

**Editorial:**

## ***Historical Consciousness, Teaching and Understanding History***

One of the main purposes of IJHLTR is to interface the worlds of teaching and learning and academia. The interface has to be a porous membrane through which information and ideas flow in both directions. Such flows enrich and enhance both theory and practice. The focus of this edition is to report in the journal two complementary reflections upon the nature and purpose of history education, one about children's thinking about the past and how they construct their historical understanding, the other on the influences that mould and shape student teachers of history to 7-11 year olds on initial teacher training courses. These two papers of Peter Lee and Robert Guyver & Jon Nichol are both concerned with the central question of what history education is for and about.

Peter Lee takes the Jorn Rüsen's typology of historical consciousness and relates it to the kind of common sense understanding about the past that research into children's learning has revealed. The contrast is stark between what we can call historical and children's predominantly ahistorical thinking. Historical thinking is a product of formal learning, ahistorical thinking is grounded in the informal learning that dominates home and society. Ahistorical thinking draws upon the deep-rooted norms and conventions of everyday culture, and applies these to making sense of human agency in the past. Not only are the tools for constructing understanding outside the classroom different from those used in history teaching, the signposts that children have acquired from their formal historical education seem to be deficient: a mishmash of half remembered and half baked ideas scattered at random in niches in the brain. A few connecting ideas about the improving and beneficial role of technology and industrialisation in bringing about improvement, the rise of democracy and our imperial past drift in and out of pupils' consciousness. And, of course, the role of war in creating national identity and Hitler. Worse, the substantive past is almost exclusively viewed through that ahistorical syntactic lens or framework that is in its substantive dimension anachronistic: issues, problems, motivations and behaviour are related to a framework that children use to explain the contemporary world. Peter Lee raises the fundamental challenge to History Education:

... we must try to understand better how to enable students to develop a more usable framework of the past in terms of which they can orientate their lives. One way of characterizing this task is to say that we need a history that allows students to orientate themselves in time *genetically*, but to understand the past to which they orientate as constructed *historically*.

Peter Lee's paper complements and introduces the Guyver & Nichol paper on the factors that influenced the professional development of student teachers of history who were taking a one year Initial Teacher Training Course for the 5-11 year age range. As such, the teaching of history is a minor element in an extremely intense and demanding professional development programme. The paper explores the multiple factors that influence the development of the student's pedagogical content knowledge. In particular it focuses upon what Rüsen refers to as the 'Discipline of History', the syntactic dimension. The paper unsurprisingly suggests that multiple factors combine to form and shape the students' history teaching pedagogy. What is of interest and concern is the strong correlation between the syntactic sophistication of history as an academic discipline with its skills, processes, protocols and concepts that history graduates bring to the course and the relative sophistication and

effectiveness of their ensuing history teaching pedagogy. There is a clear contrast between their syntactically enriched pedagogy and the relatively impoverished history teaching pedagogy of non-historian graduates. However, the pedagogy of both groups relates closely to the ideas and values that they brought to the training course: interestingly there is some evidence of a 'default' position where their ideas about how to teach children are in direct antithesis to their memories of their own dreadful experience of history teaching! The findings about the importance of academic syntactic knowledge and how it can reinforce and complement existing academic knowledge and understanding of topics supports research into teachers' knowledge bases since the 1980s. However, in shaping their pedagogical content knowledge the study discovered the importance and strength of the orientation that the Initial Teacher Training programme in general and the History course in particular provided. The study reports upon the effectiveness of the History course's *Intervention Strategy* that was based upon **a model of effective teaching that research into teachers' knowledge bases had revealed**. The implications both for the teaching of history and for the training of history teachers are suggestive. The most effective training model seems to be one that has a sharply focused professional development programme that mirrors the ideas of Rösen that Peter Lee has elaborated.

# ***From Novice to Effective Teacher: A Study of Postgraduate Training and History Pedagogy***

Robert Guyver, College of St. Mark and St. John, Plymouth, England  
Jon Nichol, University of Exeter, England

**Abstract:** *The question of what makes for effective initial professional development of teachers is both complex and contested. From 1992 in England there have been major changes to the pattern of initial teacher training [ITT], changes that have been centrally imposed with minimal or no consultation with the Higher Education Institutes' [HEI] teacher training community involved. The revolution has seen initial professional development move its locus from HEIs to schools and colleges, with a downgrading in both the role and status of HEIs in the process. The study reported below is a longitudinal one from 1996-2000 into the factors that affect the professional development of teachers of history to 7-11 year olds. Because of the disruption caused by changes in government policy towards both schools and HEIs the research adopted a case study approach, examining the career paths of 18 initial trainees within the context of developing their professionalism. The findings are accordingly tentative but suggest that professional development in terms of the teaching of history is a highly complex long-term process that has two dominant influences: the students' prior experience of both learning and being taught history and the Initial Teacher Training within the HEI. The paper examines within the ITT course the affect that an Intervention Strategy for the teaching of History had upon the student teachers. The conclusion is that where students have a well developed and syntactic understanding of the discipline prior to the course that the Intervention Strategy builds upon and complements, they are able to develop many of the features of proto-expert teachers of history. Where their prior experience of history as an academic discipline is limited, both the overall college course and the Intervention Strategy have a relatively superficial impact upon their development as teachers of history.*

**Keywords:** Knowledge Bases, History Teaching, Initial Teacher Training, Teachers' Professional Development, Harland & Kinder Typology, Pedagogical content knowledge, Syntactic knowledge, HEIs and Initial Teacher Training

## **Introduction**

History is a relatively minor element in the post 1992 English National Curriculum for 5-11 year olds. At the heart of the primary curriculum are three core subjects: literacy, numeracy and science. History is one of an outer ring of 7 foundation subjects which were accorded a virtually non-statutory status from January 1998 to August 2000 when the Statutory Order and programmes of study were temporarily suspended. Inevitably there is limited time to prepare postgraduate students on one-year training courses to teach history, the main focus of this paper. In crude statistical terms c. 12 hours out of 470 teaching hours are allocated to all trainees for history at the College of St Mark and St John, the research site for this paper, i.e. 0.25%. For trainees who take a Humanities specialism there were an additional 12 hours or history. Since 1992 professional development for the teaching of history has had to take into account the different needs and expectations of the student in relation to the demands of the English National Curriculum for History, (see Appendix 1).

This paper is based upon research carried out from 1997-2000 into the professional development of initial teacher training students teaching history to 7-11 year olds. The research programme was based upon findings from a 1992-96 pilot study and a literature review. These indicated that the specialist history teaching course was a

major factor in the development of students' history teaching pedagogy. However, the course was one in a highly complicated set of factors that influenced student development as teachers. Crucial was its relationship to students' overall professional development and the prior academic, educational and life experiences of the students. The pilot study identified three overlapping categories of student on the specialist history teaching course. The first groups required the course primarily to provide them with the academic and related teaching subject historical knowledge that they needed. The second set of students wanted pedagogic guidance, i.e. ideas, activities, processes and protocols and related resources and guidance on how to teach National Curriculum history. The third category's focus was upon a theoretical rationale for the teaching of primary history grounded in both epistemology and psychology. This set was mainly drawn from students with strong academic history profiles. To different degrees all students wanted all three elements, but most emphasised a need for either subject or pedagogic knowledge.

How to meet the needs of these three contrasting yet overlapping categories of students provided a focus for the development of a research programme from 1996 built around a revised history teaching course that took the form of an *Intervention Strategy* for the professional development of student teachers of history to 7-11 year olds. The evolving *Intervention Strategy* aimed to enhance and enrich the overall ITT provision. As such, it had two foci: the development of the students' understanding of the syntactic nature of history, i.e. its skills, processes, study protocols and second order concepts, and related pedagogy that focused upon a connectionist model of teaching, see page 7 below. The *Intervention Strategy* was the central feature of our practitioner research programme from 1996. However, we need to recognise it was only a minor component of a full time one year ITT programme for teaching 5-11 year olds whose overall ethos the *Intervention Strategy* shared and complemented.

### **The Research Problem, Question and Foci**

The post 1996 research problem was how most effectively to develop students' professionalism to teach history. The students were both specialists with history degrees and non historians taking a one year primary postgraduate course. The majority of students were non-historians, seven out of eighteen. Using practitioner research that directly involved RG we aimed to investigate the factors that enabled the students to become effective teachers of History. The practitioner research focused upon the *Intervention Strategy* and its impact upon the student teachers' history teaching praxis. The research into the students' pedagogy resulted in eighteen individual 'cases' that investigated the factors that influenced their professional development as teachers of history. On the basis of these 'cases' we hoped to be able to make recommendations for the improvement of the ITT of all student teachers intending to teach history. Our initial focus was upon the academic syntactic and substantive and related pedagogical content knowledge bases involved in history teaching, drawing upon the findings of Shulman and subsequent researchers (Shulman, 1986, 1987).

The principle question that the research addressed was:

*How effective is an **Intervention Strategy** in a one year ITT postgraduate course in influencing the professional development of ITT students as teachers of history?*

Supplementary questions were:

- a) *Were there any significant differences between history graduates and graduates from other disciplines in the history teaching pedagogy that they developed?*

- b) *What knowledge bases [factors] do ITT students need to develop in an effective pedagogy for the teaching of history?*
- c) *What are the implications of the study for knowledge base theory?*
- d) *What are the implications of the findings of the case studies for teacher training?*

These questions helped us to develop and refine from 1996-98 the history teaching *Intervention Strategy*. The *Intervention Strategy* related closely to a literature review of the role and nature of teachers' knowledge bases in their professional development.

## **Teachers' Knowledge Bases**

### **Background**

Research since the mid 1980s argues that teachers' knowledge 'bases' largely determine their professional identity. Knowledge bases collectively constitute the professional craft knowledge of the teacher, i.e. pedagogical content knowledge. They covered:

1. substantive subject knowledge
2. syntactic subject knowledge
3. beliefs about the subject
4. curriculum knowledge
5. general pedagogical knowledge
6. knowledge/models of teaching
7. knowledge of learners: cognitive
8. knowledge of learners: empirical
9. knowledge of self
10. knowledge of educational contexts
11. knowledge of educational ends (Turner-Bisset, 2001, pp. 13-19)

Findings strongly indicate that there is a close relationship between pedagogical content knowledge and teacher effectiveness (Askew *et al.*, (1997), Bennett (1993), Grossman, Wilson and Shulman (1989), Nichol and Turner-Bisset (1998), Shulman (1986, 1987), Turner-Bisset (1996), Turner-Bisset (2001)). The literature specifically highlighted the importance of teachers' syntactic subject knowledge base, i.e. their understanding of the nature and structure of an academic discipline, in relation to the development of effective teaching strategies and approaches. Interestingly, this is a central feature of the 1995 version of English National Curriculum for History used in this project, (DFE, 1995), see Appendix 1, that stresses syntactic subject skills, processes and concepts in the teaching and learning of history.

### **Syntactic subject knowledge**

Syntactic subject knowledge consists of the intermeshed skills, processes, study-protocols and second order concepts involved in studying an academic discipline or subject domain like history. Such syntactic historical knowledge covers:

- the identification of an historical problem or issue;
- the framing of questions to investigate the problem or issue;
- the reviewing of existing hypotheses about the problem in relation to the questions;
- the planning of the historical enquiries / investigation;
- the gathering of all relevant data from available sources, both contemporary and subsequent commentaries that help resolve the enquiry or investigation;
- the processing of data in order to extract and collate relevant *evidence*;

- the reviewing of the *evidence* drawn from the sources that the investigation has examined in relation to the original questions and hypotheses;
- consideration of the original questions and hypotheses in relation to the data;
- the use of the informed imagination to develop an understanding of the people who are agents in the historical situation being investigated;
- the reaching of conclusions;
- the communication of findings.

(Marwick, 1988, Collingwood, 1946, Carr, 1987)

Pupils' syntactic knowledge develops through engaging them in different facets of historical enquiry. To undertake an historical enquiry school children both draw upon and develop second order concepts that give history its identity as an academic discipline, i.e. chronology, cause and consequence, evidence and historical accounts. Within the context of Initial Teacher Training, academic syntactic subject knowledge provides a bridge between the trainee's subject knowledge and how to teach it, i.e. pedagogy. Academic syntactic knowledge underpins syntactically based teaching subject knowledge to develop pupils' historical thinking, skills, procedural knowledge and related second order conceptual development. The academic syntactic enhances the substantive when the student can understand, reflect upon and explain upon what his or her substantive knowledge is based.

Indeed, the validity of substantive [propositional] knowledge arises from its relationship to and dependence upon syntactic [procedural] knowledge (Rogers, 1979). Rogers relates what is involved in history teaching to Ryle's (1949) categorisation of knowledge as Know That [propositional or substantive] and Know How [procedural or syntactic]. Rogers argues that substantive and syntactic historical knowledge are closely and dynamically inter-related. Interestingly, Rogers created a highly sophisticated teaching programme about English campaigns in Ireland in the late Tudor and early Stuart period to test the hypothesis that pupils' Know That knowledge is developed through their syntactic Know How learning activities. 'Propositional' knowledge is provisional and tentative, grounded as it is in the culturally determined 'second record' of the historian, see page 11 below. Indeed, history is 'an ongoing conversation that yields not final truths but an endless succession of discoveries that change our understanding not only of the past but of ourselves and of the times in which we live' (Moynihan (1995, p. 311).

Oakeshott also emphasises the importance of syntactic knowledge, arguing that: 'the rules of art are there, but they do not determine the practice of the art; the rules of understanding are there, but they do not themselves endow us with understanding' (Oakeshott, 1965, in Fuller, 1989, p. 56). This corresponds with A.J.P. Taylor's views on the nature of historical scholarship: that history is more than scholarship, more even than a method of research. It is above all a form of understanding in its own right based upon engagement with the record of the past (Wrigley, 1980).

The division between the syntactic and the substantive academic subject knowledge bases is significant because of the critical role that syntactic subject knowledge plays. McNamara stresses that there is a causal link between the sophistication of a teacher's syntactic and substantive subject knowledge and his or her teaching:

Teachers' subject matter knowledge influences the way in which they teach and teachers who know more about a subject will be more interesting and adventurous in the ways they teach and more effective. Teachers with only a limited knowledge of a subject may avoid teaching difficult or complex aspects of

it and teach in a didactic manner which avoids pupil participation and questioning and fails to draw upon children's experience' (McNamara, 1991, p. 115).

Grossman, Wilson and Shulman (in Reynolds, Ed., 1989, p. 30) highlight the importance of syntactic subject knowledge as a key factor in shaping in teaching styles. They note the link between inadequate syntactic subject understanding and effective pedagogy:

Novice teachers who lack knowledge of the syntactic structures of the subject matter fail to incorporate that aspect of the discipline in their curriculum. We believe that they consequently run the risk of misrepresenting the subject matters they teach. Students need to learn that mathematics is more than algorithms and that chemistry is more than the periodic table. Teachers who do not understand the role played by inquiry in their disciplines are not capable of adequately representing and, therefore, teaching that subject matter to their students.

A lack of syntactic knowledge may also seriously limit prospective teachers' abilities to learn new information in their fields. Without a firm grasp of the syntax of a discipline, prospective teachers may be unable to distinguish between more and less legitimate claims within a field. Teachers may find themselves unable to counter effectively a specious argument, even if they are aware of its dubious nature. As knowledge within a field changes, teachers need to be able to evaluate new theories and explanations on the basis of the evidence. In fact, in our sample of novice teachers, a firm grasp of the syntactic structure of a discipline proved most valuable in helping teachers acquire new knowledge within their fields.

### **Pedagogical content knowledge**

Teachers' syntactic understanding of a domain like history relates closely to the pedagogical content knowledge that is central to their professional craft knowledge. In the mid-1980s Shulman identified pedagogical content knowledge as the missing educational paradigm. Shulman's stressed the relationship between representation and practical skills, 'the ways of representing and formulating the subject that make it comprehensible to others' (1986). He was aware not only of the place of research in formulating a teacher's repertoire, but also of the 'wisdom of practice' (1986). Rosie Turner-Bisset describes representation as 'a key notion, which might be said to be the summation of all the knowledge bases in action' (2001, p. 125). She describes pedagogical content knowledge as 'the special province of teachers: their own form of professional knowledge and understanding' (2001, p. 125). This corresponds with Peter John's (1991) notion of professional craft knowledge that was based upon the Shulman paradigm. The stress in Shulman's original definition was on the relationship between how we can in an academic, abstract sense represent and articulate our understanding and hands-on practical skills, 'the ways of representing and formulating the subject that make it comprehensible to others' (1986).

Initially through the Leverhulme Primary Project, Turner-Bisset was able to develop Shulman's knowledge base theory to include the idea of interacting sets or amalgams of knowledge bases. This concept is linked to the seminal thesis of her book, that 'in an expert act of teaching, all of the knowledge bases are present in the amalgam' (Turner-Bisset, 2001, p. 125), see Appendix 3. By contrast, a feature of less effective teaching is the partial amalgam of knowledge bases. She sets out four interacting and to some extent overlapping, sets of knowledge bases (pp. 129 – 130). The first set consists of substantive and syntactic subject knowledge, beliefs about the subject, and curriculum knowledge. The second set includes models of teaching and learning, general pedagogical knowledge and knowledge of contexts. The third

set is predominantly about knowledge of learners (cognitive and empirical). The fourth and last set again includes knowledge of self, learning outcomes and curriculum knowledge.

Turner-Bisset links the amalgam of knowledge bases with Bruner's theory (1966) about different modes of knowledge representation, the enactive, iconic and symbolic. Investigation of the nature of teachers' pedagogical content knowledge was central to an analysis of two parallel British government funded 20-day courses for teachers of history in England that directly influenced the creation of the *Intervention Strategy* (Turner-Bisset and Nichol 1997a, and 1997b; Nichol and Turner-Bisset, 1998). They examined two different approaches to primary history twenty day long in-service courses, courses A and B. The courses were aimed at teachers with little or no historical knowledge. Course A stressed building up the teachers' substantive knowledge. The course director did this through both lecturing and through analysis of the potential for teaching of a full range of contemporary sources. This training model shared elements of Knight's (1991a and 1991b) exposure model of teaching that was grounded in the 'discovery' approach to teaching and learning (see Askew *et al.*, 1997 below). As such, course A only partly fulfilled the function of transforming substantive academic subject knowledge into a form suitable for teaching.

Course B emphasised both the substantive and syntactic nature of history. It introduced teachers to the concept of history as a process of enquiry through involving them in a number of historical investigations. The course aimed to develop teacher understanding and expertise through them experiencing learning activities from the learners' perspective. Teacher engagement was based upon the cognitive apprenticeship cycle of demonstration, modelling, enactment, review and reflection that involved extensive coaching, i.e. professional apprenticeship (Collins *et al.*, 1989; Clancey, 1992; Nichol and Turner-Bisset, 1998). The Course B tutors involved the teachers in the modelling, demonstration, enactment, implementation and review of effective teaching and learning approaches to teaching history, with the teachers in the role of pupils. Course members constructed their own understanding of historical situations, their causes and consequences. They had to adapt and implement course teaching ideas and approaches in their own classroom and report back on these to the other course members. The tutors consciously challenged the existing beliefs of course members on the nature of history and how it should be taught.

Accordingly we developed and refined the *Intervention Strategy* from 1996 so that it incorporated a range of interactive and stimulating teaching approaches. These aimed to develop both students' substantive and syntactic subject knowledge and their pedagogical content knowledge as well, i.e. how to teach historical topics to pupils, see pages 70 - 71. The *Intervention Strategy* also drew upon Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of legitimate peripheral participation, where in a situated cognition context students worked intensively alongside a master of his or her craft. As such the *Intervention Strategy's* was built around an expert 'model' of teaching that would enrich students' novice 'models'. Our aim was to enable students to adapt and transfer the principles, strategies and teaching approaches of the expert model to analogous teaching situations during their teaching practice. The 'expert model' was meta-cognitive. Students had to demonstrate to their peers how they had implemented the *Intervention Strategy* in their own teaching to the other students.



### **Knowledge bases and effective models of teaching**

Of particular influence upon the development of the *Intervention Strategy* and subsequent analysis of the research data was Askew *et al.*'s (1997) research into teachers' knowledge bases for the effective teaching of numeracy. The UK Government's Teacher Training Agency had commissioned this research in relation to the development and implementation of a national numeracy strategy. The numeracy research was based at King's College, London. The King's team argued that there were three contrasting models of mathematical teaching and related teacher orientation, the connectionist, transmission and discovery. These models were grounded in the relative role and importance of the teachers' knowledge bases. The model that resulted in the most effective teaching in terms of pupil learning outcomes was the connectionist. This model was based on the development of a constructive, interactive dialogue between the teacher and pupils within the context of active whole class teaching. Dialogue was crucial in mediating the flow of knowledge and understanding between both teacher and student: its absence in the transmission and discovery models produced an impoverished learning environment in which the student was *de facto* cut off from the teacher as a mediator of mathematical knowledge. Conversely, the absence or impoverished nature of discourse meant that the teacher was unable to develop an understanding of the students' learning, learning needs and learning problems.

The connectionist teacher places a strong emphasis on developing understanding that is grounded in the skills, processes, procedures and protocols of the academic discipline. Reasoning about number is as important as its application, and, as such, becomes integral to the effective teaching of number. (Askew *et al.*, 1997, pp. 27 – 28). The connectionist model involves elements of transmission, the organisation of discovery opportunities, and making connections between the different elements of teaching and learning. The King's College team concluded that highly effective teachers believed that being numerate requires (a) having a rich network of connections between different mathematical ideas, and (b) being able to select and use teaching strategies which are both efficient and effective (1997, p. 1).

Support for the history teaching *Intervention Strategy*'s effectiveness can be found in Harland and Kinder's (1992, 1997) typology of effective learning outcomes from professional development courses. They discovered that the long-term impact and effectiveness of such courses was closely linked to 'values congruence' between course members and tutors and course members' acquisition of high-level 'knowledge and skills.' The *Intervention Strategy* emphasised both these factors. Other elements in the Harland and Kinder typology were also central to the *Intervention Strategy*. The more elements that were present, the more likely was it to succeed, see Appendix 2. Values congruence encompasses the values, attitudes and beliefs that directly affect the teacher's orientation that underpins how they teach.

### **Orientation: Values, attitudes and beliefs**

The pre-1996 research data and literature review indicated a direct correlation between student teachers' beliefs about the nature of History and related values and attitudes that affected how they taught the subject. Such knowledge was often tacit and implicit, grounded in untested beliefs and assumptions about the subject assimilated during the students' own education and through the folk pedagogy of the staff room. Values that history can develop, attitudes towards its study and beliefs about its nature were a strong determining factor in influencing the students' teaching styles and approaches.

Student values, attitudes and beliefs ranged across a wide spectrum; within the spectrum we can identify clusters that draw upon a shared set of beliefs. Thus, at one end of the spectrum before experience of the *Intervention Strategy* there were students who argued that historical knowledge is made up from first-hand contemporary sources that the historian interprets to create his or her own 'history'. This cluster thought that if a history task for children reflected this view of history, then pupils will assimilate skills and develop understanding through constructing their own interpretation of the past. Conversely, at the spectrum's other end were students who claimed that history was a body of knowledge for transmission to pupils, embodying an implicit set of values and attitudes towards personal and national identity and the nature of government and authority. They, accordingly, adopted a radically different pedagogic model. The implications of research findings for the existing training pattern were clear: we needed an *Intervention Strategy* to fundamentally re-orientate student values and beliefs about history as an academic and pedagogic discipline and its teaching.

The research data's targeting of student beliefs about history was mirrored in the research literature. Grossman, Wilson and Shulman recognised the importance of teacher beliefs, values and attitudes (orientation) in influencing how teachers think about academic subject knowledge, both syntactic and substantive, and its teaching (Reynolds, Ed., 1989). Of particular value for developing the *Intervention Strategy* was research into the values and beliefs of students training to teach history. R.W. Evans's analysis (1994) was significant as was its use by Virta (2001) who used R.W. Evans's categories when categorising Finnish student teachers of history.

R.W. Evans identified five different kinds of history teacher orientation in a sample of seventy one secondary history teachers, orientation grounded in their syntactic understanding:

|                         |                      |                       |                      |
|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. storyteller          | 8 out of 71 (11.3%)  | 4. cosmic philosopher | 2 out of 71 (2.8%)   |
| 2. scientific historian | 13 out of 71 (18.3%) | 5. eclectic           | 16 out of 71 (22.5%) |
| 3. relativist/reformer  | 32 out of 71 (45.1%) |                       |                      |

**storyteller** The importance and value of storytelling for teaching primary school pupils is well established. Knight praises its use and recognises its power. John Fines used it as a prelude to drama and role-play (see Fines and Verrier, 1974), and Bage quotes a positive example of a story-telling teacher (Bage, 1999, p. 68). Stories themselves are full of potential for a primary school teacher of history. 'Storied traditions of pedagogy' is the title of chapter 5 of Bage's (1999) book, *Narrative Matters*. As a *dominant style* story-telling is problematic if it results in a transmission model of teaching that fails to engage students in developing their own understanding of the topic, i.e. to build upon the foundations that the story created (Cooper and McIntyre, 1996). With the advent of the National Literacy Strategy students regularly teach lessons based upon stories, often historical ones. The National Literacy Strategy's stress on genres supports placing story-telling at the centre of history teaching. Story telling facilitates pupil engagement with a whole range of genres, for example, developing pupils' ability to write in a diary genre after being told the story of the Great Fire of London (1666) via Samuel Pepys's diary.

The great exponents of re-creative history have always been masters of dramatic and vividly evocative narrative. Modern classics of narrative history include Steven

Runciman's *History of the Crusades* (3 volumes, 1951–54) and C.V. Wedgwood's two books on the reign of Charles I, *The King's Peace* (1955) and *The King's War* (1958). In a phrase that sums up the aspirations of the narrative tradition, Wedgwood defined her obligation to the people of the past as being 'to restore their immediacy of experience' (Wedgwood, 1955, p. 16). Simon Schama's highly readable best-seller, *Citizens* (1989), aimed to achieve a similar effect with regard to the French Revolution. Schama explicitly returned to the grand narrative tradition of the French historians who wrote their narrative epic accounts of the French revolution during its aftermath.

**scientific historian** R.W. Evans's definition of a scientific historian (interpreted by Virta, 2001, as an 'academic historian') has aspects in common with Collingwood's analysis of historical methodology. To R.W. Evans, the scientific historian is a liberal empiricist; liberating pupils through empowering them to understand upon what historical claims are based. They engage in a process of critical enquiry from initial questioning through the course of the ensuing enquiry as objective rationalists. This kind of teacher draws upon 'the scientist's scepticism about knowledge, and with it a questioning attitude' (R.W. Evans, 1994, p. 205). A problem is identified, questions are asked, evidence is processed, data is analysed and hypotheses are formed and tested. This process begs the question, 'is history a science?' R.J. Evans in *In Defence of History* (1997, p. 27) quotes from Droysen (in Stern, 1956, p. 138), who stated that history is the only science that is required to be at the same time an art.

**relativist reformers** The distinguishing feature of R.W. Evans's category of relativist reformers was a view of history as contemporary thought about our past (another link with Collingwood), as well as their commitment to help students draw lessons from the past for the future. This approach is oriented to the present with an emphasis upon relating the past to current issues. Its vision of studying the past to build a better future places this category in the reflective enquiry tradition. It also implies more specifically an orientation towards reconstruction (R.W. Evans, 1994, p. 200). It is useful for classifying primary teachers of history as 'reconstructionist'. Reconstruction is often a key focus of primary history. Rogers (1979) considered that relativism is strongly linked to an emphasis upon historical explanation and change - two of the main underpinning criteria for English National Curriculum history. Of the eighteen ITT postgraduates at the College of St. Mark and St. John (one was a Newly Qualified Teacher) in the case studies the majority were predominantly reconstructionists.

**cosmic philosophers** R.W. Evans argued that the 'cosmic philosopher has most in common with the speculative philosopher of history. The cosmic philosopher sees all experience as connected, part of a larger pattern. For these teachers, the human persona remains unchanged, the key elements of existence are perennial. Cosmic philosophy has elements of atavism: backward looking, desiring a return to an earlier time, even to a golden age. The drawing upon history for models of personal behaviours has echoes of cosmic philosophy, indeed, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century this was a major factor in the teaching of history in British state schools via the medium of class readers, a major element of which were historical stories (Yeandle, 2003).

**eclectic teachers of history** No dominant factor shapes and forms the eclectic teachers' views about the purpose of history.

When asked about the purposes for studying history, each of the eclectic teachers gave multiple answers. All mentioned knowledge or appreciation of the past. Each teacher also mentioned at least one other purpose, such as interest,

telling stories, relating the past to the present, helping the community, or mental exercise. The key similarity is that each of these teachers seemingly had no dominant tendency. Although they differed on their thoughts about patterns and generalizability, a second important area of similarity was in teaching style. Each of these teachers emphasized variety and student (*pupil*) interest. In fact, the common element seems to be a very practical orientation toward getting students interested. (R.W. Evans, 1994, p. 200)

R.W. Evans (1994, p. 204) concluded that teacher orientation is a heady brew that combines numerous ingredients. Among these are

- family background,
- religious convictions,
- political beliefs,
- the influence of individuals, in particular teachers at school or university,
- the impact of particular teaching styles.

Interestingly, those R.W. Evans classified as storytellers seemed to be from more conservative backgrounds with strong religious convictions; relativist/reformers and some scientific historians tended to have more progressive and liberal upbringings. The apparent importance of teachers' values, attitudes and beliefs about history and its purpose, their orientation, that R.W. Evans stressed, played a major part in refining the *Intervention Strategy*.

#### **Orientation: a case-study**

Wilson's and Wineburg's case study of a history graduate's, Jane's, orientation, was particularly influential in the thinking behind the *Intervention Strategy*. Jane was one of four students that Wilson and Wineburg (1988) analysed. The other three had degrees in anthropology with an emphasis upon archaeology, international relations & political science and American Studies. (Wilson and Wineburg, 1988, p. 526). Jane had a thorough and extensive grounding in history as an academic discipline that involved rigorous and systematic patterns of study and enquiry. For Jane, history formed a rich 'tapestry' of classic questions and themes, great men and women, geography and natural disasters. Moreover, history is bound up with context: 'as a historian, I'm trained to think of things historically as contextual...I see things, I look back in the past, I see what the roots are.' Facts, to Jane, are part of history, woven together by themes and questions, and most important, embedded in a context that lends meaning and perspective. (Wilson and Wineburg, 1988, p. 526). Jane argued that interpretation went far beyond the sum of the available evidence. Interpretation was bound up with historiography, the processes and modes of inquiry of historians: 'The making of history, the task of being a historian, involves very clear thinking about argument and logic, about evidence, about how to split hairs sensibly'. She described historiography as analysis and synthesis:

History is analytical in the sense that you go and break things down. It's synthetic when you engage in the process of writing history. You take things apart and then you put them back together. You try to look for connections. You look for specifics, gather evidence, make general hypotheses. You go through all those steps in a sort of scientific spirit.

Interpretation for Jane revolved around the 'classic questions in history', questions that wove factual information into a complex and rich story. History was narrative and interpretation. It represented the products of the past as well as the processes of the historians engaged in reconstructing it (Wilson and Wineburg, 1988, p. 526).

Wilson and Wineburg's Jane shows characteristics typical of a connectionist teacher with a scientific orientation, though she seems to be describing the process of writing history, rather than the process of teaching. She adopts a simple set of six principles: analyse (break down, break apart), synthesise (bring back together), connect, find specifics, gather evidence and make general hypotheses. The findings of R.W. Evans, Virta, Wilson and Wineburg strongly indicated that we had to ground our *Intervention Strategy* in what we felt were models of best academic syntactic historical practice that in turn could inform and shape teaching through helping inform and shaping pedagogy.

### **Collingwood, Hexter, Oakeshott and the Intervention Strategy**

Particularly influential in developing the syntactic subject dimension of the history teaching *Intervention Strategy* were Collingwood's, Hexter's and Oakeshott's publications on the nature of history.

**Collingwood** Collingwood analysed (1946/1989) the epistemological basis of history as an academic discipline. Three elements of Collingwood's analysis influenced us; his emphasis upon the role of questions and questioning in driving on historical enquiry; his metaphor of the historian working in a similar way to the detective and the central role in historical thinking of the role of the informed imagination and its classroom outcome, reconstruction. Collingwood used the term 're-enactment' to describe such thinking.

My historical review of the idea of history has resulted in the emergence of an answer to this question: namely, that the historian must re-enact the past in his own mind (p. 282).

If we raise the question, Of what can there be historical knowledge? The answer is, Of that which can be re-enacted in the historian's mind (p. 302).

Reconstruction is widely accepted as a legitimate activity of the historian. Historical writing is characterised by a wide range of literary forms. The three basic techniques of description, narrative and analysis can be combined in many different ways, and every project poses afresh the problem of how they should be deployed. Recreation is more than a purely intellectual exercise: it involves the senses and emotions. That the re-creation of the past – 'the reconstruction of the historical moment in all its fullness, concreteness and complexity' (Butterfield, 1951, p. 237) – is more than a purely intellectual task is plain to see from its most characteristic literary form: description. Here historians are striving to create in their readers the illusion of direct experience, by evoking an atmosphere or setting a scene (Tosh, 2002, p. 141).

**Hexter** Hexter was the second historian who influenced us. Hexter (1971) illuminates the work of an historical scholar with a sensitivity to those being taught. He does this by reflecting on his own work as a historian, and on how this developed. He stresses that history is a personal creation, and that historians are human, using not just professional judgement and knowledge, but also common sense and their own life-experiences to seek to understand how people thought and acted in the past. He gives the example of how he began to understand why Thomas More in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century took a post in the royal court apparently against his previous ethical principles. Hexter at the beginning of his career with a growing family of his own realises that More also had a large family and an extended household of servants and fostered children (who became his pupils) to support, and this is why he took the court post (Surtz and Hexter, 1965; Hexter, 1965). Scholarship, like all attempts to impose any understanding on the past, includes an element of what Hexter calls 'the

second record'. By the 'second record' Hexter means 'everything that historians bring to their confrontation with the record of the past' (Hexter, 1971, p. 103).

Potentially ... it embraces the historian's skills, the range of his knowledge, the set of his mind, the substance, quality and character of his experience – his total consciousness. (p. 104)

Each historian's second record differs from that of every other historian: it is '... personal, individual, ephemeral, and not publicly accessible' (p. 104). However it becomes publicly accessible when a historian '... moves from the record of the past to a historical assertion about the past he is drawing on his second record'. In this way the historian is claiming that 'he has and, if necessary, can produce from his second record grounds for him making some part of his second record, hitherto private and inaccessible, open to criticism and evaluation' (p. 106). As a world famous academic Tudor historian Hexter had a highly sophisticated grasp of the sources and context related to the example he gives, his biography of Thomas More.

The twin notions of sophistication and scholarliness, balanced by a need for teachers to use their second records in interpreting the past for children, provided yet another clue for creating an *Intervention Strategy* that would provide a positive orientation of history students towards teaching history. Dean (1995) uses the idea of the teacher providing a 'surrogate' second record for pupils to compensate for their immaturity. The teacher's second record relates to the first record that they draw upon to plan their teaching and provide resources for pupils.

Student teachers often claim that their first records are impoverished because they do not have time to read outside a narrow range of prescribed texts. The development of an enriched first record for teaching needs access to as wide a range of sources as possible; contemporary materials and subsequent commentaries, fiction, narratives, debates and interpretations drawn from a wide range of genres and teaching materials.

### **Oakeshott: The role of dialogue**

The connectionist model of teaching emphasises the role of dialogue, an emphasis that receives support from Oakeshott. Oakeshott stressed that there is a strong relationship between teaching, learning and conversational discourse. He argues that the essence of a university should be to teach an understanding of the conventions of conversationally based education (Oakeshott, 1950, in Fuller, 1989, pp 95 - 104). Oakeshott reflects the classical model of a liberal humanities education where students engage in Socratic discourse. In the training of teachers of history such dialogue is crucial. Trainee students have to be capable of sustaining dialogue between themselves and their tutors, peers and pupils built around questioning and enquiry. Such dialogue draws upon a range of knowledge bases; for example, the substantive, knowledge/models of teaching, curriculum and knowledge of learners (Turner-Bisset, 2001, p19). In the development of the *Intervention Strategy*, it was necessary to create conditions where all three kinds of dialogue could occur, i.e. between student-tutors, student-peers and peers and student-pupils.

### **Models of Effective Teaching**

The creation and implementation of the *Intervention Strategy* and collection of research data related closely to work on effective models of history teaching. Particularly influential were the ideas of the Nuffield Primary History Project and government funded research into the effective teaching of literacy in the late 1990s (Fines and Nichol, 1997, and Medwell and Wray, 1998). The Nuffield Primary History

Project argued that there were seven criteria for the effective organisation of teaching:

| <i>Principles</i> | <i>Classroom Implications:</i>   |
|-------------------|--|
| 1 Challenge       | You challenge pupils at all points of learning.  |
| 2 Questioning     | You pose questions to deal with the challenge, both your questions and those that the pupils generate.   |
| 3 Authenticity    | You use authentic sources when possible, as genuine sources bring children face to face with the past. Sources can be both contemporary material or subsequent histories, i.e. interpretations of the past, in whatever shape or form. |
| 4 Depth           | Your pupils can only acquire genuine understanding from study in depth.  |
| 5 Economy         | You use the minimum number of sources needed to promote understanding.   |
| 6 Accessibility   | You make the past accessible to the pupils through teaching strategies that enable children to 'do History'.   |
| 7 Communication   | You ensure that pupils communicate the 'histories' they create to others.  |

The Teacher Training Agency commissioned a study of what factors resulted in 'Effective Teachers of Literacy' (Medwell and Wray, 1998). The research produced a model of effective teaching that we incorporated into the *Intervention Strategy*, with particular emphasis upon contextualisation, pace, modelling, immersion of students in the topic and clear procedures for assessment linked to detailed record keeping. The key features in relation to teaching the *Intervention Strategy* were:

| <i>Aspect</i> | <i>Features</i>  |
|---------------|--|
| Discursive    | Characterised by high quality oral work                                      |
| Interactive   | Pupils contributions are encouraged, expected and extended                   |
| Well-paced    | There is a sense of urgency, driven by the need to make progress and succeed |
| Confident     | Teachers have a clear understanding of the objectives                        |
| Ambitious     | There is high optimism about and high expectation of success                 |

Literature on effective teaching was also used for the analysis of teaching; in particular Kyriacou's (1997) categorisation:

1. clarity of teachers' expectations and directions;
2. making use of a variety of learning activities;
3. encouraging pupil participation and getting all pupils involved;
4. delivering a well-structured and well-organised lesson;
5. ensuring coverage of the learning objectives;
6. making good use of questioning techniques;
7. establishing a task-oriented classroom climate;
8. establishing and maintaining momentum and pace for the lesson;
9. monitoring pupils' progress and attending quickly to pupils' needs;
10. providing pupils with positive and constructive feedback.

The findings of Fines and Nichol, Medwell and Kyriacou all influenced the development, refinement and teaching of the *Intervention Strategy* from 1997.

### **The History Teaching *Intervention Strategy*, 1996-98**

Teacher knowledge bases, teacher orientation and models of teaching combined to influence the development and refinement of the history teaching *Intervention Strategy* from 1997. The research data from 1992-96 clearly indicated that to focus on the transmission of substantive subject knowledge unrelated to its development through syntactic engagement with sources and related pedagogic materials produced relatively impoverished models of history teaching, mirroring both Askew *et al.*'s (1997) transmission model, and what Knight (1991) called the 'exposure' model (see above page 11). In the latter, teachers using a discovery pattern of teaching, exposed their pupils to a wide range of historical sources without any clear focus or organising ideas based in an understanding of the nature of history as a discipline.

The history teaching *Intervention Strategy* changed radically from the pre-1997 History course when we realised the role that syntactic subject knowledge played in students' professional development. We hypothesised that the effective training of students would be based on their ability to make connections not only between the syntactic, substantive and pedagogic elements in their preparation but also between children's understanding and their own, providing the children with a surrogate second record. Central to the final *Intervention Strategy* was a study pack on Boudicca's rebellion drawn from as wide a range of sources as possible; the contemporary, the academic, the populist and those aimed at teaching. Our aim was to enable the students to create in their own minds a detailed understanding of any historical topic. As such, they would have to engage in reconstruction and re-enactment. We adopted an approach incorporating role-play, student presentations and discussion of sources.

The Boudicca study pack also provided the maximum opportunity for students to create interactive and stimulating teaching strategies for teaching history to 7-11 year olds. Accordingly the *Intervention Strategy* was based upon models of expert teaching in which dialogue played a major part. The *Intervention Strategy* illustrated the importance of teachers developing knowledge and understanding through systematic enquiry and study. As such, it was meta-cognitive, providing a model for students' future mastery of the syntactic, substantive and pedagogical knowledge bases that underpin effective teaching.

### **The Boudicca Study Pack and related tasks and rationale**

We chose Boudicca's Revolt, AD 60 because it was central to the English National Curriculum for History's Key Stage 2 study unit on Romans, Anglo Saxons and Vikings in Britain that included as an option an in depth study of the Roman conquest of Britain:

1. Pupils should be taught **in outline** about the following

the Roman conquest and occupation of Britain  
the arrival and settlement of the Anglo-Saxons  
Viking raids and settlements

2. They should be taught in greater depth about ONE of the following (Romans, Anglo-Saxons or Vikings):

a. Romans: the Roman conquest and its impact on Britain



*e.g. Boudicca and resistance to Roman rule, the extent to which life in Celtic Britain was influenced by Roman rule and settlement, the end of imperial rule*  
(See DFE, 1995, pp. 73 - 83)

The students were each given a Boudicca Study Pack which consisted of a selection of contemporary, juvenile and scholarly writings relating to the revolt of AD 60. The *Intervention Strategy* was designed to provide the circumstances in which the students would actively engage with these sources to discuss the issues as an historian would and then to present the material in a role-play reconstruction as if they were examining the event 'from the inside'. This deliberately modelled a connectionist and reconstructionist approach to teaching, first developing a greater awareness of the importance of syntactic knowledge, and then encouraging creativity and empathetic imagination as underpinning factors in their understanding and presentation (for an analysis of Collingwood's principles of re-enactment see Hughes-Warrington, 2003). The Hexterian concept of the second record and Rogers's notion of the contextual frame of reference (also rationalised in the Vygotskian sense as scaffolding) were also significant in this strategy where the students could bring their own life-experience to the role-play and work with fellow students to ensure that the context was fully understood by their peers. The class was split into 4 groups, and each group would study the sources for one of four possible parts of the narrative. The contemporary (or near contemporary) sources were from Cornelius Tacitus (c 100 - 110 AD) and Cassius Dio (c. 214 – 226 AD), the juvenile sources (i.e. from texts originally written for children) from Henrietta Marshall (c. 1904) and from Robert Unstead (1957). The scholarly source was a sub-divided chapter on Boadicea (Boudicca) in Michael Wood's *In Search of the Dark Ages* (1981) (see Guyver, 2001). There was an attempt to introduce the refining category of sophistication to the development of students' substantive knowledge of this event, and the principle of examining contemporary sources alongside scholarly ones was translated to other sessions.

The combination of role-play, discussion and student presentation in the Boudicca scheme of work was used alongside other teaching approaches in the rest of the history teaching *Intervention Strategy*. Role-play, discussion and student presentation were used separately in the Tudor session (discussion about Tudor chronology and family trees or about Tudor exploration or about Tudor home-life, followed by Tudor dance). In other sessions interpretation and connections were seen as important, especially in the time spent on Ancient Egypt where different interpretations of who built the pyramids, how and why, were discussed, and connections were made between Egyptian myths (especially the myth of Osiris), the physical conditions of Egypt, and the role and status of pharaohs. RG's awareness of scholarship in this field was enhanced when a specialist graduate student gave him her recent University of Birmingham course reading list. He applied the principle of drawing upon recent academic scholarship to the curriculum strength session (for Humanities graduates only) on the Reformation. RG also consulted with a University of Exeter academic whose specialism is that period and received the names of two recently published books on the Reformation (Duffy, 1992; and Haigh, 1993). Local history was used in the session on Britain since 1930 where a video about the Plymouth Blitz was shown and discussion about how to teach evacuation using real and imaginary letters followed. This was linked with the story of Anne Frank. In the Roman, Tudor, and Britain since 1930 sessions children's fiction was examined, including the books used by Jane [case study 3b] and Denise [case study 4a] (Childs, 1992; and Magorian, 1998).

The history teaching *Intervention Strategy* meant the students had to create their historical understanding of any topic through a systematic and rigorous investigation

of the available historical sources and teaching materials, starting with questioning. We hypothesised that the effective training of students would be based on their ability to make connections not only between the syntactic, substantive and pedagogic knowledge bases in their preparation but also between this preparation and a knowledge of learners, both cognitive and empirical, see Appendix 3. This capacity to connect with children's understanding is at the heart of Hexter's concept of the 'second record' (1971) (see above). In applying these ideas to the *Intervention Strategy* we focussed on activities that combined the development of syntactic, substantive, pedagogic and curricular knowledge bases for teaching history to 7-11 year olds. Students would be able to thoroughly investigate and engage with a wide range of sources and related teaching materials and approaches on any topic that they were teaching. Transferability was the key concept.

## The Research Site

### Introduction

The research was carried out at the College of St. Mark and St. John, a Higher Education Institution in England that offered a number of teacher training courses. The research was conducted mainly in the context of the one year Postgraduate Certificate of Education [PGCE] Primary course, although it involved one four year B.Ed student. The research programme from 1997-2000 involved four sets of students, eighteen in all. The outcome was eighteen separate case-studies.

### The research sets

**Set 1** In the academic year 1996 – 1997 evidence was gathered on eight postgraduate students taking the one year primary PGCE course. Evidence on the first set was gathered in 1996-97.

| Case study no. and name | Degree   |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1a. Catriona            | BSc Psychology                                 |
| 1b. Robert              | BSc Biology                                    |
| 1c. Peter               | BSc Regional Science (Geography and Economics) |
| 1d. Elizabeth           | BA Education Studies and Linguistics           |
| 1e. Caroline            | BSc Environmental Science                      |
| 1f. Laura               | BA History                                     |
| 1g. Susan               | BA History                                     |
| 1h. Thomas              | BA History with Sociology                      |

**Set 2** consisted of a single student, James who had taken a BA in history and an MA in Library and Information Studies. The research data was collected after he had completed one year of teaching.

**Set 3** was made up from two postgraduates, one with and one without a degree. The research was carried out in 1997-98.

**The final set, Set 4**, was a set of seven postgraduates on the primary PGCE course from 1999-2000.

| Case study no. and name | Degree   |
|-------------------------|--|
| 4a Denise               | BA (Hons) English Language Studies with Literary Studies |
| 4b Tamsin               | BA (Hons) English and Psychology, MSc Computing          |
| 4c Christine            | BA (Hons) English (with Media)                           |

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| 4d Mark    | BSc (Hons) Biological Science                   |
| 4e Donna   | BSc (Hons) Environmental Science and Technology |
| 4f Jessica | BA (Hons) History/Archaeology                   |
| 4g Ted     | BA (Hons) History with Media Studies            |

### **National influences: impact on the research site and programme**

The research period from 1997-2000 was one of rapid curricular change in primary history teaching and training that radically altered the national framework in which the research was carried out. There was constant disorientation and disequilibrium that effectively wrecked our research plans. The extent of the problem is indicated by the fact that from 1997-2000 there were seven separate statutory measures and government requirements, each of which directly affected the teaching of history in primary schools and related initial teacher training provision. A key factor in affecting the research programme was the introduction of the National Literacy and Numeracy strategies and the January 1998 government suspension of the requirement for schools to teach in detail the non-core foundation subjects of the National Curriculum, including history. The years 1998 to 2000 also saw the proliferation of non-statutory advice from the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) that shapes and implements English government educational policy in schools. For primary History the QCA produced detailed teaching guidance, its Schemes of Work. These impacted upon our research because of the constraints they imposed upon ITT students because many schools implemented them as a prescribed way of teaching the national curriculum to meet OFSTED imperatives (Bracey, 2001).

These measures meant in effect that from January 13<sup>th</sup> 1998 to August 31<sup>st</sup> 2000 the students within the 1997 – 1998, 1998 – 1999, and 1999 – 2000 cohorts did not have to follow the national curriculum history programmes of study. This affected students in the fourth set of case studies; all seven faced a drastic reduction in the amount of history on their timetables.

Accordingly the research methodology had to reflect and adapt to the rapidly changing and disruptive set of factors that affected the research programme.

### **The Research Methodology**

#### **The research plan**

We initially decided that the students were to be divided into two sets, one with history degrees, the second without. Both sets were to be compared to a control set whose members did not experience the history teaching *Intervention Strategy*. However, the rapid and radical changes in government policy see above, and its impact on schools made the plan impossible to implement. A comparative approach of history graduates with other graduates gave way to a comparison of any graduates who were both doing the course *and* teaching history. This radically affected the nature of the original research design, resulting in a set of 18 case studies.

#### **Research methods: The archive of evidence**

The research focused upon collecting for subsequent analysis an archive of evidence about:

- students' beliefs and attitudes on beginning their ITT course,
- their responses to the *Intervention Strategy*,
- observations of the teaching of a sample cross-section, with
- follow up interviews to investigate what the main influences on their teaching had been,

- the relationship of their knowledge bases to their teaching style and performance, and
- any changes in beliefs, values and attitudes during the course.

The archive included opinions, beliefs, reflections on experience, the students' own internal interpretation of history in the form of the historical sources and resources used and reflected upon during both coursework and teaching practice, and external judgements of the students, based on observations of their teaching. There was a strong link between the literature review underpinning this paper and its methodology because it was through a review of the literature that the criteria were identified for interpreting the data. The archive consisted of evidence drawn from the eighteen case studies, see page 75.

### **Case study**

The archive was the basis for the writing of individual case-studies on the eighteen students. The notion of *case study* informed and shaped the research programme. It underpinned and defined the uniqueness, particularity and individuality of each participating student and sets each in a context bounded by the nature of the course, the extant chronological conditions of the training institution, the various placement schools, the taught curriculum, and the details of the institutional objectives of teacher training. Adelman, Kemmis and Jenkins (1976) saw case study data as 'strong in reality' but difficult to organize, down-to-earth and attention-holding, in harmony with the reader's own experience, and providing a 'natural' basis for generalisation. The comment about difficulty of organisation finds resonance in the current set of case studies as they involved multi-site work in a number of schools, and were underpinned by efforts to co-ordinate observations of students' history teaching with other timetable demands. The reader would be able to employ the ordinary processes of judgement by which people tacitly understand life and social actions around them. Case study allows generalisation either about a single or a set of cases. The peculiar strength of case study research lies in its attention to the subtlety and complexity of each case in its own right. It recognises the complexity and 'embeddedness' of social truths. By attending to social situations, case studies can represent a range of viewpoints held by participants, even if there is conflict or discrepancy within or between them.

Case studies can produce alternative interpretations to the norm and may cumulatively constitute a sufficient body of information to challenge accepted opinions. Case studies are 'a step to action' beginning in a world of action and contributing to it, their insights available for staff or individual self-development, for within-institutional feedback, for formative evaluation, and for educational policy-making. Case studies present research data in a more publicly accessible form than other kinds of research report. The case study is capable of serving multiple audiences. It moves away from reliance upon unstated implicit assumptions (necessarily underlying all types of research) and makes the research process itself accessible. Case studies, therefore, contribute towards the 'democratisation' of decision-making (and of knowledge itself), and, at its best, case study allows readers to judge the implications of a study for themselves (Adelman *et al.*, 1976).

Golby (1994) offers a different view to that of Adelman *et al.* in that he suggests that although the ordinary processes of judgement by which people tacitly understand life and social actions around them can be used to understand a case study, 'case study suggests an academic approach to practical problems can be of real, practical significance' (p. 16). For Golby 'case study refers only to the determination to relate a single phenomenon to the collective understanding by means of systematic study' (p.

15). According to Golby (p. 14) 'the hypothesis is a judgement concerning the nature of a case. It must also be a judgement capable of being tested by investigation'.

The value of case study research in this context was in its ability to examine a set of key professional issues in real-life settings and the facility it provides for the illumination of student teachers' self-perceptions and professional development. The case studies focused on what is behind the person and that person's teaching rather than on the teaching or output. Shaw (1996) summarises how this kind of research can impact on institutions:

They need to try to get inside the shared reality of the institution. To do this requires interpretation, which in turn depends initially upon awareness of qualities in situations and performances. (p. 319)

These two elements of analysis, 'the art of appreciation' and 'the ability to make fine-grained discriminations amongst complex and subtle qualities' apply to the case studies under consideration, and there is a need for discrimination in interpreting how in the minds of the trainee students the requirements of national curriculum history are translated into action.

This research is about recording and analysing the voices of postgraduate students who have both taught and been taught during their one-year course. These voices are captured in the context of a bricolage of case studies over a period from 1995 to 2000 (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, wrote of the researcher as *bricoleur*).

### **Sources of evidence**

The sources of evidence upon which the case studies were based were:

- pre-course questionnaire;
- data collection in schools, 2000;
- post-teaching practice data collection: interviews;
- post-teaching practice data collection: questionnaires;
- student's written records and reports.

**The pre-course questionnaire** was completed in the first session of the *Intervention Strategy*. The principle behind the questionnaire was to use it as a pre-test and as a basis for a post-test, to identify continuity or change in the relationship between orientation, previous experience and practice. The questions gave students the opportunity to state or to reflect on:

- their definitions of history;
- their qualifications in history; and/or when they gave it up;
- the methods by which they were taught history;
- what history they had found interesting (or not) at school;
- a typical history lesson during their own school days;
- how they think history should be taught in primary schools;
- a range of teaching qualities possessed by their own teachers;
- the learning of facts and dates;
- a range of teaching strategies and resources;
- the role of content and story-telling;
- the place of skills development;
- the importance of a range of concepts;
- the relationship between concept-development and subject knowledge in and teacher and pupil;

- the overall importance of subject knowledge in relation to pedagogic skills.

**Data Collection in schools, 2000** Data collection for the seven 2000/01 set four students during teaching practice supervision was severely disrupted by RG's viral illness for six weeks in the summer of 2000. Despite this, RG managed to observe Denise [student 4a] teach one history lesson (Britain since 1930: the Blitz and evacuation) early in her practice, and observed Jessica [student 4f] teach history (Victorians: Victorian school day) during her middle teaching practice. RG observed Ted [4g] teach a Maths and an English lesson in a previous teaching practice. Mark [4d] had been teaching in the same school as Jessica when we had been supervising her. Thus we had surveyed four out of the eight students during their teaching practices.

**Post-teaching practice data collection: interviews** The post-course views of students, i.e. either just after or towards the end of their final teaching practices, were investigated either by direct interview or by postal questionnaire. RG interviewed all of the students in the first set of case studies, and both students in the third set (Richard and Jane). The second case study, conducted in July 1997, consists almost exclusively of the analysis of an extended interview of a student who had left the previous summer, though reference is made to James's pre-course questionnaire. However, because of a long viral illness in the summer of 2000, only one of the last set of case study students Denise [4a] was interviewed face-to-face, and all of the rest completed questionnaires that were posted to them and returned to the College. The questionnaires were twofold, a general questionnaire, encouraging reflection about knowledge bases used during the teaching experience, and a specific one that cross-referred to the pre-course questionnaire.

**Post-teaching practice data collection: questionnaires** The questionnaire overlapped with the pre-course questionnaire that was used as a basis for the interview. The postal questionnaire aimed to identify the students' knowledge bases used in the preparation and teaching of history. The questions focused on:

- identify history taught – topics and time spent;
- previous knowledge;
- preparation completed;
- how the teaching was organised and introduced; plan or scheme if any;
- what was taught and the structure/scaffolding/context/background given;
- what the children did;
- examples of aspects of the study unit for which further explanation was given;
- whether any questions were asked of the children;
- whether any enquiries were conducted by the children;
- in questioning or enquiries whether any sources were from the period being studied (i.e. contemporary materials); identification of these;
- whether the children were provided with any books or photocopies of books (or parts of books) written by historians; (identification of whether these works were written for adult or child readers, naming the reference);
- whether the children were asked any questions related to the key concepts: causes and consequences; change and continuity; similarity and difference; specification of some examples;
- how the children were asked to address these concepts;
- whether there was a relationship between the teacher's ability to provide the historical background and the pupil's ability to answer questions relating to the key concepts (especially causes and consequences); request for exemplification;

- exemplification of pedagogic knowledge (knowledge of skills of teaching) bases:
- techniques, strategies; activities; classroom awareness; what knowledge about teaching was necessary in order to be able to teach this history.

The postal questionnaires, occasional observations (i.e. not of all the case study students' teaching) and subsequent interviews which probed the beliefs, experience and reflections of the students in the current study examine Kyriacou's features of effective teaching points (Kyriacou, 1997, p. 120). Some but not all of the aspects of Farmer and Knight's (1995) and Fines and Nichol's (1997) aspects of effective teaching were addressed. Of Falmer and Knight's, points 4, 5 (partly), 6, and 8 were examined:

1. subject understanding (Farmer and Knight 4);
2. key concepts (Farmer and Knight 6);

### **Data Analysis: Models of Teaching**

Two aspects of Askew *et al.*'s research into models of effective mathematics teaching, (see page 6 above) proved seminal for the analysis of research data. They provided a model of the relationship between teachers' knowledge bases and effective teaching and a listing of the most influential and significant features of effective teachers pedagogical content knowledge. This enabled us to create 'models' of history for the analysis of data from the 1997-2000 research programme.

### **Devising diagrammatic models of student teachers' of history knowledge bases**

The analysis and interpretation of the data focuses on the strength and relative dominance of the various influences on the development of the seventeen ITT students' and one newly qualified teacher's knowledge bases. For each this could be plotted at the start of the ITT course and its end. We modified the Askew *et al.* mathematical model for use in the context of pedagogical content knowledge for the teaching of history. The major element in the data drawn from our eighteen case studies was the students' reflections on the factors that influenced their professional development. Key features were:

1. academic substantive subject knowledge of history from school;
2. academic substantive subject knowledge of history from university;
3. academic syntactic knowledge of history;
4. assimilation and adaptation of teaching and learning styles, i.e. connectionist/constructivist, discovery, transmission;
5. curricular knowledge, i.e. national curriculum monitoring, recording, assessment, reporting;
6. history teaching subject knowledge;
7. knowledge of primary history teaching approaches;
8. knowledge of primary teaching approaches;
9. pedagogic knowledge of history from school practice;
10. prior experience of primary schools;
11. student's orientation, beliefs, values, attitudes;
12. student's own views on practice.

The differences between history specialists and those with degrees from other disciplines were logged. Key factors were GCSE and A level history courses and the influence of studying history as undergraduates. In the models the strength of the influence has been reflected in the type of line used.

a dotted line - no influence,  
a solid line - some influence,  
a thick line - much influence: [the thicker the line the greater the influence].

For each of the individual case studies we produced a separate model that reflected the unique blend of influences that resulted in each student's pedagogical content knowledge.

This analysis was based upon the construction of three representations: Appendix 4 of the factors involved; and of the differences between historian, Appendix 5; and non-historian course members, Appendix 6.

## Findings

The research evidence concerning the main research question *How effective is an Intervention Strategy in a one year ITT postgraduate course in influencing the professional development of ITT students as teachers of history?* enabled us to identify changes in student teacher values, attitudes and beliefs, and their orientation during the period of their course from its commencement to the end of their teaching practice. These changes relate to the set of knowledge bases that constitute their pedagogical content knowledge, see Appendix 3. The influences upon them were multiple, varied, complex and of different importance at different times. As such, the *Intervention Strategy* was only a minor element in their total experiences: the findings however help us to tease out, no matter how tentatively, its influences upon their professional development. The findings fall into two categories: overall patterns and trends and individual case studies. For this paper we have concentrated upon two contrasting case-studies, Mark's and Jessica's, from the seven cases studies that resulted from the 1999-2000 cohort, set 4, of students. Mark and Jessica had contrasting academic backgrounds: Mark had a science degree, biology, while Jessica had studied history and archaeology.

## Overall findings

The eighteen case studies indicated that the taught ITT course at St. Mark and St. John, including the history teaching *Intervention Strategy*, and associated teaching placements, empowered postgraduate students to identify and reflect upon key factors in their development as effective and, in some cases, expert teachers of primary history. Here they drew upon a range of pedagogical content knowledge bases that they developed during teaching practice – knowledge bases that had been situated, socially constructed and experiential (Lave and Wenger, 1991). There are some significant findings when an attempt is made to establish a link between their (a) initial beliefs about history and (b) initial beliefs about how history should be taught in primary schools and (c) post-experience beliefs and reflections. Below we report findings from the 1999-2000 case study set 4's seven students, including Mark's and Jessica's, as this group experienced the *Intervention Strategy* in its finally developed form.

**Pre-course views** Significantly, six out of the seven came to the PGCE course with a belief in active and enlivening methods of teaching history. Pre-course, all except Denise [4a] expressed specific belief in the importance of making history come to life. Three out of five of the chosen cohort of non-history graduates had given definitions of history that included elements of the syntactic as well as the substantive. Tamsin [4b] stressed her belief in history being about daily life and about 'objects from daily use'. Denise's [4a] definition was purely substantive ('anything that happened in the distant or recent past'). Her journey during the course was the most dramatic. She proved that she could operate almost as an expert history teacher with a balanced



and appropriately disciplined range of knowledge bases supported by imaginative role-play and the use of discussion. Christine's [4c] definition was substantive but present-oriented. Her insight into history as a discipline had deepened as a result of the *Intervention Strategy*. Typical of a number of English graduates, she understood before the course really started that history should give children the 'feel' of a period, and her teaching, observed by OFSTED, included questioning and letting the children investigate. Mark's [4d] definition showed that he understood that history was not only what had happened but also included how it had been recorded and who did the recording and how. His post-course questionnaire revealed his developing insights into history as interpretation. His strong belief in teaching about 'normal' people rather than just 'important' ones is confirmed in his teaching experience and post-course reflections. Donna's [4e] definition also presented a balance of syntactic and substantive subject knowledge ('history is finding out about things and people that happened in the past'). She subsequently wanted to add that it should be related to the present day and taught in chronological order. Both Mark and Donna came from Science backgrounds.

**Post-teaching practice views** Both of the history graduates in case studies set 4 already believed in using creative methods. Jessica [4f] was convinced of the importance of cross-curricular work. The course had given Jessica additional insight into the importance of developing historical skills though planned objectives (using here her own words). Her original definition of history was almost purely syntactic: 'exploration of documented evidence of our past ...'. Post-course, she saw activities as ways for children 'to present and consolidate their knowledge'. On teaching primary history in general she had moved from a blanket scattergun vivid teaching approach to a focused view that:

Children should feel that history is 'real' and 'exciting'. This can be achieved best through deductions made from artefacts and quality primary sources. (Jessica, 4f, 2000)

On substantive history subject knowledge Jane's thinking coincided with Rogers' (1979) views on contextual frames of reference: 'children should not learn a lesson in isolation – it should be taught after a child has been given an overview'. Her pedagogy had been refined through the course.

Ted [4g] is an unusual case for a history graduate. He had for his BA dissertation completed a local history study on the Arkwrights of Derbyshire and related it to working class industrial history. Pre-course, he was well aware of both the substantive and syntactic elements of history. However, he seemed to see primary history as a totally different animal. He seemed to be concerned, quite legitimately for his two tough inner-city placements, mainly with interesting the children and maintaining his own credibility. His definition of history stresses personal identity and a kind of cumulative view of the past rolling up to the present. The course and his own instincts evidently helped him develop an effective 'survival' pedagogy in his relationships with children, but has not convinced him that he could use his expertise to introduce a wider range of contemporary sources. His methods however included questioning and discussion on some significant issues about key personalities and events. Yet even here we see a student shaping pedagogy through his classroom practice drawing upon his overall ITT programme and the specific, focused contribution that the *Intervention Strategy* made.

A similar pattern from the statistical data emerges across all seven of the set 4 case studies, 1999-2000. The greatest changes in the whole set were in the realisation of the importance of the use of a range of teaching strategies and of a range of

resources. On the negative side were the beliefs that neither contemporary (i.e. current/now) references nor subject knowledge seemed as important as they had originally thought. The greatest convergence between original and subsequent beliefs was related to imagination (not included in case studies set 1 questionnaires) and the ability to organise and motivate sets for discussion/role-play/drama and creative work reflecting in detail the *Intervention Strategy*. Least change in the whole set between pre- and post-course positions were in (a) understanding of the methodology of the subject and (b) enthusiasm. Understanding of methodology had been almost universally dismissed as unimportant whereas, by contrast, enthusiasm had been unanimously highly rated. The reaction to the methodology question is puzzling: we can only explain it through its meaning not being clear and it being regarded as an abstract academic concept unrelated to teaching.

In the set 4 case studies the greatest change in non-graduates was in their rating of the use of contemporary (i.e. current/now) references, which was downgraded, but by a greater rate than any other knowledge base-related quality (minus 12). Significantly, the next quality up on this scale was subject (substantive) knowledge at minus 10. On the positive side, the greatest changes in belief were for the use of a range of resources and a range of teaching strategies (both up by plus 8). Least changed were belief about imagination, ability to organise and motivate sets for discussion/role-play/drama/creative work and ability to listen.

The history graduates in case studies set 4 experienced the greatest changes in favour of the use of a range of teaching strategies (plus 4 for set), and in personality (plus 4 for set). Changes in beliefs that worked against qualities were related to ability to listen (minus 8), the use of contemporary sources (minus 6), self-confidence (minus 4), and ability to simplify (minus 4). Least change, in fact no change, was identified in four areas: use of a range of resources, enthusiasm, sense of humour/fun/natural enjoyment of the subject, and imagination. The greatest differences in the range of change between historians and non-historians (from pre-course to post-course) in set 4 was in their estimation of ability to listen, subject knowledge, use of a range of resources, ability to tell a story/set a situation in context, and charisma. The greatest similarity in the range of change was, in order, ability to ask searching questions, imagination, and self-confidence.

The questionnaire and other research data suggest a highly complex process that is multi-faceted in the professional development of the students. There is a correlation between the views, attitudes and beliefs that the students brought with them to the ITT course and the congruence between these views, those that underpinned the history teaching *Intervention Strategy* and the students' professional development within their teaching practice schools.

#### **Illuminative Case Studies, Mark, 4d and Jessica, 4e**

Two contrasting case studies from set 4, Mark's and Jessica's, illuminate the formative influences that affected the professional development as teachers of history.

**Introductory comments** The illuminative case studies of Mark and Jessica help us tease out the possible influences that affected their professional development. We chose them because their teaching practice occurred in the same school and because of the contrasting nature of their academic subject knowledge: Mark was a scientist with a B.Sc in Biological Science while Jessica had read History and Archaeology.

| <i>Case studies set 4<br/>Differences between students without and<br/>students with history degrees</i> | <i>Without<br/>history<br/>degrees</i> | <i>With<br/>history<br/>degrees</i> | <i>Difference</i> |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| d. ability to listen   | + 1.33                                 | - 8                                 | 9.33              |
| a. subject knowledge   | - 10                                   | - 2                                 | 8                 |
| f. use of a range of resources   | + 8                                    | 0                                   | 8                 |
| h. ability to tell a good story/set a situation<br>in context  | + 6                                    | - 2                                 | 8                 |
| q. charisma  | + 6                                    | - 2                                 | 8                 |
| b. contemporary (i.e. current/now)<br>references   | - 12                                   | - 6                                 | 6                 |
| c. understanding the methodology of the<br>subject   | - 4                                    | + 2                                 | 6                 |
| j. ability to simplify   | + 2                                    | - 4                                 | 6                 |
| k. ability to explain  | - 4                                    | + 2                                 | 6                 |
| m. willingness to let pupils contribute<br>actively  | - 7                                    | - 2                                 | 5                 |
| g. use of a range of teaching strategies   | + 8                                    | + 4                                 | 4                 |
| p sense of humour/fun/natural enjoyment of<br>the subject (cf. is this the same as<br>enthusiasm?)       | - 4                                    | 0                                   | 4                 |
| i. enthusiasm  | - 2                                    | 0                                   | 2                 |
| n. providing structure in the lesson   | - 4                                    | - 2                                 | 2                 |
| o. personality   | + 2                                    | + 4                                 | 2                 |
| e. ability to organise and motivate sets for<br>discussion/role-play/drama/creative work                 | + 0.66                                 | + 2                                 | 1.34              |
| r. self-confidence   | - 5                                    | - 4                                 | 1                 |
| s. imagination   | - 0.67                                 | 0                                   | 0.67              |
| l. ability to ask searching questions  | + 2                                    | + 2                                 | 0                 |

**Table 1 – Case studies set 4 – comparison of range of change between those without and those with history degrees**

#### **Case study 4d Mark, BSc (Hons) Biological Sciences (see Appendix 7)**

**Initial orientation and beliefs** RG helped Mark in his pre-course planning and accordingly as a practitioner researcher had a detailed insight into factors that influenced him. Mark had had previous experience of working with children in his role as a warden at an environmental centre on the South Devon coast. He was responsible for managing the marine conservation area there. He had also been a tutor in a residential field centre in Wales. He had worked with staff in inner London schools planning for visits and had led activities in the field. He had won a fellowship in 1998 which enabled him to participate in a study of land crabs in Tobago. Mark brought to the course a detailed, sophisticated and elaborate understanding of factors involved in teaching children.

Mark's pre-course questionnaire contained a definition of history that showed some awareness of history as a record of the past and of the crucial role played by the viewpoint (or interpretation) of the recorder or author.

What has happened, and been recorded in some form. The recounting of it can vary, dependent on who has recorded it and how.

His ability to reflect on this aspect of history can be seen in his perceptive responses to questions on the Boudicca texts completed as part of the *Intervention Strategy* (see later in this case study). His definition shows syntactic subject awareness through an insight into different interpretations, and into the reliability of so-called primary sources. In the light of his teaching practice experience he did not wish to modify his original definition of history. His post-course thoughts on how history should be taught in primary schools (largely supporting very similar beliefs held before the course) show an orientation towards 'normal' people and social history.

I still believe it must be taught in context, looking at normal people, how they would have been affected by major historical events. This would need to involve role-play, looking at food, music, day-to-day lives etc...'

### **His own pre-course experience of being taught history at school**

Mark's experience of history teaching as indicated in the pre-course questionnaire was predominantly in the transmission mode that Askew *et al.* analysed in detail (1997):

Didactic/formal/traditional/passive learning (chalk and talk): (Secondary, almost all. Some Primary); textbook-based (Secondary, Primary); resource-based (i.e. wider resources than one textbook) (Primary to a degree).

In secondary school history was taught from textbooks, with a lot of copying from the board. There was no fun within the history lesson. He learnt more history in Latin. In primary school he could recall mainly textbooks, but also displays and talks from the archaeologist (or archaeologists) based on a Roman archaeological site which was nearby.

Mark revealed that informal learning outside his history lessons had played a key role in shaping his positive attitudes towards the teaching of history:

Romans – lived near a Roman dig – was active site. Also in Latin we obviously had a great deal of interest in Roman Empire.  
First World War – not through history lessons, but through poetry in English – poems were evocative, lots of class discussion.'

Conversely, there was a highly negative reaction to the formal teaching he had experienced. These were the periods/topics that he had found most boring during his own schooldays:

Periods of Kings and Queens. Learnt by rote – dull!

### **Mark's development and the Intervention Strategy**

Mark's response to the *Intervention Strategy* Boudicca exercise throws light on its impact that upon his development as a teacher of history. Mark was given part one of a possible four parts of the story. For each of the 5 sources (Tacitus, Dio, Unstead, Marshall, Wood) he completed a range of tasks. The research data revealed that Mark had developed a sophisticated and critical understanding of both the syntactic and the substantive knowledge bases associated with the Boudicca story that are typical of a history graduate. But he has a science degree. What emerges is that Mark has a coherent and multi-faceted understanding of the inter-relationship of the sources.

### **Course experience of teaching primary history**

In the spring teaching practice term Mark had taught Tudors – Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, a topic which he taught over a 4 week period. In the summer term he had taught local history in which he had focused on Plymouth, the Barbican in Plymouth and on the fishing industry. These two were obviously linked, as the Barbican has Tudor buildings.

He described his previous knowledge of these topics as:

Tudors – a general knowledge.  
Barbican – little.

To prepare for teaching them he found resources and decided upon how his pupils could best learn about the subjects. Mark organised his teaching of the Tudors to his year 6 class by following the class teacher's plans and incorporating a range of teaching ideas that reflected his syntactic understanding of the discipline in a teaching context that the *Intervention Strategy* had stressed. As for the Barbican study he introduced the area, looked at changes and events, including current events. The background he gave the children consisted of introducing the Barbican as a central part in Plymouth's development, as a major business, current and past. (Mark's work on this was presented in the form of a PowerPoint presentation he submitted with Ted [case study 4g] as part of the College coursework). He also referred to major events in Plymouth's history. The children went on a field visit to the Barbican. The contemporary sources they studied were census materials, maps and photos. For major events the class looked at textbooks, many of which had been provided by Plymouth Library Services, though the books were mainly for adults.

Mark provided the class with a surrogate second record: he helped the class by explaining how to interpret census information. For questioning, they were asked to find information and facts from the sources (census, maps, and photos). Why would fishing boom in Plymouth? How might fishing change over time? This was supposed to develop into an enquiry in which they had to decide their course of investigation, but this did not work well! Questions related to key second order historical concepts included causes and consequences – over-fishing, and similarity and difference – between now and points in Plymouth's past. To get the children to address these concepts was difficult. Mark found that these year 6 children were good at discussion, but not at written work.

Mark described his own history teaching as being:

Child-centred/informal/active learning; a combination of formal and informal; resource-based (i.e. wider resources than one textbook).

The topic he found most interesting to teach was:

Local history – able to go visit the Barbican and get a hands-on idea. Was more 'real' to the children.

This was the period/topic he found most boring/least interesting to teach:

Tudors – only taught some of the lessons in the unit and so it was disjointed.

How had he originally thought that history should be taught in primary schools?

A context would be good. Looking at how people would have lived – normal

people, not just important ones. Trying to recreate aspects of life. Comparison with present day. Interaction, role-play, dress up. Make it come to life. (From pre-course questionnaire)

Mark implicitly suggests that he is a reconstructionist. Now that he had had some teaching experience how did he think that history should be taught in primary schools?

I still believe it must be taught in context, looking at normal people, how they would have been affected by major historical events. This would need to involve role-play, looking at food, music, day-to-day lives etc...

### Changes in orientations and beliefs

Mark's pre- and post-course assessments of the qualities prized in a history teacher were 7 - very important ; 5 – important; 3 – quite important; 1 – not very important.

| <i>Mark<br/>BSc Biological Science<br/>Case study 4d</i>                              | <i>Pre-<br/>course</i> | <i>Post-<br/>course</i> | <i>Change</i> |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| ability to tell a good story/set a situation in context                               | 3                      | 7                       | + 4           |
| charisma  | 3                      | 5                       | + 2           |
| personality   | 3                      | 5                       | + 2           |
| use of a range of resources   | 7                      | 7                       | 0             |
| ability to organise and motivate groups for discussion /role-play/drama/creative work | 7                      | 7                       | 0             |
| enthusiasm  | 7                      | 7                       | 0             |
| imagination   | 7                      | 7                       | 0             |
| use of a range of teaching strategies   | 7                      | 7                       | 0             |
| willingness to let pupils contribute actively   | 7                      | 7                       | 0             |
| providing a structure in the lesson   | 7                      | 5                       | - 2           |
| sense of humour/fun/natural enjoyment of the subject                                  | 7                      | 5                       | - 2           |
| (self-) confidence  | 7                      | 5                       | - 2           |
| ability to ask searching questions  | 7                      | 5                       | - 2           |
| ability to explain  | 7                      | 5                       | - 2           |
| ability to listen   | 7                      | 5                       | - 2           |
| subject knowledge   | 7                      | 5                       | - 2           |
| understanding of the methodology of the subject                                       | 3                      | 1                       | - 2           |
| ability to simplify   | 7                      | 3                       | - 4           |
| contemporary (i.e. current/now) references  | 7                      | 3                       | - 4           |

**Table 2 – Changes in beliefs about qualities needed by teachers of history in Mark (case study 4d) BSc Biological Science**

Overall, there was limited movement in his views. It is perhaps significant that he had upgraded the ability to tell a good story/set a situation in context in the light of experience, and he has not surprisingly perhaps, upgraded charisma and personality. Downgraded are the ability to simplify and (the making of) contemporary (i.e. current now) references. Virtually at the bottom is the core of the syntactic knowledge base, understanding of the methodology of the subject. The other case studies revealed

that this was usual in non-history graduates, perhaps because the meaning of 'methodology' was unclear in relation to teaching. Mark's answers show that he does have a clear understanding of what the nature of history is and how this can be translated into a teaching protocol involving questioning, pupil investigation of sources, discussion and debate.

How important did he think were the teaching and learning of facts and dates in history (e.g. about people (famous or otherwise) and events)?

It depends at what level. The order of events can be important. An over-emphasis on dates will make that the important issue, instead of what happened and the how and why and consequences. (Pre-course comment)

Had there been any situations in which he had used facts and dates for the teaching and learning of history?

Tudors – Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth I etc ... to put events in sequence.  
Local history – learnt about events and then put them in sequence on timeline.

Mark set out both his initial thoughts on the importance of a range of sources/resources and teaching/learning strategies in the context of primary history, and his experiences of using the same during teaching practice. There emerges a sense of a non-specialist struggling with helping children to make sense of some of the sources, possibly handicapped by his own lack of knowledge of the contexts. This applies to the portraits of Elizabeth I and to the census returns.

#### *Pictures*

Pre-course questionnaire: 'Will depend on if they are 'real' representations. Will the image inform or mislead?'

During or after teaching practice: 'Used photos of Plymouth – children loved them. Pictures of Queen Elizabeth I – children found it hard to interpret.'

#### *Simulation and role-play*

Pre-course questionnaire: 'Again, this could make it real and come to life.'

During or after teaching practice: 'They enjoyed it. Got children to make a Barbican game to play.'

#### *Books*

Pre-course questionnaire: 'Fairly important for finding information on own, not so that facts can be regurgitated.'

During or after teaching practice: 'A whole variety of books – fact, fiction, pictures.'

#### *Story-telling*

Pre-course questionnaire: 'Is brilliant if done well, but can fact and fiction blur? Might allow easier understanding of how people lived if their lives are followed in a story.'

During or after teaching practice: 'Yes – to set scenes, create mood. Good.'

#### *Documents*

Pre-course questionnaire: 'If documents from the time studied, yes.'

During or after teaching practice: 'Census returns, old maps. Children did not like this.'

#### *Site-visits*

Pre-course questionnaire: 'If it adds context or additional dimension.'

During or after teaching practice:

'Went to Barbican – children enjoyed and able to place studies in to context.'

In the rest of the questionnaire on objects, museum, archaeology, drama and music

Mark revealed a sharp critical awareness of some factors in the use of these resources or strategies. He was aware of the central importance of historical sources and their limitations in terms of developing pupil understanding. His reflection on the blurring of fact and fiction in the use of story-telling is also significant. What role had he originally thought that telling the story (content) should have in the teaching of history? He commented by questioning whether a story should be told or history discovered.

Does this show a 'discovery' orientation (along the lines suggested in the report by Askew *et al.*, 1997)? Not necessarily, but this answer (with his post-teaching follow-up) does show the level of criticality at which Mark is reflecting. Did he now have anything to say on the subject of telling the story (content) in the light of his teaching experience?

I used 'stories' to set a scene or create a mood, **to generate discussions of fact v fiction and distortion of the truth.** (our emphasis)

This certainly provided further evidence of a growing awareness of syntactic subject knowledge. The stories are being problematised, and used as a basis for discussion. There is a subtle mix of transmission and discovery, and more than a hint of latent connectionism (cf. Askew *et al.*, 1997) rather than of an unreconstructed dominant 'discovery' orientation. His pre-course views on the role of skills development in the teaching of history were not modified by subsequent experience. 'In developing of skills of research, fact-finding etc. Developing ...'

In his pre-course questionnaire he listed change and continuity alongside similarity and difference (two sets of key concepts) as being 'very important', but has not commented subsequently on their use in teaching. Similarly in the original questionnaire he lists a number of concepts as being 'important'. Mark indicated his pre-course beliefs and subsequent use of the following concepts:

*Causes and consequences:*

Pre-course: 'Very important'

During teaching practice: 'Henry VIII –Tudors. Protestant and Catholicism'.

'Year 6 children quite good at looking 'behind' the events for reasons'.

*Power*

Pre-course: 'Yes (important)'

During teaching practice: 'Tudors, Henry VIII – absolute power'.

*Justice, Democracy (same answer)*

Pre-course: 'Yes (important)'

During teaching practice: 'Tudors'.

*Monarchy*

Pre-course: 'No (not important)'

During teaching practice: 'Tudors'.

*Environment*

Pre-course: 'Extremely (important)'

During teaching practice: 'Change in fish catch over time'.

Mark's pre-course comment on the relationship between conceptual development and subject knowledge is reflected in the above:

One can aid the other – subject knowledge can help in developing concepts and vice versa.

That Mark had developed a clear understanding of the central role of *syntactic*



*subject teaching knowledge* is reflected in his comment:

I think that as a teacher you need to be able to aid children to ask questions and find own answers. Not tell them what you know.

Mark's reply to the questions on the teacher's subject knowledge suggests that by the end of the course he was adopting a constructivist, connectionist stance:

Do you think that the greater the teacher's subject knowledge of history the more likely it is that a pupil will understand/learn? (Yes/no/yes-and-no)?

No (at time of pre-course questionnaire *and* after teaching practice experience). It is in the teaching that can allow pupil to understand.

After his teaching experience he elaborated on this crucial idea:

I would hope that I could facilitate children to learn and ask questions, not just learn what I knew and believed.

He develops the notions of transformation and discovery in contrast to the temptation that faces all teachers – just to expect children to regurgitate their teacher's knowledge or views.

I believe that the teacher must have an understanding of the subject, but being able to facilitate the children's own discovery and teach them how to find out is more important.'

This goes to the heart of the debate over the importance of teachers' knowledge bases. The importance of the teacher's subject knowledge seems glaringly obvious, i.e. if you don't know it you can't teach it, but Mark has recognised the dynamic link **between syntactic knowledge and being able to teach the children to think** and develop a related set of procedures, skills, concepts and study protocols.

### **Summary of the amalgam of Mark's knowledge bases**

The qualities Mark prized most after his teaching practice were:

... ability to organise and motivate groups for discussion /role-play/drama/creative work; ability to tell a good story/set a situation in context; enthusiasm; imagination; use of a range of teaching strategies; use of a range of resources; and willingness to let pupils contribute actively.

These suggest an increasingly sophisticated understanding of the syntactic teaching subject knowledge base. His definition of history

What has happened, and been recorded in some form. The recounting of it can vary dependent on who has recorded it and how,

his ideas on pupil questioning, his views on concepts being appropriate for organising content and vice versa, his use of discussion in relation to fact and fiction in stories, and his perceptive answers to the Boudicca questionnaire are all factors which show that he did not see history merely as information, and confirm that Mark's orientation or amalgam is a mix of the substantive and syntactic. Mark appreciated the wider view given by engagement with the work of scholars in a teacher's preparation (cf. Rogers, 1979; VanSledright, 1996; McAleavy, 2000).

Although the evidence for Mark's actual teaching was limited due to the disruption of RG's research programme, his own evaluations and reflections suggest a mature understanding of the teacher's role (including empirical and cognitive knowledge of learners) and an 'expert' profile in relation to his syntactic and substantive understandings in the amalgam of his knowledge bases.

### **Influences on Mark's knowledge bases**

Mark shows graphically the different complicated factors that influence the development of a teacher. Mark brought to the course a great deal of experience of teaching from working with children and teachers and organising outdoor activities. He had a scientist's ability to observe in detail and was able to transfer his scientific orientation to the domain of history. Historical observations are based on a different kind of record but do nevertheless still depend on the eye of the beholder. There are similarities here with Richard [case study 3a] who also had a science degree which he subsequently used professionally for work in Outdoor Education. Richard was also aware of the theoretical relationship between knowledge and interpretation, though there was little evidence of his implementing it in practice. The dry scepticism which characterises Mark's reflections show a deep commitment to a constructivist approach in which children are given every opportunity to develop their own views and beliefs and not just regurgitate those of the teacher. Mark's history teaching needs to be set within the context of the overall values, beliefs and attitudes he brought to the one year ITT course and the range of experiences he had elsewhere on the course (see Appendix 7). The college's history teaching *Intervention Strategy* included the opportunity to enhance syntactic subject awareness through the Boudicca exercise at which Mark excelled. In the absence of history lesson observations it is difficult to be specific about the link between his reflections, the actual practice and the influences on that practice. Mark tried a number of approaches and found that discussion worked better than writing. He used site visits in conjunction with questioning on change and causation, just as James had [case study 2]. Mark did not need the *Intervention Strategy* to convince him of the value of site visits, but enhanced awareness of local history sources and Tudor history may well have been as a result of the *Intervention Strategy* and even a consequence of his friendship with Ted [case study 4g], the history graduate with whom he worked closely (see Appendix 7).

### **Case study 4f Jessica, BA (Hons) History/Archaeology (Appendix 8)**

Jessica's academic background was radically different to Mark's; she had an 'A' level in History and had taken a History and Archaeology degree. Jessica's case study was based upon:

1. pre-course questionnaire;
2. postal questionnaire (completed towards the end of the final teaching practice);
3. observation of teaching during first longer teaching practice (including session observation notes);
4. post-course questionnaire (with a comparison of post-course with pre-course views);
5. Boudicca study pack coursework questionnaire;
6. Information from final College reference.

### **Pre-course orientation (values, beliefs and attitudes)**

Jessica's definition of history in the pre-course questionnaire was:

Exploration of the documented evidence of our past (as opposed to archaeology – physical evidence).

In this remark Jessica reveals a far more subtle and sophisticated view of the subject than Mark, reflecting debates about the essential differences between history and archaeology.

As Nichol points out:

In terms of perspective, the methodology of academic historians is eclectic, drawing upon a range of related disciplines such as art, sociology, archaeology, anthropology and economics (Nichol, 1998, p. 33).

Jessica's definition coincides partly with a category noted by Virta (2001) in his research in Finland on students' definitions for history. This is history as research, as science focusing on the past events and background and consequences.

During her degree course Jessica had received a best project of the year award for her work that was related to a school project 'Ancient Greek homes'. She had worked in administration with an aerospace company, sometimes having to deal with customer problems, before deciding to train as a teacher. She had also undertaken voluntary work for a Bristol-based trust where she sorted archives into different schools' folders to give local schools easier access.

### **Her own pre-course experience of being taught history at school**

The pre-course questionnaire asked how she would she describe the method by which she was taught history at school? Was there any difference between the way she was taught at primary and secondary? Her response was similar to Mark's: she was taught by teachers using didactic, formal, traditional, passive learning (chalk and talk) methods. At the secondary stage (specifically mentioned) the teaching and learning was textbook-based.

My experience of History in Secondary School was very dry and boring – I hated it and didn't take it at GCSE. Every lesson we would read out sections of a textbook.

The periods/topics in history she found most interesting when she herself was a pupil at school were:

The Pilgrim Fathers and Eric the Red captured my interest at Primary School – but I can't remember why.

The topic she found most boring (when she herself was at school) was:

We had lots of cards belonging to a detective series – we were supposed to find out what had happened to a man found in a bog – it was boring because there was no input by the teacher and we didn't know what we were doing.

What is interesting is that this activity is a central element in the Schools Council History Project, designed to involve pupils with history as a syntactic form of learning (Schools Council History Project, Blyth *et al.*, 1976). As such, the body in the bog activity was a purely syntactic subject exercise in which pupils are supposed to create their own knowledge and understanding with teacher guidance and support. What appears to have been missing from Jessica's teaching was the teaching protocol needed to transform a set of meaningless cards into a rich and rewarding learning experience. She was in fact being taught [?] in an extreme form of the 'Discovery' model, i.e. literally being left to her own devices!

The teacher kept leaving the room to go back into the Humanities staff room that adjoined the classroom – he would appear now and again to restore order – (or try to). He would not know what we were supposed to do with the teaching materials.

This corroborates her earlier comment about the importance of teacher-knowledge, both substantive and syntactic, for providing a framework for study and a structure for learning that builds upon clearly focused questioning.

Jessica was determined to develop a contrasting pedagogy to the one that she had experienced at school. As such, she tacitly, intuitively rejected both the Askew et al.'s transmission and discovery models of teaching. Interestingly, she had not experienced the richness of a positive informal learning of history that Mark had enjoyed.

### **Teaching practice experience of teaching history**

Before her teaching practice Jessica already had a clear orientation towards teaching history grounded in the academic disciplines of history and archaeology and the pedagogical content knowledge she had developed on her ITT course, including the *Intervention Strategy*. The history components of Jessica's teaching practices consisted of:

Spring Term Year 5/6

Victorians – one session per week. Focus on engineers of railways – Stephenson, Brunel. The school attempted to use raw data for children to interpret (e.g. name and other details of their occupations etc) – this was not successful.

Summer Term Year 4

Combined geography/history topic of Dartmoor through the ages supported by series of visits to Dartmoor to see hut circles, menhirs, stone rows, longhouses. Periods covered in detail – Bronze Age, Medieval longhouses, tin mining, clay working.

Her previous knowledge of these topics consisted of:

Spring – Victorians – my degree and A Level in History have never included the Victorians – I knew something of them from reading in preparation for PGCE.

Summer – I knew nothing specifically to do with Dartmoor – but knew about the Bronze Age/ 'Beaker people' and of Medieval Longhouses generally.

What preparation did she need to do before teaching it?

I used the local library for information specific to Dartmoor, e.g. clay working, Bronze Age Man on Dartmoor. My degree was in such detail over such a broad span of time that much of it was a blur – I had to refresh my memory about the dates and basic facts of the Bronze Age for example.

How did she organise her teaching of this topic/study unit? How did she introduce the topic?

The (*school's*) 'plan of work' was very poor – with just headings such as Medieval Longhouses etc... spread over a number of weeks – the intended content/progression were not specified. It was as if they had looked at the topics

covered by last Year 4 teacher and split them up equally across the week's resources – content extremely poor. I introduced the topic by revisiting a large timeline I had created around the classroom.

What did she teach? (What was the structure/scaffolding/context/background she gave the children?)

Spring – Dartmoor. I am sad to admit that by following the school's medium-term plan and moving from one period to another (separated by 100s/1000s of years) rather than planning what should be progressively achieved – my teaching lacked structure apart from taking them in date order. Each lesson followed the lines of 'This is a longhouse', 'This is what you would find in a longhouse', 'What do you think it was made of?' etc... 'Now draw a picture/ make a cut-out model and write a few lines about what you have learned'.

But what had the children done?

See previous answer. I had intended to give the children more access to making authentic models of Bronze Age huts and of using a model to show how tin mines worked – constraints of time made this impossible.

These are some examples of aspects of the study unit for which Jessica had to give/provide further explanation.

Bronze Age – very shallow/general – including 'Beaker People', production of bronze, impounding, farming, detail of how their homes were constructed.  
Medieval – limited to the contents of the Longhouse and its appearance.  
Tin mining – the process of mining – appearance of blowing house, etc ....

These were the questions she asked of the children:

'What do you think a Bronze Age hut was made of?'  
'Why do you think animals were kept inside a medieval longhouse?'

Were the children asked to conduct any enquiries? If so what?

Unfortunately not – usable resources, e.g. children's books on Dartmoor/ Bronze Age not accessible. ICT/ Internet not used.

In her questioning or in their enquiries did they have to use any sources from the period being studied (i.e. contemporary materials)? If so what? In what form?

For Bronze Age we had photographs (very small) of axe heads that had been loaned from a museum a few years ago (I did not have time to order them). The field gave them an idea of physical size/scale and situation of the hut circles. The menhirs, stone rows, and kistvaens (*Chambers 20th Century Dictionary definition, 1983 – kistvaen: a chest-shaped burial-chamber made of flat stones*) led to children thinking what they might signify and why they had been created. Victorians – slates borrowed etc.... The school had some domestic artefacts e.g. scrubbing board, beater etc.

Did she provide the children with any books or photocopies of books (or parts of books) written by historians? Although she was asked to specify if these works were written for adult or child readers, and name the reference, she avoided this.

I compiled large A3 cards (1 per table – double sided), full of pictures taken from various secondary sources – e.g. pictures of models wearing Bronze Age clothes, artist impressions of settlements etc.  
Victorians – children carried out an investigation of Victorian philanthropists using secondary sources and the Internet.

She seems to be describing a situation where she had been ‘encultured’ into the dominant pedagogic practices of the schools based on a transmission style with a dominantly substantive view of history. In each practice Jessica gives the impression of being an able specialist with her own sophisticated model of teaching that is at variance with that of the schools. She accommodates to this situation through seeking to supplement, develop and incorporate the school’s own planning, resources and approaches. RG’s notes upon her teaching of a lesson corroborates this judgment:

I observed Jessica teach a history lesson (Victorian school day role-play) when she had been on her first longer teaching practice. Empathetic involvement of the pupils involving role-play and contemporary sources was a central feature. She had used slates and pens for handwriting practice, and had taken the children through a drill session on the playground.

In terms of the conceptual awareness that her teaching developed Jessica was aware of both her goals and the influence that her teaching may have had. Her post-course questionnaire revealed:

Were the children asked any questions related to the key concepts?

|                           |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| causes and consequences   | yes;                |
| change and continuity     | to a lesser extent; |
| similarity and difference | yes.                |

Supporting evidence related to both teaching about the Victorians and the Dartmoor study:

Spring – Victorians – causes and consequences – causes of railway revolution –consequences children asked to think about ‘fors’ and ‘againsts’ – what would contemporary people have felt about losing their land or their loved ones building the railways.  
Summer – Dartmoor – e.g. the similarities and differences between Bronze Age homes and lifestyles and our own.

How did she get the children to address these concepts?

Victorians – cause and consequence: the children were asked to write newspaper articles expressing the viewpoints, e.g. that of the railway workers, people losing land. For the change and continuity since Bronze Age we brainstormed collectively on the board.

Jessica reveals a sophisticated approach to teaching and learning that links the substantive content of the English National Curriculum to its syntactic requirements, the second order concepts of chronology, historical interpretations, causation and continuity. RG asked her:

‘Did she think that there was a relationship between the teacher’s ability to provide the historical background and the pupil’s ability to answer questions

relating to the key concepts (especially causes and consequences)?'

Jessica: '... children need a firm foundation of knowledge in order to make considered judgements rather than guesses, based on facts that they have learned. I found my background knowledge lacking in both the Victorians and Dartmoor and had to read a number of secondary sources before feeling confident to teach.

'I believe that a teacher's background knowledge will enable him/her to ask pertinent questions which will guide and help them to draw realistic conclusions from the evidence available'.

Jessica was aware of the symbiotic relationship between the substantive and syntactic: indeed, that good practice depended upon the dynamic tension between them. Her detailed explanation specifically related subject content knowledge to a teaching approach grounded in developing second order conceptual understanding. This is significant evidence that corroborates the findings of Grossman, Wilson and Shulman (1989) and McNamara (1991) about the link between specialist knowledge and the ability to foster deeper enquiries in pupils. It also reflects Oakeshott's thinking (1965) about the importance of the development of judgement.

These are the examples provided by Jessica of her pedagogic knowledge bases (knowledge about teaching):

(I feel quite weak in this area – in fact in teaching history itself.) These are guesses. Techniques, strategies, ideas for activities: Victorians – I knew that children would be able to gain a better sense of life at school through role-play – hence the Victorian school day.

Awareness of what was going on: Unable to answer.

Her comments on what she needed to know about teaching show an emergent constructivist style of teaching:

I knew that children would be more likely to learn from 3D models and practical activities such as making a Bronze Age hut. I knew that they needed a 'skeleton' or overview on which to hang the facts they were learning and to make some sense of the number of years between each period (very difficult for 9 year olds). I knew to elicit their existing knowledge/common sense first before introducing new knowledge.

### **Reflections on her own teaching of history**

In the light of her teaching practice experience Jessica did not wish to modify her original definition of history. She identified these methods to describe the way she had been teaching history during teaching practice:

a combination of formal and informal and resource-based (i.e. wider resources than one textbook).

The period/topic she found most interesting to teach was:

I preferred teaching about the Bronze Age/Medieval period on Dartmoor as I was learning at the same time – I feel a bit tired of the Victorians. Furthermore there was more scope to carry out practical work, building models, drama etc.

Her experience and interest coincided with her degree subject orientation (archaeology). She probably had a great deal of 'fingertip' residual knowledge which she could draw upon (Counsell, 2000).

Her comments on the period/topic she found most boring/least interesting to teach were:

There is a lot more detailed information about the Victorians – which tends to lend itself to be a very 'paper-based' experience where you are stuck on the same area for a long time.

Asked, 'Is there any relationship between the way you were taught history at school and the way you have been teaching history?' she answered:

I would think so – other than that I make sure that history lessons are not boring and dull.

How did she originally (i.e. pre-course) think history that should be taught in primary schools?

It should be taught in a vivid way, so that it doesn't appear to be a dry, redundant subject, e.g. through Drama, Art, Music etc.

What was her view of the same issue now that she had had some teaching experience? Her answers show both thoroughness and considerable insight into curriculum and subject-related issues:

*Planning:* I think that rather than focussing entirely on the content – the skills (to be built upon progressively) should be planned in a logical manner. Teachers appear to be using the topic name in planning rather than the learning objectives.

*Teaching:* Children should feel that history is 'real' and 'exciting'. This can be achieved best through deductions made from artefacts and quality primary sources.

*Activity:* Activities should allow children to present and consolidate their knowledge in a variety of ways: model making; drama/role-play; art; creative writing etc.

*Overview:* Children should not learn a lesson in isolation – it should be taught after a child has been given an overview.

Some of these remarks are also a critique along the lines of Knight's research into primary history teaching where an objectives-led model was alien to many teachers, hence Jessica's comment:

Teachers appear to be using the topic name in planning rather than the learning objectives.

The use of an overview has resonance with Rogers's (1979) thinking on the provision of a contextual frame of reference, and with Lee's views on frameworks (1991).

### **Changes in Jessica's orientation**

The qualities possessed by the teachers at her own school/schools, etc., who in her opinion taught history well were identified in the pre-course questionnaire as these:



subject knowledge; ability to listen; ability to organise and motivate groups for discussion/role-play/drama/creative work; use a range of resources; use of a range of teaching strategies; ability to tell a good story/set a situation in context; enthusiasm; willingness to let pupils contribute actively; providing a structure in the lesson; personality; sense of humour/fun/natural enjoyment of the subject; charisma; imagination.

The qualities that Jessica did not choose in her original questionnaire were:

contemporary (i.e. current/now) references; understanding the methodology of the subject, ability to simplify; ability to explain; ability to ask searching questions; (self-) confidence.

In a sense this was a hypothetical exercise as she wrote, to support her former statement, 'My teacher was not interested in teaching history'.

Her thoughts on the matter are more easily interpreted if they are tabulated, thus:

| Jessica<br>BA History and Archaeology<br>Case study 4f                                | Pre-<br>course | Post-<br>course | Change |
|---|----------------|-----------------|--------|
| ability to ask searching questions  | 3              | 7               | + 4    |
| ability to explain  | 3              | 7               | + 4    |
| (self-) confidence  | 3              | 5               | + 2    |
| ability to organise and motivate groups for discussion /role-play/drama/creative work | 7              | 7               | 0      |
| ability to tell a good story/set a situation in context                               | 7              | 7               | 0      |
| enthusiasm  | 7              | 7               | 0      |
| imagination   | 7              | 7               | 0      |
| personality   | 7              | 7               | 0      |
| providing a structure in the lesson   | 7              | 7               | 0      |
| sense of humour/fun/natural enjoyment of the subject                                  | 7              | 7               | 0      |
| subject knowledge   | 7              | 7               | 0      |
| use a range of teaching strategies  | 7              | 7               | 0      |
| use of a range of resources   | 7              | 7               | 0      |
| willingness to let pupils contribute actively   | 7              | 7               | 0      |
| contemporary (i.e. current/now) references  | 3              | 3               | 0      |
| understanding of the methodology of the subject                                       | 3              | 3               | 0      |
| Charisma  | 7              | 5               | - 2    |
| ability to simplify   | 3              | 1               | - 2    |
| ability to listen   | 7              | 3               | - 4    |

**Table 3 – changes in beliefs about qualities needed in teachers of history – Jessica, history specialist, case study 4f**

Jessica's pre- and post-course assessments of the qualities prized in a history teacher were 7 - very important ; 5 – important; 3 – quite important; 1 – not very important. There had been a significant shift in attitudes and beliefs towards a closer relationship between her view of the discipline and how it should be taught. After

teaching practice she recognises the ability to ask searching questions and to be able to explain. Surprisingly her answer to the methodological question does not value subject methodology highly. But, its influence as with Mark seems to be indirect through its assimilation into her approach to the teaching of the subject. Her answer to the question of learning facts and dates indicates that she has assimilated a constructivist approach to historical learning in direct contrast to a transmission model.

How important did she originally think was the teaching and learning of facts and dates in history (e.g. about people (famous or otherwise) and events)?

Emphasis on facts and dates is not a basis for teaching history in my opinion. Genuine interest and curiosity should be the starting point – facts and dates should not be the outcome focused upon – although they are a useful tool to order events.

She is a subscriber to the Macaulay view of facts as the 'mere dross' of history (1828). Had there been any situations in which she had used facts and dates for the teaching and learning of history? She was asked to give the context(s)/study unit:

The topic of Dartmoor – the use of dates to put the different periods into order (not very useful to a child who cannot appreciate 20,000 years, being only nine). Names of the Victorian philanthropists, population sizes, dates marking new inventions and advances in technology.

Jessica's pre-course and post-teaching practice comments on a range of sources/resources and strategies in the teaching and learning of history in primary schools reflects her development of a constructivist stance grounded in her understanding of the nature of the academic disciplines of history and archaeology.

#### *Pictures*

(pre-course) Children's own visual images made through g) (story-telling), will be much more powerful – but pictures are vital too in learning about the past.

(post-course) The pictures from books of the Victorian period were vital in giving children an idea of what you were talking about. Pictures hold a lot of information – I used this for the less able children.

#### *Objects/artefacts*

(pre-course) Allows children to discover the past through very stimulating and 'real' material.

(post-course) Scarce in both schools – great if you have them.

#### *Archaeology*

(pre-course) Allows children to discover the past through very stimulating and 'real' material.

(post-course) Again the pictures are informative – good for developing information collection. I also used visualisation for the Bronze age – I talked them through what they could see.

#### *Simulation and Role-play: gaming (games)*

(pre-course) Gets the children to live the experience – therefore brings it alive.

(post-course) The children were stimulated by the Victorian school day – I think its strength is that it requires children to think how their Victorian counterparts would have felt.

#### *Books*

(pre-course) Not important.

(post-course) (e.g. reference or textbooks with pictures) Again, the pictures are informative – good for developing information collection.

### *Drama*

(pre-course) Gets the children to live the experience – therefore brings it alive.

(post-course) See Simulation and role-play.

### *Documents*

(pre-course) Used within a structured fashion they are important in giving children an understanding of how we learn about historical events.

(post-course) Very satisfying for children to be able to detect information – good for skills of deduction.

### *Site Visits*

(pre-course) No comment

(post-course) Dartmoor was excellent in its Bronze Age remains – children could tell how big the huts were by sitting inside them.

Both the post-course responses and the original answers show the confidence and insight of an academic specialist who has assimilated a set of teaching ideas and approaches both through her general college course and the history teaching *Intervention Strategy*. Jessica made no comment on story-telling either pre- or post-course, except her comment on ‘telling the story (content)’ below. The following set of sources/resources or strategies were not used during her teaching practices; therefore only her pre-course questionnaire comments are given:

Museums: You can benefit from staff with excellent subject knowledge.

Music and Dance: Gets children to live the experience – therefore brings it alive.

What role should telling the story (content) have in the teaching of history (pre-course comment)?

Content is important but just saying what happened is not a stimulating approach to history.

Did she now have anything further to say on telling the story (content) in the light of her teaching experience?

I did not use story-telling – but I believe that texts set in the period may give children a flavour of what the period was like, even if they are not completely accurate – I feel a bit wary of using them. I still agree with the first statement.

Here she acknowledges her specialist’s scepticism of historical fiction, but is prepared to try it for the sake of what Donna [case study 4e] described as ‘getting the feel’ of a period.

What was her pre-course view of the role that skills development should have in the teaching of history?

All subjects of the curriculum develop skills – and history is an important part of that.

By the end of her Initial Teacher Training taught course, including the history course’s *Intervention Strategy* and her teaching practice Jessica had an enhanced view of the role of history teaching could play in the development of pupil syntactic understanding: skills and second order concepts related to the evidential base of the subject.

I now have a more specific view – that there are particular skills to be developed

through history for history, e.g. interpretation, use of primary resources, appreciation of bias, appreciation of advantages and disadvantages of different sources.

Jane had refined, developed and extended her initial pre-ITT beliefs about first order concepts, and her subsequent experience and practice when using them in teaching:

*Conflict and consensus* – historical evidence (especially written) is not objective – the same event can be seen in many different ways.

*Racial equality* – Very important – relevant to today – how prejudice can result in cruelty which is unacceptable today.

By the end of the course she commented fully about the application of second order concepts in the teaching of specific historical situations. She had applied her academic insight into chronology, the nature of historical evidence, viewpoints and interpretations, and pupil use of contemporary sources as the basis for her teaching programme.

*Similarity and difference* – important to compare how life now is different to particular periods. Summer term – Dartmoor – e.g. the similarities and differences between Bronze Age homes and lifestyles and our own.

*Causes and consequences*: Spring – Victorians – causes and consequences – causes of railway revolution – consequences children asked to think about ‘for’ and ‘against’ – what would contemporary people have felt about losing their land or their loved ones building the railways (newspaper articles expressing the viewpoints e.g. that of the railway workers, people losing land).

*Change and continuity*: change and continuity since Bronze Age: we brainstormed collectively on the board.

After her final teaching practice she commented on the relationship between pupils’ conceptual development, subject knowledge and progression:

Pupil: children need to have some conceptual knowledge in order to make sense of the information – good practice will involve a careful progressive combination of both.

In terms of teachers’ substantive and syntactic subject understanding she was asked:

Did she (originally) think that the greater the teacher's substantive subject knowledge of history the more likely it was that a pupil would understand/learn?

No. Unless you are able to select the relevant knowledge and apply it in a stimulating fashion you will not capture children’s interest.

Accordingly, after teaching practice she did not have any new or different views on the relationship between the teacher’s subject knowledge and the pupils’ learning.

What other factors had she identified in the pre-course questionnaire which were as important as or more important than subject knowledge in the teaching of history?

Enthusiasm, ability to set the scene, capture the imagination.

Jessica's teaching of the Victorian School Day incorporated the effective use of role-play to develop an imaginative, affective historical reconstruction. She taught with an infectious enthusiasm grounded in her own beliefs about history and her attitude towards its teaching. Jessica argued that subject knowledge, or substantive knowledge, is necessary as a pre-requisite for 'setting the scene', though Jessica implies, with G.M.Trevelyan, John Tosh, and Richard Evans (and of course David Starkey, Tristram Hunt, Simon Schama, Richard Holmes, Michael Wood and that whole community of television historians) that the effective communication of interest in history needs presentational qualities that go beyond mere subject knowledge. What she has focused on are the dynamic links between the substantive and syntactic academic subject knowledge bases and pedagogical content knowledge.

### **Summary of the amalgam of Jessica's knowledge bases (and reference to questionnaire on Boudicca texts)**

As a specialist Jessica has confidence in her substantive and syntactic subject knowledge bases, and her answers to the Boudicca questionnaire show that she is well able to engage with, compare and contrast, and indeed study, texts at a deep and reflective level.

Some of her pre-College work was related to cataloguing local history sources, and her orientation as a joint honours graduate in the fields of History and Archaeology had raised her awareness of the potential of texts and artefacts. However, the role of sources in relation to the teaching context is reflected in the stress that she puts upon the importance of pictorial sources. The development of a sophisticated subject teaching pedagogy is reflected in her effective incorporation of role-play into her teaching of Victorians with her teaching of a Victorian lesson using contemporary resources including ink pens, slates and other supporting sources. She had even dressed up in Victorian costume in the role of a Victorian schoolmistress and taken 'drill' on the playground. She used discussion and debate in the Victorian topic in the context of land issues and the expansion of the railways. This involved the transformation of complex substantive knowledge into a form accessible to pupils, reflecting the Nuffield Primary History project's principles, see page 13.

The question of transferability of both her meta-cognitive syntactic academic understanding and the development of academic substantive expertise relates to her teaching of the Victorians. Her teaching about the Bronze Age was grounded in the academic knowledge and understanding that she had as an archaeologist. What attracted her was the potential of the Bronze Age topic for practical activities. The same link between syntactic subject understanding and classroom activities involving children in the reconstruction of a past historical situation is reflected in her teaching of the Victorians. But, in both cases, the teaching and learning was grounded in the academic record. This is reflected upon her class teacher's report:

Jessica has proved herself to be motivated and enthusiastic throughout her practice. Her planning is thoughtful and detailed with realistic objectives. She has a good relationship with the children, controls the class well and handles problems with sensitivity. The children have shown clear progress during her stay. She listens to advice and acts upon it, benefiting from support systems.  
(Dated 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2000, written by school host tutor)

In Jessica's case there was a more sophisticated understanding of the role of syntactic subject and substantive knowledge matched by a practical ability and

realism in her other pedagogic knowledge bases, see Appendix 3. Her profile is that of a developing expert teacher of history.

### **Influences on Jessica’s knowledge bases**

As with Mark, her development as a teacher of history reflects a complicated number of influences. The four main ones appear to be her reading of history and archaeology as an undergraduate, her previous work experience (both paid and voluntary), the overall ITT course and the *Intervention Strategy* and her experience of teaching two different history topics, the Victorians and the Bronze Age, in two primary schools. There is evidence of greater clarity in her thinking on contextualised skills and concepts and therefore on the relationship between the academic substantive and syntactic subject knowledge bases. This articulation of professional subject-related knowledge is grounded in the relationship between her ITT course and the pedagogical content knowledge bases it developed and their application in the teaching practice context. Her orientation towards archaeology is understandably very strong, but nevertheless there is a confidence in her reflections on the teaching of primary history that comes from a familiarity with the twin disciplines.

The history teaching *Intervention Strategy* probably meant more to her as a specialist as it mapped on to a sophisticated view of history both as a discipline and how such disciplinary understanding should underpin effective pedagogy. Accordingly, Jessica was able to transfer her existing academic syntactic subject understanding and, within the context of archaeology, substantive knowledge into her history pedagogy. Her criticism of her first teaching practice school’s policy of asking pupils to gather ‘raw data’ on famous Victorians without any clearly teaching focus is perhaps significant, reflecting the impoverished folk pedagogy of teachers with impoverished syntactic, substantive and pedagogical content knowledge vis-à-vis history. She went beyond a transmission model that included an element of discovery in terms of pupil activity to a connectionist model. This involved role-play, discussion and debate that affectively involved the pupils and gave them empathetic insights into real life issues (how lives were affected by the building of railways). Her connectionist orientation is also evidenced by her comment on wishing to build on children’s existing knowledge, which implies a degree of interaction and negotiation (see Appendix 8).

### **Discussion and recommendations**

*How effective was the Intervention Strategy in a one year ITT postgraduate course in influencing the professional development of ITT students as teachers of history?* was the original main research question. The supplementary research questions aimed to illuminate it. We will deal with the supplementary questions first before returning to the key question of the research study.

- a) *Were there any significant differences between history graduates and graduates from other disciplines in the history teaching pedagogy that they developed?*

The eighteen students involved in the case-studies had the following pre-course qualifications:

|                         |                               |              |                         |                                 |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Science 6               | English 4                     | Psychology 1 | History 7               | Masters 2                       |
| Biology 2               | Language and Literary Studies | Psychology   | History 3               | Library and Information Studies |
| Geography and Economics | English and Media Studies     |              | History and Sociology 2 | Marine Studies                  |

|                                      |                                     |  |                           |  |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|--|
| Fishery                              | Educational Studies and Linguistics |  | History and Media Studies |  |
| Environmental Studies                | English and Psychology              |  | History and Archaeology   |  |
| Environmental Studies and Technology |                                     |  |                           |  |

We can tentatively identify four distinct overlapping foci: History; Science; English; and those with a Psychology element. The level of academic disciplinary insight and sophistication of knowledge, i.e. both the substantive and syntactic, into historical contexts and sources seemed to be a key factor in influencing the nature and form of the students' teaching. Such sophistication also related to non-academic experiences, even life-styles, before embarking upon the one year ITT programme.

The history graduates who had the deepest levels of academic understanding were Laura [1f], Thomas [1g], James [2], Jane [3b], and Jessica [4f]. Laura had a highly developed substantive knowledge of (mainly early) Victorians from her degree course upon which to draw. Thomas, in finding links between Victorians and Dartmoor, developed a rich repertoire of source-based and cross-curricular activities. In his work on Romans and Anglo-Saxons he used Tacitus, Dio, and the text of Beowulf as well as gaming ideas based on the writing skills of the Venerable Bede. James had considerable insights into local history, and had the additional expertise of his librarianship and experience in the book retail trade. Jane had studied the Tudor period for her degree and could draw on 'fingertip' knowledge (Counsell, 2000) of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries both in work on Tudors and in developing children's empathetic awareness of life as a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle. She could bring an added extra to the study of the Tudors which Richard, despite being classed by OFSTED as a 'star' in his Maths teaching, could not manage in teaching Tudor history. Significantly Jessica showed that she preferred to teach a history topic which focused on her subsidiary subject, archaeology. Her confidence with historical artefacts and with both role-play and discussion was transferred to her teaching of the Victorians.

Susan was a history graduate strongly oriented towards a 'discovery' child-centred model of teaching, see p. 6. Accordingly she failed to draw upon both the syntactic and the pedagogic knowledge bases in her relatively impoverished teaching of Ancient Greece. Ted, another history graduate, was very aware of the affective element when teaching history in an inner city primary school, i.e. the role of enjoyment in motivating the pupils. Making sure that the pupils were actively engaged and entertained seemed to play a stronger part in his pedagogy than getting children to work with contemporary sources, although his ability to initiate and sustain a discussion based on different interpretations was marked. Thomas, another History graduate, was unlucky in one of his schools where Victorians had to be grafted on to work on Dartmoor. He had however been able to use historical sources when working with the children on Romans. Thomas was the only one of the 18 students who had used the Boudicca sources in a similar way to that of the *Intervention Strategy*. Catriona [1a], the Psychology graduate, had used the role-play ideas in her treatment of the Boudicca story and had also drawn on contemporary sources. In all cases the students *adapted teaching strategies* to their particular circumstances while drawing upon their existing syntactic understanding of the nature of history as an academic discipline. They used that expertise to inform how they developed their understanding of their topics and how they taught them. The pedagogical content knowledge was an amalgam of all eleven of the knowledge bases that make up

pedagogical content knowledge, see Appendix 3, but with different emphases and relative difference in importance of individual knowledge bases.

Conversely, the non-history graduates' subject knowledge was relatively impoverished in terms of substantive and syntactic subject knowledge. As such they did not seem to have had as deep a repertoire of teaching activities to draw upon rooted in both the syntactic and substantive understanding of a topic. However, they did draw upon the wider professionalism that both the ITT course and their subject specialisms had given them. Robert [1b] (Biology graduate) and Denise [4a] (English graduate) were able to use a range of well-chosen sources and set them in context. Donna [4e], graduate in Environmental Science and Technology, used her degree knowledge and related vocational expertise in her focus on Victorian public health, water and sewage systems. Two students with science degrees, one a biologist [Mark, 4d] and the other a fisheries scientist [Richard, 3a] understood well the importance of interpretation as part of the syntactic subject knowledge base. Mark did not want his pupils just to reproduce his beliefs. Because of his lack of confidence with the sources he had an unhappy experience when trying to get pupils to do work based on census returns, but his organisation of a visit to the Barbican and consequent discussions seem to have gone well, and this success corresponds with expertise developed during his previous vocational experience. Richard's practice fell short of his beliefs and intentions because he was unable to use as wide a range of sources in his teaching of the Tudors as he had intended.

English graduates (Denise, Tamsin and Christine) drew on their university and College courses for the English academic and pedagogic knowledge in their history teaching. All three seemed willing to use discussion and enquiry-based approaches in their work. Denise and Christine had also used role-play. OFSTED had praised Christine's enquiry approach. Tamsin's insights into Viking motivation and behaviour in war and peace, and especially her delightful and most incisive comment on the link between technology and barbarism, show that she could bring her degree expertise into analysing aspects of national curriculum history. Denise used a novel to help enhance empathetic understanding of evacuation from a child's point of view (Magorian's *Goodnight Mr. Tom*, 1998).

All of the students realised a multifarious range of highly complex and variable influences that impacted upon both their teaching preparation and their teaching. As such, it is difficult to tease out any dominant, even mono-causal influences. But we can argue with reasonable certainty that a combination of deep seated syntactic historical understanding from studying history to degree level and an *Intervention Strategy* that accorded with the values and beliefs they brought to the course was crucial. The *Intervention Strategy* provided teaching strategies, ideas, activities and sophisticated teaching protocols that mirrored and enhanced their orientation towards the teaching of history. We can argue that the syntactic academic knowledge and related substantive understanding of the history graduates meant that their teaching of history mapped more intensely and effectively on to the higher level of Harland and Kinder's typology of effective teaching than the non-history graduates (see Appendix 2).

b) *What knowledge bases [factors] do ITT students need to develop in an effective pedagogy for the teaching of history?*

Highly problematic is the establishment of any relationship between the impact of the one year ITT course and the *Intervention Strategy*, i.e. the history teaching module that it contained, and the history teaching style the students demonstrated on teaching practice. The research mainly monitored the changes in or relationship



between students' original orientations during the course and the style of teaching they developed. The research registered student views on their ITT course and its history teaching *Intervention Strategy*. They bridged and in a number of cases changed values and beliefs about the subject and its teaching. What seems to have particularly influenced the students was training in how to use a range of creative and interactive methods, including role-play, drama, and simulation together with set discussion related to a range of sources (i.e. significant knowledge bases that link syntactic, substantive and pedagogic knowledge). Also important was providing the opportunity for investigating, evaluating and sharing views on the range of sources available for a number of exemplar national curriculum study units. Despite an experiment to drop the role-play (in favour of developing a more sophisticated awareness of sources related to one specific event) with some of the students in the cohort represented by the fourth set of case studies, the use of role-play persisted in some form or other in that set of students (Denise 4a, Tamsin 4b, Jessica 4f, Ted 4g). There is no over-riding evidence that source-awareness was greater in those who did the full Boudicca questionnaire rather than the role-play.

Virtually all of the students [17 out of 18] emerged from their training with an orientation towards history teaching that reflected the connectionist-constructivist model that Askew *et al.* (1997) had identified as being most effective. Some students (e.g. Susan 1g, a history graduate) had a tendency towards a 'discovery' model of teaching. No student had a dominantly transmission style. It was not just graduates of history who could operate at the level of an expert teacher of history adopting a connectionist pedagogy. Three non-graduates, notably Robert [1b], Denise [4a], and Donna [4f], could teach and reflect on their history teaching using a sophisticated mix or amalgam of knowledge bases. Two of these had a scientific background (Robert and Donna). Robert (Biology graduate) and Denise (English graduate) researched their resources and found contemporary evidence and used it with an enquiry approach which demanded high expectations from pupils (both students were observed when teaching). Some students (e.g. Peter, 1c, and Thomas 1h) found themselves having to make compromises with inflexible or unsuitable curriculum models.

The most effective methods of training for successful teaching practice history teaching experiences that the students identified were:

- an initial opportunity to examine beliefs about history and how they linked with the students' own school experience, qualifications, interests, and limits of understanding about the meaning of primary history;
- the development of a framework of contextual knowledge (including a basic chronology) of a sample of the units planned for and taught;
- raising the awareness of related resources (including sources contemporary to the period being studied/taught) and how to use them for teaching;
  - ❖ the use of imagination and empathy in the form of role-play using the sources;
  - ❖ the use of explanation, discussion and questioning using the sources and related issues in context;
  - ❖ the opportunity to reflect on the meaning of the skills and concepts and related understandings which the teaching will seek to develop;
  - ❖ how to organise children to undertake independent source-work or guided work on sources;
- the opportunity to evaluate history lessons taught and the school experience in general.

The *Intervention Strategy's* training sessions in which these methods were used are examples of situated cognition and cognitive modelling or apprenticeship in the sense described by Lave and Wenger (1991). These training sessions involved working alongside students to achieve value congruence through acting as an agent for change (Fullan, 1993; Harland and Kinder, 1997), although in most cases the students did not have to be convinced of the value of active learning, role-play or discussion. Indeed, we can argue with some conviction that the overall *Intervention Strategy* augmented, reinforced and confirmed the students' acceptance of Teaching Ideas and Knowledge, the second crucial element in the Harland and Kinder typology, see Appendix 2. In the Vygotskian tradition (as analysed by Wood, Bruner and Ross, 1976) the students assimilated the scaffolding provided in working with their own pupils.

*c) What are the implications of the study for knowledge base theory?*

Two key pieces of research were conducted by Knight (1991a and 1991b) investigating beliefs and practices surrounding notions of 'good practice' in the teaching of primary history. More than thirteen years of national curriculum teaching has passed since Knight conducted his research. He was admittedly equally interested in the implications of the development of statute-enforced curricula (i.e. the national curriculum) for teacher training. Knight juxtaposed two apparently irreconcilable views of pedagogy for primary history. On the one hand was the exposure philosophy, consisting of a belief that good practice consisted of engagement with content, mainly through whole class expositions, followed by related activities. This philosophy had the merit of being consistent with a dominant set of practitioner beliefs that equated being a good teacher of primary history with being a good general teacher of children, and very little else. There was no sense of an importance attached to progression in understanding of any procedural objectives or related outcomes.

By contrast there was the national curriculum philosophy, though when Knight was writing the nearest available documentation to the September 1991 Statutory Order (DES, 1991) was the 1990 Final Report of the History Working Group (DES, 1990). The driving force of the national curriculum, according to Knight's interpretation of it, were quasi-mathematical principles underpinning an objectives-based model. In this new system planning and teaching for assessment, differentiation and progression would be defined in a hierarchy of skills and concepts which would influence teaching and learning styles. It could be argued that Knight had misinterpreted the structure of the national curriculum as it developed into a jigsaw of predictable contexts that fitted into a set of syntactic and pedagogical principles initially known as 'Key Elements' (see within 1995 version of the national curriculum (DFE, 1995) (Appendix 1)). Knight was however driven by concern about the fitness for purpose of the proposed national curriculum model. His conviction was that the Cromwellian force of statute would never of itself change fundamental beliefs about what was appropriate for one of the 'Curriculum 2' (Alexander, 1984) or 'afternoon' subjects. Despite designing a research programme to give teachers opportunities to teach to three key methodological concepts (evidence, chronology and empathy), few teachers managed to keep to the focus of these concepts.

Questions must be raised about definitions of good primary history teaching praxis that are modelled on what would appear to be an inadequate mix of only two out of the three main ingredients for successful or effective primary history teaching, with the syntactic largely absent or weakly represented. The teachers wedded to an 'exposure' model of teaching seem to be lacking in an ability to provide either for themselves or their pupils a sense of the dynamic interaction between the syntactic,

substantive and pedagogic knowledge bases (Turner-Bisset, 2001). Although Knight was aware of the relationship between what he referred to as the propositional and procedural aspects of teaching history, there is perhaps insufficient attention given to the issue of what makes an appropriate historical activity, or to the range and quality of the sources available for the task, or for that matter, to the quality of the teacher's subject knowledge or the related ability of the teacher to question or interact with the pupils in teasing out the subtle relationships between contexts and sources. However, there is a middle road between the two extremes described by Knight.

The current study is a presentation and analysis of case studies of several students whose reflections show an awareness of a position that combines many, if not in some cases all, of the features of Knight's 'exposure' model but also many of the characteristics of the other model, though often with the ability to see the virtues of the former and possibilities (but also shortcomings) of the latter. The exposure-engagement approach without over-specific objectives was recommended by qualitative researchers into humanities teaching, e.g. Stenhouse (1975) and Eisner (1985), who imply that outcomes from an engagement with humanities topics can range from mere enjoyment to greater familiarity with culture, and may, but should not have to, include the development of specific skills and concepts as incidental outcomes. Effective teaching of primary history will embrace some of the best features of an exposure-engagement approach, and it is self-evident that a rich menu of activities including role-play and visits obviously has much to recommend it. But good teaching also requires sensitivity to opportunities that can be developed through a heightened awareness of the syntactic subject template than can be superimposed on or emerge out of an understanding of substantive contexts. It is important not to be seduced by caricatures of approaches where objectives or even outcomes play an important part. Good practice also includes the kind of focused questioning that develops in children conceptual understanding or historical skills arising naturally out of enhanced insight into and/or discussion of specific historical situations. A single lesson can move from chronology, perhaps in the form of a time-line or other structure of dates, to work that is based on or has the outcome of enhanced empathy and appreciation of the value or problems of evidence by encountering them both in tandem. Examples of this dual or triple approach might be a consideration of an evacuee's diary or an account by a visitor to Queen Elizabeth I's court. The chronological context would be followed by a source and then the source would be used to develop a sense of evidentiality through imaginative interpretation.

What has been found in the eighteen case studies is a development of previous work by Rogers (1979), Eisner (1985, 1991, and 1994), Knight (1991a and 1991b), Askew *et al.*(1997), Medwell and Wray (1998), and Turner-Bisset (2001). The following factors seem to be influential in combining to influence the development of highly effective and in some cases proto-expert novice teachers:

1. *balance* of crucial knowledge bases: the substantive, syntactic and pedagogic;
2. *sophistication* of the knowledge bases;
3. ability to connect or develop relationships between the knowledge bases in both self and the pupil;
4. ability to reflect this balance and sophistication in choice, range, treatment, and age- or ability-appropriateness of source material;
5. ability to connect contextual frame to resource base and related task/activity;
6. affective, imaginative or empathetic qualities brought to teaching and interpretation of context, source-material and tasks linked to intended learning outcomes;

7. awareness of how one knowledge base can *discipline* another (e.g. substantive and syntactic subject knowledge, or the link between contextual frames and the use of the resource base, disciplining imaginative or interactive approaches like discussion and role-play);
8. preference for teaching approaches and learning based upon a connectionist model;
9. orientation towards a subject-based approach to teaching primary history;
10. overall teaching style.

The new theory that emerges from the case studies is perhaps but old theory in new garb. Three prime factors influence emergent expert status: *balance*, *sophistication* and *discipline*. Balance is a concern of the authors of the reports on the effective teaching of numeracy (Askew *et al.*, 1997) and literacy (Medwell and Wray, 1998), and of Turner-Bisset (2001). Sophistication, especially in the substantive and syntactic knowledge base equates with depth, a feature of effective teaching identified by Farmer and Knight (1995), and by Fines and Nichol (1997). It is also as a prerequisite for effective enquiry-based teaching identified by McDiarmid, Ball, and Anderson (1989), and by McNamara (1991). Sophistication covers an awareness of scholarly debates (Rogers, 1979), and recommendation for the increasing acquaintance of the writings of historians and a knowledge of typical historical controversies (VanSledright, 1996; Nichol with Dean, 1997; McAleavy, 2000). The need for *discipline*, especially in restraining the effect of diffusion of focus in cross-curricular work, has been identified by Rogers (1979) and the DES (1990). Indeed, the importance of the discipline of a framework of substantive, factual information when organising drama or role-play was discussed and confirmed by Fines and Verrier (1974).

Synthesising Rogers's critique, Collingwood's statements, R.W. Evans's categories, and the reflections of the students we can see the central role that an understanding of the nature of history as a discipline and beliefs about its role and importance play in student-teachers' orientations towards the teaching of it. It is tempting merely to substitute the word 'academic' (Virta's preferred term) for R.W. Evans's 'scientific'. However it is impossible to dub just the history graduates with the title 'academic', and describe those without history degrees as merely 'generalist'. Reverting briefly to Knight's research (1991a and 1991b), what is more significant is whether or not the students are subject-centred, have a cross-curricular perspective or are child-centred. Their role as primary teachers has a professionalism of its own that both equals and transcends the subject-based professionalism of their equivalent secondary colleagues. It draws upon their overall training experience which 'encultures' them within a particular pedagogic tradition as Alexander discovered (1984). When linked to the models of effective teaching identified by Askew *et al.* (1997), knowledge base theory, and the importance of balance, sophistication and discipline, three main profiles that equate with good practice seem to emerge.

*Enquirers* who use questioning, discussion, and interactive methods; source-work is encouraged and teaching is based on 'key' and other concepts; substantive and syntactic subject knowledge bases are dynamically interacting with each other in both teacher and child; limited use of imaginative and creative methods or strategies.

*Reconstructionists* who use creative, imaginative and empathetic methods, including role-play, drama and simulations; creative interpretation of substantive knowledge base and related contemporary sources.

*Enquirer-reconstructionists* who combine features of both of the above.

Enquirer-reconstructionists balance both approaches. The enquirer-reconstructionist shares most of the features of Askew's connectionist teacher; in the context of teaching primary history he or she combines enquiry-discussion with creative approaches. Within these main categories are a number of sub-categories which have already been touched upon, but which have been suggested by the wide range of reflections in the eighteen case studies. These case studies have demonstrated that both specialists and non-specialists can develop their knowledge bases by using a combination of mini depth-studies with strategies that develop creative and constructivist approaches to teaching.

*d) What are the implications of the findings of the case studies for teacher training?*

The general, and perhaps unexpected finding, is the crucial role of an *Intervention Strategy* based upon a deep and sophisticated understanding of the knowledge bases that are needed for the effective teaching of history. But, the *Intervention Strategy* has to be seen as one element in the one year enculturation into a particular tradition of primary school teaching that the one year ITT course promulgates. Axiomatically, the *Intervention Strategy* is an integral element of the overall ITT course, mirroring its overarching values, beliefs and attitudes [orientation] towards teaching. The preferred teaching model for the students which emerges from these case studies is that of the 'enquirer-reconstructionist' using the teaching approaches and strategies of a connectionist/constructivist teacher. So, if such a model of effective teaching of primary history is to be implemented, then students and newly qualified teachers need to be given opportunities to engage with it, reflect on it, and to develop and assimilate it in their own practice.

The practical realisation of these recommendations for the future of teacher training in this area would include opportunities for students to:

- develop academic syntactic and substantive historical knowledge and related pedagogic historical knowledge through depth study (i.e. sophistication) on topics that are taught in schools;
- realise how sophisticated understanding of historical topics and their evidential base can be developed through studying in depth;
- develop syntactic understanding through working historically (see pp. 70 - 71 above), upon a range of sources, both contemporary and subsequent interpretations so as to discuss, debate, reflect upon and interpret those sources both through conversation/discussion with peers and through imaginative presentation i.e. drama, role-play, hot-seating, freeze-frames and even *Big Brother* techniques such as individual confessional videoing;
- exercise creativity when organising imaginative, empathetic or cross-curricular work;
- exercise discipline when organising imaginative, empathetic or cross-curricular work, and develop awareness of arguments to justify this use of discipline in defence of the integrity of history;
- explore and try a range of active and stimulating teaching and learning activities that could be used with pupils.

Crucial is the issue of transferability, i.e. the ability to adopt and adapt sophisticated teaching ideas and approaches in the form of particular teaching protocols for specific teaching situations. What the research does show is that an appreciation of the role and importance of knowledge base development means that the overall training experience of the students mapped on to all of the key factors that Harland & Kinder had identified for successful professional development. While Level 1 factors

were crucial, they argued that the greater number of elements in Levels 2 and 3 that were covered, the more likely was the professional development to have a long term and lasting impact, see Appendix 2.

These case studies have demonstrated that both specialists and non-specialists can develop their knowledge bases by using a combination of mini depth-studies with strategies that develop creative and constructivist approaches to teaching. Professionalism can be defined through the quality of developing knowledge bases. There is a close association between valuing pupils' contributions through their interactive engagement with history and having high expectations in general.

### **Impact on practice**

The research as presented and analysed above was written up as a PhD (Guyver, 2003), and this work has had a considerable impact on the day-to-day 'delivery' of the course programmes on both the BEd and the PGCE courses. There has been a marked improvement in student evaluations of the history modules, and the relevance of the training to actual practice has been understood by students. The stress on balance, sophistication and discipline in the context of enquiry and reconstruction has given the *Intervention Strategy* a rationale that has been absorbed and appreciated by students in preparation to teach both Key Stage 1 and Key Stage 2. Tutor confidence has increased and the theoretical framework has been placed through the close link with classroom practice within the grasp of the trainees. The potential transferability of the models presented in the College training sessions has been recognised and is being acted upon by students.

## References

- Adelman, C., Jenkins, D. and Kemmis, S. (1976) 'Rethinking Case study: Notes from the Second Cambridge Conference', in Simons, H. (Ed.) (1980) *Towards a Science of the Singular*, CARE Occasional publication No. 10, pp 45 – 61. Norwich: University of East Anglia.
- Alexander, R. (1984) *Primary Teaching*. London: Cassell.
- Arthur, J. and Phillips, R. (Eds.) (2000) *Issues in History Teaching*. London: Routledge.
- Askew, M., Brown, M., Rhodes, V., Johnson, D., and Wiliam, D. (1997) *Effective Teachers of Numeracy – Final Report* (Report of a study carried out for the Teacher Training Agency 1995 – 6 by the School of Education King's College London). London: University of London, King's College.
- Bage, G. (1999) *Narrative Matters: Teaching and Learning History through Story*. London: Falmer Press.
- Bennett, N. (1993) 'Knowledge bases for learning to teach', in Bennett, N. and Carré, C. (Eds.) (1993) *Learning to Teach*. London: Routledge.
- Bennett, N. and Carré, C. (Eds.) (1993) *Learning to Teach*. London: Routledge.
- Blyth, A., Cooper, K., Derricott, R., Elliott, G., Sumner, H., and Waplington, A. (1976a) *Place, Time and Society 8 – 13: Curriculum Planning in History, Geography and Social Science*. Bristol: Collins ESL for the Schools Council.
- Blyth, A., Cooper, K., Derricott, R., Elliott, G., Sumner, H., and Waplington, A. (1976b) *Schools Council History Project*. Bristol: Collins ESL for the Schools Council.
- Bracey, P. (2001) 'The Implications of National Curriculum History 2000 for Initial Teacher Education: a Primary Perspective', in Goalen, P and O'Neill, C. (Eds.) (2001) *Curriculum Change and History Teacher Education*. Lancaster: History Teacher Education Network.
- Bruner, J.S. (1966) *Toward a Theory of Instruction*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Burden, R. and Williams, M. (Eds) (1998) *Thinking through the Curriculum*. London: Routledge.
- Butterfield, H. (1951) *History and Human Relations*. London: Collins.
- Carr, E.H. (1987) *What is History?, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Childs, A. (1992) *Under the Rose*. Saffron Walden: Anglia Young Books.
- Clancey, W.J. (1992) 'Representations of Knowing: in Defence of Cognitive Apprenticeship', *Artificial Intelligence in Education*, 3 (2) pp. 139 – 168.
- Collins, A., Brown, J.S., and Newman, S.E. (1989) 'Cognitive apprenticeship: teaching the crafts of reading, writing and mathematics', in Resnick, L.B. (Ed.) *Knowing, Learning and Instruction: Essays in Honour of Robert Glaser*, pp. 453 – 494. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.

- Collingwood, R.G.(1946/1989) *The Idea of History*. Oxford Paperbacks: Oxford University Press.
- Cooper, P. and McIntyre, D. (1996) *Effective Teaching and Learning*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Counsell, C. (2000) 'Historical knowledge and historical skills: a distracting dichotomy', in Arthur, J. and Phillips, R. (Eds.) (2000) *Issues in History Teaching*. London: Routledge.
- Dean, J. (1995) *Teaching History at Key Stage 2*. Cambridge: Chris Kingdon Publishing.
- Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds) (1994) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.
- Department for Education (DFE) (1995) *Key Stages 1 and 2 of the National Curriculum*. London: HMSO.
- Department of Education and Science (DES) (1990) *The Final Report of the History Working Group*. London: HMSO.
- Department of Education and Science (DES) (1991) *History in the National Curriculum*. London: HMSO.
- Dio Cassius (1925, originally c. 214 - 226) *Roman History*, Vol viii, translated Earnest Cary. Loeb: Cambridge Massachusetts.
- Duffy, E. (1992) *The Stripping of the Altars – Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 – c. 1580*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Eisner, E.W. (1985) *The Art of Educational Evaluation – a Personal View*. London: Falmer.
- Eisner, E.W. (1991) *The Enlightened Eye – Qualitative Enquiry and the Enhancement of Educational Practice*. New York: Macmillan.
- Eisner, E.W. (1994) *The Educational Imagination – on the Design and Evaluation of School Programs (Third Edition)*. New York: Macmillan College Publishing Company.
- Evans, R.J. (1997) *In Defence of History*. Cambridge: Granta.
- Evans, R.W. (1994) 'Educational Ideologies and the Teaching of History', in Leinhardt, G., Beck, I., and Stainton, C. (Eds.) (1994) *Teaching and Learning in History*. Hove: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Farmer, A. and Knight, P. (1995) *Active History in Key Stages 3 and 4*. London: David Fulton.
- Fines, J. and Verrier, R. (1974) *The Drama of History*. London: New University Education.
- Fines, J., and Nichol, J. (1997) *Teaching Primary History*. London: Heinemann.



- Fullan, M.G. (1993) 'Why teachers must become change agents', *Educational Leadership*, 50, pp 12 – 17.
- Fuller, T. (Ed.) (1989) *The Voice of Liberal Learning – Michael Oakeshott on Education*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Golby, M. (1994) *Case study as Educational Research*. Exeter: University of Exeter, School of Education, Research Support Unit.
- Grossman, P., Wilson, S., and Shulman, L. (1989) 'Teachers of Substance: Subject Matter Knowledge for Teaching', in Reynolds, M.C. (Ed.) (1989) *Knowledge Base for the Beginning Teacher*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Guyver, R. and Phillips, R. (Eds.) (1998) *Preparation for Teaching History: Research and Practice*. Lancaster: University College of Martin for the Standing Conference of History Teacher Educators in the United Kingdom.
- Guyver, R. (2001) 'Working with Boudicca texts – contemporary, juvenile and scholarly', *Teaching History*, 103, pp 32 - 36.
- Guyver, R.M. (2003) *The development of knowledge bases for the effective teaching of primary history: case studies of postgraduates' reflections on initial teacher training*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter.
- Haigh, C. (1993) *English Reformations – Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Harland, J, and Kinder, K (1992) *Mathematics and Science Courses for Primary Teachers: lessons for the future*. Slough: National Foundation for Educational Research, Department of Education and Science.
- Harland, J, and Kinder, K (1997) 'Teachers' Continuing Professional Development: framing a model of outcomes'. *British Journal of In-service Education*, Vol. 23, No 1, pp 71 – 84.
- Hexter, J.H. (1965) *More's Utopia: The Biography of an Idea*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Hexter, J.H. (1971) *The History Primer*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hughes-Warrington, M. (2003) 'How Good an Historian Shall I Be?' R.G.Collingwood the Historical Imagination and Education. *British Idealist Studies Series 2 (Collingwood) Volume 2*. Exeter: Imprint Academic.
- John, P. (1991) 'The professional craft knowledge of the history teacher', *Teaching History* 64, pp. 8 – 12.
- Knight, P.(1991a) 'Teaching as exposure: the case of good practice in junior school history', *British Educational Research Journal* Vol. 17, No. 22, pp.129 - 140.
- Knight, P. (1991b) 'Good Practice and Teacher Education. A Study of History in Key Stage Two of the English National Curriculum. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, Vol. 17, No 2, pp. 201 – 212.
- Kyriacou, C. (1997) *Effective teaching in schools*. Hemel Hempstead: Simon and

Schuster.

Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991) *Situated Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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, Bedford Way Series.

Leinhardt, G., Beck, I., and Stainton, C. (Eds) (1994) *Teaching and Learning in History*. Hove: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Macaulay, T.B. (1828) 'History', *Miscellaneous Works*, cited in Temperley, H. (Ed.) (1930) *Selected Essays of J.B. Bury*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Magorian, M. (1998) *Goodnight Mr Tom*. Harlow: Longman.

Marshall, H. (c 1904) *Our Island Story*. London: Nelson.

Marwick, A. (1988) *The Nature of History*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

McAleavy, T. (2000) 'Teaching about Interpretations', in Arthur, J. and Phillips, R. (Eds.) (2000) *Issues in History Teaching*. London: Routledge.

McDiarmid, G.W., Ball, D., and Anderson, C. (1989) 'Why staying one chapter ahead doesn't really work', in Reynolds, M.C. (Ed.) (1989) *Knowledge Base for the Beginning Teacher*. Oxford: Pergamon.

McNamara, D. (1991) 'Subject knowledge and its application: problems and possibilities for teacher educators', *Journal of Education for Teaching*, Vol 17, No 2, pp 113 - 128.

Medwell, J. and Wray, D. (1998) *Effective Teachers of Literacy*. Exeter: University of Exeter.

Moynihan, K. (1995) 'Can the scholar's history be the public's history?' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 105, Pt 2, pp 301 – 313.

Nichol, J. with Dean, J. (1997) *History 7 – 11*. London: Routledge.

Nichol, J. (1998) 'Thinking skills and children learning history', in Burden, R. and Williams, M. (Eds) (1998) *Thinking through the Curriculum*. London: Routledge.

Nichol, J. and Turner-Bisset, R. (1998) 'Changing teachers' beliefs and practices through cognitive apprenticeship: an approach to in-service provision with specific reference to history for KS1 and KS2 teachers', in Guyver, R. and Phillips, R. (Eds.) (1998) *Preparation for Teaching History: Research and Practice*. Lancaster: University College of Martin for the Standing Conference of History Teacher Educators in the United Kingdom.

Oakeshott, M. (1965) 'Learning and Teaching', in Fuller, T. (Ed.) (1989) *The Voice of Liberal Learning – Michael Oakeshott on Education*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Oakeshott, M. (1950) 'The Idea of a University', in Fuller, T. (Ed.) (1989) *The Voice of*

- Liberal Learning – Michael Oakeshott on Education*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Reynolds, M.C. (Ed.) (1989) *Knowledge Base for the Beginning Teacher*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Rogers, P.J. (1979) *The New History: theory into practice*. London: The Historical Association.
- Runciman, S. (1951 – 54) *History of the Crusades*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Ryle, G. (1949) *The Concept of Mind*. London: Hutchinson.
- Schama, S. (1989) *Citizens*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Schools Council History Project (1976).
- Shaw, K.E. (1996) Cultural Issues in Evaluation Studies of Middle Eastern Higher Education, *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 313 – 324.
- Shayer, M. and Adey, P. (2002) *Learning Intelligence: Cognitive Acceleration Across the Curriculum*, Open University Press, Buckingham
- Fines, J. and Nichol, J. (1994) *Doing History 16-19: A Case Study in Curriculum Innovation and Change*. London: The Historical Association.
- Shulman, L. (1986) 'Those who understand: knowledge growth in teaching'. *Educational Researcher*, 15/2, pp 4 - 14.
- Shulman, L. (1987) 'Knowledge and teaching: foundations of the new reforms', *Harvard Educational Review*, 57, pp 1- 22.
- Simons, H. (Ed.) (1980) *Towards a Science of the Singular*, CARE Occasional Publications No 10. Norwich: University of East Anglia.
- Stenhouse, L. (1975) *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*. London: Heinemann.
- Stern, F. (Ed.) (1956) *The Varieties of History*. Cleveland Ohio.
- Surtz, E. (S.J.) and Hexter, J.H. (Eds.) (1965) *The Complete Works of Sir Thomas More*. London:
- Tacitus (1989 originally written c.100 - 110AD) *The Annals of Imperial Rome*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics (pages 327 - 331).
- Temperley, H. (Ed.) (1930) *Selected Essays of J.B. Bury*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tosh, J. (2002) *The Pursuit of History (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition)*. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Turner-Bisset, R.A. (1996) *Subject-matter knowledge and teaching competence*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter.

Turner-Bisset, R.A. and Nichol, J. (1997a) 'A Sense of Professionalism: The Impact of Twenty-day Courses in Subject Knowledge on the Professional Development of Teachers', paper presented at the European Conference on Educational Research at Frankfurt, 24-28 September 1997.

Turner-Bisset, R.A. and Nichol, J. (1997b) 'Changing teachers' perceptions and practices, a case study of history in-service provision in England'. Unpublished paper. University of Exeter.

Turner-Bisset, R. (2001) *Expert Teaching*. London: David Fulton Publishers.

Unstead, R.J. (1957) *People in History*. London: A & C Black.

VanSledright, B.A. (1996) 'Closing the gap between school and disciplinary history – historian as high school history teacher', in Brophy, J (Ed.) (1996). *Advances in Research on Teaching*, pp 257 - 321. Greenwich CT: JAI Press.

Virta, A. (2001) 'Student Teachers' Conceptions of History', *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* Vol 2, No 1, December.

Vygotsky, L. (1978 ) *Mind and Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wedgwood, C.V. (1955) *The King's Peace*. London: Collins.

Wedgwood, C.V. (1958) *The King's War*. London: Collins.

Wilson, S.M., and Wineburg, S.S. (1988) 'Peering at history through different lenses: the role of disciplinary perspectives in teaching history', *Teachers College Record*, 89, pp 525-539.

Wood, D., Bruner, J. and Ross, G. (1976) 'The role of tutoring in problem solving', *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 17, pp 89-100.

Wood, M. (1981) *In Search of the Dark Ages*. London: Ariel Books for the BBC.

Wrigley, C.J. (1980) *A.J.P. Taylor : a complete annotated bibliography and guide to his historical and other writings*. Brighton: Harvester Press.

Yeandle, P.(2003) 'Empire, Englishness and Elementary School History Education, c.1880-1914' *International Journal of Historical Teaching, Learning and Research* Volume 3 Number 1.

## Appendix 1

| The English National Curriculum for History (DfE, 1995)      |   |                        |
|--|---|------------------------|
| Study Unit   | Title   | Dates                  |
| Substantive Subject Knowledge - Content                      |   |                        |
| 1  | Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Vikings in Britain   | 55 BC-1100 A.D.        |
| 2  | Life in Tudor Times   | 1485-1603              |
| 3  | a. Victorian Britain <u>or</u><br>b. Britain since 1930   | 1837-1901<br>1930-2004 |
| 4  | Ancient Greece  | 1200-200 BC            |
| 5  | Local History   |                        |
| 6  | A past non European society   |                        |
| Syntactic Content: skills, processes, protocols and concepts |   |                        |
| Key Element  |   |                        |
| 1  | Chronology [key element 1]  |                        |
| 2  | Range and depth of historical knowledge and understanding (including causation) [key element 2] |                        |
| 3  | Interpretations of history [key element 3]  |                        |
| 4  | Historical enquiry (including historical evidence) [key element 4]                              |                        |
| 5  | Organisation and communication (including structured narratives) [key element 5]                |                        |

## Appendix 2

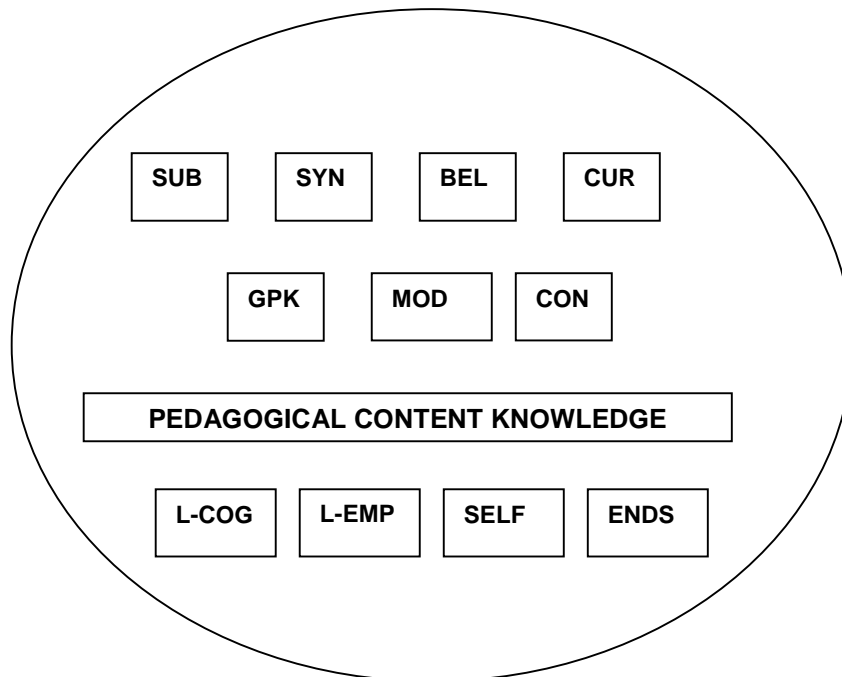
### Typology or Hierarchy of Initial Teacher Training Outcomes

This can be used to map of the effectiveness of the *Intervention Strategy*.

| <b>An Ordering of Initial Teacher Training Outcomes</b> |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> order<br>↓                              | <i>values congruence</i> ,<br>i.e. sharing the values of the course team |  | <i>knowledge and skills</i><br>i.e. understanding what you are doing and how to do it  |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> order<br>↓                              | <i>motivation</i><br>i.e. willingness to work                            | <i>effective</i><br>i.e. emotionally satisfied in the work place | <i>institutional knowledge</i><br>i.e. knowledge of what is expected of you in the institutional setting, and of the institution |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> order                                   | <i>provisionary</i><br>i.e. materials, resources, ideas for teaching     | <i>information</i><br>i.e. knowing about what is required of you | <i>new awareness</i><br>i.e. knowledge of recent developments  |

### Appendix 3

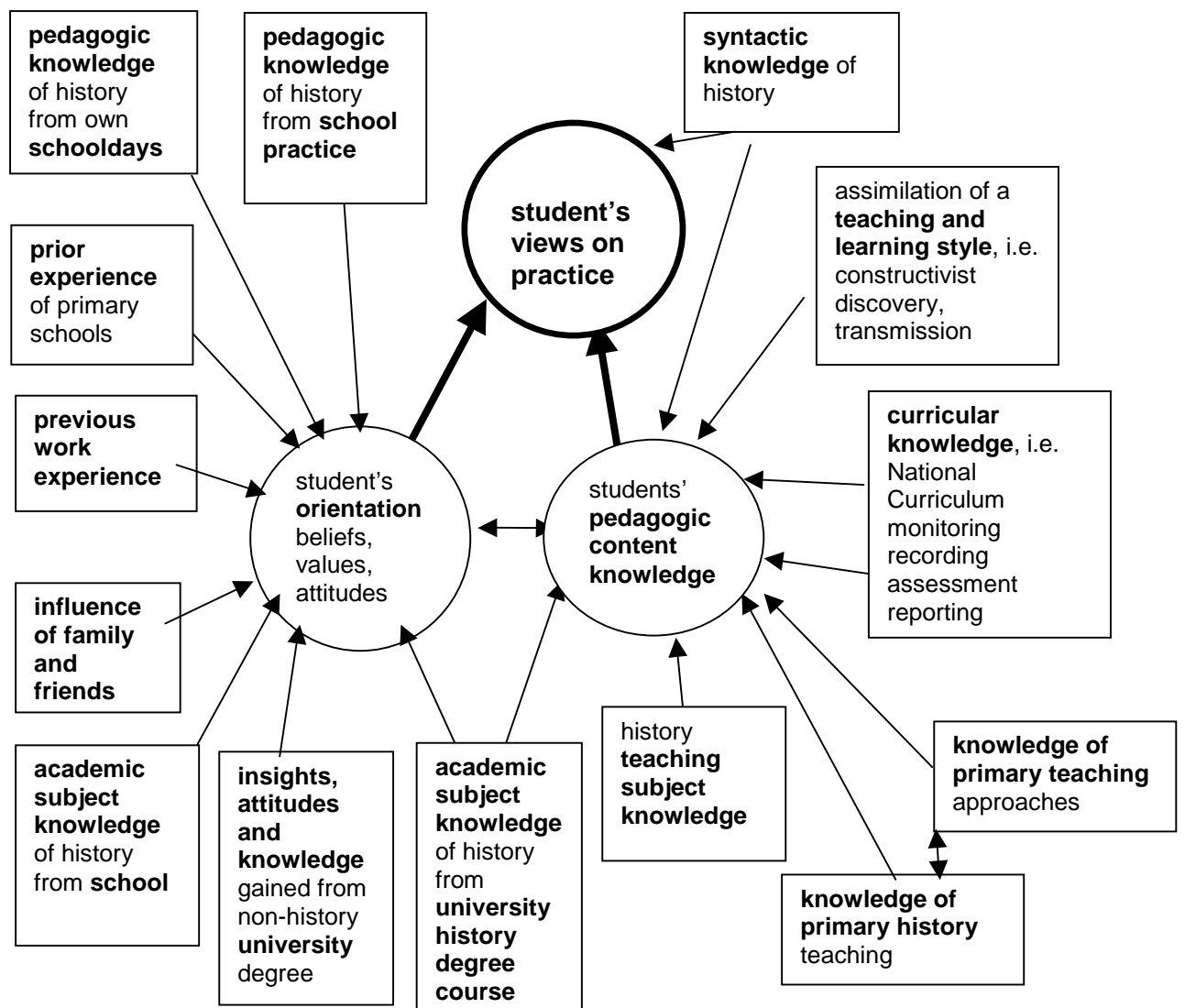
#### Turner Bisset knowledge bases diagram



- SUB – substantive knowledge
- SYN – syntactic knowledge
- BEL – beliefs about the subject
- CUR – curriculum knowledge
- CON – knowledge of contexts
- SELF – knowledge of self
- MOD – knowledge of models of teaching
- L-COG – knowledge of learners: cognitive
- L-EMP – knowledge of learners: empirical
- ENDS – knowledge of educational ends
- GPK – general pedagogical knowledge

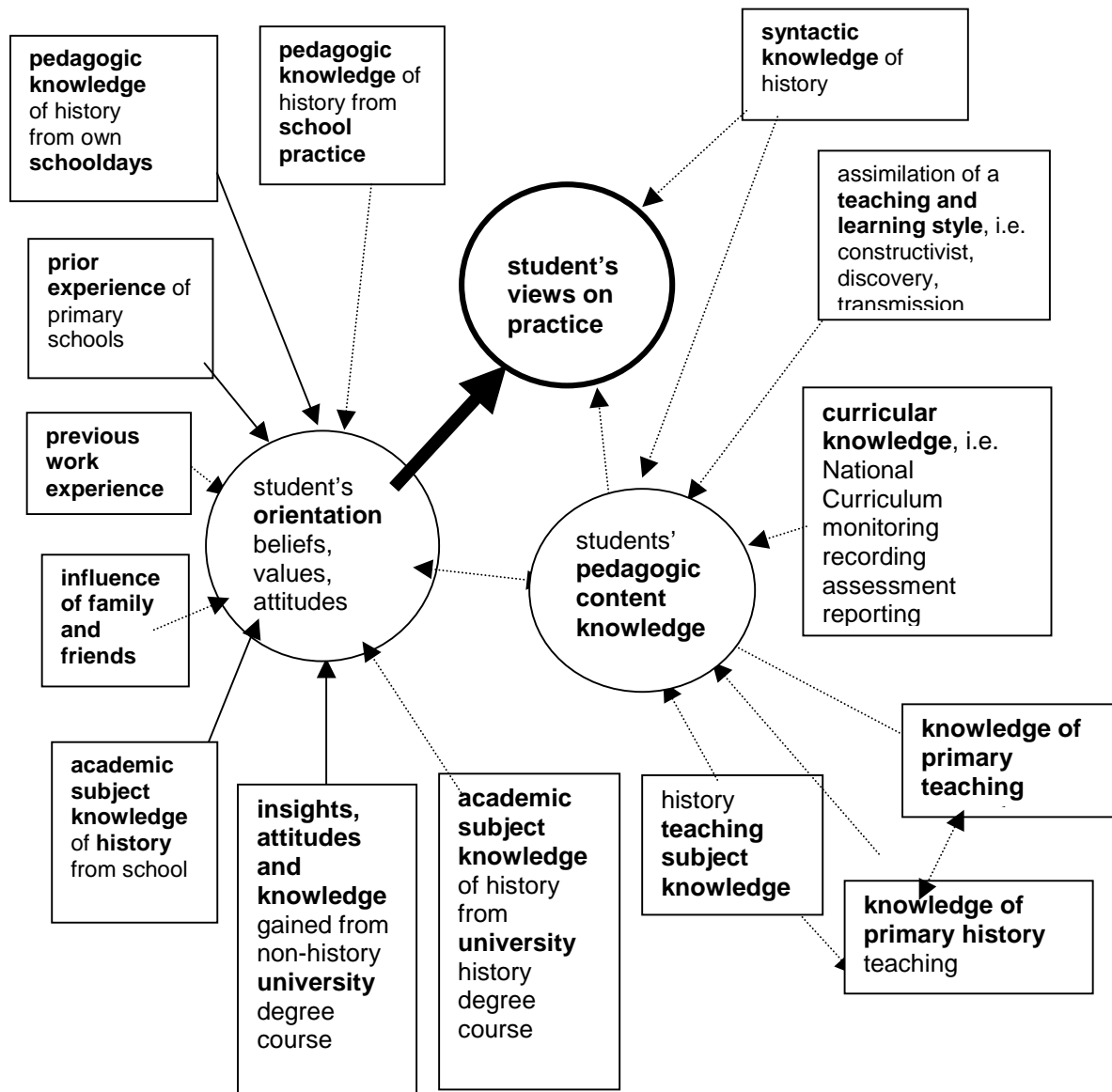
Knowledge bases for teaching: the model (from Turner-Bisset, 2001, Figure 1.5, p. 18)

## Appendix 4 – Student teachers and the teaching of history: a ‘model’ of the knowledge bases of student teachers of history



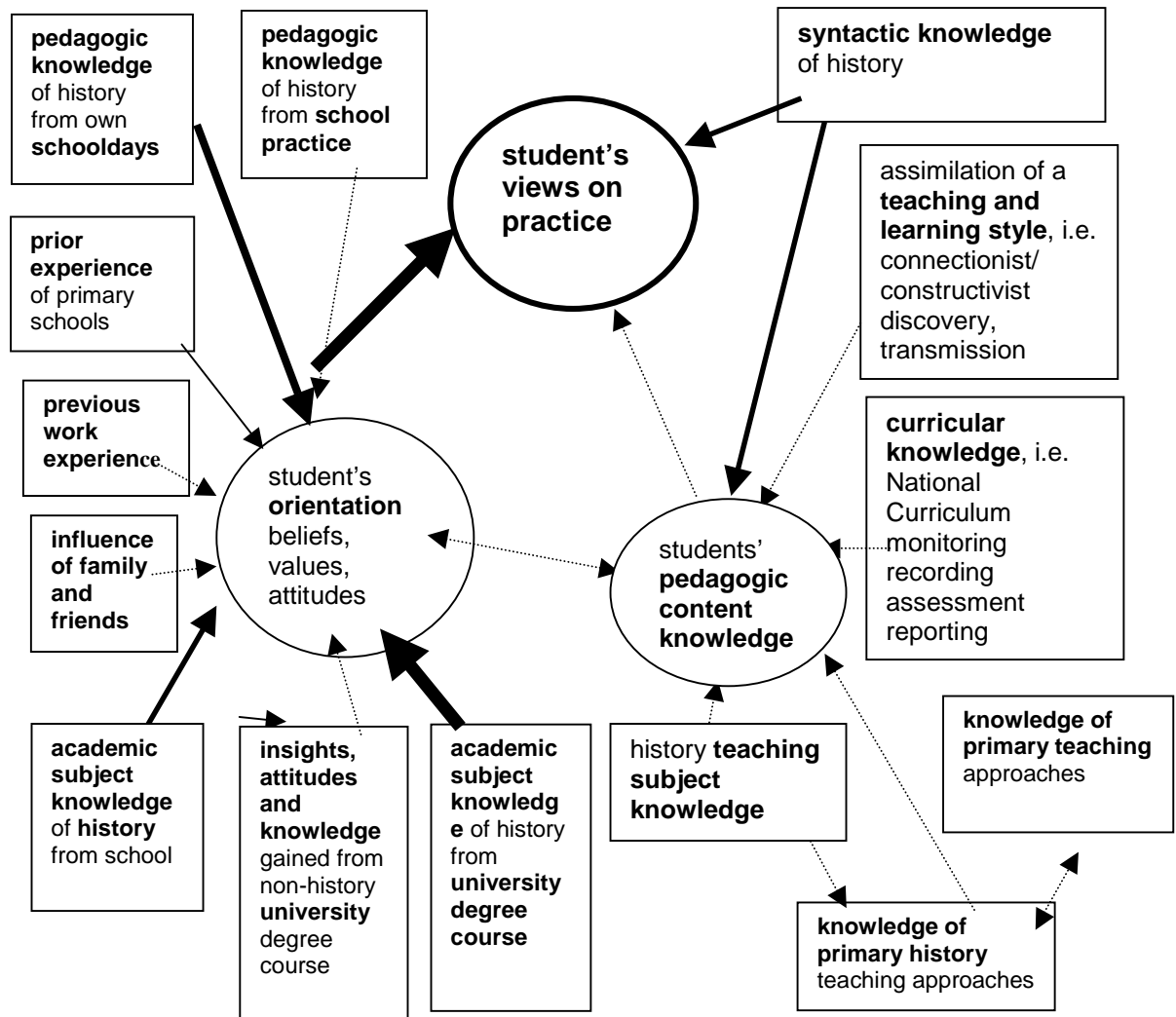


**Appendix 5: Student teachers and the teaching of history: A 'model' of the knowledge bases of the non-history specialists when they commenced the course**



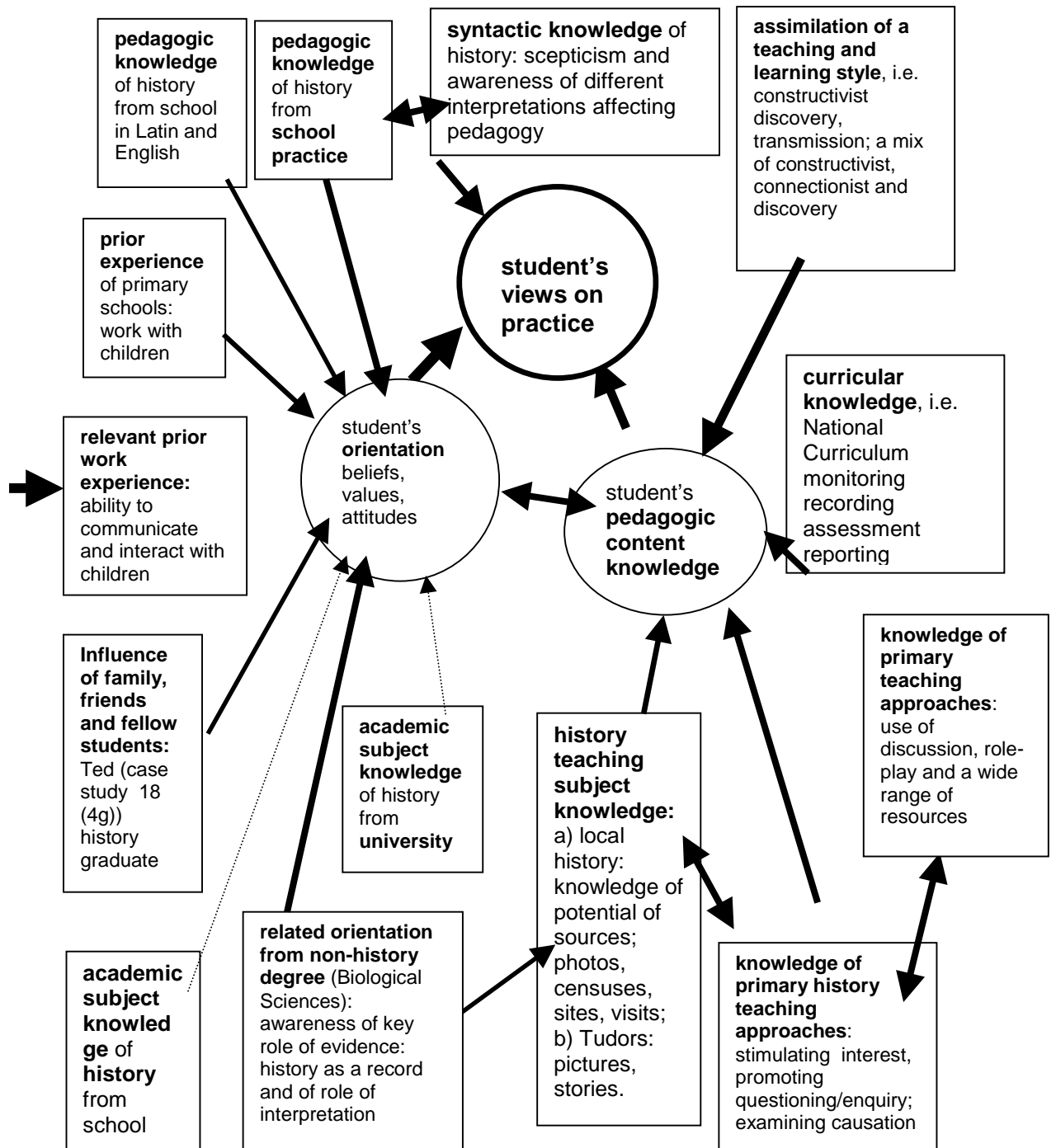
\_\_\_\_\_ Solid line = influence  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Thickness of line = extent of influence  
 ..... Dashed line = no influence

**Appendix 6: A 'model' of the knowledge bases of the history specialists when they commenced the course**



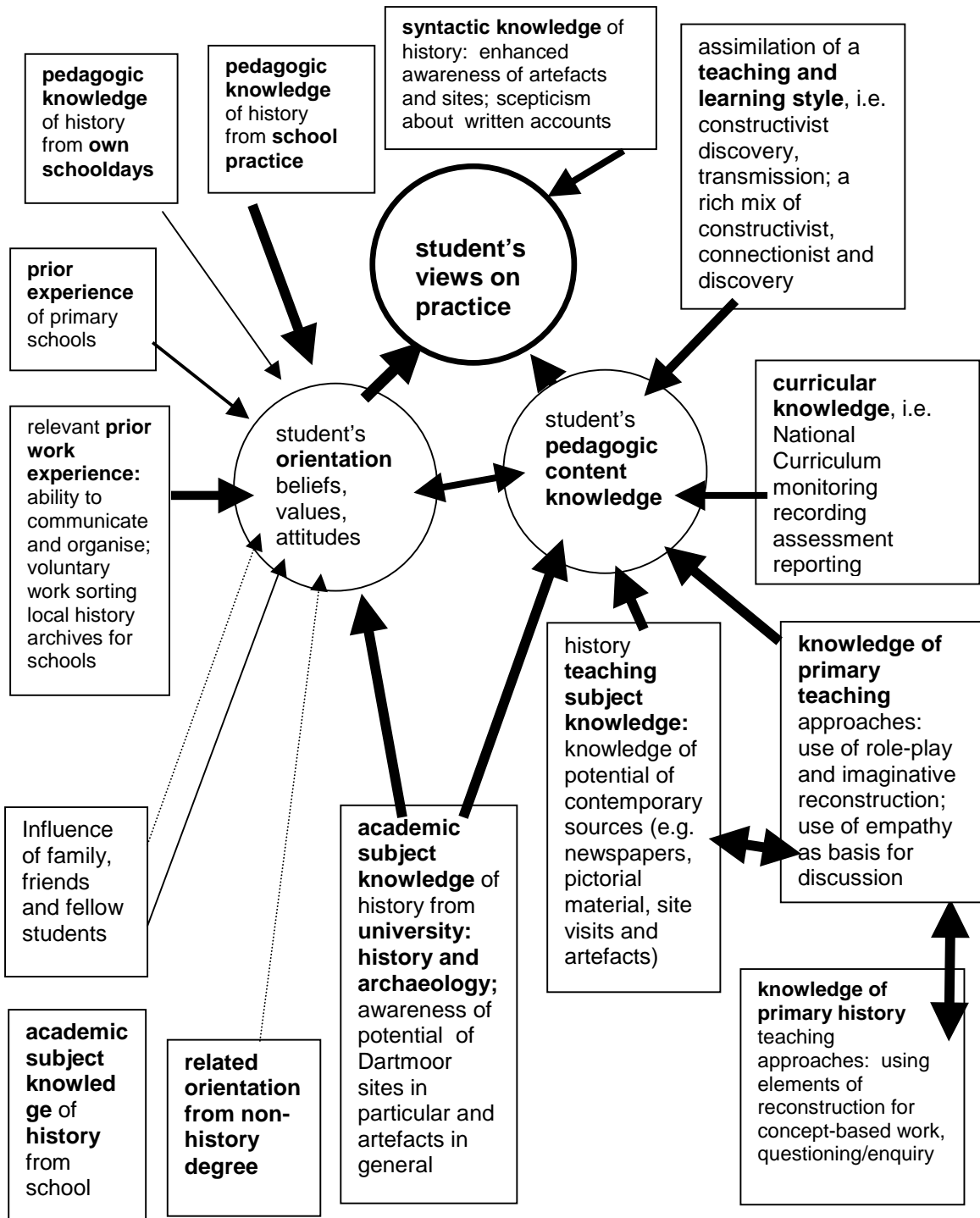
- \_\_\_\_\_ Solid line = influence
- \_\_\_\_\_ Thickness of line = extent of influence
- ..... Dashed line = no influence

**Appendix 7 – A ‘model’ of the knowledge bases of Mark, case study 15 (4d), non-history graduate (BSc Biological Sciences) at the end of the course**



\_\_\_\_\_ Solid line = influence  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Thickness of line = extent of influence  
 ..... Dashed line = no influence

**Appendix 8 - A 'model' of the knowledge bases of Jessica, case study 17 (4f), history graduate (History/Archaeology) at the end of the course**



Solid line = influence

Thickness of line = extent of influence

## ***'Walking backwards into tomorrow'*** ***Historical consciousness and understanding history***

**Peter Lee, History in Education Unit, Institute of Education, University of London England**

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

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

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

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

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

**Keywords** historical consciousness, metahistory, ontogeny, usable historical frameworks, change

## **Introduction**

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

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

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

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

## **Jörn Rüsen's account of *historical consciousness***

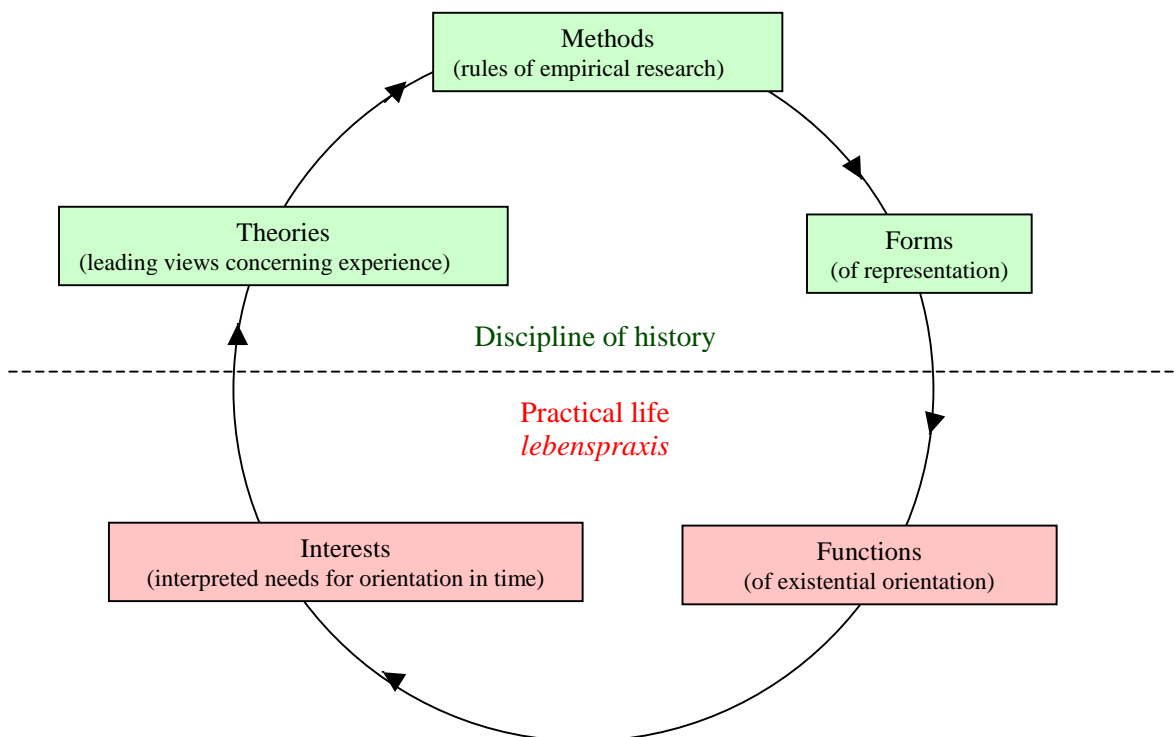
Rüsen's account of historical consciousness is — even in the brief works translated into English — a sophisticated and complex theoretical account, covering many different conceptual and empirical matters. I have approached it from the perspective of history education, and it hardly needs saying that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

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

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

practices, structure the forms of representation characteristic of the discipline. This output from the discipline feeds back into the world of everyday life, fulfilling the function of orientation.

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



**Fig. 1 Jörn Rösen's Disciplinary Matrix**

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

Given this view of the disciplinary matrix, it is not surprising that Rösen wants students in school to have to think about their history. He develops this point in terms of his distinction between the 'objective' and the 'subjective': students should make their history part of their 'mental furniture', and it must not remain at the level of inert information (87). To the extent

that the 'objective' history provided by the academic discipline is internalised as something students can use in orientating themselves in time for practical life, it has become, in Rösen's usage, 'subjective'.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

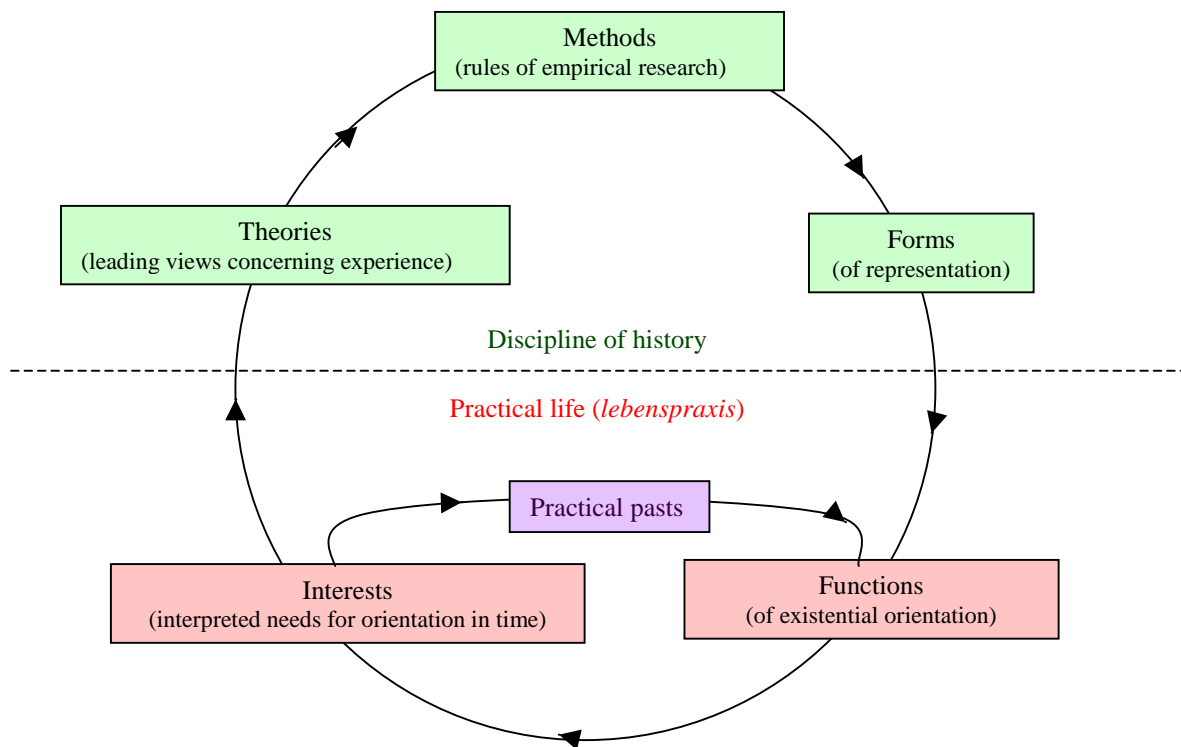
It would be foolish to deny that people live their lives as temporal beings. Backward reference is built into the very language with which we try to make sense of our world: 'scars', 'widows', 'broken promises', 'old buildings', 'art nouveau windows' and 'policies of appeasement' may refer to the past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

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

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

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

The word 'history' denotes an engagement of enquiry which has emerged without premonition from the indiscriminate gropings of human intelligence and has come to acquire



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

recognizable shape. Like other such engagements, its shape is somewhat indistinct. Its practitioners are notoriously generous; they have been apt to keep open house to all who have seemingly similar concerns, to welcome and accommodate a miscellany of intellectual enterprises and to find virtue in their variety.

Nevertheless, taken at this level, and even when it is recognized merely in terms of the directions of enquiry followed by writers commonly alleged to be historians, it is not an entirely indiscriminate engagement. It has some identifying marks, some characteristic organizing ideas and a vocabulary of expressions to which it has given specialized meanings: 'past', 'happening', 'situation', 'event', 'cause', 'change' and so on. As they come to us, these marks of identity are often obscure and ambiguous. Nevertheless, to recognize them is to make our first groping attempt to distinguish and take hold of a current manner of enquiry.<sup>8</sup>

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

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

Oakeshott's position may be controversial, particularly in the relationship it draws between the 'severe' category of the 'historical' past and the very wide notion of the 'practical' past, but in emphasizing that history is a hard-won and even strange way of approaching the

world, his views touch closely on our concerns, and at the same time recognize that there are different kinds of pasts, based on different ways of reading the present.

There is a past, that of legend and saga, which is a drama from which all that is causal, secondary and unresolved has been excluded; it has a clear outline, a unity of feeling and in it everything is exact except place and time. There is a past in which contingencies have been resolved by being recognized as products of necessary and sufficient conditions and as examples of the operation of general laws. And there is a past in which every component is known and is intelligible in respect of its relation to a favoured present. But the 'historical' past is of another sort than these. It is a complicated world, without unity of feeling or clear outline: in it events have no over-all pattern or purpose, lead nowhere, point to no favoured condition of the world and support no practical conclusions. It is a world composed wholly of contingencies and in which contingencies are intelligible, not because they have been resolved, but on account of the circumstantial relations which have been established between them: the historian's concern is not with causes but with occasions. It is a picture drawn on many different scales, and each genuine piece of historical writing has a scale of its own and is to be recognized as an independent example of historical thinking. The activity of being an historian is not that of contributing to the elucidation of a single ideal coherence of events which may be called 'true' to the exclusion of all others; it is an activity in which the writer, concerned with the past for its own sake and working to a chosen scale, elicits a coherence in a group of contingencies of similar magnitudes.<sup>10</sup>

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

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

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

## Some problems of historical consciousness and history education

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

### What kind of historical framework should history education try to provide?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

None of this is to say that we have to abandon the idea that stories should be congruent rather than conflicting, at least as a regulatory principle. (There are, of course, many further issues here that go far beyond the scope of this paper and even further beyond my abilities. Can narratives compete, for example, without necessarily contradicting each other? We desperately need some hardheaded logical studies of the possible ways in which historical narratives may be related.) It may be worth noting that Rösen's commitment to a single version of the past is a regulatory idea, something we can edge towards through dialectical processes of discussion and negotiation, not something we can easily achieve in reality. He

defends the universalizing commitment as part of his adherence to rationality and intersubjectivity, but not as something we can impose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Underlying such ideas is Rüsen's decision to take history seriously, and begin from its assumptions.<sup>16</sup> Among these the

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

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

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

. . . history has the task of giving us a sense of our own identity and should ideally do this in such a way as to stimulate and facilitate our co-operation with other people, other nations, and other cultures. . . . Since humanity in the largest sense of the word is the stage on which interhuman relations are enacted, humanity ought to be the background against which all history is written.<sup>18</sup>

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

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

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

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

First, any framework must be taught within a metahistorical context: that is, it must equip students to understand the different kinds of claims we make about the past and the relation of these claims to the questions we ask and the evidence we adduce. Key concepts here will be (historical) *change*, *evidence*, *explanation* and *accounts*. The aim is to allow students to understand (for example) how significance is attributed to events and processes in the past

so that they can evaluate such attributions and relate them to their own questions and interests (in both senses of that word), not to teach them a given 'grand narrative'.<sup>21</sup>

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

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

Fourth, a framework should be a progressive structure, allowing students to elaborate and differentiate it as they revisit it in the context of encounters with new passages of history. The aim would be to strengthen the internal coherence of the framework, making the linkages between different themes more complex, at the same time subdividing and recombining them for different purposes. Once again, this would be done as the framework is repeatedly revisited.

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

History teaching that adopted the idea of a framework would still be free to teach whatever stories it chose, and it would indeed be essential that some of these were detailed, complex and resistant to easy categorization. Depth studies would test students' developing frameworks, as well as thickening them. As teachers continuously revisit and renegotiate a framework, students have a chance to begin to see why any broad picture is in danger of being systematically misleading, but how we can hardly make a move in history without assuming one. In constructing their own frameworks and reconstituting them as they collapse under the impact of new knowledge, students can see the provisionality of history



under the aspect of continuous rational assessment on the basis of new questions, new approaches, new evidence and the remaking of the past by present and future action.<sup>22</sup> If we are to take the notion of historical consciousness seriously, and with it the central idea of orientation in time, essential for living out our practical lives, then we will have to face afresh the problems of giving students some sense of where they stand towards the past and the future, when history is abandoning its grander claims to offering a single, scientific story. The key point is to recognize that in abandoning the single scientific version of the past, history is not abandoning its claim that any version must meet certain standards, follow certain rules. We may not be able to codify sets of rules, but this does not mean we cannot recognize infringements of rational, intersubjective procedures in history. Rüsen is right to insist on intersubjective agreement as at least a regulatory principle in history.<sup>23</sup>

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

### **Progression and assessment criteria for a framework**

#### Field

The ability to incorporate wider areas and longer time-spans.

#### Coherence

The ability to make internal connections, including explanatory ones, *within* strands.

#### Dimensionality

The ability to make connections *between* strands — parallel developments, disparate changes, and causal links.

#### Resolution

The ability to expand sections of the framework to show how far the overall picture stands up to detailed study.

#### Mobility

The ability to move up and down the temporal scale and across a spatial range, making long-term links or comparisons.

#### Revisability

The ability, when faced with new material that does not easily fit the framework, to show pinch points and change the structure or alter assessments of importance to allow a better fit.

#### Morphic flexibility

The ability to generate alternative accounts in response to different questions and parameters.

The suggestions here are again meant only as a starting point for thinking about how this might be done. If it were to be made to work in practice, specially targeted tasks would have to be designed. These might ask students to fit material that they had studied in detail into a wider pattern, and perhaps also to relate new, unseen material to their framework. Students might be asked to suggest the significance of particular events in certain themes, or to propose indicators of change and assess its direction and pace in delimited — longer or shorter — passages of time. They might be asked to relate different dimensions of the framework to one another. They could be asked to suggest what was misleading in patterns at one level of generality when the resolution alters as the historian zooms in on a short

period for depth study, but why the pattern might nevertheless be defensible as the best generalization (given certain starting questions). Students could be asked to relate recent or current events to their framework, perhaps suggesting ways in which possibilities for action in the future might be opened up or constrained by the past. (The assessment here would not, of course, be in terms of the futures they proposed, but of their use of, and argument from, their frameworks.) Finally, they might be asked to produce valid alternative stories for the same passages of the past, but designed to answer different questions.

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

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

#### Dispositions

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

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

#### Structural concepts of the discipline

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

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

#### Structural generalizations

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

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

- The past is a potent source of myth: careful selection of facts and partial interpretation of evidence allows ‘the past’ to prove any case or support any argument.

#### Substantive protocols

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

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

#### Substantive concepts

Different concepts will be appropriate and central to any particular historical topic, and will also be useful in understanding the present. Examples include:

*government, revolution, budget deficit, trade, bureaucracy, providence, class, status, mullah, bishop.*

#### Historical Particulars

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

*The Renaissance, The Industrial Revolution, The American Constitution, The Enlightenment*

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

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

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

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

### **What can we say about how students use the past?**

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

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

Some countries ran a 'piggyback' questionnaire in the form of additional, locally designed questions, administered along with the main questionnaire. In Britain the additional questions (which were, of course, entirely the responsibility of the British team) were printed on pink paper at the end of the booklet. The English and Welsh responses for both the main questionnaire and the piggyback questions were drawn from a structured sample of students aged 14-15, and there were 979 valid responses to the piggyback questions.<sup>30</sup> The data here was slightly better structured than the main questionnaire data, but the problem of the mode for some items falling in the 'neither agree nor disagree' column was still present and it is now some time since the data were collected. There are some suggestive patterns that

may be worth pursuing further, but it would not be right to treat them as in any way secure findings.

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

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

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

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

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

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

course, might be suggested by Rösen's 'exemplary' category of historical consciousness (but, less helpfully, it is not easy to rule out their congruence with 'traditional' or 'critical' categories).

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

### **Narratives and fragments, stories and lessons: orientation and plundering**

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

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

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

Most of the students interviewed viewed the future as being a continuation of the present, often extrapolating current trends, usually technological. Although they saw technology as having important effects, they envisaged a future in which existing patterns of life would continue. Several argued that there would be no changes to rank with the introduction of

computers. This view seemed to be based on the idea that ‘beginnings’ and ‘firsts’ were the important changes, so that any subsequent change must be less significant. Hence future change must be ‘smaller’ than what had already occurred. However, simultaneously with this expectation of life now becoming more ‘steady’, as one of them put it, some of the responses showed a belief in the fundamental unpredictability of change, which was usually expressed in the context of possible disasters. These included asteroid impact, dire consequences from genetic engineering, war, and, less urgently — and mainly understood only in terms of sea-level changes and mild increases in temperature — global warming. In the interviews, unlike the written questionnaire, the students were not directly asked about the usefulness of history in making decisions about what to do. (The written responses to this kind of question are discussed later in this paper.)

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

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

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

The written questionnaire, having first asked students to respond to some Likert items derived from the *Youth and History* piggy-back questions, but with no middle column, offered students the chance to write in their own thoughts about what history definitely or probably shows. This is a leading question, of course, in terms of Rösen’s schema, because there is a danger that it might press students to respond in terms of generalizations. It must therefore be regarded as very much a trawling device, not something that should appear in any final research design unless it generates responses that other types of questions also elicit. At best it should be regarded as part of a triangulated approach. The range of responses was nevertheless wide, and some students did not confine themselves to generalizations or principles, but gave something more like a plot or trajectory for history. Chris, year seven, offered a relatively sophisticated multi-tracked account, in which different themes took positive or negative values.

*What history definitely shows*

History shows that the human race is evolving into something that will be big, but humans will never live in a state of perfection, for we have never lived in a state of coexistence with the people of the world.

History also shows how greedy the human race is, over long periods greedy power-seeking leaders fought over petty differences, wealth and power. It also shows that humans have not changed just themselves, they have taken their surroundings with them, sometimes forcibly.

*What history probably shows*

History probably shows us that although we can be great, intelligent people we will always fight and kill each other over land, we create horrible weapons of mass murder and turn them on innocent people.

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

Ron, year seven, declared:

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

Stephen, year seven, suggested:

History shows how civilizations have grown or shrunk over the past. It also shows that technology is always getting better and better.

History probably shows that people are probably getting more intelligent.

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

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

Don: I think we started off with the Roman Empire, and moved on, did something on the Middle Ages, then mostly since about year nine it's been more modern stuff: we did something on Nazi Germany, and then for GCSE [age 16] I think it was the Cold War, Russia itself before that...

Geoff: Yes, we did the Cold War from the perspective of Russia, as opposed to like the Western view, which I found interesting.

Int: Right.

Roger: I only studied to, up to the start of GCSE [i.e. to age 14] I didn't do it at GCSE, so as Don said...

Int: [To Don] But you did it at GCSE level?

Don: Yes.

Int: And you did it to year nine?

Roger: Yes.

Geoff: And I'm still doing A Level history, er...

Int: [To Roger] What's, what's your picture?

Roger: Well, doing mainly things like the Romans, and, that sort of history.



- Int: Can you remember anything other than the Romans? I mean, what happened after the Romans?
- Roger: Second and First World War...
- Int: So it was the Romans, then the Second and First World War?
- Roger: I'm trying to think, obviously it was quite a few years ago, over four years ago...
- Int: Anything happen between the Romans and the Second World War, apart from the First World War?
- Roger: No, that's about it [laughs].
- Geoff: The entire scope of the A level course we've been doing has been Korea, Vietnam, Nazi Germany, about the furthest back we go is 1850 with British political history.

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

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

- Paul: Modern or Twentieth Century for GCSE, and in the lower school we did sort of Tudors and Stuarts, things like that.
- Int.: Do you remember anything else?
- Eddie: Romans.
- Paul: Yes. Romans yes.
- Int.: Anything else?
- Eddie: I can't even remember any stuff before GCSE.
- Int.: Can any of you remember pre-GCSE? [All laugh.]
- Paul: I can remember doing a bit on the Industrial Revolution in year nine...
- Eddie: Oh yeah!
- Paul: And like in the trenches, the First World War, did that as well. They're a couple of things that stand out.
- Int.: Anything else? [Silence]

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

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

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

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

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

Ellie: Yeah.

Int.: Helen? Anything?

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

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

Tim: Yeah lots of *different* kinds...

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

Tim: Well... [Very long pause while he thinks.] I think Britain has um, learnt with the democ... has, um learnt to um, since, well not recently but quite a long time ago, it was, they learnt to be democratic because people saw how unfair they had been on the lower class, so as it's gone on, and gradually and gradually there's been, it's, there's been less and less difference, and I think soon, it's going, in the next forty or fifty years, going back to the one at the beginning, I reckon that, um, there'll be equality soon. There'll be no difference between, well there will be differences, but they won't be, I don't think there'll be, um, as many homeless people, or I don't think you'll be able to tell the class of people. So say you saw two different people, now you'd probably be able to tell what kind of class they were in, but I reckon in the next forty or fifty years there won't, you won't, you won't be able to tell the difference between the two classes. I think there'll only be one class. That's a hard one! [All laugh.]

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

Helen: Yes.

Int.: ...not sure, or?

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

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

Tim: Yes. That's what I meant.

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

Ellie: Yeah.

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

- Int.: And why do you think this will happen, by, I don't mean explain, give the causes for it, I mean what, what's your *basis*, what's your *clue* that's making you say that?
- Tim: Well, just the way it is at the moment really, because everything seems to move forward at the moment, nothing seems to take a step back, it always seems to move *forward*, so, if they're, if um, like giving to charity now, people will still be giving to charity later, but also going back to everyone being equal I reckon that if, because now, there's less and less of a gap, really, between upper and middle class really, and, um, I reckon soon, if the change keeps on coming, if it keeps on moving forward, there just won't be any difference.

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

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

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

- Paul: I think it's more self-defence really, against people who are trying to invade the island. Germany in the Second World War, you've got raids from Vikings previous to that, I'm not sure how well that was defended, but... then only recently I think people have started to go out to other people, over the other side of the water really. Its' more like a [inaudible]...
- Int.: More like a...?
- Paul: More like a genre of a film...
- Int.: Right.
- Paul: That's what I would think, personally.
- Int.: Right, OK.
- Grace: Yeah, I think it's definitely war and stuff...
- Int.: So the history of Britain is mainly the history of war?
- Grace: Well, not like war and fighting and that, but like, kind of like, we've been on guard, from other countries and stuff, and we've been involved in the First World War and the Second World War and previous things to that.
- Int.: So...
- Paul: I was just going to say we've got to look after our own self-interests [inaudible] with the islands. Joining Europe might, sort of, guarantee more safety, but people, well they were looking to add us to their collection, like Germany trying to invade us, so they had the sort of complete set of Europe...

- Int.: [Laughs.] Right. [To Eddie] Anything you'd say about the story of British history? So far...
- Eddie: Don't know, [inaudible], I'd say we've always been seen, leading in some ways, always involved in the big things that are going on, we don't seem to sit back much, and like just keep watching at the sidelines. We're always involved in what's going on.
- Int.: Right. Any other plots? Because it *is* a broad question, and maybe if you think you can see more than one... [Long silence.] What about *internally*? Because you've all talked about Britain and its relations to other countries, any *internal* plots, themes, or?
- Paul: One of success really. Industrial Revolution, becoming industrialized, and it was *Great Britain*, one of the major powers, or the *greatest* power, it was. So it could be success...
- Eddie: Been a sort of, been a sort of continual evolution, like, to reach a point both politically, sort of industrially I think, we've kind of reached a steady point now, of what we wanted, and we'll probably just stay like that now.
- Int.: That's an interesting thought. Can you just say a bit more about what you mean by that?
- Eddie: Oh, well, if, for example, the monarchy always used to have the power, and then obviously Parliament came in and then things like the Civil War and stuff, and eventually this led to the democratic system now. We're just one of the forefront, sort of leaders of democracy, and I'd say that seems like the sort of goal we've been leading to; and I wouldn't say that's going to involve any more, apart from maybe, I mean the royal family has already lost a great deal of its power, and I suppose that could disappear, that would be about the only change, I'd say. And then, industrially, there was the Industrial Revolution, we've been continually at the forefront of that, and I'd say now, although I don't think there can ever be a steady point industrially, because obviously technology's always changing stuff, I'd say we were fairly steady...

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

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

## Orientation through history and conceptions of change

Our interest in the relationship between students' structural disciplinary ideas and their pictures of the past may need a brief explanation. In the UK we tend to deal with *change* and *empathy* as second-order, structural, metahistorical concepts.<sup>35</sup> Historians have tacit understandings about the explanation of human action and *mentalités*, and about what counts as change in history. They do not usually write books about the logic of explanation, or about the concepts of trend, turning point, false dawn and dead end: they simply use them as they think fit in writing about the substance of history. For this reason it is natural to think of students' ideas here in terms of their understanding of the kind of discipline history is. But of course this is one-sided: students' ideas about change and empathy are also based on their idea of what happens in history. If their study of the events and processes of history seems to show them that changes are random explosions rather than gradual processes, and they have a picture of the past in which the fabric of time is shrunken, then this will reinforce a particular idea of the kind of thing a change can be. One can see relationships of this kind in Barton's work on change, which sheds important incidental light on 'empathy' and also on the relation between empathy and change.<sup>36</sup>

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

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

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

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

What was interesting, however, was that in both groups (those arguing history would *not* help decide, and those insisting that it *would* help) many students tended to give rather

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

N=60

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

similar reasons for their conclusion, namely, that things change. Danny, year nine, was one of the students who did spontaneously mention the past in response to the open questions, but when asked specifically about history, he denied its usefulness in any of the issues.

*Choosing a political party: Open question*

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

*Choosing a political party: Would history help?*

No — Because with time, parties have different MPs and over a 15 year period the whole party could have changed.

*Deciding if jobs would be easier in the next five years: Open question*

What jobs that are becoming popular and jobs where there is high pay. Also jobs which need special skills to handle and the amount of people at the moment that are willing to learn those special skills.

*Deciding if jobs would be easier in the next five years: Would history help?*

No — Because times change and in five years' time we have the future, history is the past.

*Deciding how to deal with race relations: Open question*

Where the different races of people live and also how the different races get on with each other.

*Deciding how to deal with race relations: Would history help?*

No — Because, as I have already said, times change and people change. Some races may have fallen out 10 years ago but are now good friends.

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

*Choosing a political party: Open question*

I would need to know that they had a strong and rational leader with ambitious yet rational views. The party's general ideas would have to agree with mine.

*Choosing a political party: Would history help?*

No — Because the past is gone and with new ideas and technology what applied then does not necessarily apply now.

Quentin, year seven, took a similar line.

*Choosing a political party: Open question*

You would need the knowledge that the political party you were supporting was going to do a lot for the environment.

*Choosing a political party: Would history help?*

No — Because many things have changed over the years.

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

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

*Choosing a political party: Open question*

I would require knowledge on the policies of individual parties, and what they stood for, whether they were out to help, or if they were standing for personal gain

*Choosing a political party: Would history help?*

It would — History can show what decisions have been made by particular parties in the past, and would help to predict decisions parties make in the future; to avoid repeating mistakes

*Deciding if jobs would be easier in the next five years: Open question*

I would need to know if:

- a) Educational systems / exams were going to change
- b) What sector of employment would contour most jobs
- c) What qualifications were required to work in that sector

*Deciding if jobs would be easier in the next five years: Would history help?*

It would help — History shows how work used to be predominantly physical labour, and how work is more and more changing to a technological viewpoint. From this you can predict that soon there will be hundreds more jobs in the technological sector.

*Deciding how to deal with race relations: Open question*

- a) Religious background of a race
- b) How tolerant races were of each other
- c) Which race is predominant in Britain
- d) Historical background of a race

*Deciding how to deal with race relations: Would history help?*

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

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

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

- a) between disciplinary concepts of change and types of orientation;
- b) between disciplinary concepts of change and substantive assumptions about how things happen.

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

### **Substantive and metahistorical orientation**

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

- Int: Have you learnt anything about the world we live in, or about Britain, or about yourself, or about people in general, or particular kinds of people, I mean, in other words, what's history given you, if anything, or hasn't it?
- Tim: I reckon it has, because it's, you get used to, if you do history you get used to backing up your answer with evidence, so, say someone, say you were in a court and you were trying to protect someone, and you would look for evidence to protect them, so you would just see where they were, you'd use a camera or something. And...
- Ellie: And *how*, everything happened, like say, how [inaudible] or how we've got just the Queen, and how everyone's controlled in other countries.
- Int: So when you say 'how' you mean, the sort of question 'how did it happen that we live like that?'
- Ellie: Yes.
- Int: So it's sort of explaining you mean?
- Ellie: Yes.
- Int: Right.
- Helen: You also see, like, how the two sides think and how they saw each other and how they sort of blamed each other and why, and you see sort of their state of mind and *why* they did things and how the consequences were what they were.
- Int: And do any of these things bear on how you think about the world *now*, about the present?



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

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

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

Ellie: Yeah.

Int: So both you two girls agree about that?

Ellie: Yeah.

Helen: Yeah.

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

Helen: Yeah, sort of...

Tim: Yeah.

Ellie: Yeah.

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

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

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

Ellie: Just, like, reading books...

Int: Novels?

Ellie: Yeah novels.

Int: Or non-fiction? Or both?

Ellie: Both yeah.

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

Ellie: Yeah, some of them are.

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

Int: What *sort* of event would you say 11<sup>th</sup> September was in New York?

Tim: Terrible.

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

Tim: Right...

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

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

Helen goes on to emphasize the religious basis of the attack, and tries to explain it in those terms. Ellie agrees, and Tim then says it had the 'reverse' effect to what was intended,

because those who did it wanted the world to plead for them to stop, but people were brave and risked war to end the threat.<sup>38</sup>

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

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

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

Int.: The what?

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

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

Maurice: Well...

Colin: They couldn't read and write...

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

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

Maurice: Well...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Colin: Yes.

Maurice: Yes.

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

Maurice: No, well I don't...

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

Colin: Yeah.

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

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

Colin: Yes.

Maurice: Yes. Starts off at school.

Int.: Have I got that right?

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

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

Maurice: Yeah

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

Colin: Sacrifice...

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

Int.: So the basis...

Maurice: Yeah.

Colin: Yeah.

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

Maurice: They don't, yeah...

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

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

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

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

Colin: Yeah.

Maurice: ...the work for them.

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

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

Colin: They just cared about the money they got...

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

### **What do we know about progression and historical consciousness?**

Earlier in this paper it was argued that any valid approach to helping students acquire workable historical frameworks must give students not a preformed grand narrative, but an apparatus for making sense of what narratives are and do in history. If this is accepted, a central task for history education is to develop students' understanding of the nature and status of historical knowledge (in its different forms). Such a task is also suggested if we take seriously Rösen's disciplinary matrix, where the role of 'leading views' and 'methods' arguably both point in this direction. In turn, if part of history education is giving students an apparatus for understanding the discipline of history, we will need to know what assumptions and tacit understandings we will be addressing.<sup>39</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If we consider the typology in relation to students' ideas about *change*, the distinction between orientation and kind of past invoked may be less marked, at least for the final genetic type of historical consciousness. The characterization of change in the 'genetic' category is couched in terms that may pre-empt lower level disciplinary understanding. For

example, the description under 'patterns of historical significance' in this category is 'developments in which forms of life change in order to maintain their permanence' (81). It is difficult to be certain about what is and what is not being ruled out here, but it might be argued that the notion of change as development is already a relatively high level understanding. Hence Bodo von Borries gives as an example of genetic historical consciousness a view of the American Civil War

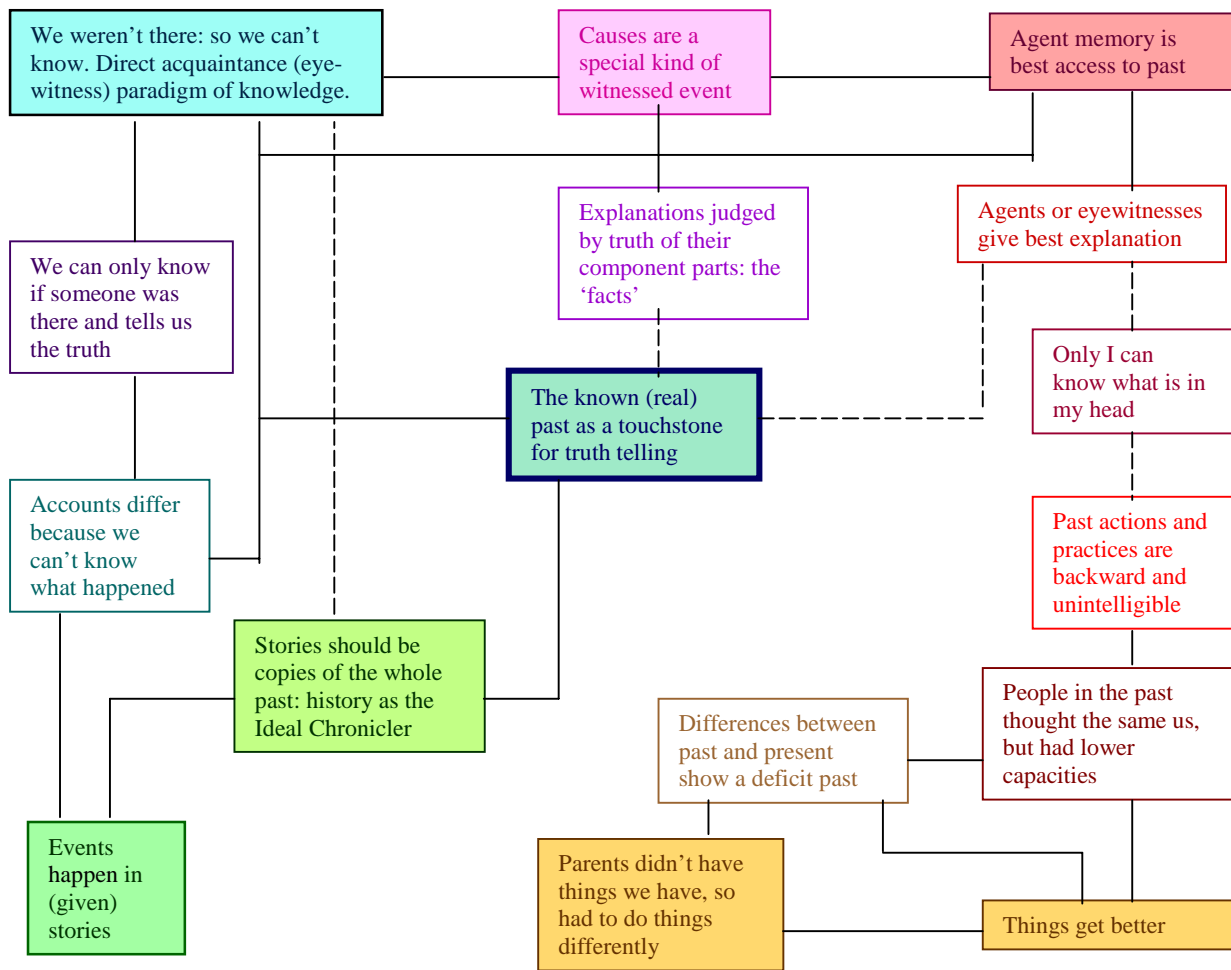
as an early stage in an ongoing process of national transformation and development, in which the war may be seen as a cause of feelings of historical identity among Americans today.<sup>44</sup>

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

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

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

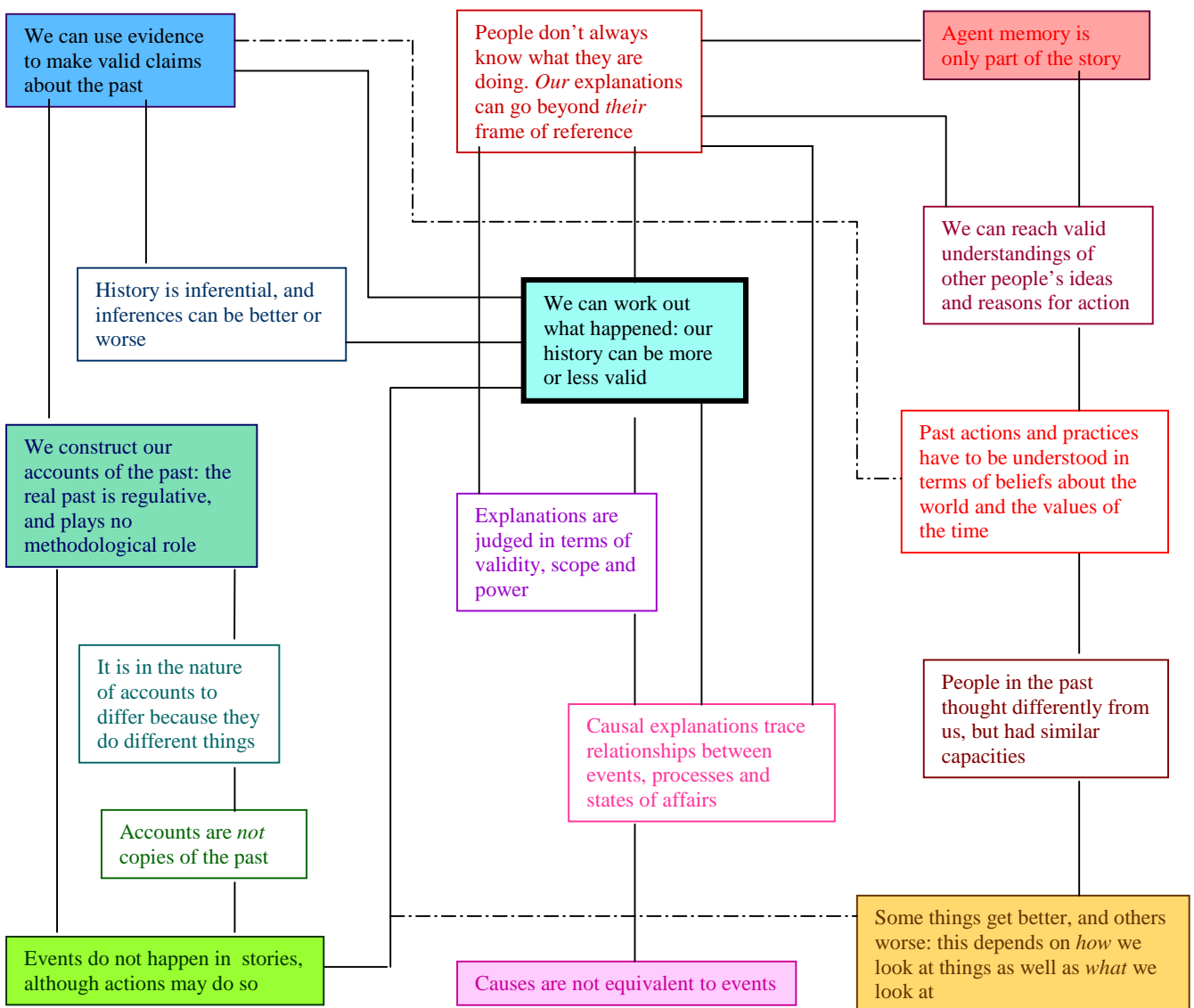
Whereas there is now a good deal of evidence for some of the ideas in the two figures, there is no research, as far as I am aware, that sets out to trace the sets of relationships in either Figure 3 or Figure 4. This does not mean, however, that there is no indirect research support for parts of the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



**Fig. 3 History: some initial preconceptions**

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

It is not difficult to see that there is likely to be a relationship between this kind of idea and the view that if we were not there to see some historical event, we cannot know what happened. The notion that we can only really know what we have directly experienced works fine in everyday life, but breaks down as claims to knowledge become more complex, as they do — in different ways — in disciplines like physics and history. Of course, some students are willing to admit that if we did not witness something, we may be able nonetheless to know about it if someone else did, provided only that they tell the truth. It



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

should be apparent that by this point common sense ideas are beginning to obstruct understanding of history. For students who think we can know nothing about the past unless we were there, history is not an impressive body of knowledge. And even when they accept the possibility of testimony, students know only too well that people do not always tell the truth. History is counter-intuitive in the sense that at a certain point everyday ideas not only cease to be helpful, they actually make history an invalid activity, or at least one that practical considerations render impossible.

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

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

Although much explanation of 'difference' is in technological terms, students encounter in school and elsewhere a more ancient past, beyond the time of their grandparents, in which the institutional and moral 'failings' of the past increasingly impinge on their ideas. People in the distant past lacked not only the material implements we have at our disposal, but also the cultural ones. To the technological items they 'didn't have' are added institutional ones: they lacked police, firemen and schools. Moral ignorance and inadequacy was almost universal.<sup>50</sup> Racial prejudice, the status and role of women and class-consciousness were everywhere in the past. Wars, empires, tyrannies and slavery were common. Of course students are well aware that some of these are still to be found, but they tend to be treated in our present world as aberrations, mainly caused by moral defects in certain individuals or groups (usually living somewhere else).

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

*People act for reasons within patterns of shared conventions.*

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

*Technological progress is a normal trajectory.*

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

*Knowledge and understanding are increasing, which means that change is rational.*

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

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

It seems plausible to see the kinds of shift sketchily represented in these diagrams as amounting to a move from everyday ideas that set severe limits on what we can expect to say about the past to ideas that run counter to aspects of common sense, but allow that



history might be a worthwhile activity. If students are to acquire usable historical frameworks, they will have to move in this kind of direction. Once again we are reminded that what happens 'above the line' in Rösen's disciplinary matrix cannot be ignored in history education.

### **Conclusion: Historical consciousness and historical understanding**

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

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

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

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

The same applies *a fortiori* to questions concerned with students' understanding of the discipline of history. It is clear that Rösen's disciplinary matrix does not ignore such

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

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

### **A note on Years, Grades and ages**

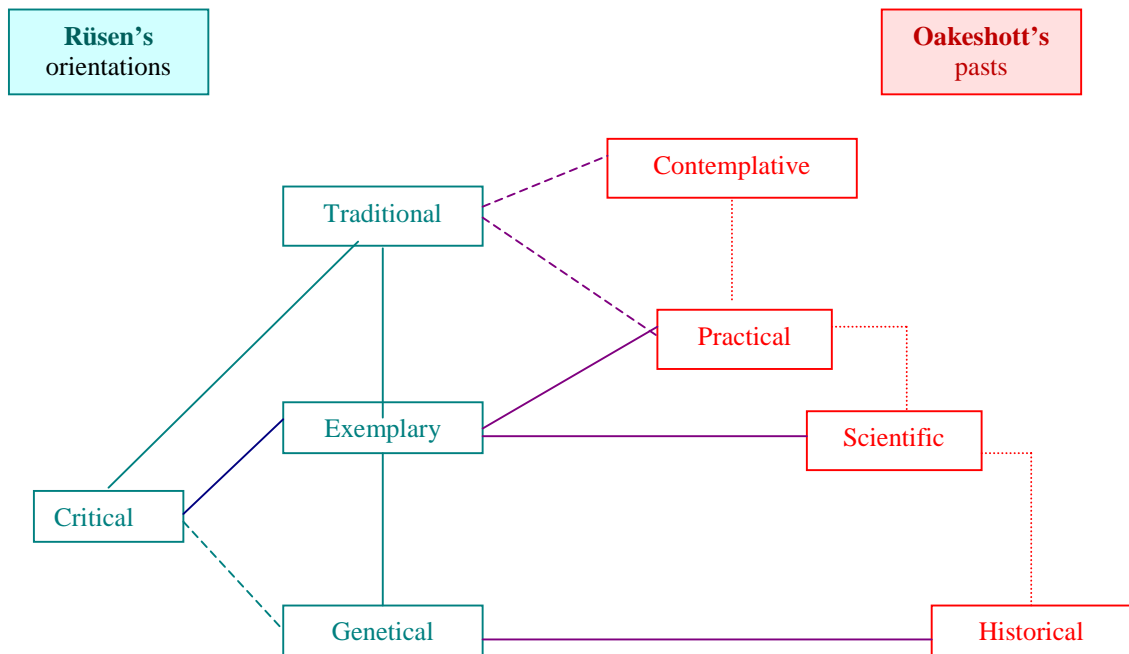
In the UK Year Seven is the first year of secondary school (11-12 year-olds) and Year Nine (13-14 year-olds) is the last year in which history is compulsory. For those who continue to study history, the General Certificate of Secondary Education examination is taken at the end of Year 11 (15-16 year-olds)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

### **Acknowledgements**

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

## Appendix 1

### Rüsen's and Oakeshott's typologies



## Appendix 2

### Semi-structured interview: main questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What *sort* of event would you say the 11<sup>th</sup> September in New York was?

## Appendix 3

### Identity and historical consciousness: some clues from the story so far

#### **The history of Britain so far**

#### **Maurice, Carly, Colin, all year nine and still doing history**

(Paraphrase from interview)

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

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

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

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

---

## References

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Megill, A., *Op. cit.* Rüsen uses 'theory' to cover a range of different ideas, but is usually careful to indicate the kind and level of theory involved. In particular he distinguishes *object theory* (about the past) within historical studies from *meta-theory* about those historical studies themselves (about the discipline of history at any particular time) (15-16). His treatment of theory within history tends to use examples like Marxism and the Annales School. He accepts that 'it is an open question, at the level of meta-theory, as to what form theorizing on these perspectives should take' (21). Very often the common element in his usage is the notion of reflection, carrying with it ideas of rationality and reflexivity. Ankersmit, in discussing Rüsen's use of 'theory', points out that 'one must realize first that in German philosophy of history "theory" is a rather vague notion that may denote any number of things', and draws attention to Kocka's definition 'which seems to be accepted by most participants in the debate: "theories are explicit and consistent conceptual systems that cannot be derived from the historical sources themselves but that can help us in identifying, unlocking and explaining historical phenomena."' Ankersmit, F. (1988), Review of J. Rüsen, *Grundzüge einer Historik II: Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit*, Göttingen, 1986. In *History and Theory*, 27, 1, 83,89. See also p.11 above.

<sup>5</sup> This cannot, of course, account for all starting points. Change is neither the only explanation nor the only burden of 'otherness'.

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

---

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

<sup>8</sup> Oakeshott, M., *On History*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983, p.6.

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

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, pp.166-7.

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

<sup>12</sup> The ambiguity here is intended. See note 1 above.

<sup>13</sup> Danto, A., *Analytical Philosophy of History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.

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

<sup>15</sup> Ankersmit, F. (1998), Review of J. Rüsen, *Grundzüge einer Historik II: Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit*, Göttingen, 1986. In *History and Theory*, 27, 1,90-1.

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

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p.87.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p.88.

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

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

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

<sup>22</sup> Danto, A., *Op. cit.*

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

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

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp.88-9.

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

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, p.88

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

---

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

<sup>30</sup> The Scottish sample is omitted from this discussion because it was not representative. One very large education authority covering much of the urbanized lowland area of Scotland was unable to make a decision about participation in the relatively short time available. This time problem arose as a result of the failure of the original British *Youth and History* team to collect any data: the Institute history education unit joined the project very late at the direct request of Bodo von Borries, so as to ensure the presence of at least some British students in the sample.

<sup>31</sup> See Barton, K., 'Narrative simplifications in elementary students' historical thinking' in J. Brophy, *Advances in Research on Teaching: Teaching and Learning History*, Greenwich: JAI Press, 1996, pp.51-83; Seixas, P., Seixas, P. (1993) 'Popular Film and Young People's Understanding of the History of Native-White Relations', *The History Teacher*, 26, No.3, 351-370; Penuel, W. R. and Wertsch, J. V., 'Historical Representation as Mediated Action: Official History as a Tool', in J. Voss and M. Carretero (eds) *International Review of History Education Vol.2: Learning and Reasoning in History*, London: Woburn Press, 1998, pp.23-38; Wertsch J. V. and Rozin, M., 'The Russian Revolution: Official and Unofficial Accounts', in J. Voss and M. Carretero (eds) *op. cit.*, pp.39-60; Wineburg, S. 'Making Historical Sense', in P. Seixas, P. Stearns and S. Wineburg (eds), *Teaching, Learning and Knowing History*, New York: New York University Press, 2000, pp.306-325. The work of many others, including Veronica Boix-Mansilla, Lis Cercadillo, Linda Levstik, Roy Rozensweig and David Thelen, and *Chata* research by Ros Ashby, Alaric Dickinson and Peter Lee could equally have been cited here, although they bear on the questions at issue in a variety of very different ways. Major current research by Alan McCully and Keith Barton in Northern Ireland, and Rob Phillips in the UK at large, promises to shed new light on these matters.

<sup>32</sup> Wineburg, S. *Op.cit.*

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

<sup>34</sup> Barton, K., *Op. cit.*

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

<sup>36</sup> Barton, K. *Op. cit.*

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

<sup>38</sup> There is other evidence that history teaching in the UK has this kind of effect. Comparison of English and Welsh data from the *Youth and History* project with data from the rest of Europe (excluding England and Wales) strongly suggested that teaching for disciplinary understanding had made a difference to the structure of English and Welsh students' ideas about history. Factor analysis indicated that, in the European data as a whole — excluding



---

England and Wales — historical sources were linked with media presentations and a ‘range of activities’. In the English and Welsh data, however, ‘studying historical sources’ was associated with discussing different explanations and using a textbook or worksheets. Sources were seen as part of the work of making sense of history, rather than as a means of presentation. Moreover the item ‘retelling and re-interpreting history for ourselves’ did not load on either of the two factors for the European data as a whole — once again with the English and Welsh data filtered out — but in the English and Welsh data it loaded on one of the two factors, and was linked with media presentations and ‘a range of activities’, precisely the items that in the general European data are associated with sources.

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

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

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

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

<sup>41</sup> Borries, B. v., ‘Methods and Aims of Teaching History in Europe’, in P. Seixas, P. Stearns and S. Wineburg (eds), *Teaching, Learning and Knowing History*, New York: New York University Press, 2000, p.256.

<sup>42</sup> *Loc. Cit.*

<sup>43</sup> Rösen, J. ‘The development of narrative competence in historical learning: an ontogenetic hypothesis concerning moral consciousness’, in J. Rösen, *Studies in Metahistory*, ed. P. Duvenage, Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1993, pp.63-84.

<sup>44</sup> Borries, B. v., ‘Methods and Aims of Teaching History in Europe’, in P. Seixas, P. Stearns and S. Wineburg (eds), *Teaching, Learning and Knowing History*, New York: New York University Press, 2000, p.253.

<sup>45</sup> Shemilt, D., ‘The Devil’s Locomotive’, *History and Theory*, 22, 4, 1983, pp.6-7.

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

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

<sup>48</sup> Lee, P. J., “None of us was there”: Children’s ideas about why historical accounts differ’, in S. Ahonen et al. *Historiedidaktik, Norden 6, Nordisk Konferens om Historiedidaktik, Tampere 1996*. Copenhagen: Danmarks Laererhøjskole. pp. 23-58.

<sup>49</sup> Ashby, R. and Lee, P. J. *Op. cit.* 1987, 2001, Barton *Op. cit.*; Shemilt, D., *Op. cit.*, 1983.

---

<sup>50</sup> Ashby, R. and Lee, P. J. *Op. cit.*, 2001.

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