profound and far-reaching. Historians Oliver and Atmore (1981) argue, for example, that 'the Second World War is the great turning point in the history of modern Africa', noting that moves to end colonial rule which had been unhurried at the beginning of the century became 'uncontrollable by the end of the war' (p. 33). Similarly, moves to independence in the Caribbean and the liquidation of the British Empire in India in 1947 were heavily influenced by the circumstance and consequences of war.

Despite the cursory attention give to these events, the war and its impact on British colonies unquestionably has significance for British schoolchildren for many reasons, of which three stand out. First, the end of the war marked a significant shift in the power and prestige of the British Empire. With the emergence of USSR and USA Britain's place in the modern world was re-examined and recast. Similarly Britain's relationship with the peoples of the Commonwealth had to be given sensitive and thoughtful consideration. Secondly, as the nations of Africa, India and the Caribbean enjoyed increasing independence new opportunities and challenges emerged. Today, these nations account for a significant proportion of the world's population and as such appreciating their histories and experiences forms a vital aspect of understanding the contemporary world. Third, post war emigration from the colonies to the United Kingdom offered a new dimension to the continued interaction between different peoples of the Commonwealth and Empire. Thus, an informed and richer understanding of the historical experiences of immigrants to Britain allows for a more thoughtful appreciation of Britain's modern multicultural society (see, Visram, 1994).

Given these reasons and given the extensive contribution that people from the colonies made to war effort the question arises: why are their histories so often ignored or underrepresented in history textbooks?

Why are the histories of people from the Empire and Commonwealth so often ignored or underrepresented in history textbooks?

First and foremost, school history in England is heavily influenced by prescribed curriculum content. The contemporary history curriculum, however, does not represent a collection of value free, objective, and neutral knowledge. Rather the history curriculum has emerged as a result of generations of competing ideological, educational, and sociological influences. A powerful force in determining the history curriculum in England has been the weight of tradition. As many academics have demonstrated for more than a 100 years history teaching in England has had a distinctively Anglo-centric, nationalistic and conservative flavour (Marsden, 2001; Dickinson, 2000; Sylvester, 1994; Chancellor, 1970). Influenced by what Grosvenor (1997) refers to as 'the discourse of Empire' (p.188) this 'great tradition' of history teaching has ensured that generations of schoolchildren in England typically have been exposed to the transmission of a limited national heritage (Sylvester, 1994). John Slater's (1988) parody of the great tradition offers an illuminating insight into its central tenets:

> Content was largely British, or rather Southern English; Celts looked in to starve, emigrate or rebel; the North to invent looms or work in mills; abroad was of interest once it was part of the Empire; foreigners were either, sensibly, allies, or, rightly, defeated. Skills –- did we even use the word? -- Were mainly those of recalling accepted facts about famous dead Englishmen, and communicated in a very eccentric literary form in examination-length essay. It was inherited consensus, based on largely hidden assumptions (p. 1).

Without question over the past twenty-five years the 'great tradition' in history education has encountered a serious challenge from advocates of what has loosely been termed 'new history'. In particular the influence of the Schools History Project with its emphasis on history as a form of knowledge (rather than just a body of knowledge) and increased attention to social history has seen some important changes in pedagogic practice in many schools throughout the country (see, Haydn, 2001; Dickinson, 2000; Sylvester, 1994; Phillips, 1988). Nevertheless, despite these significant changes it is important to recognise that in terms of curriculum content history teaching in England remains constrained by limited and narrow perspectives on the past.

To understand why this should be one only has to look at the fierce ideological battles that were fought over the history national curriculum during the late 1980s in which forces from the New Right proved highly influential (Crawford, 1996). Alarmed by what was perceived as the potentially corrosive influence of 'new history' in the original draft proposals for the history curriculum, published in July 1989, right-wing politicians powerfully asserted their authority. 'I was appalled,' remarked Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. 'It put the emphasis on interpretation and enquiry as against content and knowledge. There was insufficient weight given to British history. There was not enough emphasis on chronological study' (Thatcher, 1993, p. 596). Echoing the concerns of others Conservatives, MP John Stokes also declared with exasperation 'Why can't we go back to the good old days when we learnt by heart the names of kings and queens of England, the feats of our warriors and our battles an the glorious deeds of the past?' (Haydn, 2001, p. 89).

Not surprisingly given their huge political influence during late 1980s and early 1990s the views of the political right prevailed. Recognising the importance of controlling the past to promote selective national memories and to appease social and political agendas in the present, politicians understood the stakes were high. What emerged therefore was a national curriculum that chiefly celebrated the achievements of the dominant white majority and as Booth (1993) has argued, portrayed 'the whiggish story of the political and economic improvement of the great British people' (p. 79). Standing on what Rozina Visram (1994) has referred to as 'the twin pillars of patriotism and the transmission of a common cultural identity' (p.54) national curriculum mandates largely ignore the historically multicultural nature of British society. Indeed, emphasis on a narrow version of British history and the legacy of classical civilisations appear as hallmarks of the current curriculum.

The narrowness of the history national curriculum also is reflected in national assessment and examination provisions. Analysis of recent GCSE, AS and A2 history papers, for example, testify to the limited attention given to histories of ethnic groups and to the repeated focus on certain topics (e.g. Nazi Germany and World War II).

Influenced and constrained by these developments in curriculum and assessment publishers have responded by producing textbooks that address economic and ideological agendas. As Keith Crawford and I have argued elsewhere textbooks today are more than ever packaged and produced to respond to the demands of an increasingly state controlled education system and an increasingly profit driven textbook industry (Crawford and Foster, in press). Indeed by responding to the demands of the national curriculum, national testing systems, and other government initiatives, textbook publishing increasingly represents a form of ideological control in which certain knowledge is privileged over others. As Michel Apple and Linda Christian-Smith (1991) remind us, textbooks do not appear in a vacuum. Rather they are 'conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests' and are 'published with political and economic constraints of markets resources and power' (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 9). They emerge from what Raymond Williams has called a 'selective tradition' in which some knowledge is legitimated and other knowledge marginalized (Williams, 1989).

By definition, of course, selection involves de-selection and unfortunately because the Anglo-centric historical tradition remains pre-eminent, often neglected in textbooks are alternative narratives and discourses. Thus, the experiences of those who lie outside white history are marginalised or ignored. As Peter Fryer (1989) has persuasively argued,

> By disguising or glorifying the true history of colonialism, and by writing black people out of British history, the official historians have marginalized and thus further oppressed those whose history they have distorted or concealed (p. xiii).

The inability of alternative versions of the past to penetrate mainstream narratives is also exacerbated by number of other factors. In particular, as curriculum time for history is increasingly squeezed by the claims of other subject areas, educators and textbook authors often argue the difficulty of covering what is perceived to be 'additional' subject matter. Moreover the lack of readily available educational resources on subjects beyond the mainstream, inadequate preparation on teacher education programmes (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993), and the failures of OFSTED and QCA[2] to ensure that schools devote serious attention to issues of ethnic, cultural,

[2] OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education) is the government agency that inspects schools to ensure that the standards and policies of QCA are enforced. The QCA is the Qualification and

and religious diversity all contribute to inadequate representations of the past in history classrooms (Sherwood, 1998).

Overall, people from the Empire and Commonwealth largely remain absent from portrayals of the Second World War because of a complex interrelationship of many factors. Specific to British history a central issue that permeates all these considerations is that, traditionally, the notion of what it is to be British is narrowly conceived. Britain today, as in the past, is a diverse multiracial, multilingual, and multicultural society. However, as Ian Grosevonor (1997) has pointed out many critics, particularly those from the influential political Right, typically have construed British identity in narrow Anglo-centric terms. Accordingly, the experiences both of British citizens from various ethnic groups and of peoples from the Empire and Commonwealth have largely remained marginalised, decontextualised, or ignored in English history textbooks.

Looking to the Future:
Some recommendations for more inclusive history education

Insufficient space is available here to detail the many educational changes required to make history education more inclusive. Nevertheless, three interrelated areas warrant close attention. First, it is important for all politicians, policy makers, educators and textbook authors to appreciate that identity, race, and nationhood are social constructions and that these constructions need to be re-cast as we enter the first decades of the twenty-first century. As has been argued, British identity traditionally has been shaped by adherence to a version of history which sees the achievements of white males as pre-eminent. Largely ignored are the stories, experiences, and achievements of people of colour. But as many critics have argued, since Roman times British history has been forged by the experiences of a complex mix of peoples from all over the world (Grosvenor, 1997; Visram, 1994; Fryer, 1989). To leave out their stories is to offer an 'incomplete understanding of British society and its development, its values and its culture' (Visram, 1997, p. 57). Similarly, because Britain has historically been connected to countries throughout the world, particularly those nations from the former British Empire in the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia, the histories of these peoples are inextricably linked together. It is essential therefore that history instruction reflects both the diversity of Britain and its interconnectedness with a complex array of other cultures and ethnic groups. Above all, the experiences of people of colour should not remain outside what has been regarded as mainstream history. Rather their stories should be intertwined, braided, and integrated into the rich and dynamic fabric of British and world history.

Second, and inexorably related to the point raised above, history educators and textbook writers must consider their application of curriculum content and avoid the damaging effects of 'mentioning' in which limited and ad hoc elements of the history and culture of minority groups are included without altering the central Anglo-centric story line. Rather than adding to a more sophisticated understanding of both British and world history, peppering the history curriculum with isolated and inadequate representations of ethnic groups will re-enforce notions that the stories of 'other' groups lie beyond the central story line of the nation. As American academic James Banks has argued 'the infusion of bits and pieces of ethnic minority groups into the curriculum not only reinforces the idea that [they] are not integral parts of…society, it also results in the trivialization of ethnic cultures' (Sleeter and Grant, 1991, p. 99).

More problematic is the current tendency to view history through the 'prism of racism' (Grosvenor, 1997) and include topics in the curriculum in which black people often

---

Curriculum Authority. This is the government body that oversees the operation and assessment of the National Curriculum.

appear as victims or as problems. Teaching of the widely adopted Key Stage 3 study unit, *Black Peoples of the Americas*, for example, often serves to exacerbate this problem. Kay Traille's illuminating study of African-Caribbean students' perceptions of history demonstrate how many often feel uncomfortable and alienated when studying this topic, particularly because of its heavy emphasis on slavery. 'If the only story that black children can tell about slavery is of whites controlling the destiny of black people,' Traille remarked 'then they are limited with what they can do with the narrative, except personally identify themselves as victims or reject it.' According to Traille, what the students wanted was 'a history curriculum that included black people as part of the mainstream narrative, not a marginalised sub-section' (p. 176).

The third issue of importance is the need to ensure that relevant scholarship on the experiences of people of colour penetrates the educational system. History textbook authors, teacher educators, teachers, policy makers, exam boards, and government inspectors need to be more aware of the complex, rich and diverse stories that have existed in British and world history. In particular, history teachers need to take advantage of the current flexibility of the Key Stage 3[3] history curriculum and approach history from a more inclusive, critical, and challenging perspective. Development in history education in recent decades with emphasis on history as a form of knowledge also provides opportunities for students to analyse and assess the construction of different and more inclusive accounts of the past.

Addressing and implementing these three recommendations poses a difficult challenge. In terms of understanding the Second World War it will require greater attention to the histories of ethnic groups within Britain and to peoples from the Empire, Commonwealth and beyond. Broader than this it will involve a reconceptualization of British identity, critical consideration of curriculum, pedagogy and instructional resources and a fierce commitment on the part of policy makers, the education establishment and, above all, teachers. If history education can go some way to embracing these three recommendations it will undoubtedly result in students having a more inclusive, more responsible, more exciting, and more worthwhile appreciation of our shared history.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Marika Sherwood, of the Black & Asian Studies Association and Honorary Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Commonwealth Studies for her advice and critical commentary in the development of this paper.

Correspondence

Dr. Stuart Foster
School of Arts and Humanities
Institute of Education
University of London
WC1H OAL
s.foster@ioe.ac.uk

[3] Key Stage 3 is for pupils aged 11-14 years old (Key Stage 1: 5-7 years; Key Stage 2: 7-11 years; Key Stage 4: 14-16 years).

References

Apple, M. & Christian Smith, L., (eds) (1991) *The Politics of the Textbook* New York, Routledge.

Apple, M. & Christian Smith, L., (1991) 'The Politics of the Textbook', in Apple, M. & Christian Smith, L. *The Politics of the Textbook* New York, Routledge.

Booth, M. (1993) 'History', in King, A.S. & Reiss, M.J. (eds) *The Multicultural Dimension of the National Curriculum* London, Falmer Press.

Chancellor, V. E. (1970) *History for their Masters: Opinion in the English History Textbook, 1800-1914* New York, Augustus M. Kelley.

Crawford, K. A. (2000) 'Researching the Ideological and Political Role of the History Textbook: Issues and Methods', *International Journal of Historical Learning Teaching and Research*, 1, 1.

Crawford, K. A., (1996) 'A History of the Right: the Battle for National Curriculum History 1989-1994', in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Volume 43: 12-24.

Crawford, K. A. & Foster, S. J. (in press) 'The Political Economy of History Textbook Publishing in England', in *Oxford Studies in Comparative Education.*

Dickinson, A. (2000) 'What Should History Be?', in Kent, A. (ed) *School Subject Teaching: The History and Future of the Curriculum* London, Kogan Page.

Foster, S. J. & Crawford, K. A., (eds) (in press) *What Shall We Tell the Children? International Perspectives on School History Textbooks* Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Foster, S. J. & Crawford, K. A., (in press) 'The Critical Importance of History Textbook Research', in Foster, S.J. & Crawford, K.A. (eds) *What Shall We Tell the Children? International Perspectives on School History Textbooks* Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Foster, S. J. & Nicholls, J., (2005) 'America's Role in World War II: An Analysis of History Textbooks from England, Japan, Sweden, and the United States', in *The Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 20*:* 214-234.

Foster, S. J., (1999) 'The Struggle for American Identity: Treatment of Ethnic Groups in United States History Textbooks', in *History of Education*, 28: 251-279.

Foster, S. J. & Rosch, R., (1997) 'Teaching World War I from Multiple Perspectives', in *Social Education*, 61: 429-434.

Foster, S. J., Morris, J. W., & Davis Jr., O. L. (1996) 'Prospects for Teaching Historical Analysis and Interpretation: National Curriculum Standards for History Meet High School History Textbooks', in *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision,* 11: 367-385.

Foster, S. J. & Morris, J. W., (1994) 'Arsenal of Righteousness: Treatment of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima in English and U. S. History Textbooks', in *Curriculum*, 15: 163-173.

Fryer, P. (1984) *Staying Power: the History of Black People in Britain* London, Pluto Press.

Fryer, P. (1989) *Black People and the British Empire: An introduction* London, Pluto Press.

Furedi, F. (1999) 'The Demobilized African soldier and the blow to white prestige', in Killingray, D. & Omissi, D. (eds) *Guardians of Empire: The Armed forces of the Colonial Powers c. 1700-1964* Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Grosvenor, I. (1997) *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Educational Policy in Post 1945 Britain* London, Lawrence and Wishart.

Grosvenor, I. (2000), ''History for the Nation': Multiculturalism and the teaching of history', in Arthur, J. & Phillips, R. (eds) *Issues in History Teaching* London, Routledge.

Haydn, T. (2004) 'History', in White, J. (ed) London, RoutledgeFalmer.

Hein, L. & Selden, M. (eds) (2000) *Censoring History: History, Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States* London, M. E. Sharpe.

Killingray, D. & Omissi, D. (eds) (1999) *Guardians of Empire: The Armed forces of the Colonial Powers c. 1700-1964* Manchester, Manchester University Press.
Killingray, D. & Rathbone, R. (eds) (1986) *Africa and the Second World War* London, Macmillan.
Killingray, D. (1986) 'Labour Mobilisation in British Colonial Africa for the War Effort, 1939-46', in Killingray, D. & Rathbone, R. (eds) *Africa and the Second World War* London, Macmillan.
Marsden, W. (2001) *The School Textbook: Geography, History and the Social Studies* London, Woburn Press.
Nicholls, J. (2003) 'Methods in School Textbook Research', in *International Journal of Historical Learning Teaching and Research*, 3, 2.
Nicholls, J. & Foster, S. J., (2005) ''Interpreting the Past, Serving the Present': US and English Textbook Portrayals of the Soviet Union During World War II', in Ashby, R., Gordon, P. & Lee, P. (eds) *International Review of History Education*, Volume IV.
Oliver, R. & Atmore, A. (1981) *Africa Since 1800* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
Perry, F. W. (1988) *The Commonwealth Armies: Manpower and Organisation in Two World Wars* Manchester, Manchester University Press.
Phillips, R. (1998) *History Teaching, Nationhood, and the State: A Study in Educational Politics* London, Cassell.
Pingel, F. (1999) *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* Hanover, George Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research.
Schissler, H. (1990) 'Limitations and Priorities for International Social Studies Textbook Research', in *The International Journal of Social Education,* 4: 81-89.
Schissler H. & Soysal, Y. (eds) (2005) *The Nation Europe and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition* Oxford, Beghahn Press.
Sherwood, M. (1998) 'Sins of Omission and commission: history in English schools and struggles for change', in *Multicultural Teaching* 16: 14-20.
Sherwood, M. & Spafford, M. (1999) *Whose Freedom were African, Caribbean and Indians Defending in World War II?* London, Savannah Press/BASA.
Sherwood, M. (2001) 'Colonies, Colonials, and World War II', at http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/wwtwo/colonies_colonials_01.shtml.
Siraj-Blatchford, I. (ed.) (1993) *Race, Gender and the Education of Teachers* Buckingham, Open University Press.
Slater, J. (1988) *The Politics of History Teaching: A humanity dehumanised* London, Institute of Education.
Sleeter, C. E. & Grant, C. A. (1991) 'Race, class, gender, and disability in current textbooks', in Apple, M. & Christian Smith, L. *The Politics of the Textbook* New York, Routledge.
Somerville, C. (1998) *Our War* London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
Spear, P. (1979) *A History of India: Volume II* London, Penguin Books.
Sylvester, D. (1994) 'Change and continuity in history teaching, 1900-93', in H. Bourdillon, H. (ed) *Teaching History* London, Routledge.
Thatcher, M. (1993) *The Downing Street Years* New York, Harper Collins.
Tomlinson, S. (2001) ''Some success, could do better:' Education and race 1976-2000', in Phillips, R. & Furlong, J. (eds) *Education, Reform, and the State: Twenty-five Years of Politics, Policy, and Practice* London, RoutledgeFalmer.
Traille, K. *School History and Perspectives on the Past: A Study of Students of African-Caribbean Descent* Unpublished thesis, Institute of Education, University of London.
Visram, R. (1986) *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes: Indians in Britain 1700-1947* London, Pluto Press.
Visram, R. (1994) ''British History: whose history?' Black perspectives on British history', in Bourdillon, H. (ed) *Teaching History* London, Routledge.

Williams, R. (1989) ‘Hegemony and the Selective Tradition’, in de Castell, S., Luke, A. & Luke, C. (eds) *Language, Authority and Criticism: Readings on the School Textbook* London, Falmer Press.