

International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research

Volume 3 Number 2 July 2003
ISSN 1472 – 9466

<i>Editorial</i>	Keith Crawford <i>The Role and Purpose of Textbooks</i>	<u>5</u>
<i>Articles</i>	Jason Nicholls <i>Methods in School Textbook Research</i>	<u>11</u>
	Penelope Harnett <i>History in the Primary School: the Contribution of Textbooks to Curriculum /Innovation and Reform</i>	<u>27</u>
	Keith Crawford <i>Culture Wars: Serbian History Textbooks and the Construction of National Identity</i>	<u>43</u>
	Jon Nichol and Jacqueline Dean <i>Writing For Children: History Textbooks and Teaching Texts</i>	<u>53</u>
	Dave Treharne <i>Views of Russia in the English Classroom for 14-16 year olds</i>	<u>83</u>
	Marijana Mirkovic and Keith Crawford <i>Teaching History in Serbian and English Secondary Schools: a Cross-Cultural Analysis of Textbooks</i>	<u>91</u>
	Barbara M. Wenzeler <i>The Presentation of the Holocaust in German and English School History Textbooks – A Comparative Study</i>	<u>107</u>
<i>Contributors</i>		<u>119</u>
<i>Notes for Contributors</i>		back cover

Editorial Board

Editors	
Jon Nichol	University of Exeter, England
Robert Guyver	College of St. Mark and St. John, Plymouth, England
Kate Watson	University of Exeter, England
Jacqui Dean	Leeds Metropolitan University, England
ICT Consultant/Webmaster	
Kevin O'Connell	University of Exeter, England
Assistant Editors	
Keith Barton	University of Cincinnati, USA
Hilary Cooper	University of Lancaster, England
Richard Dargie	University of Edinburgh, Scotland
Ross Dunn	San Diego State University, USA
Peter Fisher	University of Newcastle, England
Stuart Foster	University of Georgia, USA
Penelope Harnett	University of the West of England, Bristol, England
Terry Hayden	University of East Anglia, Norwich, England
Peter Lee	Institute of Education, University of London, England
Joke van der Leeuw-Roord	Director, Euroclio, Brussels, Belgium
Garry Mills	University of Nottingham, England
Rob Sieborger	University of Cape Town, South Africa
Andrew Sokholov	Ushinskii Pedagogic University, Yaroslavl, Russia
Yosanne Vella	University of Malta
Sam Wineburg	Washington State University, USA
Suzanne Wilson	Michigan State University, USA

Editorial

The Role and Purpose of Textbooks

The symbolism of the textbook is well established in the English language and its use as a label with which to describe various forms of social meaning and behaviour is deeply imbedded within the way in which it is employed in a variety of contexts. Metaphors include 'It was a textbook operation', 'it was a textbook takeoff' and 'it was all done by the textbook'. Such usages share a common characteristic in the manner in which the word 'textbook' is used to define and convey a sequence of actions which do not deviate from agreed and regulated procedures and in the manner in which it is expected that conduct will follow sets of rules in the journey towards the completion of a task. In certain arenas of social life not following textbook procedures is likely to have serious consequences; that, after all, is what a textbook procedure is all about, avoiding mistakes and the potential 'errors of judgement' that can emerge through un-coordinated individual action.

That much is obvious when it comes to learning how to land a plane, conduct a medical operation etc. but the issue of textbooks becomes far more problematic and riddled with contradiction when it comes to the assimilation of knowledge which is mediated through school textbooks. This is because textbooks are cultural artefacts and in their production and their use inside classrooms confront a range of issues to do with ideology, politics and values which in themselves function at a variety of different levels of power, status and influence. Embedded in textbooks are narratives and stories that nation states choose to tell about themselves and which, it has been decided, offer a core of cultural knowledge which future generations are expected to both assimilate and support; to think about the content of textbooks and how they are authored, published and used is to think about the purpose of schooling.

School textbooks are crucial organs in the process of constructing legitimated ideologies and beliefs and are a reflection of the history, knowledge and values considered important by powerful groups in society. In many nations debates over the content and format of school textbooks are sites of considerable educational and political conflict. Evidence from national education systems across the globe strongly suggests that the manufacture of textbook content is the result of competition between powerful groups who see it as being central in the creation of collective national memory designed to meet specific cultural, economic, ideological and social imperatives.

School textbooks are the dominant definition of the curriculum in schools and are a representation of political, cultural, economic and political battles and compromises. Textbooks are '... conceived, designed and authored by real people with real interests' and are '... published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power' (Apple, 1993, p.46). School textbooks are based upon the cultural, ideological and political power of dominant groups and they tend to enforce and reinforce cultural homogeneity through the promotion of shared attitudes and the construction of shared historical memories. The construction of textbook knowledge is an intensely political activity and debates, controversies and tensions over the construction of school textbooks involve a struggle over the manufacture and control of popular memory. School textbooks are one vehicle through which attempts can be made to disseminate and reinforce dominant cultural forms. Griffin and Marciano have claimed that 'Textbooks offer an obvious means of realising hegemony in education ... Within history texts ... the omission of crucial facts and viewpoints limits profoundly the ways in which students come to view history events' (Griffin and Marciano, 1979, p.35).

The particular focus of this collection of papers is the teaching and learning of history because they provide a crucial context for the analysis of the interplay of power and culture. Giroux has identified this area as one which involves '... challenging, remapping and renegotiating those boundaries of knowledge that claim the status of master narratives, fixed identities and an objective representation of reality' (1992, p.26). It is through the history curriculum that nations seek to store, transmit and disseminate narratives which define conceptions of nationhood and national culture; as such they are crucial sites for investigation. Coffin explains history as cultural narrative with regard to school history texts thus:

Written narratives in school history texts have the overall purpose of recording a series of historical events as they unfolded in real time. In historical narratives, therefore, the organising principle is external time (In 1865... Fifty years later...etc.) rather than internal or text time (Firstly...The final argument...). This temporal ordering of experience brings history into relationship with a widespread cultural practice of story-making whereby social experience is given a beginning, middle and end structure. Such a structure is the basis of the traditional literary narrative (1997, p.200).

As far as history as argument is concerned, Coffin claims that '...within schools, argument is a privileged resource for making historical meaning' (1997, p.198). Jenkins (1991, cited in Coffin 1997) proposes that:

... the process of 'seeing both sides', 'weighing things up' and 'adjudicating' can be viewed as a realization of liberal humanist values. Such values construct the writer as a disinterested arbitrator of knowledge whose position of the past is fluid and open and who can, therefore, offer an objectively derived 'true' account of the past (1997, p.198).

School textbooks are social constructions and during their process of manufacture authors and publishers inevitably find themselves including and excluding the expectations of competing interested parties concerning what constitutes legitimate curriculum knowledge. Although they are authored by individuals, textbooks present broader cultural 'messages' and in terms of their social function have been said to bear similarities to government policy documents (De Castell, 1991). It has also been claimed that the function of textbooks is to '... tell children what their elders want them to know' (Fitzgerald, 1979, p.47) and to '... represent to each generation of students a sanctioned version of human knowledge and culture' (De Castell, 1991, p.78). As instruments of socialization and sites of ideological discourse textbooks introduce young people to a quite specific historical, cultural and socio-economic order. Exploring the social construction of school textbooks provides an important context from within which to critically investigate the dynamics underlying the cultural politics of education and the social movements that form it and which are formed by it.

One of the most important dilemmas for those exploring the social construction of curriculum knowledge is to find methods and techniques for understanding it and interpreting it ideologically. The difficulty stems from the fact that curriculum can be misleading. On the surface level it is there to be seen, read, used and discussed and it is visible in the form of textbooks, teacher guides and pupil exercises. However, these physical manifestations of curriculum are in a very real sense hollow shells to which little in the way of meaning is attached. Understanding curriculum through the forms in which it is publically presented requires identifying, analysing and critiquing sequence of its building through investigating the work of authors, editors, publishers, teachers and students as they struggle to create meanings. The content of the curriculum is always a source of social conflict. The pedagogy that accompanies the curriculum and

the allied assessment procedures are subject to analysis and comment by competing groups who invariably hold distinctly different educational and ideological visions. This should not surprise us. Curriculum as theory and practice has never been, and can never be, divorced from the ethical, economic, political, and cultural conflicts of society which impact so deeply upon curriculum construction. We cannot escape the clear implication that questions about what knowledge is of most worth and about how it should be organized and taught is problematic, contentious and very serious.

While there are numerous empirical studies of history textbooks, Jason Nicholls' paper offers a valuable contribution to a largely under-theorised and neglected area, that of methodological principles. As Nicholls points out, what is lacking in textbook analysis are coherent and well developed sets of methodologies. Nicholls' paper raises a number of interesting points in identifying a range of issues, themes and questions which ought to be the concern of those seeking to analyse school texts. What is equally as important, and a task which remains to be done, is to place empirical studies of school textbooks, which employ a variety of methodologies, within theoretical models such as those offered by postmodernism, structuralism, social constructionism, discourse analysis and policy sociology. Developing a body of theory as well as empirical studies is a crucial task for the development of textbook analysis.

The school curriculum is essentially the knowledge system of a society incorporating its values and its dominant ideology. The curriculum is not 'our knowledge' born of a broad hegemonic consensus, rather it is a battleground in which cultural authority and the right to define what is labelled legitimate knowledge is fought over and where particular knowledge and selected organising principles receive the official stamp of approval. Much curricular content is the outcome of compromise and will, if we choose to look hard enough, reveal signs of conflict. A crucial context for such analyses is the politics of the social movements that create the need for compromises over school knowledge and an investigation of the larger crisis in the economy, in ideology, and in authority relations.

This is the broad area of enquiry which is the focus of Penelope Harnett's paper which explores an important area of analysis which has exercised the mind of textbook researchers for many years, both in this country and internationally; the relationship between the political and ideological framing of a National Curriculum and its impact upon textbook production. As she points out, the introduction of the National Curriculum in England provided a powerful set of opportunities and parameters for publishers and authors in their efforts to construct school textbooks which in a very real sense can be said to mirror the sets of centralised policy intentions.

Moving from a national to an international and cross-cultural perspective, David Treherne, Keith Crawford and then Marijana Mirkovic and Crawford explore the manner in which history textbooks can be used as sites of analysing national self-identification. Treherne's paper provides a fascinating insight into how during the period 1940 - c.1970 English and Soviet history textbooks tended to be similar in their adoption of a Stalinist perspective of core issues, themes and problems. However, while following that period Soviet textbooks moved away from Stalinist interpretations of history to more fully embrace the changing nature of Soviet communist politics and ideology, it is only in the last decade or so that English interpretations of Soviet history have begun to follow suite. The significance of such lapses in producing more accurate interpretations of the developments of history teaching and learning in other nations in terms of changing ideological parameters often has more to say about the receiving nation and its sense of self-identification than it does about the nation under scrutiny.

Crawford pursues a set of similar themes and in a similar context. Many researchers into school textbooks have pointed out that a principal aim of school history textbooks is to promote a particular view of national identity and, in some cases, a nationalistic identity. In exploring the development of national identity as mediated through the history curriculum in Serbia and Montenegro, Crawford explores how, despite significant ideological and political changes in the pre- and post-Milošević era, the history curriculum remains dominated by concerns regarding what it means to be Serbian and what it means to 'belong'. This is a broad theme which is explored in further detail by Mirković and Crawford in their cross-cultural content analysis of English and Serbian history texts. Here the focus is upon a comparison of how aspects of World War I are treated in both nations. The broad conclusion of this paper is that, while there is a gradual pedagogic merging between the two nations in terms of historical methodology, lying at the heart of Serbian attempts to cover this period is a strong sense of nationalist self-identification.

The collective memories of nations are scarred by their past and what they decide to celebrate or forget about their history says much about how they wish to be seen by themselves and others. For the British important defining moments include the London Blitz, Dunkirk and the Battle of Britain, events burnt deeply into the British psyche which create and maintain definitions of national identity. For the Germans the experiences of National Socialism and the horrors of the Holocaust have been pivotal in shaping the social, moral and political reconstruction of post-war Germany. Yet, despite all that is said and written about the Holocaust, it remains an event clouded by controversy, intense emotions and fiercely partisan conflicts which are ideological and political in motive and intention. Central to the debate in recent years have been studies exploring culpability that extends beyond the committed and active supporters of National Socialism.

Barbara Wenzeler's comparative study analyses the way in which secondary school textbooks in the United Kingdom and Germany explore the issue of culpability for the Holocaust. There is evidence that Second World War images of a victorious Britain shape definitions of what it means to be British and that British children lack a moral understanding of the Second World War as a result of the neglect of sensitive issues where the Holocaust is marginalised and where there is an over-concentration on the Blitz. This might help explain the manner in which the British have continued to mythologise about Germany. Michael Naumann, the German culture minister, has claimed that 'There is only one nation in the world that has decided to make the second world war a sort of spiritual core of its national self, understanding and pride' (*The Sunday Times*, 19th February 1999, p.1). Wenzeler's conclusions point to the fact that in Germany analysis of the Holocaust has moved from a monocausal explanation based upon what might be called a 'Hitler thesis', to embrace broader cultural explanations. This is contrasted with a sample of English textbooks which in her sample are still dominated by interpretations which argue that culpability rested largely with the Nazi Party.

There is a need to be careful about assuming that what is written in textbooks gets either taught or learnt. A number of critical ethnographies of school and classrooms have shown that written texts are subject to a multiplicity of readings and that the manner in which a text is received can vary. Within the context of practice teacher and pupil responses to textbooks can offer the potential to be different from that intended by authors, material can be re-structured, re-interpreted and can reject part, or all, of what is said to constitute official knowledge.

This perspective acknowledges that written texts are subject to a multiplicity of readings and meanings and that the manner in which a text is received varies

significantly (Barthes, 1976); for example, Apple (1991) talks of 'dominant', 'negotiated' and 'oppositional' readings. Dominant readings result in the reader accepting the text uncritically; in a negotiated reading the reader accepts the basic premise of the text - even if there are doubts over certain elements it is accepted as broadly accurate; in an oppositional reading the text is rejected outright.

Working within an historical context Jon Nichol, Kate Watson and Jacqui Dean analyse history textbooks from a number of perspectives which are of significance for the development of textbook analysis: content analysis, the tenor, the author's perception of the audience that produces the text's voice or register, and the mode, the physical form which the textbook takes. Applying Genre theory to history textbooks from the beginning of the 20th Century Nichol, Watson and Dean analyse the changes taking place in textbook study away from structured narrative more towards the critical analysis of evidence.

Perhaps one interesting development in important studies such as this is to develop a methodology which has similarities with linguistic theories of evaluation. According to Thompson, 'Evaluation can be simply defined as the indication of whether the speaker thinks that something (a person, thing, action, event, situation, idea, etc.) is good or bad' (1996, p.65). Hunston and Thompson explain the importance of evaluation by suggesting three main functions:

- to express the speaker's or writer's opinion, and in doing so to reflect the value system of that person and their community;
- to construct and maintain relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader;
- to organize the discourse. (2000, p.6)

These functions suggest that evaluation reflects the ideology of a society, that it is difficult for the reader to challenge evaluation and that textbook authors are proactive in pointing the reader towards what is considered significant in a text. According to Thompson one of the main purposes of communication is to interact with other people. In other words, we use language to '...establish and maintain relations with them, to influence their behaviour, to express our own viewpoint on things in the world, and to elicit or change theirs' (Thompson 1996, p. 28). Hunston and Thompson argue that:

The most obvious function of evaluation ...is to tell the reader what the writer thinks or feels about something. Identifying 'what the writer thinks' tells us about more than just one person's ideas, however. Every act of evaluation expresses a communal value system, and every act of evaluation goes towards building up that value-system. This value-system in turn is a component of the ideology which lies behind every text. Thus, identifying what the writer thinks reveals the ideology of the society that has produced the text (2000, p.6).

Maintaining a relationship with the reader is an important function of evaluation. Hunston and Thompson argue that:

... evaluation can be used to manipulate the reader, to persuade him or her to see things in a particular way ... evaluation is particularly difficult to challenge, and therefore is particularly effective as manipulation, when it is not the main point of the clause (2000, p.8).

Finally, it is our wish that the readers of this edition of the journal will find enough in the pages that follow to stimulate their interest in textbook analysis and encourage them to join in what is, certainly within the UK, a largely neglected area of study.

Keith Crawford, Reader in Education, Edge Hill College of Higher Education

Correspondence

Edge Hill College of Higher Education, Ormskirk, Lancashire
Email: Crawford@edgehill.ac.uk

References

- Apple, M. (1991) 'Regulating the Text: the socio-historical roots of state control', in Altbach, G.P., Kelly, H.G., Petrie, L.W. (Eds) *Textbooks in American Society: Politics, Policy and Pedagogy* New York, State University of New York.
- Apple, M. (1993) *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* London, Routledge.
- Barthes, R. (1976) *The Pleasure of Text* London, Cape.
- Coffin, C. (1997) 'Constructing and giving value to the past: an investigation into secondary school history', in Christie, F. & Martin, J. R. (Eds) *Genre and Institutions* London, Edward Arnold.
- De Castell, S., Luke, A. & Luke, C. (1989) 'Beyond Criticism: The Authority of the School Textbook', in De Castell, S., Luke, A. & Luke, C. (Eds) (1989) *Language, Authority and Criticism: Readings on the School Textbook*. London/Philadelphia, Falmer Press.
- FitzGerald, F. (1979) *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* New York, Vintage Press.
- Griffin, W.L. and Marciano, J. (1979) *Teaching the Vietnam War* Monclair, N.J., Allenhead, Osmun & Co.
- Giroux, H. (1992) *Border Crossings: cultural workers and the politics of education* London, Routledge.
- Hunston, S. & Thompson, G. (2000) 'Evaluation: an introduction', in Hunston, S. & Thompson, G. (Eds) (2000) *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and Construction of Discourse* Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, G. (1996) *Introducing Functional Grammar* London, Edward Arnold.

Methods in School Textbook Research

Jason Nicholls, University of Oxford

Abstract *This paper represents an attempt to provide an overview of methods used in textbook research. Focusing first on generic methods as outlined in key literature across the field, I argue that methods for textbook research are fundamentally underdeveloped and in need of further research. Following this, I outline examples of good practice evident in a series of specific textbook studies. However, fundamental to the paper is the idea that sophisticated textbook studies can only be guaranteed with the systematic development of generic frameworks and instruments.*

Key Words Methods, Textbooks, Research, Key literature, Generic, Specific

This paper represents an attempt to provide an overview of methods used in school textbook research. How is it possible to analyse texts? What preparations need to be made? What guidelines should be followed? What frameworks can be applied? What criteria provide the best tools? What categories should be developed? What questions should be asked? These questions are of fundamental importance to all involved in analysing textbooks. However, it has to be said from the beginning that researching this area is not an easy undertaking. This is due to the fact that surprisingly little work has been done in terms of setting out clear generic guidelines for analysing texts. While pioneers of textbook studies such as Michael Apple in the United States and researchers at the Georg Eckert Institute in Germany, have done much to develop the field there is little explicit discussion in their work of the precise instruments used to conduct textbook research. Research findings discussed in detail are, more often than not, reported on the back of vague discussions of the methodology used. Similarly, where researchers are explicit about the fact that they used a list of questions to analyse a range of texts, they are rarely explicit about the actual questions they asked. We the readers are, therefore, left to tease out the questions from the results.

In this paper I will first give an overview of generic methods for textbook analysis as described in works supported by UNESCO, the Council of Europe and others. This will be followed by a discussion of methods used in specific studies, particularly those focusing on the representation of World War 2 in school history textbooks. Finally I will consider the implications of the current state of affairs.

1. Generic methods for textbook analysis

1.a. Historical background – methods in context

Supranational political bodies such as the United Nations and the Council of Europe have long recognised the potential role of education for promoting international understanding. As a result there have been numerous initiatives to make history education more responsive in Europe and globally. To an overwhelming extent the initiatives represent a response to the devastating wars and conflicts, often fought on ethnic, nationalist or sectarian grounds, that dominated the twentieth century. Reconciliatory measures have sought to heal differences between countries, to bring attention to the mechanisms within national education systems that perpetuate prejudice, stereotyping and bias and, through bilateral and/or multilateral dialogue, to discuss alternative ways of proceeding (Slater, 1995).

As early as the 1920s the newly formed League of Nations drew much attention to the importance of comparative textbook research and after World War 2 developments continued under the responsibility of UNESCO. In the post-war years UNESCO oversaw many bilateral textbook projects, often between former “enemies” or between

countries where there were border disputes. By the 1970s, however, in the wake of increased economic and political crises on the global level, a more multilateral and/or global approach began to take hold and initiatives for textbook research emphasised the need for multilateral procedures (Pingel, 1999, pp. 9-16).

In 1974 researchers at the newly named Georg Eckert Institute (for International Textbook Research) began to work in direct co-operation with UNESCO, a relationship that continues to flourish to the present day. Formed in 1951 as the International Institute for Textbook Improvement by Georg Eckert, a German historian and educationalist, the institute has established itself as a world centre in the field of comparative textbook analysis. Over the years the relationship between UNESCO and the George Eckert Institute has been consolidated through conferences (for example the 1988 conference co-hosted by UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute: *International Consultation with a View to Recommending Criteria for Improving the Study of Major Problems of Mankind and their Presentation in School Curricula and Textbooks*), numerous publications and the creation of the International Textbook Research Network. (Set up in 1992 and based at the Georg Eckert Institute in co-operation with UNESCO, the International Textbook Research Network consists of researchers affiliated to other institutes, universities and NGOs involved in textbook research from around the world). Recently this collaboration has produced a key work in the field of generic methods for textbook analysis, namely the *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* written by Falk Pingel, Deputy Director of the Georg Eckert Institute (Pingel,1999). This work and its implications will be discussed in section 1.b.

In addition to developments by UNESCO the Council of Europe has played a major role in supporting a wide range of projects directed at improving history textbooks in Europe. Founded in 1949, the Council of Europe has organised many Pan-European conferences for history teachers and scholars as well as publishing guidebooks aimed at assisting textbook authors to avoid 'bias and prejudice' in their writing. The 1990s saw the initiation of the Council of Europe's ongoing project, *Learning and Teaching about the History of Europe in the 20th Century*. This has involved research and publications by scholars from across Europe in many areas of history education including textbook research. In particular, Robert Stradling's *Teaching 20th – century European History*, published in 2001, includes interesting sections on methods for textbook analysis and will be discussed in section 1.c (Stradling, 2001).

Other important publications include the work of Estonian researcher Jaan Mikk in his *Textbook: Research and Writing* (2000). In this single volume of over 400 pages Mikk covers an array of issues associated with the use, evaluation and analysis of textbooks. Peter Weinbrenner's "Methodologies of Textbook Analysis used to date" that appears in "History and Social Studies – Methodologies of Textbook Analysis" (1992) is also important. Finally, developments in the United States must also be considered. These contributions will be discussed in section 1.d.

1.b. The UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision by Falk Pingel of the Georg Eckert Institute

After decades of involvement in textbook research UNESCO has at long last produced a methodological guidebook. In the book author Falk Pingel outlines many of the considerations that textbook analysts need to take before and while embarking on research projects. Essentially, Pingel emphasises the complexity of textbook research and the need for researchers to consider all eventualities during their preparation to conduct a project.

In the section entitled 'How to conduct a project: methodological issues and practical guidelines' Pingel gives an overview of 'The stages of an international textbook study. First, Pingel describes the necessary preparations that need to be attended to before commencing a textbook study – e.g. defining a textbook sample from which it is possible to make generalisations. Next, Pingel outlines various methods and techniques, both qualitative and quantitative, which may be used to analyse texts. Third, he provides a list of generic categories upon which an analytical instrument may be constructed. Finally, Pingel discusses 'additional considerations' that should be taken into account.

Defining a textbook sample

In any textbook study there are few things more important than a precisely defined sample. For Pingel, the type and quantity of textbooks to be analysed are essential considerations for analysts wishing to generalise on the basis of research findings. Practical considerations such as the number of countries to be included in an international study are also important details for a research project in its preparatory stages (pp. 21-22).

Quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques

How can we analyse textbooks having defined and selected a sample? Before describing specific research methods and techniques, Pingel gives a brief outline of the two major concerns in textbook research. The first concern regards the pedagogical implications of the text. In other words, how are textbooks used by teachers and received by students? The second concern regards the content of 'the text itself'. In other words, what is included in the text, what is omitted and why? Having made this distinction Pingel proceeds to give a 'short overview about methodological approaches, with a few examples of categories for analysis' (p. 22).

Pingel emphasises the fact that different methods reflect different purposes and that 'each approach provides answers to different questions'. Pingel then proceeds to outline the key features of quantitative and qualitative methods used in textbook research. Overall, Pingel stresses the complimentary nature of both quantitative and qualitative techniques.

Quantitative methods are used to measure aspects of the text in terms of frequency and space. This may take the form of quantifying how frequently particular words or names, places or dates appear across a sample of texts. It may also involve measuring how much (or how little) space is allocated to a particular theme, event or topic. As in other fields of social research, quantitative methods are useful when analysing large samples. However, they enable breadth at the expense of depth telling 'us a great deal about where the emphasis lies, about selection criteria, but nothing [in themselves] about values and interpretation'(p. 45).

Pingel describes qualitative methods in greater detail. With qualitative methods of textbook analysis depth presides over breadth. As such, the results tend to be richer with regard to understanding the way that information is presented in a text yet more difficult from which to make generalisations. Pingel then goes on to list different qualitative approaches to textbook analysis. First he describes *hermeneutic analysis*, used to unearth hidden meanings and messages in textbooks. He then briefly outlines *linguistic analysis*, involving the examination of words and terminology with controversial meanings and *cross-cultural analysis*, where all sides in a bilateral or multilateral study examine each other's textbooks to identify bias. Finally, he discusses *discourse analysis*, where the researcher deconstructs textbook content to identify what information, groups and events the author values, takes for granted, valorises or regards as unimportant. Pingel also refers to *contingency analysis*, a new method

combining qualitative and quantitative techniques to analyse the representation of both text and images. However, his description of this last method is extremely vague (p. 45).

Unfortunately, there are many qualitative methods for textbook research that Pingel fails to mention all together. These include *disciplinary or historiographical analysis*, used to investigate the manner in which the discipline of history is conveyed, *visual analysis*, used to evaluate the ways in which images, charts and maps are employed, and *question analysis*, used to assess whether in-text questions facilitate the development of students' memorisation or critical thinking skills. In addition, *critical analysis*, used to identify and expose textbook portrayals that perpetuate unequal social relations in society and *structural analysis*, used to investigate exactly how historical events and processes are structured or 'delivered' across textbooks, are not mentioned (Foster, 2002). Finally, there is the whole issue of *semiotic analysis* to identify signs and signifiers in texts, as theorised by cultural theorists such as Roland Barthes (1976). Although a popular tool for textual analysis in cultural and literary theory, the relevance of semiotic techniques for textbook analysis is not explicitly acknowledged by Pingel.

Designing an analytical instrument – categories and questions

As William Fetsko, the American textbook analyst, comments, 'Time spent in designing the analysis instrument will pay great dividends throughout the process' (Fetsko, 1992, p. 133). To 'design' the 'instrument' researchers must formulate a framework or criteria of categories and questions fine-tuned to the specific aims and objectives of a particular textbook project. The categories and questions are then applied to all the textbooks in the sample from which analysis of the results may proceed. In the UNESCO Guidebook Pingel refrains from giving examples of completed analytical instruments stating that the 'categories and methods for analysis can only be presented in a very general way' (1999, p. 47) due to the very specific nature of every project. Instead, Pingel gives a much more general 'List of Criteria for Analysis' which is set out (quoted directly) below:

Textbook sector components:

- Educational system
- Guidelines/curriculum
- Adoption procedures
- Structures of publishing houses

Formal criteria:

- Bibliographic references
- Target group (school level, type of school)
- Dissemination

Types of texts/mode of presentation:

- Author's intentions (if specified)
- Descriptive author's text (narrative)
- Illustrations/photos/maps
- Tables/statistics
- Sources
- Exercises

Analysis of content:

- Factual accuracy/completeness/errors
- Up-to-date portrayal

- Topic selection/emphasis (balance)/representativeness
- Extent of differentiation
- Proportion of facts and views/interpretation

Perspective of presentation:

- Comparative/contrastive approach
- Problem-oriented
- Rationality/evocation of emotions

(Pingel, 1999, p. 48)

The list is composed of 5 main focus categories (main criteria). Within each category a series of sub-headings (sub-criteria) are listed around which probing questions could be formulated in accordance with the specific aims and objectives of a given project. The list of criteria is useful but, in the attempt to provide a generic overview, perhaps overly general.

Additional considerations

Finally, Pingel discusses other dimensions and practical considerations essential to the textbook research process. Pingel writes of the implications of a country's economic circumstances for the production and physical quality of textbooks. He also talks about the very difficult task of determining what "pseudo-factual" content should be included in texts. Although the process of including and omitting specific content virtually guarantees contention, Pingel emphasises the difficulties involved in those cases where disagreements appear irreconcilable (pp. 24-26). Pingel then goes on to describe spatial and time variables within textbook research. Spatial and time dimensions refer to the dynamic between the locality of the textbook and of the textbook researcher (pp. 26-27). In other words, textbook researchers with different backgrounds may evaluate textbooks from different places and at different times in different ways. Finally, Pingel draws attention to the idea of official public memory and the ways in which these memories are 'masked by the different ways in which textbooks are used' (p. 27).

Assessing the UNESCO Guidebook

The UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision is the first of its kind and in this sense an important step. Falk Pingel provides an overview – a general methodological framework – on how to go about conducting textbook research from conceptualisation, to design, to practice, to findings and finally their dissemination. He raises many questions and rightly brings attention to the numerous practical and methodological pitfalls faced by the textbook researcher. To this extent there is much that is useful in Pingel's guidebook. However, what Pingel does too little of is guide the prospective textbook researcher in how to analyse texts. Two or three examples of methodological instruments used for analysing specific aspects of a given text or sample of texts together with clear explanations would have sufficed. Pingel does have an answer to this, however, when he refers to the methods of analysis presented in the book as 'a minimum standard for textbook analysis'. He then explains that this is due to the fact that, 'Often our questions and aims are more specific and we [ourselves] have to further refine the instruments to be used in the study' (p. 47). There is some truth in this. However, a minimum standard is perhaps not enough to enable potential researchers to understand the processes involved. More examples were needed to illustrate Pingel's discussion of methods and procedures. This is a guidebook, the most important function of which is to guide.

1.c. Robert Stradling: “Evaluating History Textbooks”

Critique implies an ideal or at least a ‘provisional’ or ‘located’ ideal. The act of arguing what is problematic about a thing is simultaneously to imply what is not problematic or at least “less problematic”. As such, when we critique, judge or evaluate an object or a relationship between things we implicitly suggest a hierarchy. To make *improvements* on x or y, to suggest ways in which things may be presented *more* clearly than before, to *increase* awareness of particular issues by doing this or that and so on. Critique of an object is, therefore, based on the implicit orientation of the researcher, the located subject, and implies a ‘located’ ideal.

In his recent book, *Teaching 20th-century European history*, published in collaboration with the Council of Europe (Stradling, 2001), Robert Stradling confesses at the beginning of the chapter ‘Evaluating History Textbooks’ that, ‘It is not written with the intention of seeking to offer a definitive answer to the question ‘What is a good history textbook?’” Stradling recognises that what counts as being a good textbook in one place by a certain group of people is likely to be perceived differently in another place by other people and that ‘a definitive answer usually leads to little more than broad and rather platitudinous generalisations’. Indeed, the idea of defining a set of core principles that every history textbook should include is, as Stradling argues, unlikely to be satisfactory for all situations, offering no more than ‘a stimulus for further discussion’. Nevertheless, Stradling proceeds to set out a series of categories and questions for evaluating history textbooks that, I would suggest, imply a ‘provisional’ ideal (p. 257).

Stradling’s book is a Pan-European guide for history teachers and, therefore, not aimed specifically at textbook researchers. However, by providing an analytical tool for teachers, a framework for evaluating textbooks, Stradling acknowledges that teachers are as much textbook researchers as scholars. For this reason Stradling’s categories and questions are of interest to all involved in the research, analysis, critique and evaluation of textbooks.

As part of his analytical framework Stradling constructs four main categories across which there are forty probing questions. Within each category Stradling offers questions that will guide the evaluation of the researcher. Category one, dealing with the evaluation of textbook content, includes questions on coverage, sequencing and the curriculum, space allocation, the incorporation of multiple-perspectives, cultural and regional identity, and omissions. Category two, identifying the textbook’s pedagogical value, includes questions on students’ prior skills and knowledge, on whether the textbook encourages memorisation or skills development, on the use of charts and pictures, on the explication of historical concepts in the text, and on the facilitation of comparative thinking. The third category, identifying intrinsic qualities in history textbooks, includes questions on assessing textbook pitch, on whether a text relies on reductionism, and on the possibilities for identifying author bias in texts. The last category deals with extrinsic factors that may impact on the textbook. Questions to ascertain when the book first appeared on the market, the price and robustness of the textbook, whether the book is aimed at a specific group of students, and the extent to which the textbook will need to be complimented with alternative resources, are included in this category (pp. 258-263).

Stradling provides an example of guidelines – criteria based on categories and questions - for analysing history textbooks. Perhaps Stradling’s categories could be redefined and the questions appropriately re-clustered. In addition, questions would need to be fine-tuned according to the specific focus of a given project. This may require the formulation of additional categories. William Fetsko, for example, suggests

a set of generic categories different to Stradling's including 'Readability', 'Format' and 'Quality of the Text' but his questions are more or less the same (Fetsko, 1992, pp. 132-133). Likewise, Crismore argues for the inclusion of categories that evaluate "the rhetorical *form* of textbooks" beyond merely the analysis of what information is included and omitted, in order to measure 'the way the content is presented' (Crismore, 1989, p. 133). Like Stradling, however, both Fetsko and Crismore refer to analytical criteria to be used by teachers and/or textbook selection committees. They are not writing for the benefit of the academic textbook researcher *per se* and their ideas must be adapted accordingly. Nevertheless, Stradling's categories and questions for evaluating textbooks represent an important and much needed example: a criterion from which to work from, a reference point from which to locate oneself, a beginning open to further discussion, just as Stradling intended.

There is another side to 'making categories' and 'asking questions', however, that throws light on the important connection between methodology and the epistemological and indeed socio-political orientation of the researcher. To begin with, the process of asking particular types of questions can be and often is evaluative involving the assessment of what is 'good' or 'better' and what is not. From Stradling's questions this is clearly implied in the sense that he favours textbooks that, among other things, offer multiple perspectives, social and cultural history as much as political history, and offer information consistent with the latest research findings. Textbooks including these elements are therefore, by implication, better than those that offer nationalistic, mono-causal interpretations of history focusing on the military/political pursuits of famous men. Whether he likes it or not Stradling's criteria are thus based on a 'provisional' ideal of what constitutes good knowledge and what makes a good textbook and what does not. In addition, the criteria tell us much about Stradling's socio-political orientation with regard to the function of history education in democratic societies: views should be expressed in all their plurality while actively interpreted by a critically engaged student populace. Thus, Stradling's methodology, like all methodologies, is intimately connected to an epistemology – a theory of knowledge – that, in turn, expresses an implicit socio-political orientation.

In the senses described above, Stradling offers more to the prospective researcher than Pingel. Unlike Pingel, however, Stradling does not give details on the many other practical and methodological aspects involved in textbook research. He doesn't discuss sampling or parity for instance. This being said, Stradling is, after all, writing for teachers involved in selecting textbooks as and when the school budget allows. Yet the concerns of Stradling and the teachers on behalf of whom he is writing are not so dissimilar to those of the academic textbook researcher. I would suggest combining aspects of both Pingel and Stradling's work, UNESCO and the Council of Europe, for a more complete framework.

1.d. Other Contributions

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union many Eastern European states have been involved in an intense effort to re-write their textbooks, particularly in the fields of history, geography and civics. However, while textbook research in Eastern Europe is a flourishing field, few works are published focusing specifically on methods. *Textbook: Research and Writing* by Estonian Jaan Mikk (2000) is an exception. Although not an easy read and in places poorly translated, the author devotes over 400 pages to 'methods of textbook evaluation and....recommendations for writing....textbooks' (p. 9). On the whole, Mikk emphasises the importance of quantitative techniques for the analysis of textual structures (pp. 77-103) stressing ultimately that 'methods must be reliable and valid' (p. 78). This gives the book a positivist/empiricist flavour not necessarily conducive to researchers of, say, ideology in history textbooks. Moreover,

much of the book is devoted to textbook writing. However, in his discussion of methods for 'the analysis of...value forming' textbook content Mikk outlines some qualitative approaches (p. 101). Like Pingel and Straddling Mikk describes the need to formulate topics and subtopics, a framework of categories, to guide content analyses. This being said, Mikk goes a step further when he proceeds to explain how 'there are two possibilities for developing a list of [guiding] topics' (p. 103). The first possibility is rational and conceptual, involving the formulation of a set of topics prior to textbook analysis. The second possibility is empirical and practical, involving the provisional analysis of a sample of textbooks upon which to formulate a set of topics. Importantly, Mikk reminds us of the intimate relationship between methodology and epistemology. In other words, do we construct an analytical instrument based on an idea of what is to be analysed or on our experience of what is to be analysed? The answer, I would suggest, has something to do with both.

Peter Weinbrenner's essay, 'Methodologies of Textbook Analysis used to date' (1990) is useful because he describes with such clarity what is lacking in textbook research. Weinbrenner is indeed quick to point out that textbook 'research is incomplete' and that there remain many gaps in the field that need to be filled (p. 21). To begin with, he argues, textbook research has not been sufficiently theorised. There is no 'theory of the schoolbook' upon which to construct solid methodologies. Secondly, there are 'empirical limitations'. In other words, we continue to know very little about the effects of using school textbooks. Finally, writes Weinbrenner, 'we do not yet have a set of reliable methods and instruments for the measurement and assessment of investigations in the field of schoolbook research' (p. 22). In order to fill these gaps Weinbrenner suggests a series of dimensions and categories in school textbook research where future developments, often involving new understandings of the meaning of textbook research, might take place.

Beyond these offerings, American scholars have made important contributions to textbook research. Since the 1970s, Michael Apple's highly influential work has, to some extent, dominated the agenda. In books such as *Teachers and Texts* (1986) and *Official Knowledge* (1993) Apple develops a highly critical analysis of the hegemonic processes that characterise the production and consumption of textbooks both inside and outside of the United States. Unfortunately, where Apple has devoted himself to producing a rich theoretical perspective, he rarely gives explicit and detailed accounts concerning methodology, either generic or specific to his own work. Apple has written extensively on the theme of school textbooks but one can never be sure of exactly which ones since he almost never defines his sample more specifically than *all the textbooks in capitalist America*. This is not always the case with Apple's colleagues. In *The Politics of the Textbook*, co-edited by Apple (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991), Christine Sleeter and Carl Grant give a precise account of methods used in their critical study of representations of diversity in US school textbooks. However, their submission is the only one to cover methods in the entire volume (Sleeter & Grant, pp. 78-110).

In the US, Apple is not alone in neglecting the discussion of methodological approaches in textbook research. Across the board, in key works by leaders in the field, methodological procedures and processes receive little attention and rarely anything close to an explicit and detailed description. In *Language, Authority and Criticism*, edited by De Castell *et al* only one of the essays, 'Rhetorical Form, Selection and the Use of Textbooks' by Avon Crismore, approaches the issue of analysing/evaluating textbooks using criteria based on the formulation of categories and questions (1989). Likewise, in *The Textbook Controversy – Issues, Aspects, Perspectives*, edited by John Herlihy, only one of the submissions focuses on the methodological processes involved in textbook evaluation and selection. The article by

William Fetsko, 'Approaching Textbook Selection Systematically', is only 6 pages long (Fetsko, 1992, pp. 129-136). It doesn't take expert frequency and space analysis to realise that published discussions of generic methods in textbook research are under-represented.

2. Methods used in studies investigating the representation of World War 2 in school history textbooks

2.a. World War 2 Textbook Studies in Context

How are pan-global historical experiences represented in history textbooks, particularly when the experience is as controversial as World War 2? Do textbooks in different countries tell us different stories about the war? What underlying agendas define selection? What information is included? What information is omitted? How is information presented and what are the implications? These questions are the concern of textbook researchers focusing on representations of World War 2.

Most researchers focus on a particular and manageable aspect of the war - e.g., the atomic bombing of Hiroshima (Foster & Morris, 1994), the Holocaust (Pingel, 2000), the experience of the Blitz (Crawford, 2001) etc., although some quantitative projects have focused on the war in its entirety (Ketchum, 1986). Not surprisingly, qualitative forms of content analysis have tended to dominate the field although there are examples of purely quantitative studies using space and frequency analysis. Some projects combine the use of both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The field offers numerous possibilities for longitudinal analysis, comparing current textbook representations with information and data unearthed through historical research. However, latitudinal analysis appears to be more popular, comparing current representations in one country with those of other countries. In general, the field is undeveloped with little work published in books and journals. The quality of the work is accordingly varied. This is particularly the case when studying the methods used to conduct studies. Many authors are explicit about how, for example, they defined their textbook sample yet unclear when describing the instrument they used – the framework of categories and questions – to analyse the sample. Thankfully, this is not always the case as will now be discussed.

2.b. Methods used to analyse representations of World War 2 in textbooks from a single country

Constructing national memory: The 1940/41 Blitz in British history textbooks by Keith Crawford (Crawford, 2001)

In this illuminating study Keith Crawford successfully deconstructs the way in which the *Blitz* is mythologised in UK history textbook accounts of World War 2 for Key Stage 2, 3 and 4. Crawford argues that the *Blitz* myth – that indomitable Britons worked together harmoniously in the face of adversity in a display of natural courage and goodwill – is a social construct. Perpetuated by dominant ideologies this myth of the *Blitz* has become established in the public memory, an essential element of modern British cultural and national identity. However, through the detailed historical analysis of numerous historical accounts Crawford undermines the myth and '*presents evidence which suggests that children are provided with a narrow view of the past which promotes a sense of unity and patriotism in a way which limits critical historical consciousness*' (p. 323).

Methodology

Textbook Sample:

- 21 history textbooks for Key Stage 2,3 and 4.
- All texts published in Britain.

- All texts contain author narrative; primary evidence such as photographs, cartoons, maps and personal accounts; and pupil activities.
- Texts on 20th century history including chapters on World War 2 were typically 250 pages in length.
- Texts focusing purely on World War 2 were typically around 80 pages long.
- In accordance with UK procedures there were no screening processes involved in the approval or adoption of the books, individual teachers and schools being free to choose books from whichever publisher they please.

Type of analysis:

- Qualitative techniques such as critical analysis, visual analysis and historiographical analysis were applied to textbook content
- Historical analysis of accounts of the *Blitz* experience including those of ordinary people who lived through the *Blitz*, biographical accounts of politicians and military officers in the 1940s, information from public archive material and mass observation survey files, as well as work by academic historians
- Textbook content was compared with analysis of historical accounts of the *Blitz* experience through a framework of core themes and questions.

Categories/themes and questions

Generic questions applied to textbook content included:

- How does textbook content link with recent academic research in the field?
- Can recurring characters and events be identified?
- To what extent do these characters and events form part of a core national memory learned by students?
- What assumptions underlie the textual discourse? Does the text transmit a particular message?
- What do authors appear to value or think important?
- Does the text inform and explain events and issues? What issues or themes are covered in insufficient depth and could use further explanation?
- Does the text encourage the investigation and critique of evidence or the memorisation of knowledge?
- What appears to be taken for granted in the text?

The following *questions*, specific to the two themes 'Wartime morale and propaganda' and 'Sheltering from the Blitz', were applied to textbook content in light of evidence established through the analysis of historical accounts.

On the theme of 'Wartime morale and propaganda' Crawford discusses the following questions:

- How is wartime morale portrayed in the textbooks?
- To what extent are panic, suffering and low morale adequately represented?
- How are Britain's leaders portrayed in relation to national morale? To what extent is this consistent with the findings of recent research?
- How is the attitude of the British people towards the leadership portrayed? Are multiple perspectives given to demonstrate the breadth of views?
- How are the use of propaganda and the role of the BBC portrayed?
- What is the relationship between national propaganda during the *Blitz* and its portrayal in contemporary textbooks?
- Which images of high morale during the *Blitz* experience are constantly repeated?
- Can textbook images be categorised?

On the theme of “Sheltering from the Blitz” Crawford discusses the following questions:

- How is the use of air raid shelters portrayed in the text? How does this compare with evidence from historical accounts?
- How is the use of the London underground for air raid shelters depicted in the text? Is this consistent with evidence from historical accounts?
- How is the exodus from bombed cities portrayed in the text if at all?
- Is the relationship between ‘black outs’ and rising crime represented in the text? How is it portrayed and in what detail?
- To what extent are black market activities described in the text? What explanations are given for black market activities?
- Is coverage given to the prevalence of anti-semitism in London’s East End or the extent to which Nazi propaganda was believed?
- Is the plight of conscientious objectors covered in the text? How?

One of the most important features of Keith Crawford’s study is its methodological clarity. Crawford describes his sample in detail followed by discussion of the type of analysis used, both to analyse texts and research historical accounts. Crawford is explicit about the generic questions used as well as how he arrived at the two specific themes: ‘Wartime morale and propaganda’ and ‘Sheltering from the *Blitz*’. The questions used to analyse the specific themes are evident in the discussion of the research results. Crawford ends his paper with a very clear concluding section summing up his analysis complete with recommendations for improvements. This is a model textbook study.

2.c. Methods used to analyse representations of World War 2 in textbooks from more than one country

Arsenal of Righteousness? – Treatment of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima in English and U.S. History Textbooks by Stuart Foster and James Morris (Foster & Morris, 1994)

In this provocative study Foster and Morris argue that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima is approached differently in English and US history textbooks. In particular, their results point to the poor ‘treatment’ of the subject in US texts. Relying heavily on the memorisation of repeated facts, names and dates, US textbooks lack depth and subtlety. This is especially apparent in the tendency to oversimplify the reality experienced by victims of the bomb, to oversimplify the making of the decision to drop the bomb and through a tendency to include few activities aimed at developing analytical skills for the interpretation of historical evidence. In contrast, English history textbooks *tend* to include a higher degree of engaging narratives including a multitude of perspectives, cross-referenced with relevant sources and imagery, and activities that approach the desired ideal of enabling students to ‘think historically’ (p. 164).

Methodology

Textbook sample:

- 4 US secondary school history textbooks and 4 English secondary school history textbooks.
- All 8 textbooks were found to be widely used in secondary schools.

Type of analysis:

- Qualitative techniques were applied to textbook content. These included comparative analysis, critical and disciplinary analysis as well as elements of visual, question, and structural analysis.
- One quantitative technique was applied to textbook content: space analysis.

Foster and Morris also discuss the question: ‘Why compare the chosen topic?’ They give the following reasons:

- The use of the atomic bomb is a common and popular topic in US and English schools.
- The topic is important in the context of World War Two and the Cold War
- The topic is relevant to contemporary issues such as environmental protection, the use of force and nuclear weapons.
- The topic is significant for both the US and UK as allies in World War 2 and as countries with modern nuclear arsenals.

Categories/themes and questions

Foster and Morris develop three themes or overarching questions in order to analyse and evaluate the textbooks in their sample: ‘What was it like?’ ‘How and why did it happen?’ and ‘How do we know?’ These themes provide a clear analytical framework for evaluating the combined use of source materials, author narrative, pictorial evidence, explanatory captions and the use of statistics across the textbook sample.

On the theme/overarching question “What was it like?” Foster and Morris discuss the following questions:

- How are narrative, source materials and pictorial evidence combined to induce feelings of empathy among students?
- How engaging is the narrative? Does it portray a strong sense of human hardship suffered?
- How are source materials used to portray human hardship?
- What is the balance between the use of source materials and author narrative?
- Is the use of sources supported by narrative?
- How are statistics used? Do they add a meaningful dimension to the experience of human suffering?
- How many photographs are used? How do they depict the “reality” of Hiroshima?
- What captions are used to describe photographs?

On the theme/overarching question ‘How and why did it happen?’ Foster and Morris discuss the following questions:

- What explanations are given for the decision to drop the bomb?
- Are major decisions placed in context?
- Are major decisions questioned in any way?
- Are multiple perspectives given on the pros and cons of major decisions? Are Truman’s options presented?
- To what extent are source materials used to support different perspectives?
- Are students asked to give their own perspective or to discuss perspectives?
- Is sufficient background information provided to enable students to develop their own perspective?
- Is background information biased towards any particular perspective?

On the theme/overarching question ‘How do we know?’ Foster and Morris discuss the following questions:

- How effective is the use of historical evidence across the textbook sample?
- To what extent can students formulate judgements based on the presentation of evidence?
- To what extent does the textbook invite the use of critical skills of investigation and inquiry?
- Is contradictory evidence used or included?
- What reference is made to historical research in the text?

- To what extent does the text encourage students to accept sources at face value? To what extent are events presented as unquestionable and given?
- Are sources used only to justify the making of major decisions or to critique those decisions?
- Are the texts explicit about how opinions may be affected by the way that primary sources are presented?

Foster and Morris provide a very clear methodological framework for their analysis. The sample is well defined and the reasons for selecting the chosen topic clearly explained. In addition to this, the style of analysis and the three overarching questions used to analyse the sample are explicitly laid out. Sub-questions that support the three themes are clearly evident in the discussion of the research results. In conclusion, Foster and Morris sum up clearly in a section complete with a wide range of recommendations for improvements. These factors combined give the overall impression of a well-organised and sharply focused research project.

2.d. Studies involving quantitative methods to analyse World War 2 in history textbooks

World War Two Events as Represented in Secondary School Textbooks of Former Allied and Axis Nations by Allen Ketchum (Ketchum, 1982)

How have quantitative methods been used to analyse World War 2 in history textbooks? In this 1982 doctoral study Allen Ketchum attempts to investigate 'how former combatants of World War II now present the facts of that struggle to their current student populations' and 'to create comparative education research methodologies that are compatible with the incipient power of microcomputers'. Using a wide range of quantitative techniques Ketchum identifies several patterns across the textbook sample.

Methodology

Textbook sample:

- 8 textbooks from 8 countries. A single textbook from each of 4 formerly Axis countries during World War II, West Germany, Italy, East Germany and Hungary, was selected. A single textbook from each of 4 formerly Allied countries during World War Two, the United States, Britain, the USSR and Poland, was selected. Selection was also based on each nation's political and strategic allegiance in the early 1980s, the period in which Ketchum conducted the study. Thus textbooks were selected from two former Axis countries and two former Allied countries that had become NATO members (the United States, England, West Germany and Italy) and from two former Axis countries and two former Allied countries that had become Warsaw Pact members (the USSR, Poland, East Germany and Hungary), since the end of World War Two.

Textbook translations:

- All textbooks in the sample were translated into English (by scholars at the University of London).

Type of analysis:

- Comparative content analysis.
- Quantitative methods involving 3 'time' and 3 'event' centred techniques. Time centred techniques included chronological analysis, emphasis analysis, and ethnocentrism analysis. Event centred techniques included alternative treatment analysis, spatial analysis and omission analysis.
- All techniques were computer facilitated involving the identification and evaluation of words, sentences, categories and patterns across the textbook sample.

- Statistics were employed to identify patterns in the data. However, Ketchum states quite clearly that the “research is ex post facto and is not intended to be used to generalize to any other population of textbooks” and thus ‘[s]ince the collected data is 100% of the population of the chosen history textbooks, the use of statistical tools is limited to a ‘consolidation-of-data’ mode rather than the more common experimental and predictive mode’.

Ketchum’s entire sample was exposed to the following ‘time-centred’ and ‘event-centred’ quantitative analytical techniques:

Time-centred techniques

Chronological analysis:

- Ketchum describes *chronological analysis* as a method for examining ‘the importance that the history textbook authors place on events that occurred in a certain imposed time parameter’. Ketchum measures the importance placed on events in each of the 69 ‘month’ periods from September 1939 to August 1945 across the eight-nation textbook sample (p. 40).

Emphasis analysis:

- Having identified ‘the eight most emphasised months in each text’ using *chronological analysis*, *emphasis analysis* involved measuring ‘the total number of words written about events’ in each of the eight month periods (p. 46).

Ethnocentrism analysis:

- Ketchum is keen to point out that *ethnocentrism analysis* is neither an ethnic nor an anthropologically oriented form of textbook analysis. Rather ethnocentrism analysis is used to ‘identify the quantity of material in a textbook that refers to events in World War II that are in the geographic ‘sphere of influence’ of the country that the text comes from’ (p. 52).

Event-centred techniques

Alternative treatment analysis:

- *Alternative treatment analysis* facilitates the formulation of generic categories in order ‘to organize the researcher’s exploration into the texts’. Using this type of analysis Ketchum was able to ‘group the materials of the eight textbooks into the following fifteen categories: Battles West, Battles East, Communist Party, Deaths, Economics, Exiled Governments, Personalities, Policies, Resistance, Surrenders, Tactics, Treaties, War Declarations, War Travesties, and Nonclassified’. In textbooks from across the sample the emphasis on each of the above categories was found to vary - e.g. in the Italian and West German text there was a pronounced tendency to emphasise ‘Resistance’. In the Soviet text the emphasis was on ‘Battles East’ and in the US text greater emphasis was placed on ‘Personalities’ compared with texts from other countries etc (pp. 56-58).

Spatial analysis:

- Each of the 15 generic categories identified using *alternative treatment analysis* contains a series of subcategories. In all, the 15 generic categories contain 114 specific subcategories. Ketchum used *spatial analysis* to search ‘for ‘events’ that the textbook authors deemed paramount. This was done by isolating any of the 114 subcategories where 4% or more of the space of any text was utilized to describe the ‘event’” (p. 84).

Omission analysis:

- Using *omission analysis* Ketchum attempts to measure what ‘is not in the history textbooks’ (p. 87). As Ketchum summarises: ‘Omission analysis, the last event-

oriented method, simply examines the number of events that were ignored in each text....This technique found the East German textbook to have the lowest number of omissions, and the Soviet text to have the most' (p. 92).

Ketchum's doctoral study is an interesting piece of work. With its Cold War era focus and its reliance on what are now very old-fashioned computing techniques the work comes across as something of a dated 'period piece', yet there is much of value in the study. To begin with, the methodology used is clearly laid out. Thus, Ketchum clearly defines his research aims and objectives while his use of analytical techniques and procedures is easy to follow. Likewise, the results of the study can be clearly understood due to Ketchum's good use of tables, graphs and charts. This being said, the sample size is too small, yet Ketchum is well aware of the fact that by using one textbook from each country he is unable to generalise from any of his results. Deeper samples of say 3 or 4 textbooks per country would have been more complex to analyse (and translate!) but the yield from the research findings would likely have been far greater.

3. Conclusions

In the field of textbook research, methods used to analyse texts are rarely discussed clearly and in depth. Thus where ideology, politics, language and other content related issues are readily approached across numerous publications, methods are all too often given a brief mention. Pingel offers useful advice on the textbook research process in its entirety, just as Stradling's work brings light to the kinds of categories and questions researchers may need to use in order to evaluate texts. Likewise, other researchers such as Weinbrenner, Mikk and Fetsko bring light to an array of important issues. However, on the whole, too little work has been conducted on generic methods for textbook research and it remains as a gaping hole in the field. Detailed guidelines need to be set out on precisely how to construct methodological instruments for analysing texts and various methods currently in use need to be disentangled, defined and ultimately located in relation to each other. Finally, with regard to the work on representations of World War Two in school history textbooks, I selected studies that I consider examples of good practice. Yet, considering the lack of any generic set of clear guidelines for researchers to follow, it is perhaps not surprising that, in general, the methodological quality of research varies immensely. Sometimes the analytical instruments used are discussed openly and explicitly while elsewhere categories and questions need to be teased out, no doubt imprecisely, from the discussion of results. On the whole, the current state of affairs is less than satisfactory. More work is needed.

Correspondence

Department of Educational Studies
15 Norham Gardens
Oxford OX2 6PY
England
Email: jason.nicholls@st-cross.oxford.ac.uk or skarsgatan79@yahoo.com

References

- Apple, M. (1986) *Teachers and Texts - A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education* New York and London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Apple, M. (1993) *Official Knowledge: democratic education in a conservative age* London, Routledge.
Apple, M. and Christian-Smith, L. (eds) *The Politics of the Textbook* New York and London, Routledge.

- Barthes, R. (1976) *The Pleasure of the Text* London, Cape.
- Bourdillon, H. (1992) *History and Social Studies – Methodologies of Textbook Analysis* Amsterdam, Swets and Zeitlinger.
- Crawford, K. (2001) 'Constructing national memory: The 1940/41 Blitz in British History textbooks', in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* Hannover, Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung.
- Crismore, A. (1989) 'Rhetorical Form, Selection and the Use of Textbooks' in Suzanne de Castell et al. (ed) *Language, Authority and Criticism – Readings on the School Textbook* London, New York and Philadelphia, The Falmer Press.
- Fetsko, W. (1992) 'Approaching Textbook Selection Systematically' in Herlihy, J.G. (ed) *The Textbook Controversy – Issues, Aspects, Perspective* New Jersey, Norwood.
- Foster, S. and Morris, J. (1994) *Arsenal of Righteousness? – Treatment of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima in English and U.S. History Textbooks*, in *Curriculum*, Volume 15, Number 3, pp.163-173.
- Foster, S. (2002) Stuart Foster: listed in *Methodological Issues and Approaches in Textbook Research and Analysis*, unpublished instructional document, Institute of Education, University of London, Spring 2002.
- Ketchum, A. (1982) *World War II Events as represented in Secondary School Textbooks of Former Allied and Axis Nations*, doctoral thesis, Department of Educational Foundations and Administration, University of Arizona.
- Mikk, J. (2000) *Textbook: Research and Writing* Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang.
- Pingel, F. (1999) *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, pp.9-11, Hannover, Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung.
- Pingel, F. (2000) *The European home: representations of 20th century Europe in history textbooks* Strasbourg, Council of Europe.
- Slater, J. (1995) *Teaching History in the New Europe* London and New York, Council of Europe.
- Stradling, R. (2001) *Teaching 20th – century European history* Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing.
- Sleeter, C. and Grant, C. (1991) 'Race, Class, Gender and Disability in Current Textbooks' in Apple, M. and Christian-Smith, L. (eds) *The Politics of the Textbook* New York and London Routledge.
- Weinbrenner, P. (1992) 'Methodologies of Textbook Analysis used to date', in Bourdillon, H. (1992) *History and Social Studies – Methodologies of Textbook Analysis*, Amsterdam, Swets and Zeitlinger.

History in the Primary School: the Contribution of Textbooks to Curriculum Innovation and Reform

Penelope Harnett, University of the West of England, Bristol, England

Abstract *The paper explores some of the key themes in the construction and implementation of the primary history curriculum within the last fifteen years and analyses ways in which textbooks contributed to the introduction and subsequent implementation of the history National Curriculum in primary schools. The introduction of the National Curriculum in England provided an impetus for publishers and a range of new textbooks were published for primary schools. The new textbooks therefore provide some of the earliest interpretations of government policy and of the National Curriculum. As the curriculum continues to evolve through practice and fresh policy initiatives, textbooks may continue to mirror ongoing curriculum change.*

Keywords National Curriculum, Primary history curriculum, Government policy, Curriculum change

Textbooks provide one feature in the context of text production identified by Bowe et al. (1992) as one of the three contexts where policy is created. The context of text production reflects the interpretation of policy within different texts and has a dynamic and symbiotic relationship with other contexts, namely the context of influence, the site where public policy is normally initiated, and the context of practice where policy is implemented.

As the history National Curriculum became established in primary schools in England during the 1990s and was revised, textbooks needed to take cognisance of new policies and priorities. Textbook analysis therefore may be used to reflect changing government priorities and also to evaluate the role of textbooks in policy interpretation. It thus raises questions linked with the dissemination of new ideas: the multiplicity of readings relating to policy texts and their potential impact on practice. In addition, textbooks may also respond to practice and develop from assessments of ways in which the curriculum is implemented in school. In this respect, the links between publications and Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI) reports, together with teachers' reported concerns, provide a further avenue for investigation.

The content and shape of curriculum subjects change as the curriculum evolves. Goodson rejects descriptions of subjects as, 'monolithic entities', and argues that they are, 'a shifting amalgamation of subgroups and traditions' (Goodson, 1994, p.42). As contributors to this 'shifting amalgamation of subgroups', textbooks have an influential role; they reflect the views of different traditions incorporated within the curriculum, but also respond to new situations and fresh priorities. In this respect, an historical analysis of textbooks can contribute to a developing understanding of the evolution of a school subject (Marsden, 2001) and can provide perspectives on the present through elucidating 'the precedents, antecedents and constraints' (Goodson et al., 1998, p.17), surrounding the contemporary curriculum.

Textbook research also permits analysis of the development of the subject within the broader curriculum. Prior to the National Curriculum, primary school children often learned history in English schools through integrated approaches, combining a selection of school subjects. The history National Curriculum however, gave status to history as a subject within the primary school and the 1990s marked the development of history within a strong classificatory frame. Bernstein argues that subjects with strong classifications claim to have unique identities and voices with specialised rules

about how knowledge is organised within the classification. Their distinctiveness and clear subject boundaries set them apart from other subject areas. Whilst classification is used to describe the relationship between different subjects within the curriculum, Bernstein also uses the term 'framing' to refer to the context in which knowledge is transmitted and received in terms of the relationship between teacher and pupil. Bernstein argues that when subject classifications or framings alter, key questions such as who is instigating change and what values are reflected in the changes need to be addressed (Bernstein, 1996).

The notion of strong and weak subject classifications and framings provides a way of conceptualising and describing developments within the school curriculum over a period of time which may be reflected within different textbooks. Analysis of the content of textbooks linked to the strength of subject classification and framing may provide useful evidence for determining a subject's status and relationship with other curriculum subjects.

The content of history textbooks has been researched in terms of the values embedded within the text and their likely impact on children's learning. Analysis has taken into account the selection and omission of different information, the use of images and the textbook narrative (Cowans, 1996; Foster, 1998, 1999; Washburn, 1997). Whilst the above impacts indirectly on classroom pedagogy, there has been less research to analyse the representation of particular pedagogical practices within history textbooks and the ways in which texts respond and are responsive to contemporary classroom practices. Through their use of suggested pupil activities and teacher guidance notes some textbooks may be seen to be overtly influencing particular classroom practices. In terms of curriculum change therefore, textbook analyses may provide evidence of changing classroom practices, although as Marsden (2001) observes, currently there is little research to indicate how texts are actually used in the classroom.

The creation of the history curriculum in England was hotly contested. Phillips (1998) analyses the fierce debates within the History Working Group (HWG) which was responsible for outlining the key features of the history curriculum. Although many of these debates were related to teaching history in secondary schools, they did impact on primary provision since there was an over-riding aim to ensure continuity and progression between different key stages. Contrasting views of the subject were voiced in debates linked with historical knowledge and content, teaching methodologies and assessment. In turn, these debates impacted on textbook production; what content was prioritised or ignored; how the subject was to be taught and assessed. Textbook research may therefore contribute to a greater understanding of how some of these debates were interpreted and resolved.

There is limited research on primary history textbooks. Knight (1987) analysed primary school texts on the Middle Ages in terms of the views of history embedded within the text. Criteria for analysing history textbooks are discussed in Knight's and Green's (1993) review of Key Stage 2 textbooks. More recently, Blake et al. (2003) have explored language in primary history texts and discuss the importance of selecting texts to aid children's explanatory understandings in history.

The above lines of enquiry relate to the textbook consumer; consideration however, also needs to take into account the nature of relationship between the curriculum producer and textbook producers. In England the government is dependant on publishers for dissemination of the curriculum. Publishers were quick to recognise the commercial potential of the National Curriculum and responded with a range of different textbooks across curriculum areas. In terms of history, new schemes were

introduced and a variety of different support materials produced to supplement them, including pictures and artefacts and more recently documentary sources. The first schemes provided an initial interpretation of the history National Curriculum and as such may be seen as central to curriculum innovation and dissemination. However, as policy was revised in subsequent years, publishers might be deeply conservative, resisting future reform which might prejudice their original investments in different textbooks. Questions might therefore be raised concerning the tensions between commercialism and educational practices.

The selection of primary history textbooks

Primary history textbooks published at different intervals since the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1990 until the present day were selected. They include both history schemes and also texts which are designed to support teachers in the primary classroom. The Ginn *Primary History* scheme (Blyth et al., 1991) was first published in 1990 and comprises a range of pupils' books and teachers' handbooks for both Key Stage 1 (5-9 years) and Key Stage 2 (7-11 years). The scheme was later augmented with *Group Discussion Books* focusing on visual sources and a series of readers for children in Key Stage 2. Scholastic's *Curriculum Bank* (Forrest & Harnett, 1996a, 1996b; Harnett, 1996) is essentially a scheme for teachers. The three books provide a series of lesson plans and photocopiable resources for pupils in Key Stages 1 and 2. Scholastic followed this scheme with further publications included in the Primary Foundations series (Andreotti & Doull, 2000a, 2000b; Cox et al., 2000). These three books, for children 5-7 years, 7-9 years and 9-11 years respectively, provide a series of lesson plans focusing around key historical enquiries. Finally, textbooks from the recently published Oxford *Connections* series, *History Through Literacy* (Palmer, 2003), were analysed. This series comprises four pupils' books for different years in Key Stage 2 with corresponding teachers' notes.

Analysis focuses on how these different textbooks map onto the emerging history curriculum in English primary schools in the 1990s and early twenty first century. It explores the ways in which textbooks represent the changing discourse about the nature and content of the history curriculum in terms of historical knowledge and understanding and pedagogic practice. With an increasing emphasis on accountability, ways in which children's progress and learning are to be assessed are also investigated in the textbooks. Furthermore, as history establishes its place within the primary curriculum, the textbooks are analysed in terms of how they reflect the status of history in primary schools and the relationship of the subject with other curriculum areas.

The history curriculum in primary schools: a developing discourse

The National Curriculum provided history with a strong identity with specific knowledge to be taught to different aged children to ensure continuity across all key stages. There was an emphasis on children's progressive introduction to the subject from five years to sixteen. Building on Bruner's notion of the spiral curriculum, even the youngest children were entitled to learn history. For these children at Key Stage 1, history comprised a wide range of stories and opportunities to learn about personal and family histories, together with changes in the everyday lives of the British people since world war two and a period of the past beyond living memory. The programme of study at Key Stage 2 built on these foundations and incorporated a range of core British history units (Invaders and Settlers, Tudor and Stuart times, Victorian Britain and Britain since 1930) and two core world history units (Ancient Greece and Exploration and Encounters 1450-1550). For each core study unit specific knowledge to be taught was identified. In response to concerns expressed by archaeologists, schools were expected to select a supplementary unit involving the study of a past non-European

society. A further supplementary unit was based on local history and, reflecting the popularity for studying history within a topic approach, units involving the study of a theme over a long period of time were also introduced.

The history National Curriculum provided a real commercial opportunity for many publishers and was seized with alacrity. Ginn decided to make the most of the publishing opportunities presented by a new curriculum. While the History Working Group (HWG) worked on its final report for the history National Curriculum, Ginn's commissioning editors sought to recruit writers and consultants to produce a scheme which 'brings history to life with exciting and colourful materials for children', and whose 'comprehensive and straightforward approach provides complete coverage of the National Curriculum and exceptional support for the non-specialist teacher' (Ginn, 1991).

Deadlines were particularly tight; delays in the HWG's recommendations meant that the Final Report was not published until March 1990 (DES, 1990). Following consultation, the History Task Group (HTG) was charged with framing the statutory orders which were finally published in March 1991 (DES, 1991) and followed by Non Statutory Guidance (NCC:1991) in April. Such deadlines posed real challenges for publishers who wanted new material to be ready for schools to purchase as they introduced the new curriculum in September 1991.

The Ginn primary history scheme is a fully comprehensive scheme for children 5-11 years. It represents one of the earliest attempts to identify appropriate history activities for children at Key Stage 1. Prior to the National Curriculum young children's experience of history had been very limited. HMI comment that in '2 out of 3 infant classes, history received little or no attention' (DES, 1989, p.8). Some historians suggested that history was too complex a subject for very young children to study.

Twelve stories with a word limit of three hundred and fifty words were written for Key Stage 1 children. The stories are written by different authors and illustrated by different artists. They use a range of strategies including the use of direct speech, text repetition and pictorial clues to enable young children to derive meaning from the text. The stories cover a range of historical periods and people from the past, including true stories about famous personalities and fictionalised accounts of people and children living in the past. Women and children are represented in the list of titles and some account of cultural diversity is taken with the inclusion of Mary Seacole and Tutankhamen. Alongside the stories, five topic books introduce children to ways of life in the past since the second world war utilising simple text, original photographs and artists' illustrations.

At Key Stage 2, Ginn was selective in the number of study units which it decided to publish and children's textbooks covered only the core study units and one supplementary unit, the Ancient Egyptians. Decisions to include only the core study units inevitably effected the popularity and status of other history units. Teachers were often reluctant to embark on supplementary units where there was insufficient support available.

The HWG debated whether children's sense of chronology was developed through learning history in chronological order. Since research appeared inconclusive, the HWG recommended that the units should be taught in chronological order where possible. The Ginn Key Stage 2 texts reflect this recommendation with books aimed at 7-9 year old children focusing on the Ancient Greeks, Ancient Egyptians and Invaders and Settlers, whilst books for older children include Exploration and Encounters, Tudor and Stuart times, Victorian Britain and Britain since 1930.

Examples of knowledge to be taught for all the core units were included within the programmes of study. Since no advice was given on the selection of knowledge within the core units, publishers tended to include all the information within their textbooks. This resulted in superficial coverage of some topics within the study units, with few in-depth studies and was a particular challenge in the pupils' book for the study unit *Invaders and Settlers* which attempts to cover over a thousand years of history in forty nine brief pages.

Teachers' handbooks provided support for teachers in understanding the history National Curriculum. At Key Stage 1 a comprehensive Teachers' Resource Book (Blyth et al., 1991) explains the history National Curriculum and describes how Ginn history enables teachers to meet all the requirements. Sections on historical background information for the children's books are included to support teachers in their subject knowledge. Similarly, the Key Stage 2 Teachers' Handbook (Harnett, 1991) provides background information on the supplementary study units and describes how they might relate to the core units. Separate teachers' handbooks for each study unit also provide background information for the content in the children's books and activity sheets.

Phillips (1998) describes the debates relating to the acquisition of historical knowledge and the development of historical skills which was finally resolved within Attainment Target 1, knowledge and understanding of history. For many primary teachers this presented a real change in their patterns of teaching history; skill based work in history had not featured widely in children's experience prior to the National Curriculum. Indeed, HMI comment on the poor application of skills and the undue concentration on TV programmes, secondary sources of information and stories in many primary classrooms in the 1980s (DES, 1989).

Ginn responded to this challenge by incorporating analyses of different historical skills and concepts and guidance on ways in which children's historical understanding may be developed in the teachers' books (Blyth et al., 1991; Harnett, 1991) To support teachers further, the photocopiable activity sheets all include reference to specific skills and historical understandings which may be developed through their use. The pupils' books and later Group Discussion Books also provide a range of sources of evidence for children to work from. In contrast to earlier textbooks which had relied mainly on artists' illustrations (Unstead, 1974), the Ginn series provides a range of photographs and pictures of artefacts, buildings and paintings to develop children's understanding of the past.

The nature of assessment was keenly debated within the HWG and by politicians and the general public. It was seen as central to the whole learning process and the publication of the Attainment Targets in the opening pages of the history National Curriculum prior to the content of the study units reveals the importance which was attached to it. Three Attainment Targets with ten levels of attainment to record children's progress in knowledge and understanding of history, interpretations of history and the use of historical sources are included. Few primary school teachers were familiar with assessing children's progress in history and prior to the National Curriculum HMI comment that assessment in history was particularly unsatisfactory with few schools attempting to systematically record children's progress in terms of increased knowledge, understanding and skills (DES, 1989a). Instead, as Knight (1991) indicates, primary school teachers were more likely to assess children's progress in terms of their engagement and enjoyment of different tasks.

The Ginn Handbooks sought to support teachers in assessment by providing step by step guidance on what to assess and appropriate assessment ideas and activities. In

terms of the context of text production, they provide one of the earliest interpretations of the statutory assessment requirements. Advice from central government on assessing children's learning was not published until 1993 when the School's Examination and Assessment Council (SEAC) published *Key Stage 1 Standard Assessment Tasks (SATS)* (SEAC, 1993a) and *Children's Work Assessed: Geography and History* (SEAC, 1993b).

Within the Handbooks, sections on evaluating children's responses suggest ways in which to develop children's understanding further in a range of key historical skills and understandings and support is provided in recording children's progress and attainment. However, in recording children's progress, the Handbooks continue to refer to Profile Components which were included in HWG's Interim (DES, 1989b) and Final Reports (DES, 1990), but which were omitted in the National Curriculum (DES, 1991); an example of how the rush to publish and predict the future National Curriculum impacted on the accuracy of information within the scheme.

One of the key issues for primary schools in 1990 was organising the curriculum to include the nine National Curriculum subjects. The strong subject classification of the National Curriculum was at variance with much existing practice in primary schools, where subjects were planned in more integrated ways around common themes. Initially, it appeared that schools would 'bolt on' the new National Curriculum requirements to their existing practice. The Ginn handbooks provide advice on the relationship between history and other curriculum subjects and identify historical activities which link to attainment targets in other curriculum areas. Guidance on planning the history curriculum across different key stages is included, together with support for developing mid term plans for history. The Ginn Handbooks thus represent one of the earliest attempts to offer guidance in terms of curriculum organisation and structure. Read alongside the Non Statutory Guidance (NCC:1991) published at the same time, they provide an example of the multiplicity of readings which emanate within the context of text production.

Curriculum consolidation

As with other National Curriculum subjects, the history National Curriculum was imposed in primary schools in a top down approach to curriculum reform and innovation. Implementation presented many challenges to primary schools. Primary teachers diligently tried to cover all the detailed content in the statutory orders, often at the expense of failing to teach children sufficient historical skills and understandings (OfSTED, 1993a). Many teachers however, felt very under-confident in their subject knowledge. Indeed Bennett's survey indicates that primary school teachers' confidence in teaching history declined from 54% to 38% between 1989 and 1991 (Bennett et al, 1992).

HMI note that there were particular difficulties in teachers' understanding of the relationship between the acquisition of historical knowledge and the development of skills and understanding. The historical content within the study units was not integrated with the Attainment Targets (OfSTED, 1993a, 1993b). Teachers were also uncertain about conducting historical enquiries and the nature of different historical interpretations (Ofsted, 1993a, 1993b, 1995).

Fitting (or squeezing) all the subjects into the timetable was a real concern (Campbell & Neill, 1991, 1992; Webb, 1993). Whilst the National Curriculum is described in terms of subjects, the Non Statutory Guidance comments, 'this should influence how the curriculum is planned, but does not determine it', and provides suggestions for different approaches for topic organisation (NCC, 1991, Chapter 9). HMI observe that

schools continued to employ integrated curriculum planning (OfSTED, 1993b, 1995), but there was growing unease about topic work (NCC, 1993a, 4.12). This unease was further echoed in the discussion paper, *Curriculum Organisation and Classroom Practice in Primary Schools* which notes that 'there is clear evidence to show that much topic work has led to fragmentary and superficial teaching and learning. There is also ample evidence to show that teaching focused on single subjects benefit primary pupils' (Alexander, Rose & Woodhead, 1992, para 3.4).

By 1993 concerns about curriculum implementation at both primary and secondary levels prompted the government to review the curriculum. The Dearing review considerably reduced the size of the National Curriculum; nine ring binder files for each curriculum subject were replaced by a document no more than a centimetre thick for primary schools. In history, the number of study units was reduced and the thematic supplementary units deleted. There was greater clarification of the relationship between historical knowledge and key skills and understandings within the Key Elements and assessment was simplified within one Attainment Target and the best fit level descriptors.

The Dearing review was met by renewed interest from publishers, keen to produce fresh materials for the new curriculum (DfE, 1995). This time however, there was a range of evidence from the experience of curriculum implementation (OfSTED, 1993a, 1993b) and guidance from the National Curriculum Council (NCC, 1991, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 1993d), SEAC (1993a, 1993b) and the Schools' Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA: 1993, 1994a, 1994b).

The publication of Scholastic's *Curriculum Bank History* (1996) reveals the key concerns of the mid 1990s. *Curriculum Bank* does not include pupils' texts, but rather is a series of support materials for teachers. The three texts in the series are described as 'essential planning tools for devising comprehensive schemes of work as well as an easily accessible and varied bank of practical, classroom tested activities with photocopiable resources' (Harnett, 1996, p.5). The series offers support for planning and implementation of, 'progression, differentiation and assessment', through a range of activities with, 'clearly stated learning objectives' which will, 'allow busy teachers to put the ideas into practice with the minimum amount of preparation time.' There is advice on assessment, differentiation and record keeping and opportunities for using ICT and creating displays are also included.

Similarities may be noted with the Ginn series in that *Curriculum Bank* also offers teachers an interpretation of the National Curriculum requirements. It describes the programmes of study for each Key Stage and also explains the Key Elements suggesting ways in which they might be developed in the classroom in the introductory sections.

Each activity within the *Curriculum Bank* series identifies learning objectives and provides detailed guidance on how they might be achieved through appropriate activities. There are thus direct links between this guidance and concerns voiced by HMI on teachers' inadequate planning and difficulties in developing appropriate activities for learning history (OfSTED, 1993a, 1993b). Yet, whilst *Curriculum Bank* does provide step by step planning for individual activities, it offers little guidance on how activities might link to children's overall experiences of learning history. The concept of a bank of activities from which teachers could make a selection, tends to focus on children's engagement with isolated activities. There is little support for progression in planning which was to be an issue later on in the decade and children's experience of historical narrative is considerably underplayed.

Assessment within *Curriculum Bank* is less complex than in earlier publications and is in line with the simplification reflected in the revised history National Curriculum. Each activity outlines opportunities for assessment and assessment is viewed as integral to children's learning.

By the mid 1990s, fewer schools were following cross curricular approaches to curriculum planning, and the primary curriculum was being replaced with more tightly focused subject units of work. Although cross curricular links are identified within Curriculum Bank, there is less emphasis on them than in earlier publications.

Clear links between the concerns voiced by HMI in their inspections in the early 1990s and official publications designed to support teachers in particular areas of weakness may be identified within the Curriculum Bank series. Whereas Ginn history draws on the context of influence and provides an interpretation of the history National Curriculum within the context of text production, Curriculum Bank has additional links with the developing context of practice. Material within the Curriculum Bank series originates as a response to practice, as well as linking with key ideas in the context of influence such as increased subject teaching and reduced assessment, and provides further interpretations within the context of text production.

Reviewing the curriculum and planning schemes of work

In terms of subject status and identity, history was becoming well established in the primary curriculum. History focused topics were replacing more integrated approaches, particularly at Key Stage 2 and considerably strengthened history's status. It might appear that, following the Dearing review, history's place as a subject within the primary curriculum was assured. No further changes were promised for five years and primary teachers could begin to consolidate their existing practice and curriculum planning. Schools were generally finding the curriculum more manageable and changes to the history curriculum were leading to improvements in schools (SCAA, 1996). HMI note continued improvements in standards, although assessment and reporting were still judged ineffective in one third of the schools inspected, with difficulties often arising from teachers' insufficient knowledge of progression of children's learning. Planning in history was still judged poor in nearly a quarter of schools and history co-ordinators were urged to translate policies into effective schemes of work (Hamer, 1997).

The election of a new Labour government in 1997 heralded a change in educational priorities. *Excellence in Schools* notes the key aim of education is to ensure children are both literate and numerate, and from that base to use literacy and numeracy as opening '...the door to success across all the other school subjects and beyond' (DfEE, 1997a, para 1.30). To achieve higher standards in these subjects, the statutory requirements to teach the foundation subjects, including history, were suspended from September 1998 and inspection reports would not comment on teaching in these subjects either. In addition new Frameworks for teaching were announced which incorporated detailed strategies for teaching literacy and numeracy in primary schools (DfEE, 1998, 1999).

The Literacy and Numeracy Strategies were to dominate primary curriculum planning and teaching at the end of the twentieth century. The status of other subjects was considerably eroded, although the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) mounted a brave defence of a broad curriculum in *Maintaining Breadth and Balance* (QCA, 1998a). Throughout this document there is an emphasis on schools making their own decisions relating to curriculum provision and organisation through prioritising specific aspects of different subjects, combining or reducing particular

aspects. In terms of support for teachers, the first schemes of work were published to help teachers with their plans(QCA, 1998c).

The history schemes of work provide examples for planning historical enquiries. Clear learning objectives are identified which relate to possible teaching activities and learning outcomes are outlined. Teachers are given advice on vocabulary, resources and possible links with other subjects. The schemes of work were designed to assist teachers in their planning, but in practice many schools discarded their own curriculum plans and adopted them completely; the schemes of work in effect became another version of the National Curriculum.

While the new initiatives were crystallising, QCA continued to monitor the curriculum and report on experience in school. The history curriculum was generally well liked by primary school teachers (Watson, 1998). A new History Task Group (HTG) was established to advise on the history curriculum and its proposals were incorporated within a new National Curriculum Handbook, to be implemented in 2000 (DfEE & QCA, 1999). This new version of the curriculum reveals the extent to which the primary history discourse had developed during the 1990s. Key features of historical study are identified in the rationale and within the Programme of Study. The relationship between historical knowledge and processes is apparent in the links identified between skills, knowledge and understanding in the historical content of breadth of study. Assessment of children's progress is matched against the best fit level descriptors. Interestingly, the knowledge base of primary history remained remarkably stable throughout the 1990s with only some minor modifications.

A new curriculum in 2000 provided further publishing opportunities and Scholastic responded with a series, *Primary Foundations*, which aims 'to break down the current subject requirements into manageable units of work which can be used as a basis for planning a significant scheme of work or as a supplement to any existing scheme' (Cox et al., 2000). Different units of work centre on a key historical investigation which comprise several enquiry questions. Learning objectives are identified which link with teaching activities. Children's learning outcomes are described and potential links with literacy and other subjects outlined. In this respect, the format for *Primary Foundations* adheres closely to that of the already published schemes of work (QCA & DfEE, 1998c).

However, the series also provides more detailed support for implementing the units in the form of individual lesson plans and follows a similar format to that adopted in the earlier *Curriculum Bank* publications. Lesson plans include background information for the teacher, advice on preparation and step by step instructions to implement the lesson. Advice on differentiation and assessment is also included alongside opportunities for ICT and follow up activities.

The introduction to the series reveals the changing context of the primary curriculum. In contrast to earlier publications identified above, the teachers' introduction is brief. There is little explanation on the nature of history, how to plan and teach the subject, and assess children's learning, which had all been important features in earlier publications. Instead the introduction focuses more on the place of history within the primary curriculum and its relationship to other subject areas and includes a rationale for teaching history. Reflecting increasing interest in citizenship and values education following the Crick Report (QCA, 1998b) and the statement of values at the beginning of the revised curriculum (DfEE & QCA, 1999a), the introduction also discusses issues linked with equality, links between history, citizenship and personal, social and health education and history's contribution to the promotion of positive attitudes.

Curriculum re-organisation: the development of cross–subject links

Since the introduction of the revised curriculum in 2000, primary schools have continued to focus on setting targets for children’s achievement in literacy and numeracy. The literacy and numeracy strategies continue to occupy a large amount of timetable time and there is a continuing squeeze on the other curriculum subjects. In terms of curriculum planning, therefore the temptation is to look for more productive links between different curriculum subjects. HMI comment on the effectiveness of cross-subject links, including literacy, in *The Curriculum in Successful Primary Schools* (OfSTED, 2002). Examples of how cross-subject work is being promoted may be seen in QCA’s Geography and History Curriculum Development Project and the forthcoming history schemes of work which include suggestions on how to adapt existing units and also to combine units with those from different subjects (QCA, 2003).

Links between history and literacy are acknowledged within *History and the Use of Language* (SCAA, 1997). However, concern has also been voiced that these links must not be to the detriment of good history teaching. Blyth (1998) reminds us that literacy is the tool, not the master for history.

Developments such as these are represented within the most recent history publications; Scholastic’s *Teaching with Text* series (Hoodless, 2002a, 2002b) provides historical source material from a range of different literary genres. The *Oxford Connections* series also provides a range of different text genres for children to work with (Palmer, 2003). Palmer bases the series on different sorts of frameworks which are used to introduce children to a range of different text genres and to encourage children to deploy them in their writing. As the introduction explains, ‘The books will help you teach literacy through a science, geography or history-based topic’ (Palmer, 2003, p.3).

Whilst a series such as this clearly relates closely to the demands made by the national literacy strategy, one must also consider whether this detracts from the historical content. For example, are recipes from *Cookery and Housekeeping by A Veteran Housekeeper, 1886* really key sources for learning about the lives of Victorian children?

Historical activities are identified but these appear to be accorded less priority than the literacy strategy objectives. The contents table on the back cover of the pupils’ books illustrates this shift in priorities. It begins with text types and national literacy strategy objectives, followed by historical objectives. Similarly, the teachers’ book emphasises literacy activities and the suggestions for activities to develop historical understanding are less substantial.

The *Oxford Connections* series represents a response to some of the key policy ideas developed within the context of influence and the over-arching aim of the Labour government to raise standards in literacy. It also represents a response to practice in schools where HMI have noted the benefits of cross- curricular links. Yet in terms of subject identity, subject boundaries are weakened. In comparison with schemes published throughout the 1990s, the strength of classification is considerably reduced.

Textbooks and the production of policy texts

The above discussion reveals ways in which publishers respond to different policy contexts; account is taken of key ideas and policy priorities within the context of influence, and publishers also respond to contemporary practice. Yet as policy is implemented, publishers also draw on the network of interpretations and readings to

be found in the context of text production. In this respect, publishers may be seen both to respond and to be responsive to different policy contexts.

This paper outlines the real support which textbooks provided in interpreting the initial implementation of the National Curriculum. In the first instance, textbooks connected directly with the history National Curriculum, but as the curriculum was implemented in schools and a range of support materials was developed, publishers became drawn into interpreting not only the National Curriculum, but also networks of curriculum guidance and other policy texts, produced by NCC, SEAC, SCAA and QCA. Analysis of texts published in the later 1990s therefore takes into account the dynamic relationship between the contexts of practice, influence and text production.

Publishers' potential contribution to the successful implementation of the National Curriculum was acknowledged from the beginning by central government and both the NCC and later SCAA ran series of conferences to inform publishers of curriculum developments and also to consult with them on major challenges facing the effective implementation of National Curriculum history. Later, as part of a general monitoring of the National Curriculum, the NCC commissioned a review of history text books, which was completed by SCAA in 1994 (SCAA, 1994a).

In this review, SCAA acknowledges that 'Publishers and authors were often pioneers, trying to turn the theory of the Statutory Orders into resources for practical classroom use', and that 'Authors' interpretations of the Statutory Orders were significant because teachers who felt insecure about any part of the history National Curriculum often turned to published materials to find answers to their questions' (p.2).

The issues raised within SCAA's Report reveal the complex processes involved within the context of text production. Some concerns relating to the level of accuracy in some texts are expressed. For example, the stereotype of Vikings as pagan raiders is cited. In attempting to cover the range of historical material in the History Study Units, many children's books only touch briefly on particular events or features. The Report notes that detailed narrative accounts of events are rare, and that lack of detail considerably reduces children's opportunities for making considered judgements about the past.

Several texts are commended for their selection of attractive visual source materials, although there is some concern relating to the comparative neglect of documentary sources. The provenance of sources is not always acknowledged and the Report notes difficulties in interpreting sources with the limited background information which some texts present. Uncertainty relating to the Attainment Targets and assessment is also noted and the integral relationship between skills and historical knowledge is not always developed within suggested pupils' activities. However, central government's dependence on publishers to interpret and disseminate policy raises questions on the extent to which published textbooks may be criticised.

The Report (SCAA, 1994a) reveals the multiple readings created by different readers (in this case authors and publishers) of policy texts and focuses on some of the potential tensions between publishers and central government. Whilst publishers seek to follow policy closely, since they know that this will sell their publications, they also have a commercial agenda. Some decisions which publishers take might effect the implementation of the curriculum in different ways. For example, few publishers were prepared to take the risk and publish materials for the supplementary study units; this had the effect that the ancient civilisation units, apart from the Ancient Egyptians, were considerably under resourced and undoubtedly this effected the willingness of teachers to teach these units in school. International markets dictated the coverage of some aspects of ways of life in Ancient Greece and the Aztec civilisation. Fixed

budgets controlled the selection of pictures from picture libraries and heavy investment in initial schemes meant that publishers were generally reluctant to change as the curriculum was modified in the 1990s, and indeed exhorted SCAA to keep the alterations to the curriculum review as minimal as possible.

The extent to which textbooks influence practice in schools requires further investigation. In terms of the textbooks analysed above, there is some evidence to suggest that the inclusion of photo-copiable sheets within the Ginn and Scholastic schemes did contribute to developing practice in schools. The publication of the Ginn scheme coincided with the increasing use of the photocopier; teachers were able to make multiple copies of prepared worksheets, rather than preparing their own. Excessive use of worksheets is criticised by HMI (OfSTED, 1993b, 1993c). Their use also reflects changing priorities within teachers' professional roles in the 1990s; creating and tailoring work for individual pupils was replaced by uniform worksheets for the 'average' child. These materials in the early schemes could be seen as precursors to later developments whereby teachers teach following pre-existing plans and selected resources and are removed from the stages of planning. Currently most primary teachers teach from prescribed plans and selected resources; their responsibility for initiating their own plans and developing their own teaching ideas is thus considerably reduced.

The account of the development of the history National Curriculum through textbook analysis offers a further perspective on Goodson's view of the continual evolution of school subjects. Textbooks referred to in the paper reflect the shifting nature and status of history as a curriculum subject in primary schools. The textbooks also reflect changes in the way history as a subject is classified and framed. Currently, it could be argued that the focus on literacy is weakening the distinct subject boundaries belonging to history and this in turn is effecting history's unique identity and its status within the primary curriculum. Paradoxically, whilst the rationale for teaching history has developed and become more explicit within the last decades, it would appear that history's place within the curriculum is less secure.

Textbook analysis also reveals shifting emphases in what counts as learning in history. The Ginn scheme offers traditional narrative accounts of the past. In *Curriculum Bank*, narrative is underplayed in the selection of isolated activities presented by the scheme. In later schemes narrative is more explicit, yet there appears to be a shift in focus. Rather than textbooks presenting the narrative, children are encouraged to develop their own narratives and interpretations of the past, through conducting historical enquiries and exploring different text genres.

This emphasis on children's interpretation of the past is also re-inforced through the growth of a range of historical sources of information, other than textbooks. The 1990s saw a considerable increase in the publication of ranges of photo-packs. The sale of replica artefacts has provided alternative means for children to experience the past in schools, and films, videos and TV programmes have packaged the past for children in a variety of ways. Publishers are also developing the potential of ICT. Heinemann *Explore* provides CD roms with a range of historical sources of information. In addition, the popularity of historical fiction for children is reflected in increasing publications.

Thus at the time of writing, textbooks now represent only part of the network of interpretations of policy within the context of text production. Future research will need to take into account the wide range of materials and resources, other than textbooks which are available for children and teachers today, and which respond and are responsive to policy and practice in schools.

References

- Alexander, R., Rose, J., & Woodhead, C. (1992) *Curriculum Organisation and Classroom Practice in Primary Schools: A Discussion Paper* London, DES.
- Andreotti, K., & Doull, K. (2000a) *Primary Foundations: History ages 5-7* Leamington Spa, Scholastic.
- Andreotti, K., & Doull, K. (2000b) *Primary Foundations: History ages 7-9* Leamington Spa, Scholastic.
- Bennett, S.N., Wragg, E. C., Carre, C., & Carter, D.S.G. (1992) 'A Longitudinal Study of Primary School Teachers' Perceived Competence in and Concerns about the National Curriculum Implementation', in *Research Papers in Education*, 7, (1), pp 53-78.
- Bernstein, B. (1996) *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research Critique* London, Taylor Francis.
- Blake, A., Newton, L.D., Newton, D.P. & Brown, K. (2003) 'But why did Guy Fawkes try to blow up the king, Miss?' Investigating support for explanatory understanding in primary history textbooks', in *Primary History*, 34, pp11-15.
- Blyth, A. (1998) Editorial, *Primary History*, 18, p.2.
- Blyth, J. (1988) *History 5-9* London, Hodder and Stoughton.
- Blyth, J., Cigman, J., Harnett, P. & SAMPSON, J. (Eds) (1991) *Ginn Primary History* Ginn, Aylesbury.
- Bowe, R., & Ball, S. J., with Gold, A. (1992) *Reforming Education and Changing Schools: Case studies in Policy Sociology* London, Routledge.
- Campbell, R., & Neill, S. (1991) *Workloads, Achievement and Stress, Second Report on Research in the Use of Teacher Time* London, Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association.
- Campbell, R., & Neill, S. (1992) *Teacher Time and Curriculum Manageability at Key Stage 1: Third Report on Research into the Use of Teacher Time* London, Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association.
- Cowans, P. (1996) 'Reading about the Enemy: school textbook representation of Germany's role in the war with Britain during the period from April 1940 to May 1941', in *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 17 (3) pp 327 –339.
- Cox, K., Goddard, G., & Hughes, P. (2000) *Primary Foundations: History Ages 9-11* Leamington Spa, Scholastic.
- Department of Education and Science (1989a) *Aspects of Primary Education. The Teaching and Learning of History and Geography* London, HMSO.
- Department of Education and Science (1989b) *National History Working Group: Interim Report* London, HMSO.
- Department of Education and Science (1990) *National Curriculum History Working Group: Final Report* London, HMSO.
- Department of Education and Science (1991) *History in the National Curriculum* London, HMSO.
- Department for Education (1995) *Key Stages 1 and 2 of the National Curriculum* London, HMSO.
- Department for Education and Employment (1997a) *Excellence in Schools* London, DfEE.
- Department for Education and Employment (1998) *The National Literacy Strategy: Framework for Teaching* London, DfEE.
- Department for Education and Employment (1999) *The National Numeracy Strategy: Framework for Teaching* London, DfEE.
- Department for Education and Employment and Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (1999) *The National Curriculum Handbook for Primary Teachers in England* London, DfEE & QCA.

- Forrest, M., & Harnett, P. (1996a) *Curriculum Bank 1: Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Vikings in Britain, Ancient Greece, a past non-European society* Leamington Spa, Scholastic.
- Forrest, M. & Harnett, P. (1996b) *Curriculum Bank 2: Life in Tudor Times, Victorian Britain, Britain since 1930 and Local History* Leamington Spa, Scholastic.
- Foster, S. J. (1998) 'Politics, parallels and perennial curriculum questions: the battle over school history in England and the United States', in *The Curriculum Journal*, 9, 2, pp153-164.
- Foster, S.J. (1999) 'The struggle for American identity: the treatment of ethnic groups in United States history textbooks', in *History of Education*, 28, 3, pp 251-278.
- Goodson, I. F. (1994) *Studying Curriculum* Buckingham, Open University Press.
- Goodson, I.F. with Anstead, C. J. & Marshall Mangan, J. (1998) *Subject Knowledge. Readings for the Study of School Subjects* London, Falmer.
- Hamer, J. (1997) 'History in the Primary Years: The State of the Nation', in *Primary History*, 17, pp13-14.
- Harnett, P. (1991) *Key Stage 2 Teachers' Handbook* Leamington Spa, Scholastic.
- Harnett, P. (1996) *Curriculum Bank: Key Stage 1* Leamington Spa, Scholastic.
- Hoodless, P. (2002a) *Teaching with Texts: History ages 5-7* Leamington Spa, Scholastic.
- Hoodless, P. (2002b) *Teaching with Texts: History ages 7-11* Leamington Spa, Scholastic.
- Knight, P. (1987) *Children's Understanding of People in the Past* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Lancaster.
- Knight, P. (1991) 'Teaching as Exposure: the Case of Good Practice in Junior school History', in *British Educational Research Journal*, 17, 2, pp 129-139.
- Knight, P. & Green, A. (1993) Review Article: 'History Schemes for Key Stage 2', in *Education 3-13*, 21, 3 pp 54-7.
- Marsden, W. E. (2001) *The School Textbook: Geography, History and Social Studies* London, Woburn Press.
- National Curriculum Council (1991) *History Non- Statutory Guidance* York, NCC.
- National Curriculum Council (1993a) *The National Curriculum at Key Stages 1 and 2: Advice to the Secretary of State for Education* York, NCC.
- National Curriculum Council (1993b) *Teaching History at Key Stage 1* York, NCC.
- National Curriculum Council (1993c) *Teaching History at Key Stage 1* York, NCC.
- National Curriculum Council (1993d) *History at Key Stage 2: An Introduction to the Non-European Study Units* York, NCC.
- OfSTED (1993a) *History Key Stages 1,2 and 3: First Year 1991-1992* London, HMSO.
- OfSTED (1993b) *History Key Stages 1,2, and 3 Second Year 1992-93* London, HMSO.
- OfSTED (1995) *A Review of Inspection Finding, 1993-94* London, HMSO.
- OfSTED (2002) *The Curriculum in Successful Primary Schools* London, HMSO.
- Palmer, S. (Ed) (2003) *Oxford Connections* Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Phillips, R. (1998) *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State: A Study in Educational Politics* London, Cassell.
- Qualifications and Curriculum Assessment Authority (1998a) *Maintaining Breadth and Balance at Key Stages 1 and 2* London, QCA.
- Qualifications and Curriculum Assessment Authority (1998b) *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools: Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship* London, QCA.
- Qualifications and Curriculum Assessment Authority (1998c) *A Scheme of Work for Key Stages 1 and 2 History* London, QCA.
- Qualifications and Curriculum Assessment Authority (2003) *History news from QCA. Spring 2003* London, QCA.

- Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority (1993) *The National Curriculum and its Assessment* London, SCAA.
- Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority (1994a) *The Impact of the National Curriculum on the Production of History Textbooks and other Resources for Key Stages 2 and 3* London, SCAA.
- Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority (1994b) *The Review of the National Curriculum. A Report on the 1994 Consultation* London, SCAA.
- Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority (1996) *Monitoring the School Curriculum: Reporting to Schools* London, SCAA.
- Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority (1997) *History and the Use of Language* London, SCAA.
- Schools Examination and Assessment Council (1993a) *Key Stage 1 Standard Assessment Tasks* Slough, NFER/Nelson.
- Schools Examination and Assessment Council (1993b) *Children's Work Assessed: Geography and History* London, SEAC.
- Unstead, R.J. (1974) *From Cavemen to Vikings* London, A. & C. Black.
- Watson, G. (1998) "The children love history and we enjoy teaching it." Feedback to QCA from Primary Teachers about the National Curriculum History', in *Primary History*, 19, pp 7-8.
- Webb, R. (1993) *Eating the Elephant bit by bit: the National Curriculum at Key Stage 2. Final Report of Research commissioned by the Association of Teachers and Lecturers*, London, ATL.
- Washburn, L. (1997) 'Accounts of slavery: An analysis of United States history textbooks from 1900-1992', in *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 25, 4, pp470-491.

Culture Wars: Serbian History Textbooks and the Construction of National Identity

Keith Crawford, Edge Hill College of Higher Education, Ormskirk, England

Abstract *This paper explores the development of a new form of national identity as mediated through the history curriculum in the new nation of Serbia and Montenegro. It compares the politics and ideology of creating forms of national identity in the pre- and post-Milošević era. The paper illustrates how the history curriculum in Serbia and Montenegro was and remains dominated by issues focusing upon what it means to be Serbian and provides a case study example of the power of the history curriculum in creating senses of belonging.*

Keywords School textbooks, History, Serbia, Culture, National identity

Introduction

Lying is a form of our patriotism and is evidence of our innate intelligence. We lie in a creative, imaginative and inventive way. In these lands every lie becomes a truth in the end. (Ugresic, 1998:34)

The collective memories of nations are scarred by their past and what they decide to celebrate or forget about their history says much about how they wish to be seen by themselves and others. For the British important defining moments include the London Blitz, Dunkirk and the Battle of Britain, events burnt deeply into the British psyche which create and maintain definitions of national identity. For the Germans the experiences of National Socialism and the horrors of the Holocaust have been pivotal in shaping the social, moral and political re-construction of post-war Germany and the dropping of the atomic bombs has enabled Japan to present Hiroshima as a site of national victimhood (Buruma, 1994).

Concepts of national identity have during the past decade come under increasing pressure as legitimate identifiers through which peoples define themselves and their physical, cultural and intellectual place in the world. The claimed impact of globalisation, the fracturing of previously secure and established national boundaries, the rise of ethnicity as a cultural label which crosses political boundaries, have all asked fundamental questions regarding 'what does it mean to belong?' One outcome has been the emergence of multiple identities, a plurality which has given rise to individuals defining themselves against a number of 'markers' e.g. gender, class, ethnicity as well as nation. An important feature of the fluid way in which individuals and communities seeking to define and re-define themselves within changing political, socio-cultural and ideological contexts is the differential nature of change both spatially and longitudinally.

Consequently, different countries and cultures ask different questions of themselves depending upon quite specific sets of circumstances: what it means to belong is a question which is asked urgently and passionately in some nations undergoing deep-seated changes, while in other nations with longer, more established and secure senses of nationhood the question can become rhetorical, a subject of intellectual debate with little expectation of re-definition or change. Hein and Selden have pointed out that 'The stories chosen or invented about the national past are invariably prescriptive – instructing people how to think and act as national subjects and how to view relations with outsiders.' (Hein and Selden (Eds), 2000, p.4). In the recent history of Eastern Europe perhaps nowhere has this claim been more forcefully demonstrated

than in the events surrounding the disintegration of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

One of the most important and challenging characteristics of Yugoslavia was that its creation as a nation state at the Treaty of Versailles in 1918 produced one of the most ethnically, religiously, linguistically and culturally diverse and complex nations in Europe. Grant (1969) described Yugoslavia as:

... the country with *seven* frontiers (with Italy, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Greece, Bulgaria and Albania); *six* republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia); *five* nationalities (Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians); *four* languages (Slovene, Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian); *three* religions (Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim); *two* alphabets (Roman and Cyrillic); and *one* party (the Yugoslav League of Communists).

In attempting to demonstrate the ethnic and linguistic diversity of Yugoslavia, Mikes (1984) argues that:

Although there are communes in which three or more languages are used for everyday communication and at the institutional level, the typical situation is that contacts exist between two languages - usually a language of nation and a language of nationality : (a) Hungarian and Serbo-Croat, Romanian and Serbo-Croat, Slovak and Serbo-Croat, Rutherian and Serbo-Croat in the Autonomous Socialist Province of Slovenia; (b) Hungarian and Serbo-Croat, Italian and Serbo-Croat, Czech and Serbo-Croat in the Socialist Republic of Croatia; (c) Albanian and Serbo-Croat, Turkish and Serbo-Croat in the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo; (d) Bulgarian and Serbo-Croat in the Socialist Republic of Serbia; (e) Albanian and Macedonian in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

During Yugoslavia's communist years these fundamental differences were concealed in the sense that the political and ideological nature of the nation was dominated by communist ideology which provided a context which diluted nationalistic tendencies held by differing ethnic and religious groups. While the acceptance of diversity established under the communist régime did not necessarily represent the unspoken feelings of one ethnic group for 'the other', Tito's policies were designed to subdue the question of ethnicity and nationality. Yugoslavian history teaching stressed the common features of the history of the Yugoslav republics and peoples as the party consciously used nationalist and patriotic ideology as means of underpinning their power; the outcome was that many felt themselves to be Yugoslavs as well as Serbs, Croats and Bosnians. The system was designed for life preparation in an ideological and closed society. In a study of the ideological content of school textbooks in Yugoslavia during the 1970's, Kundacina (1980) analyzed secondary school textbooks; his conclusion was the 86.6% of the content of history textbooks contained political and ideological content. Samardic (1987), in a later study, concluded that 62% of social science textbooks for primary schools and 30% of primary school history textbooks contained political and ideological content. When Tito died in 1980 his vision of a united Yugoslav nation died with him.

In the post-Second World War period most republics in Yugoslavia comprised populations which were more or less homogeneous: 96% of Macedonians live in Macedonia and 96% of Slovenians live in Slovenia. Serbians are scattered throughout the republics that comprised the state of Yugoslavia. For example, data from the 1991 census in Bosnia-Herzegovina showed that 31.3 per cent were Serbs and 17.3 per

cent were Croats. However, the break up of the Yugoslav communist state provided a catalyst for the re-emergence of a rapid post-communist nationalism. Mestrovic (1994) has claimed that:

Nations that were assumed to have disappeared over a century ago lay apparently submerged beneath communist modernism, and they awoke with more vigour than ever. Almost as soon as communism fell, nationalism replaced it as one of the strongest and most important social forces of the world today. (p.22)

As the dominant partner in the Yugoslavian federation of republics, Serbian nationalism emerged strongly during the early 1980s. One person credited with the intellectual rise of Serbian nationalism was the novelist and writer Dobrica Cosic. Previously an ally of Tito, in 1983 he published a number of works which claimed that under Tito's regime Serbs had found themselves persecuted by other Yugoslav ethnic groups (Cosic, 1995). In 1986 two hundred Serb intellectuals, led by Cosic, signed the 'Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences' which claimed that the Serbs were the most oppressed group in Yugoslavia and that the Serbs did have their own state because Tito had suppressed the question. The solution was to be '...the territorial unity of the Serbian people' regardless of which republic or province they lived in (quoted in Cigar, 1996, p.55). With Yugoslavia in its death throes, communism dying and socio-economic problems rampant, a relatively unknown Serbian politician, Slobodan Milošević, fastened upon the idea of Serbian nationhood as a powerful political tool. The focus of his attention was Kosovo, a province in the south of Yugoslavia which has a special cultural and spiritual significance in the history of the Serbs. In order to avoid nationalist and ethnic confrontation, Tito had given the Kosovans, 90% of whom were of Albanian heritage, a degree of autonomy in 1945 and strengthened this in 1974 when Kosovo was made an independent region within the Serb Republic.

Pursuing a policy of xenophobic nationalism, in April 1987 Milošević visited Kosovo and promised a group of angry Serbs gathered at a town hall in Kosovo that the ethnic Albanians '... will never beat you again.' The '... this is your land' speech marks Milošević out as a strident defender of Serb nationhood and together with total control of the television and news media which generated a climate of racist propaganda, laid the groundwork for his subsequent rise to power. Milošević worked hard to preserve in the minds of Serbs the memory of the 1389 Battle of Kosovo, in which the Turks defeated the Serbs and initiated 500 years of Turkish rule. Milošević had the bones of Prince Lazar, the Serb leader defeated at the battle of Kosovo in 1389, paraded around Serbia turning him from being the representative of an unpopular federal government into the champion of Serbian nationalism.

The campaign for a greater Serbia, in which only Serbs governed Serbs, generated considerable hostility in neighbouring republics. In Croatia in 1990 Franjo Tudjman, running a strongly nationalist campaign, was elected President and declared Croatia an independent nation. A new constitution denied the Serbian minority their rights and when the Serbian majority in Krajina, a region within Croatia, declared their independence the dispute escalated into a war between Croatian forces and the Yugoslav army sent to support them attacking Vukovar and Dubrovnik. By the end of the war the Serbs occupied 30% of Croatia before a UN peacekeeping force arrived and the Yugoslav army withdraw. The next point of conflict was Bosnia where the Serbian nationalist movement sought to ally itself with the Krajina Serbs. Milošević provided military support to Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader. Serb autonomous regions were declared and the Yugoslav army moved in to protect them. In 1992 Bosnian Serb forces bombed Sarajevo and a process of ethnic cleansing

began. By August 1992 1.8 million Bosnians had been forced to flee their homes as the Yugoslav army and other Serbian forces captured over half of Bosnia in six weeks (see Glover, 2001, for a helpful summary).

Against this background, the early 1990s saw the Milošević's regime under threat, with many Serbs becoming alarmed about his virulent form of Serbian nationalism. In March 1991 in Belgrade nearly 100,000 people demonstrated against him. The demonstration was crushed by tanks. By June 1992, the international community had imposed sanctions against Belgrade and, despite further demonstrations demanding his resignation, Milošević's domination of the political scene, the media and support of the army enabled him to deal effectively with any sign of an organised opposition. However, by late 1996 more widespread dissatisfaction with the Milošević regime was being heard across Serbia prompted in part by the strong belief that the democratic process was being comprised through the rigging of local elections and that Serbia had acquired the status of a pariah in the world community.

In 1999, partly to deflect growing unease with his regime, Milošević played the 'nationalist' card and turned his attention once again to Kosovo. The outcome was a violent civil war which eventually led to his downfall. Amid reports of ethnic cleansing in the province, similar to that which had taken place in Croatia and Bosnia, in February and March 1999 at Rambouillet in France, the United States and its European allies invited the Albanian Kosovars and the Milošević government to sign an agreement agreeing to the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo, autonomy for Kosovo and the entry of a NATO peacekeeping force. NATO said it would bomb the Serbs if the Albanians signed and the Serbs refused. The Albanians accepted the Rambouillet agreement, Milošević refused, and in the spring of 1999 NATO launched a 78 day bombing campaign against Yugoslavia.

By early 2000, with Milošević indicted for war crimes by the International Tribunal in The Hague, his regime was again under serious threat from internal opposition forces. In September 2000 Milošević called a presidential election. The results gave Vojislav Koštunica, the Democratic Opposition of Serbia's (DOS) candidate over 48% of the vote short of the 50% required to win, but indicated an almost certain landslide in the runoff against Milošević. Claims of election fraud as Milošević once again struggled to hold on to power led, in October 2000, to the Democratic Opposition of Serbia calling citizens to a rally to protest and to call for Milošević's resignation. Late on the afternoon of 5th October Koštunica addressed the rally from the balcony of the City Assembly and later that day made a television appearance. That night hundreds of thousands of people gathered in the centre of Belgrade. A new interim government under Koštunica was formed and during the night the DOS representatives had talks with government officials, the police and the army. The next morning Milošević was no longer the president of Yugoslavia.

Against this political background, the aim of this chapter is to explore the way in which the social construction of Serbian history textbooks reflected the ideological framework within which Serbian society functioned during the 1990s. The following section briefly describes the bureaucratic process through which Serbian textbook knowledge is officially sanctioned. This is followed by a critical analysis of the history textbook controversies which have raged in Serbia and, in particular, the recent conflicts surrounding the authorisation of a new generation of history textbooks for school use in 2002.

Structure of the Serbian Education System

Compulsory education in Serbia lasts for eight years (7-15) in a 'basic' or 'elementary' school (*osnovna skola*). Those pupils continuing their education after the age of fifteen attend secondary schools (*skole drugog stupnja*), either grammar schools, vocational schools or art schools, for four years (15-19). The role of the grammar school (*gimnazija*) is to offer a general education in social studies and science and to prepare pupils for further or university education. By completing grammar school students acquire four-form secondary education. Secondary vocational schools (*skole za kvalifikovne radnike*) offer a general and vocational (practical and theoretical) education equipping pupils for entry in the world of work and further education. Practical instruction institutions provide three-year courses in trades, such as electrical skills, wood working, metal working etc. Instruction consists of both theory and practice, with practical work conducted in school laboratories. Secondary art schools offer courses in the fields of Music, Art and Ballet.

The Bureaucracy of Textbook Selection

While textbooks are cultural commodities they are also economic commodities, produced within structural systems characterised by political, social and economic conditions of existence. Serbian textbooks are nationalised and standardised. There is currently no open textbook market; instead a single authorised textbook, for pupils at different stages of their education, is provided in all state schools, published by *Zavod za udzbenike i nastavna sredstva* (the State Publishing House). The curriculum for Serbian schools is decided upon by a Ministry of Education committee in consultation with teachers and academics, although the Ministry has the final say in cases of disagreement; currently teachers have a minor role in this process but educational reform will see them occupy a more central position. A further committee of teachers and civil servants will then take a decision on who will write a particular textbook. Textbook writers are provided with a curriculum which lists the topics to be taught, and the book is written in relation to those topics. The outcome is a system where there exists 'An inadequate quality of textbooks ...; limitations on the freedom to choose textbooks; problems stemming from the monopoly position of the publishers and their publishing policy' (CCD, 2002, p.13).

Textbooks have traditionally been written by academic historians. Previously, these professors were selected with care and they invariably produced a text which reflected the dominant ideological and political perspective of the day; that is changing, and practising teachers are now making an increasing impact upon the construction of texts. One author of the text used in this study is a classroom teacher.

One way of describing textbook knowledge is that it represents a cultural map requiring the acknowledgement that this particular form of selected knowledge is a product presented in a particular fashion for populist consumption. As such it is coded and classified, placed within contexts, assigned spaces and ranked in terms of status and meaning; the process of its manufacture is, therefore, intensely political. Textbook knowledge is far more than mere information, being located within clear cultural contexts; its meanings are changed and are used to justify behaviours and actions which are designed to have specific social consequences.

Creating 'Official' History: the Milošević Years

Thomas Carlyle once described history as no more than a distillation of rumours and inflamed by the nationalist rhetoric of politicians. During the 1990s the writing of school history textbooks in Serbia strongly represented a subjectivity and subservience to ideological and political interests every bit as powerful as that supported by the

communist regime, where the promotion of the idea of 'brotherhood and unity' among Yugoslav peoples dominated education. In the decade following the collapse of eastern European communism in 1990 suppressed national rivalries rushed to fill the political and ideological vacuum.

Once in power, Milošević's political platform was dominated by the aim of creating a greater Serbia, uniting Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia with those in Serbia; what language you spoke, where you lived, your ethnic heritage and your religion began to provide the cultural cement for the construction and re-construction of national identities as interest groups began to stake their particular claim to defining the characteristics of nationhood. Rubenstein, in a conversation with Serbs in Belgrade in 1993, was told '...Serbia once again stood alone protecting Christian Europe from the threat of a Muslim reconquista and once again had taken up defending Christian Europe against militant Islam' (Rubenstein, 1996, p.30).

During this decade the education system, therefore, continued to be dominated by the needs of the state, particularly in terms of the maintenance of the relationship between education policy making and the dynamic re-creation of a strong sense of Serbian nationalism. Lying at the heart of this process was the need to create a powerful sense of a Serbian national past designed to promote a robust and resilient collective unity and identity, providing justification for expansionist military policies. In his powerful critique of Serbian nationalism, Anzulovic describes this as a process in which 'Myths and lies are used to justify uninformed policies and hide the ignorance and amorality of their makers' (1999, p.180).

Olsen has suggested that 'Textbooks, like religious ritual, are devices for putting ideas and beliefs above suspicion' (Olsen, 1989, p.241) and the value-based messages contained in Serbian textbooks during the 1990s were highly explicit, strong and transparent. In their content analysis of the presence of democratic ideals in 5th-8th Grade Serbian history textbooks and language readers, Ivic *et al.* (1997) provide an interesting commentary upon the ideological and political content of Serbian textbooks during the 1990s. Their research revealed that textbook content was dominated by issues of national sovereignty, freedom and equality, in particular, patriotic values focusing upon freedom and bravery. The textbooks presented pupils with a picture of their past painted in glowing terms with emphasis placed upon historic achievements and national heroes. They write:

Patriotic values are absolutely the strongest value message of our textbooks. They appear only in the positive form and almost exclusively as the national value. The significance of those values is practically equated with the fight for the freedom of the homeland or, even more concretely with the enormous sacrifices in this fight and the readiness to sacrifice in the future. (p.20)

The textbooks adopted a strong collectivist orientation and gave less space and attention to individual values, such as individual responsibility, self-reliance, self initiative, that did not emphasise national or social contexts. They also claim that the textbooks were lacking in the promotion and fostering of tolerance, non-violent conflict resolution, dialogue and compromise; instead, personal traits included personal strength, commitment to the cause and dignity. Furthermore, personal traits appeared within a context where heroes bear injustice. Lying at the heart of such presentations is the image of a nation fighting for freedom and independence, for the survival and preservation of national and religious identity. Consequently the textbooks were characterised by an antipathy and distrust toward other national and ethnic groups. This is particularly so in their treatment of World War 1 and World War 2 where pupils were taught that non-Slavs, especially Croats and Albanians, collaborated fully with

the Nazis (Jantetovic, 2001). Jantetovic claims that during the Milošević regime: 'All old negative perceptions of non-Slav neighbours are retained, positive ones completely dropped, and some new, negative, ones added' (p.213). So powerful is this sense of patriotic and nationalistic fervour that sacrifice and death is a dominant message, freedom and liberation is the ultimate goal no matter what the cost.

Central in the presentation of historical knowledge was the aim of instilling in pupils a fear that the very existence of the Serbs as a people was constantly in danger and that Serbs live in a state of constant conflict or isolation from their neighbours. Anzulovic (1999) has claimed that the work of many Serbian historians and novelists '... propagated the thesis that Serbs, because of their goodness, have always been victims of others; that their enemies conspire to annihilate them; and that the time has come to act aggressively to avenge past wrongs and become the dominant power in the area'(p.7).

Stojanovic's(1999) analysis of Serbian history textbooks published during the early 1990s illustrates the point in revealing a highly patriotic, nationalist and xenophobic attitude to the conflict with neighbouring republics where the conception of history is ethno-centred, and where wars dominate the narrative. In the textbook for the 4th grade of the primary school the authors blame the break-up of Yugoslavia on the political machinations of neighbouring republics. 'After that nationalism and separatism in Yugoslavia strengthened with time. The Slovenian leadership led the way, especially since 1989, intimating the secession from Yugoslavia.' Children in the 4th grade of secondary school were taught that the Serbs were excluded from the Croatian Constitution and deprived of their rights. Therefore, 'Attacked and threatened, the Serbs had to protect themselves against new sufferings and destruction. The acceptance of the struggle imposed on them created among Serbs the conviction that they had the same right to be independent as others, and to decide on their fate themselves.' Stojanovic writes that 'Brimming with xenophobia, contempt and hatred for neighbouring nations, European and the world community, such texts fit well into the propaganda system which has made this war psychologically possible'(1999, p.4).

Creating National Memory: Continuity or Change?

The Milošević years had a substantial impact upon Serbia in social, economic and political terms; as far as education is concerned it left a system in tatters with a deep rooted cultural and ethnic antipathy remaining at the core of the Serbian history curriculum. Today the climate is changing radically and educational reforms currently being implemented in Serbia are asking fundamental questions regarding the shape, content and aims of the school curriculum based upon economic recovery, democratic participation and the international integration of Serbia. These changes are seen in Serbia as being highly significant and important (Commission for Curriculum Development, 2002). One important site for this development is the history curriculum (*The Guardian*, 12th September 2001; Janjetovic, 2001).

The Serbian government recognised the challenge that the state faced in coping with this, and many other, problems:

Following the victory of democracy, Serbia has entered a transition period. This transition to a market economy and the creation of a modern and law-abiding society is characteristic of all post-communist countries. A devastated economy, financial institutions, electric utility system, and a decline of basic moral and social values are just part of what the new authorities faced upon taking office in Serbia. (<http://www.serbia.sr.gov.yu/cms/view.php?id=400>)

One immediate response has been to engage in the fundamental re-configuration of the Serbian education system which had been ‘...the most badly damaged’ (CCD, 2002, p.7; see also Ministry of Education and Sports, 2002). This involves the complete restructuring of a curriculum agreed to be overburdened by anachronistic content, a curriculum which paid insufficient regard to the development of skills and concepts, where teaching was largely transmissional and where assessment was dominated by the learning of a body of unstructured and unrelated factual information.

A crucial element of these changes is the introduction of new history textbooks from September 2002, a process which is not without tensions and problems. What is clear from an analysis of those books currently in use is that they have removed the ideological and xenophobic hostility so evident during the 1980s and 1990s. A comparison of history textbooks in use now with those in use in 1994 reveals significant differences. While the titles of each text are the same, the authors are different. Yet, they are not without their problems in reflecting the ‘new’ Serbia and sensitivity to Serbia’s recent past remains a difficult issue for educators. A new textbook for 13- and 14-year-old pupils in the *gimnazija* includes a final chapter on *Contemporary Problems of Yugoslavia* which discusses the wars in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo in two paragraphs. Absent, however, is any mention of Milošević. While the book discusses the elections of December 2000 which led to Milošević’s downfall an analysis of his role in Serbia’s history in the previous thirteen years is omitted.

Radoslav Petkovic, the director of the state-owned textbook publishing company, claims that ‘... the omission was an attempt to strip the country’s recent history of any ideology. All that historians currently have are journalistic accounts and the memoirs of certain participants ... But these are not primary sources. Before having access to the relevant documents and archives, they would not be able to produce an unbiased view of history’ (*Time Europe*, February 18th 2000). Snezana Knezevic, a history teacher at the Vladislav Ribnikar Elementary School in Belgrade, argues that ‘The problem with leaving the latest chapter of Yugoslav history practically blank is that many of my less responsible colleagues may fill the gap as they see fit’ (*Time Europe*, February 18th 2000).

In addition, the concept ‘Serbhood’, which existed before Milošević, has outlived his pragmatic use of it as a justification for territorial wars. A strong sense of patriotic and nationalist fervour remains an important element in the new history textbooks in Serbia where chapters on Serbian national and international history are kept separate from world history. For example, in the Serbian textbook, *Astoria za III razred gimnazije prirodno matematickog smera i IV razred gimnazije opsteg i drustveno-jezickog smera*, published in 2002, the thirteen page chapter on World War 1 in Serbia uses powerful and emotive language to describe events, issues and themes. A strong element of patriotic, national, pride is evident. For example:

After they were defeated the Austria-Hungarian army were in complete disarray, and were running madly with great fear back towards the border.

A description by an escaping enemy soldier is included:

We could not imagine that the Serbs would be able to get behind our lines. we were running in panic; crossing the bridge, we were pushing and struggling to get away and escape.

A description of Austro-Hungarian tactics by a Serbian general:

The Austro-Hungarian military is committing bestial acts and brutality in our villages. Everywhere I can find a group killed, most of them children and women, some had been hung and some shot, some children as young as ten.

Reference is often made to the heroism of Serbian soldiers. In calling upon them to defend Belgrade, a Serbian general said to his troops:

The soldiers who are called upon to fight for the town of Belgrade must shine like a light. You are all soldiers and heroes and all must fight until we are dead. When we die we die with glory, long live Belgrade.

The textbook quotes a German general on the fall of Belgrade ordering:

... That all dead Serbian soldiers should be buried in one grave with the greatest honour and that a memorial be put on the grave memorial saying, 'Here lie Serbian heroes'.

These highly emotive descriptions of brave national heroes fighting and dying for their homeland against a larger enemy capable of committing atrocities against the civilian population remain central in Serbian interpretations of their past.

Conclusion

While the overt xenophobic nationalism of the Milošević era is gradually becoming a thing of the past, the 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1971, p.2) is powerfully institutionalised in Serbia and images of national sacrifice, myth and legend remain at the heart of Serbian national identity at the beginning of the 21st Century. The outcome of constructing social representation, historical memory and identity in the tradition of Serbian textbooks produces cultural silences. What is often absent is a plurality of discourses and narratives which might emerge from oppositional histories or what Apple calls 'mentioning' where '...limited and isolated elements of the history and culture of less powerful groups are included in the texts' (Apple, 1993, p.56). While this is most certainly being addressed in contemporary Serbia, in creating a sense of national identity the borders in people's minds are far more powerful than those drawn on maps as Serbia's attitudes towards the form of official knowledge sanctioned in history textbooks suggests.

Central in this debate is the need to ensure continuity between past and present, to maintain the cohesiveness of society and order based upon traditional social, political and ethical mores. State control over textbook content remains a key means of transmitting hegemonic and ideological control and is, therefore, an important site of political struggle. It is through controlling textbook content that government can legitimise a particular set of values which provides people with an intellectual and moral sense of direction, which seeks to unite them in the face of a fracturing social cohesion. At the heart of this endeavour remains the complex question of what it means to be Serbian at the beginning of the 21st Century.

References

- Anderson, B. (1971) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition, London, Verso.
- Anzulovic, B. (1999) *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide* New York, Hurst & Company.
- Apple, M. (1993) *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* London, Routledge.

- Buruma, I. (1994) *Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* New York, Farrar Strauss.
- Cigar, N. (1996) 'The Serbo-Croatian War 1991', in Mestrovic, S.G. (1996) *Genocide After Emotion: the postmeitonal Balkan War* New York, Routledge.
- CCD (2002) *Policy for Curriculum Development in Obligatory and Secondary Education* Commission for Curriculum Development, Belgrade.
- Cosic, D. (1995) 'Reality and possibility', in Bennett, C. (1995) *Yugoslavia's Bloody Collapse: Causes, Course and Consequences* New York, New York University Press.
- Hein, L. and Selden, M. (Eds) (2000) *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States* London, ME Sharpe.
- Ivic, I., Perazic, O., Pesikan, A., Plut, D., Pesic, J., Antic, S. Popadic, D., and Cerovic, T.K. (1997) *Democracy in Education* Education for Democracy, Belgrade.
- Janjetovic, Z. (2001) 'National Minorities and non-Slav Neighbours in Serbian Textbooks', in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, Volume 23, No. 2, 13-26.
- Kundacina, M. (1980) 'Usmjerenost programskih sadraja srednjeg obrazovanja u formiranju mlade linosti kao branioca zemlje' (Orientation of curricula in secondary schools and personality traits of young people as defenders of the country), M.A. thesis, Faculty of Political Science, Zagreb.
- Mestrovic, S. G. (1994) *The Balkanization of the West* New York, Routledge.
- Mikes, M. (1984) 'Instruction in the mother tongues in Yugoslavia', in *Prospects*, Volume 14, No.1, 121-132.
- Olson, D.R. (1987) 'On the Designing and Understanding of Written Texts', in: Duffy, T.M. & Waller, R. (eds) *Designing Usable Texts* Orlando.
- Rubenstein, R.L. (1996) 'Holocaust and Holy War', in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Volume 548, No.1, 23-44.
- Samardic, O. (1987) 'Patriotizam i drustvena samozastita uos novnom obrazovanju', (Patriotism and social self-protection in primary education), Ph.D. thesis, Faculty of Political Science, Zagreb.
- Stojanovic, D. (1999) *The Balkan, Wars and Textbooks* Belgrade, Association for Social History.
- Ugresic, D. (1998) *The Culture of Lies* London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Writing for Children: History Textbooks and Teaching Texts

Jon Nichol, University of Exeter, England and Jacqui Dean, Leeds Metropolitan University, University of Exeter

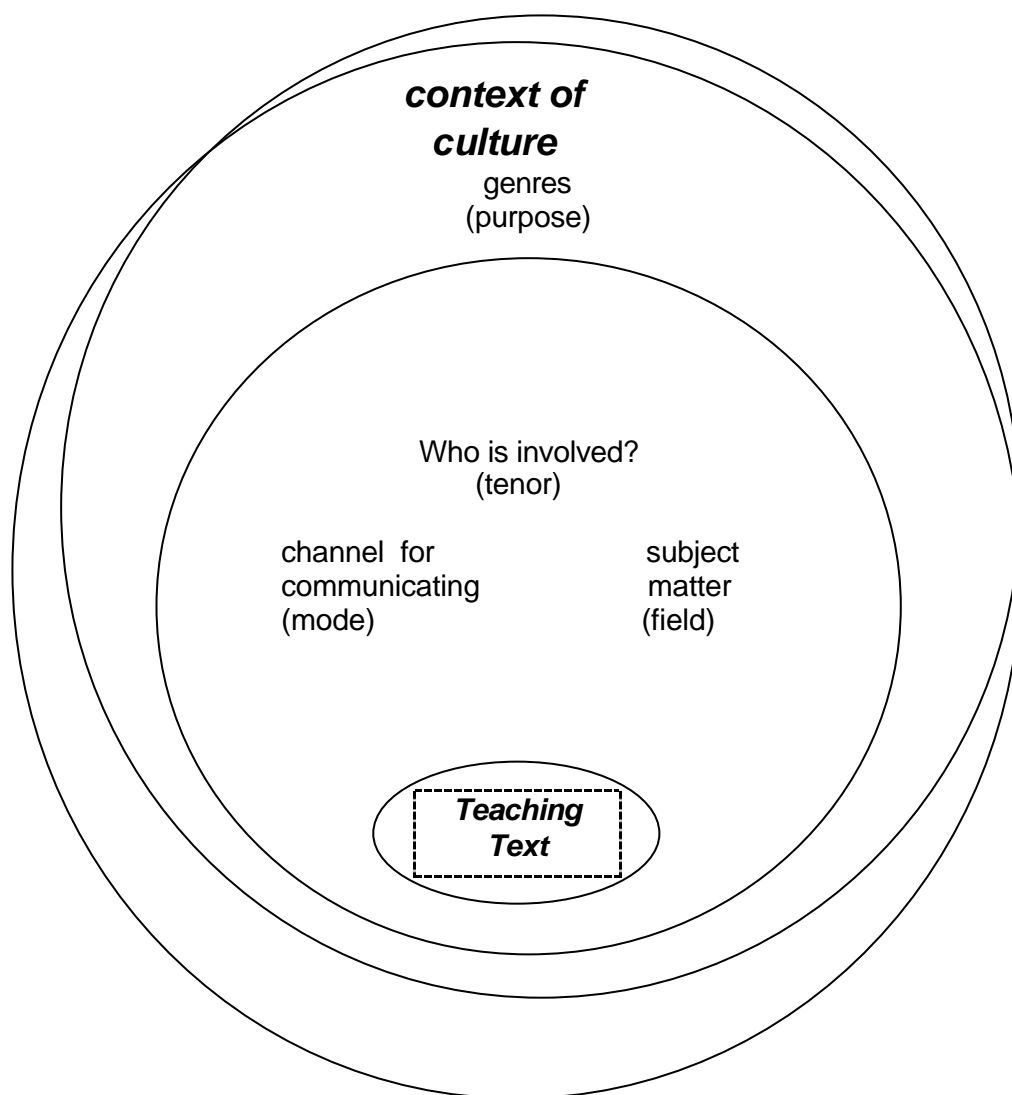
Abstract *Writing for children is a relatively obscure corner in the secret garden of the curriculum. Yet it is in many ways of the greatest significance: learning predominantly occurs either through the spoken word or through other media, usually of a printed kind. In the 21st century media used in writing for, or more accurately, communicating with children, can take many forms, resulting in a wide range of teaching-texts. Teaching-texts are texts that teachers use for teaching and learning. They usually take the form of textbooks that have continued to permeate all aspects of teaching. Textbooks are still universally used, usually as an element in a lesson that dominated by teacher discourse. This paper analyses history textbooks as a genre in history teaching from their introduction at the start of the 20th century, using for analytical purposes the Australian genre school's systemic functional model of language (Wyatt-Smith, 1997). Four elements combine to give each textbook its distinct form or micro-genre: the overall **cultural** factors that influence the other three: the **field** or content; the **tenor**, the author's perception of the audience that produces the text's voice or register; and the **mode**, the physical form which the textbook takes. Genre theory is applied to three different consecutive and overlapping styles of history textbook from the early to the late 20th century. The paper looks at recent writing for children that breaks away from the established history textbook genre. We now attempt to engage children directly with the evidence from the past in creating their own historical understanding. In this we provide teacher support that builds on pupils' interests, enthusiasm, existing knowledge, understanding and expertise.*

1 Introduction

There is a relative silence about what is involved in writing for children in relation to pupils interacting with, understanding and using teaching-texts (McKeown and Beck, 1994). This paper attempts to look at what producing teaching-texts involves from the perspective of practitioner researchers who have spent over thirty years in continually writing for children using a range of printed and electronic media, i.e. worksheets, pamphlets, simulations, resource packs, textbooks, computer programs and websites. While the paper will draw upon this experience, it will relate to current creation of teaching-texts for an audience of 9-11 year old children of mixed ability and gender in English state schools. This in turn links to an interest in genre theory and the systemic functional model of language (Halliday and Martin, 1993; Wyatt-Smith, 1996) and the role of texts that the National Literacy Strategy in England stimulated from 1997/98. The functional model relates to teaching-texts as a text type that relates to two determining elements: the context of culture and the context of situation (see Fig. 1).

We define teaching-texts as learning materials for children that can take many shapes and forms. Teaching-texts can draw upon and combine elements from the whole range of available media: the aural, iconic, orthographic and electronic and take a multiplicity of genres, from the conventional printed or written page to film, computer programs, dramatic presentations, audio tapes, collages, posters and monuments (Kress and Leeuwen, 1996).

Figure 1. The Systemic Functional Model of Language and Teaching-Texts



The teacher and teaching-texts are perhaps the two key vehicles in schools for the transmission of knowledge to pupils. Creating teaching-texts for children can be personal by the individual teacher working autonomously, by teachers as authors working collectively or by teachers being one 'voice' in the authoring process, usually working via the medium of an external agency such as a government agency, a Local Education Authority, a publisher or an educational charity. The knowledge that permeates teaching-texts for children is constructed and mediated through political, social and cultural determinants, the outer ring of figure 1. In turn, these structuralist factors shape and influence the form and function of the teaching-text in terms of the inner ring that results in its register.

Still the most common form of teaching-text is the textbook: a genre that dominated in the western world's schools from c. 1900 onwards. Here since c. 1900 the textbook has been a pervasive presence, although the way in which it is used is problematic. Research evidence suggests that when books were the universal teaching aid, the extent to which they were read was minimal (Levine, 1981, p.91). Advice to teachers is to treat them with caution, scepticism and reserve, regarding them as one of a number of sources to be drawn upon in constructing understanding (Haydn, Arthur & Hunt, 1997). When subject to detailed analysis textbooks fall between the Charybdis of

distortion through simplification and the Scylla of confusion through detail and complexity (Claire, 1996, pp. 114-15). Worse, the orientation of the author can lead to claims of ethnocentrism and bias, as for example in teaching-texts on Stalin's Russia (Maw, 1994).

2 Textbooks

In commercial educational publishing the dominant form teaching-texts take is still the textbook: in areas where publishers have moved towards alternative media such as CD-Roms and computer programs there is the acrid smell of digital carbonisation (Longman Education's ICT division, for example). The central theme of this conference, the divide between teachers, pupils and publishers of educational printed and electronic media might be mythical in terms of publishers' awareness. There is in fact a continuous dialogue between every publisher and classroom teachers to ensure that a *text's* register, its voice, maps as closely as possible on to the expectations of the intended audience – primarily teachers, with their pupils in mind. This dialogue takes the form both of direct contact between commissioning editors and teachers and indirect contact filtered via the medium of the sales force, the reports of reviewers of publishing proposals and other sources of information, such as attendance at conferences or reply slips from teachers from mailings and catalogues. There is also dialogue between every writer and teachers and pupils – beware the writer whose antennae are not finely tuned to the messages that the intended audience sends out. If children's interests and concerns are not considered, the market makes its judgment – the books remain unsold, the writer's income disappears and the publisher faces insolvency.

In a real sense a classic market economy operates in England for educational media in general and textbooks in particular, with only the fittest surviving in a 21st century capitalist economy. The definition of the nature of the market economy in educational publishing is for economists; it is the working of the market economy that concerns us. A major problem for publishers is when external factors distort that market and mean that the publisher's sense of audience is destroyed. The biggest such distortion in England was the introduction of the National Curriculum from 1988 to 1992; at a stroke it destroyed *the backlist* upon which publishers' survival depended. The external intervention was compounded from 1991 to 1995 when revisions to the National Curriculum destroyed the *front-list*, the new series of textbooks that publishers were developing to pay off their debts. Government policy at a stroke destroyed the publishers' intended purchasing audience. The most significant victim of the destruction of the front-list was Macmillan Education whose c. £1,000,000 investment in science educational publishing became as relatively worthless as some dot.com shares are today. The pulped scheme no doubt fetched a premium price on the cat litter market.

This is where Internet publishing comes into its own. Unlike traditional history textbook publishing, the market for Internet resources is growing rapidly. Web-based resources vary amazingly in quality; however, educational sites are improving steadily. Useful Internet sites allow teachers and pupils to read primary sources in the form of both written and visual texts, make virtual visits to historical sites and similarly examine artifacts virtually. Such sites offer a far wider range of resources (and links to others) than traditional published textbooks can, and are liberating in the variety of topics covered – unlike textbooks, they do not focus overmuch on 'core' curriculum topics (Belben and Hassell, 2003). We ourselves maintain two such websites: Exeter University's History Resource (www.historyresource.ex.ac.uk) and the Nuffield Primary History Project's website (www.primaryhistory.org). Both combine downloadable learning resources with teaching ideas and accounts. Perhaps their greatest

advantage is that they can publish, quickly, resources and curriculum development done in real classrooms by both academics and teachers.

3 Textbooks and genre

Textbooks are a genre, but what do we mean by genre? Definitions of genre are varied, complex and debated. When it comes to discussing the relationship between genre and the 'voice' of a teaching-text, its register, definitions are overlapping and even contradictory (Littlefair, 1991). And, how do ideas about genre relate to creating *teaching-texts* for children in general and writing commercially in particular? The definition of genre since the 1980s draws heavily upon the Australian genre school. The genre school views genre within its educational setting as being *functionalist* the identity of a mode of communications is related to its *purpose* and *use*. In relation to pupil literacy, the Australians focused upon genre to empower working class and immigrant children: to equip them with an extensive working repertoire of genres that would give them an entrée to a range of professions and occupations. Bahtia (1997) is explicit about the importance of genres in professional settings:

Genres are dynamic constructs, even though they are essentially seen as embedded in conventions associated with typical instances of language use in social, academic or professional settings. An understanding or a prior knowledge of conventions is considered essential for its identification, construction, interpretation, use and ultimate exploitation by members of specific professional communities to achieve socially recognized goals with some degree of pragmatic success. (p. 367)

We can extend Bahtia's definition to the educational world: with the difference that the role of genres relates to the differing roles and status of the teacher and the taught. For teachers the textbook, as a genre, has a clear purpose in relation to a set of educational goals, mediated and enforced in England through teacher accountability via external inspections (OFSTED) and accreditation – the examination process (SATs, GCSE, A/AS level). Perhaps the most commonly used genre in the accountability and accreditation dominated classroom is the textbook, although increasingly teachers use a range of other genres – video, worksheets, topic books, pamphlets and reference books. What kind of teaching-text genre is a textbook? Yes, we may recognise one when we see it, but what are the genre's identifying features? What makes a textbook for children recognizable as being different from a cookbook or novel or, within the context of a school, a topic book or biography?

By definition, textbooks share the features of a common macro-genre that give them their identity. The textbook macro-genre in turn allows for an infinite variety of micro-genres that makes each textbook series unique. Micro-genres depend upon the relationship that each textbook reflects between the three defining features of all genres, **field**, **tenor** and **mode**, and a fourth overarching factor: the **cultural milieu** in which they exist. Fig. 1. indicates the relationship between a genre's elements.

Each genre reflects the context for which it is intended:

field	<i>expressed through</i>	Ideational function
what is happening in the text, the content		The content, in terms of ideas, concepts, information, cultural markers and indicators
tenor	<i>expressed through</i>	the register
The voice of the text in terms of the <i>authorial intent</i> in relation to the intended <i>audience</i>		the voice of the text The text's 'language' as an expression of its <u>purpose</u>
mode	<i>expressed through</i>	textual form
the medium through which the meaning of the text is conveyed		the shape, structure, patterns and conventions of the text

The **cultural milieu** permeates and influences all aspects of the creation of a textbook. It is the structuralist factor that determines the **field**, it influences all aspects of the **tenor** (the authorial voice and the teaching-text's register), and it is a major determinant of the **mode**. The interplay between these four elements provides a textbook's parameters and gives it its unique identity. An analysis of textbooks' micro-genres enables a fine-grained analysis of how each textbook relates to the highly complex and sophisticated pedagogical content knowledge of teachers that Shulman (1987) initially identified. In particular, how do textbooks transmute academic subject knowledge into the knowledge bases that teachers draw upon (Turner-Bisset, 2001)?

Thus when we analyse the micro-genres of Richards', Unstead's and Nichol's textbooks below, each has an identical macro-genre; their micro-genres are significantly different.

4 History textbooks, 1902-1995

As a genre, the history textbook in England is a relatively recent development. In the late 19th century, history was extensively taught in elementary schools through the medium of readers whose primary purpose was teaching children to read (Yeandle, 2003). These readers told moral and cautionary tales, centred on the lives of the great and good, from King Alfred to Queen Elizabeth I, that would teach through example. However, there was no formal history teaching as such: in 1890 only 414 elementary school departments offered specific history lessons; this figure leapt to 23,000 in 1903. The reason? History became a statutory subject in 1902. The 1902 Act was implemented through the medium of the 1904 *Elementary School Code* (Barnard, 1961) and the 1905 *Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and others engaged in the Work of Public Elementary Schools*. The Elementary School Code was clear about the place of history in the curriculum: 'Not less than 4.5 hours per week must be allotted to English, Geography and History' (Maclure, 1965).

Figure 2: Writing for children: The textbook genre

Genre Elements	Definition	Detail
The field	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The cultural context • Actors influencing and shaping content 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Society's views on the nature and role of school education – the cultural perspective • The political parameters and regulations that frame the context for textbook use • Influence of agency, factors that influence and shape the form that education takes • The academic world's influence upon the forms of knowledge represented in textbooks • The role of school history in the education of pupils
The tenor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The cultural context • The authorial voice • A sense of audience The authors' understanding of the intended audience • The purpose of the text 	<p>The education, background, values, beliefs and assumptions of the authorial team. The authorial voice is the outcome of the interplay of:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The publisher / author 2. The publisher: the accountant, the lawyer, the owner 3. The publisher: editor + management group 4. The publisher: creative team (art, design) 5. The series editor 6. The readers 7. The representatives 8. The author[s] <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Head teacher 2. Head of History and staff 3. Children 4. Parents 5. Governors and others in the community 6. Other <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Social/Cultural/Political 2. Educational: pupils – learning outcomes 3. Educational: teachers – the textbook's role 4. Institutional: role in overall pattern of a department and its curriculum 5. Community: parents and governors 6. Commercial
The mode	The medium for communication	<p><u>Conventions</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Typeface: size 2. Number of words per page 3. Illustrations: number, form, size 4. Layout 5. Conventions 6. Style

As a consequence the history textbook emerged almost overnight in a recognizable form, a form that has altered little through time. The title of Roscoe Morgan's 1904 textbook *The Oxford and Cambridge History of England from B.C. 55 to A.D. 1904* (1904) sets the tone. The history textbook genre developed within a milieu of pedagogic freedom: outside the overall requirement to teach history, how it was to be taught was the province of each school and its teachers. *'There is no country in which the teacher in the State schools has more freedom than he has in England'* (Barnard, 1961, p.217), a freedom that lasted until 1988. What were the factors that influenced textbook development between 1902 and 1988? A distinctive history textbook genre rapidly emerged (Dymond, 1929).

The field

The field of the textbook genre presented history as a body of knowledge for pupils to engage with and assimilate. Social expectations and assumptions, politically mediated, determined each textbook's content, content grounded in the academic discourse of university historians. School history had a clear purpose: knowledge of the past was linked to pupils' future role as citizens, i.e. it aimed to give *'enough knowledge, pride, interest and perhaps dissatisfaction in regard to the past to make them good citizens in the future'* (Dymond, 1929, p.28).

Three major textbooks, written by Denis Richards, R.J. Unstead and Jon Nichol, illustrate the influence of the cultural dimension of the history textbook's field. Denis Richards' universally used *An Illustrated History of Modern Europe*, first published in 1938 and updated many times, declared:

The French Revolution is probably the most important event in Modern European History. **The ideas of 'liberty' and 'equality'** which inspired the Revolution affected not only France and the generation of 1789 but the whole of Europe and the whole of the 19th century. As time went on, state after state **rose to overthrow the greatest obstacles to 'liberty'** – foreign rule or autocratic kingship. A climax was reached in the World War of 1914-1918, when the Allies, fighting 'to safeguard the rights of small nations' (among other things) helped to free the despotically ruled districts of Central Europe and set them up as new, **independent, democratic states** – such as Poland and Czecho-Slovakia (Richards, 1938, p. ix) [our emphases in **bold**].

Whig history with a vengeance! The struggle against the Axis of Evil was won – but history had a twist in its tail, as the 1950 edition of Richards's book in its 15th printing stated:

*Liberal, parliamentary democracy, then – the democracy for which Europe strove throughout the 19th Century – is still a **leading concept** in the world. But it has now to face its greatest challenge. For the **appeal of Communism**, with its policy of despoiling the upper and middle classes in the interests of the masses (as determined by the Communist Party leaders), is very great, despite the restrictions on personal freedom and the right of opposition which it entails; and among the poverty-stricken and land-hungry peasantry of Asia it may well prove irresistible.*

*The stage appears set, then, for a drama on old themes with a new twist. It is still **the struggle for freedom** which is being played out, just as it was in the 19th century. But this time the protagonists are not autocratic kingship and liberal democracy, but **liberal democracy and totalitarian Communism** (Richards, 1950, p.345) [our emphases in **bold**].*

Here in a real sense the cultural dimension structurally determined the selection and presentation of content. Denis Richards' content supported the overall purpose of his book – an account of the struggle for liberal democracy within 19th and 20th century Europe.

For English history a new author who changed the face of the textbook from the mid-1950s, R.J. Unstead, was equally explicit about the citizenship role of his textbooks within a Whig Interpretation of History framework:

In the five books of this series I have tried to describe simply the chief events and personalities in Britain's history so that they will interest the reader and help him to understand how and why certain happenings have taken place. Also, at a time when it is fashionable in some quarters to belittle Britain's achievements in the past, I have tried to show that whereas Britain has acted foolishly or badly, her history shows **the persistence of ideals which good men** have lived by since Alfred's day.

In this story of a thousand years it is **the character of a people** that comes through; I hope that the readers will recognise this character and be glad (Unstead, A History of Britain, 1962) [our emphases in **bold**].

However, the field had significantly changed for the next generation of history textbooks that appeared from the mid-1970s. These books reflected the history education establishment's derision and scorn for the textbooks of Richards' and Unstead's generation (Lang, 1990). Behind the attack on Unstead and other textbook authors (Levine, 1981) was a perceived mismatch between the form, nature and purpose of their books and advocates of a 'new' approach to history teaching: the 'New History'. Here the aim was for pupils actively to construct their own understanding of the past as proto-historians, as opposed to being the passive assimilators of a cultural message and orthodoxy transmitted through the pages of the textbook. The 'new' history of the early 1970s has become synonymous with the Schools Council History Project with its emphasis upon historical sources, the skills, processes and protocols to work upon them and an understanding of the concepts that define history as a discipline and give it a cutting, intellectual edge in the classroom.

The 'new' history movement spawned a whole generation of textbooks demonstrably different from their predecessors. As new textbook authors we grounded our writing in an understanding of history's syntactic processes (procedural knowledge) from our perspectives as academic historians and upon an appreciation of the multiplicity of history genres that permeate our culture. As such we mirrored the interests and concerns of the Schools Council History Project. But we had developed our ideas within the context of a general debate about the nature and purpose of history teaching, a debate that involved a host of kindred spirits. Two factors became paramount: children investigating the past as young historians and their use of multiple genres to communicate their understanding:

I chose the sources in it [the book] because they were the ones that I found the most useful to teach with and I have given them to you in as complete a form as I can. The book helps you to decode their meaning - you are asked to be a real history detective!

In life we come across history in thousands of forms, such as advertisements, comic strips, cartoons, adventure stories, films, videos, documentaries, radio reports, paintings, sculptures, encyclopedias and guidebooks. We can do our history from all these and many other viewpoints (Nichol, 1993).

The tenor

The tenor is central to the creation of commercially produced textbooks, resulting in the authorial voice or register. The authorial voice is based on the publisher's estimate of the school market. In turn this links to the *author's* explicit understanding of the intended *pupil audience* as seen through the eyes of the teacher – the publisher's first port of call and holder of the purse strings. Richards' and Unstead's generation of teachers viewed the pupil as the assimilator of historical knowledge within the context of an understood and accepted historical dimension to national identity:

The child's knowledge of the syllabus is closely connected with that essential factor in the learning of history, knowledge of time order and continuity of events. A large number of schools advocate the use of **time charts** and a short **list of important dates** to be memorised each term... Other schools stress the importance of **revision**. Many teachers have pointed out the importance of a well-kept **notebook** (Dymond, 1929, p. 27).

While Richards and Unstead had a clear, common purpose in terms of content [the field] they were significantly different in terms of the authorial voice or tenor. R.J. Unstead's books employed a distinctly different tenor from those of Richards and his generation of authors, *Unstead talked directly to the pupils* in a friendly and concerned way:

This book is about the life of ordinary people in the Middle Ages. It tells you how they built and furnished their homes, how they lived, worked and enjoyed themselves; you will read about their clothes, food, games and punishments (Unstead, 1953).

Unstead's authorial intentions led him to tell stories to an audience of children, to provide a clear narrative and to paint pictures in words that would link to the pictures on the page:

In the village, besides the stone manor-house, there were the church and the cross, the priest's house and twenty or thirty huts for the villains. These were made of wattle and daub (wicker and mud) with thatched roofs. The smoky little huts had a fire in the middle of their one room (Unstead, 1953, p.22).

Unstead had a 'mental model' of his intended pupil audience – for them he created each scene using simple words and syntax and, where technical terms are introduced, synonyms the pupil would know. He used concrete examples and adjectives to bring the scene to life; for example, '*smoky little huts had a fire in the middle of their one room*'.

Unstead's tenor was also distinctive in dealing with factual content. He knew lists of dates, names and battles were a recipe for boredom. So, he kept names and dates to the minimum and provided a balanced, thoughtful and engaging teaching-text:

You will not find much about kings, queens and battles in this book, but to help you know who were the rulers, and what were the chief events in the Middle Ages, there are three very short chapters called 'Happenings' (Unstead, 1953, Introduction).

His 'Happening' on the post-1066 period opens:

William I was the first Norman king. He was strong and wise, and he made the barons obey him. He could be cruel, and when the Saxons in the north

rebelled he punished them with fire and death, but when people obeyed him, William treated them fairly (Unstead, 1953, p. 26).

The textbooks of Richards, Unstead and their contemporaries were tools in a more general pattern of teaching with a clear view of the pupil audience and a desire to '*give the children a living interest in the past*' (Dymond, 1929, p. 28). A 1952 handbook for history teachers suggested that variety was the keynote to successfully engaging the interest of the pupils – the teacher should draw upon a range of techniques and approaches, '*a constant readiness to use different methods in different circumstances*' and '*We would not stifle that briskly experimental approach to the teaching of history without which our craft would ossify.*' (IAAM, 1952, p. 60). Variety, however, related to the dominant oral teaching method, in which the teacher controlled the classroom discourse in the transmission of historical knowledge.

The problem with the oral method from 1902 to the early 1970s was that it produced a classroom environment in which mastery of a body of knowledge predominated and in which pupils were relegated to a passive role. A 1970 survey revealed that history as a subject was overwhelmingly unpopular. Pupils, when not listening to the teacher's monologue, were usually engaged either in reading a textbook or in writing of an overwhelmingly transactional nature. J.K. Rowling gives an insight into what this mode of teaching meant:

Easily the most boring lesson was History of Magic, which was the only class taught by a ghost. Professor Binns had been very old indeed when he had fallen asleep in front of the staff-room fire and got up next morning to teach, leaving his body behind him. Binns droned on and on while they scribbled down names and dates and got Emeric the Evil and Uric the Oddball mixed up (Rowling, 1997, p. 99).

The 'New History' textbooks that we and others wrote from the mid-1970s had a different view of pupils as learners from that of Richards and Unstead. We believed that the pupil audience could *engage* with and solve historical problems - as opposed to the teacher telling them the answers. We believed (and believe) that:

- Children have the ability to engage in historical thinking with the support of their teachers as and when needed.
- Historical thinking draws upon a whole range of mental faculties: the sympathetic, the empathetic, the imaginative as well as the logical and deductive. History is a creative art!
- History is a literary subject: it involves reading and making sense of a whole range of sources, written, visual, aural and tactile. Children can read historical sources with teacher support.
- Historical enquiries need resolution and the communication of findings to an audience. Communication can be through written, aural, visual, enactive and electronic media.
- Pupils can work co-operatively, in pairs or groups, in solving historical problems.
- History should relate to children's lives: the worlds that they live in; hence link each topic to a current context, both concretely and conceptually.
- Pupils can engage in complex and sophisticated historical activities if they are broken down into discrete, connected steps that are clear to each pupil.

With this view of the audience, the teaching-text had to be a blend of narrative, instruction, sources of all kinds and tasks that would support the pupil in making his or her own sense of the past. The opening pages of *Expansion, Trade and Industry* (Nichol, 1993) neatly bridged the gap between old and new textbooks, grounded in a different view of both history and pupils:

Think of the last time you walked down the main street of your local town, city or suburb. If you had done the same walk 100 and 250 years ago, what might you have heard, seen and smelled? How and why did things change: for example, why do some streets and pubs have African and Asian names? (p.2).

Already the teaching-text is engaging pupils directly in a first-person conversation. I then directly challenge the pupils:

To 'think history' you have to ask such questions and search for answers using your **sources**. History forces you to try and see what life was like in the past and how things have **changed**. I chose sources **A-D** to suggest key changes from 1750 to 1900. **A** is from a textbook I found for pupils of your age written in 1900 – the end date for this History Study Unit. It struck me as a very good source to work from, full of ideas about how the author wanted young people to view their world (Nichol, 1993, p. 2).

The section *Farming 1850-1900* embodies my view of how children can learn history. It uses as its source a GCSE history book. It provides the children with an activity to read, comprehend and then transform the information into a different medium: a Radio Report.

The activity breaks down into a protocol of twelve linked tasks, each leading to the activity's resolution:

- 1 Key questions
- 2 Quick skim reading of the text
- 3 List words and phrases that are unclear
- 4 Quick skim reading [2]
- 5 Note all facts and main points
- 6 Discussion of points with partner or as a class
- 7 Slow reading
- 8 List key words and sentences
- 9 Draw a star diagram / concept web
- 10 Create class star diagram
- 11 Research into the topic, using other books
- 12 Reporting – produce a thirty-second report for a radio news programme on farming from 1850 to 1870.

The mode

The final element in writing for children is the mode. Central to this is technology for the production of teaching-texts. From 1900 to the mid-1950s the predominant mode was the organization of the content into chapters of dense print. Textbooks could be

varied with the introduction of illustrations, but the mode reflected the purpose of the text: the transmission of knowledge. For example:


Illustrations. These have been included partly with the idea of making pupils feel more 'friendly' towards their text-book, and partly with the idea of aiding the memory. The cartoons (all of which are contemporary with the events on which they comment) may help both to clarify an issue and to implant it more firmly in the reader's mind. The picture-charts are summaries of movements or causes of great importance, presented in this way to assist the memory of the many students best approached through their visual sense (Richards, 1938, p. vii).

From the early 1950s R.J. Unstead introduced a revolution in textbook design. His textbooks contained pictures and text in equal proportions. The pictures included illustrations from original manuscripts, photographs of historical remains, drawings and recreated historical scenes and situations. Unstead's textbooks combined an engaging text with visual representation, where words and pictures blended seamlessly in the narrative explanatory text (see Figure 3).

In terms of mode the 'New History' textbooks of the 1970s were visually similar to those of R.J. Unstead. Where they differed radically was in the role of the sources in the text and the linked activities that shaped pupils' historical enquiry. By the 1990s the mode had become formalized. The teaching-text was organised in two-page openings, with a rough 50/50 split between a) text and b) activities and sources. Each activity was broken down into a series of steps from inception to conclusion – the communication of knowledge using a specific genre. The range of genres is clear from the *Transport Revolution* section of *Expansion, Trade and Industry* (Nichol, 1993, pp. 16-29).

Topic	Activity
<i>The Transport Revolution</i>	History of transport guide –Write a one-sheet guide in history for transport for tourists to show the main changes in transport from 1750 to 1900.
<i>Roads</i>	You can create and play a turnpike game using your local ordnance survey map
<i>Turnpike Builder</i>	Contract – you have to try and win a contract to build a turnpike road in 1770
<i>The Impact of Roads</i>	You have to prepare a talk for eight-year olds on the impact of turnpike roads
<i>The Canal Age</i>	You have to prepare two double page spreads for an information book on the history of canals
<i>The Impact of Canals</i>	A British Waterways history competition . It can be written, spoken, filmed, drawn, painted, audio-taped or videoed.
<i>Railways 1800-1830</i>	You have to design a set of postcards

Figure 3: sample page from textbook by R.J. Unstead



William defies the Pope
The Pope had blessed William's expedition and, in return, William intended to support the Church and to enrich it with grants of land. He was a religious man and his first step was to send for his friend Lanfranc, the Italian-born Abbot of Caen, and presently to make him Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lanfranc believed that the clergy should be organised and disciplined, that they should not marry, enjoy worldly pleasures, nor make money by taking several positions or offices. Lanfranc and the King reformed some of the slack Saxon monasteries, built new ones, appointed Norman abbots, and founded some schools. Magnificent new churches began to arise all over the country, in many of which English and Norman masons worked together, using fine Caen stone brought across from Normandy.

But while William supported Lanfranc and allowed the Church to have its own courts, he intended to be head of the English Church. He politely refused to do homage to the Pope for his new kingdom and would not allow him to appoint bishops. No-one, not even the Pope, could interfere with William's royal power.

Lanfranc was a teacher before becoming archbishop.



An 11th-century picture of the Normans—tough fighters, military engineers, builders, lawyers, administrators. Quite a small group of Normans went to southern Italy and carved themselves a kingdom there.

5 History textbooks, 1992-2003

Textbook writing until the late 1980s operated in a relatively free milieu: this changed radically with the introduction of the National Curriculum, 1989-91. The problem was simple: an evolutionary situation was transformed into a revolutionary one. In developing new series of textbooks publishing houses and their authors were flying 'blind'. Navigation was according to the 'data' that the instruments - National Curriculum documentation and advice - produced. History textbooks of the 1990s preserved many features of those developed under the influence of the 'New History'. A textbook orthodoxy emerged that in turn came under attack.

It is not essential to have groups of sources on every double page feature in the book, or indeed to reduce almost all topics to two pages of coverage (Hake and Haydn, 1995, p. 21).

An indication of disillusionment with textbooks is the disappearance of textbook reviews from the pages of *Teaching History*, the national mouthpiece in Britain of the history teaching profession, in 1998 (*Teaching History*, 1998).

In our own work we have been writing for children in a freer, more fluid form since the early 1990s. The dominant influence was the late and lamented John Fines, with whom we worked closely (Fines and Nichol, 1997). The Nuffield Primary History Project (NPHP) enabled us to start with a clean sheet. Our classroom research and curriculum development work reflected the NPHP's principles:

1. *Challenge* – pupils should be challenged
2. *Questioning* – pupil and teacher questions are at the heart of the learning process
3. *Depth* – understanding can only arise from study in detail
4. *Economy* – only use the sources that are needed
5. *Authenticity* – use authentic sources when possible
6. *Accessibility* – the teacher has to make the past accessible to the pupil
7. *Communication* – at the end of the learning process the pupil should communicate his or her understanding to an audience.

In the spring term of 2003, we applied these ideas in our curriculum research and development work, teaching a Year 5/6 class about the Romans for two one and a half hour sessions a week for six weeks. The school's brief was to fully integrate the National Literacy Strategy requirements with the history component. As such, history would enable literacy to be contextualised, embedded in the rich linguistic discourse that history provides. We wanted full pupil engagement with a range of teaching-texts, texts that would lock into the world of the children, texts that would stimulate, entertain and educate. So, I decided to write my *Magic History of Roman Britain* as a core teaching-text. Kevin and Kitty would travel through time and space to be eye-witnesses of the events and circumstances that the children were studying. With the help of Kitty's magic cauldron and Kevin's disappearing umbrella they were spectators of the living spectacle of the past. *The Magic History of Roman Britain* reflected current academic scholarship (Salway, 1993, pp. 17-27). As such, the Magic History translated academic subject knowledge into teaching subject knowledge in a form accessible to children (see Fig. 4). The text was one of a range of complementary sources the pupils engaged with. For the lesson (described in Appendix 1) we also used an extract from the film *Gladiator* and a set of artist's pictures of Roman military life. Here the **cultural milieu** was a major factor in defining **the field**, in relation to the worlds of the child, the media and academia.

The wish to map on to the interests, understanding and enthusiasms of the pupil audience determined the tenor; indeed, the echo of Harry Potter was part of a much wider literacy strategy involving the pupils. Here we need to distinguish between the internal quality of the teaching-text and the motivational factors that are external to it: the learning protocols that cognitively involve the pupils so as to deepen their learning. These we incorporate into the overall teaching strategy and the activities that it involves (see Appendix 1). As such, they are part of the conventions for learning, the lesson's mode. A *learning protocol* is the teacher-controlled sequence of demands upon pupils in an activity that forces them to think at each stage. The protocol is the key factor in what is known as assisted performance, i.e. the teacher guiding and supporting the pupils towards a learning goal that the teacher has set. In relation to the *Magic History of Britain* the protocols are presented in Appendix 1 - it gives a detailed account of what a single lesson involved (Nichol, 2003). The extract from the *Magic History of Roman Britain* is the introduction to a lesson that sees the children asking questions about Caesar's army and then travelling to spy upon a Roman army camp. Here the pupils had to investigate visual sources.

The learning protocols of the lesson were:

- Reading and discussion of the Magic History
- Problem solving: advice to the Atrebatas tribe
- Pupil questions about Caesar's army: pupils working in pairs and pooling ideas
- Watching extracts from the film *Gladiator* in order to learn about Roman army tactics
- Pupils as spies investigating clues about the Roman army – moving from desk to desk, each with a different set of pictorial clues on it.

The mode of the *Magic History of Roman Britain* is a bog standard printed text – back to Denis Richards! But, in the lesson described we also had a rich array of visual sources for the pupils to spy upon – including the battle scene from *Gladiator*. Here we see our written teaching-text used as one element in a lesson that drove towards the teaching goal – an understanding of the nature of Roman warfare. Reassuringly, this reflects the IAAM (1952) handbook of advice for history teachers: treat the textbook as one element in a varied and stimulating teaching repertoire.

How does this approach to writing teaching-texts for children relate to McKeown and Beck's (1994) account of their attempt to create a text based upon research **into** children's thinking and learning? Their analysis of research into the reading of textbooks suggested that successful features included:

1. enhanced background knowledge
2. developing engaging texts
3. inherently interesting
4. unexpectedness
5. personal relatedness
6. character identification
7. novelty
8. activity level
9. emotional interest

Figure 4: The Magic History of Roman Britain: The Roman Army - Spy!

The Council of War Emma, Dylan, Kitty and Kevin hid under their disappearing gown. Caradoc, king of the Atrebates, did not know that they were there. Caradoc had called his chiefs to a war meeting, a council, in his hut. A merchant had just come back from Gaul on his Celtic trading boat with news that the Roman fleet was getting ready to sail for Cantium – the Celtic kingdom closest to Gaul. Caesar planned to conquer Britain, slaughter all those who fought him and make their wives and children slaves. What should the Atrebates tribe do?

- | | |
|----------|--|
| ➤ Flee? | ➤ Send money and hostages to Caesar as a sign of friendship? |
| ➤ Fight? | ➤ Make a treaty with Caesar to attack the king of Cantium? |
| | ➤ Find out more about Caesar's army? |

Caradoc said that his son and daughter were on a visit to Caesar. The Atrebates chiefs argued long in to the night. At last Caradoc and his chiefs agreed that they needed to find out more about Caesar's plans. They would send a message of friendship to Caesar and at the same time ask Emma and Dylan to spy upon Caesar. Caradoc wanted them to find out as much as they could about how the Romans would fight.

The Roman Army at War Caradoc and his chiefs were all fast asleep, snoring like pigs. They had all drunk far too much mead and wine at the great feast that followed their meeting. The only things awake were Caradoc's two great Irish hunting dogs with their grey, matted hair and yellow fangs and the children under the invisibility cloak. The older dog, Finn, stopped scratching the fleas behind his ear, yawned and walked across to the invisibility cloak, sniffing at Kitty's toes. It was time to go! Kitty said that to find out about the Roman army they should first of all think about the questions that they would want answers to. Using magic, they would first of all travel to a battle that the Romans had fought against a Celtic tribe in Gaul. This would show a Roman army in action. After looking at the battle, they would go back to Caesar's camp as his army was getting ready to board its boats to sail for Cantium in Britain. Emma and Dylan were pleased with this plan – it would mean they could tell their dad, Caradoc, and his chiefs what they wanted to know about the Roman army and its plans. Finn's long pointed snout lifted the edge of the invisibility cloak, and his panting red tongue rasped Kitty's ankle. Her face froze in horror as she tapped the cauldron with her wand and muttered her spell, *Gallicabattlica*.

The Roman Army at War How could she do it, thought Kevin. How could Kitty have dropped them in the space between the two armies! On one side stood the Roman catapults and troops, on the other they could hear the trumpets and howling battle cries of the Gaols as they swarmed through the forest. Thank goodness the disappearing gown was also a shield that nothing could damage. Now Emma and Dylan would find out how the Romans fought. The Roman general roared the order to fire the catapults – the battle had begun. A giant Roman arrow bounced off the top of the invisibility cloak and soared towards the forest. The children could hear screaming, the roar of the burning forest, the wild neighing of horses and charging feet ...

Caesar's army Kitty's spell meant that Kevin, Emma and Dylan and only saw the start of the battle – for now they were back in Caesar's camp. The Roman troops were getting ready to sail across the channel. The children were able to spy on the Roman army – they could see everything: Caesar talking to his officers; soldiers training; soldiers dressed for battle; the camp, catapults, the army on the march; the boats that would carry the soldiers across the channel and pictures of fighting.

10. cognitive interest
11. focus on target information

Interestingly, these can be mapped on to my writing criteria (see Appendix 2).

Criterion	Magic History: The Roman Army – Spy!	
Activity	People	Caradoc, king of the Artrebatas Tribal council meeting A Celtic merchant Caesar Emma and Dylan – Celtic children Kitty & Kevin – the Magic History of Britain time travellers
	Place	Celtic Britain, Celtic Kingdom – Cantium Gaul, Caesar’s camp, the battle scene – sounds
Orality	Language	Description of the hut with the sleeping chief, Finn the dog
	Dialogue	Kitty’s explanation, Kevin’s thoughts about being trapped between two fighting armies
Connectivity	The text	The children had returned by magic to Caradoc’s hut to be present at the Council of war The children as spies Trapped in the battle Children in Caesar’s camp

While the eleven factors that McKeown and Beck identified stimulated interest they did not necessarily lead to improved learning. They analysed their findings and suggested three criteria for engaging pupils with teaching-text in a way that would improve learning:

- ACTIVITY The engagement of historical agents in the events the text presents
- ORALITY The use of conversational forms of language
- CONNECTIVITY Making connections between the reader and the text, such as addressing the reader directly, drawing connections between events and the agents involved, providing an emotional response to and emphasising interrelationships among agents within a text.

The Roman Army – Spy! section of *The Magic History* maps perfectly onto these criteria.

The extent to which this approach to reading succeeds in interesting pupils and in developing and enriching their understanding needs researching: McKeown and Beck have shown that interest, enthusiasm and engagement do not necessarily translate into improved learning. However, it is reassuring to be able to map our most recent attempts to improve the quality of classroom teaching-texts onto their typology and find an almost perfect fit.

Correspondence

Jon Nichol,
School of Education and Life Long Learning, University of Exeter, EX1 2LU
Tel 01392 264761
Email: J.D.Nichol@ex.ac.uk

References

- Bahtia, V.K. (1997) *World Englishes* Vol. 16, no. 3, pp.359-71.
- Barnard, H.C. (1961) *A History of English Education* London, University of London Press Ltd.
- Belben, J. & Hassell, D. (2003) 'Print and electronic resources', in *History Teacher Supplement: Past Forward* Vol. 36, Issue 2, pp. 47-49, The Historical Association.
- Claire, H. (1996) *Reclaiming Our Pasts: Equality and Diversity in the Primary History Curriculum* Trentham Books.
- Dymond, D. (1929) *A Handbook for History Teachers* London, Methuen.
- Hake, C. and Haydn, T. (1995) 'Stories or Success' *Teaching History*, 78, pp. 20-22.
- Halliday, M.A.K. & Martin, J.R. (1993) *Writing Science: Literacy and Discursive Power* Falmer Press.
- Haydn, T., Arthur, J. and Hunt, M. (1997) *Learning to Teach History in the Secondary School* London, Routledge.
- History Resource (www.historyresource.ex.ac.uk)
- IAAM (1952) *The Teaching of History* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Kress, G. & Van Leeuwen, T. (1996) *Reading Images: the Grammar of Visual Design*, London, Routledge.
- Lang, S. (1990) 'Mr History; the Achievement of R.J. Unstead Reconsidered', *Teaching History*.
- Levine, N. (1981) *Language Teaching and Learning: History* London, Lock Educational.
- Littlefair, A. B. (1991) *Reading all types of writing* Open University Press.
- Maclure, J. S. (1965) *Educational Documents: England and Wales 1816-196* London, Methuen.
- McKeown, M. G. & Beck, I.L. (1994) 'Making Sense of Accounts of History: Why Young Students Don't and How they Might', in Leinhardt, G., Beck, I.L. & Stainton, C. (eds.) *Teaching and Learning in History* pp. 1-26, New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum,.
- Morgan, R. (1904) *The Oxford and Cambridge History of England from 55 B.C to A.D. 1904*.
- Nichol, J. (1993) *Expansion, Trade and Industry* Simon & Schuster.
- Nichol, J. (2003) 'Roman Army – Spy!' *Nuffield Primary History Project website* <http://www.primaryhistory.org>.
- Richards, D. (1950) *An Illustrated History of Modern Europe 1789-1945*, 5th edition, Longmans.
- Rowling, J. K. (1997) *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* London, Bloomsbury.
- Salway, P (1993) *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain* Oxford University Press.
- Shulman, L. S. (1987) 'Knowledge and teaching: foundations of the new reforms', in *Harvard Educational Review*, 57, 1-22.
- Turner-Bisset, R. A. (2001) *Expert Teaching: knowledge and pedagogy to lead the profession* London, David Fulton.
- Teaching History (1998) *Teaching History*, 91, 92 London, The Historical Association.
- Unstead, R.J. (1962) *The Medieval Scene, 747-1485* London, A & C Black.
- Unstead, R.J. (1953) *The Middle Ages* London, A & C Black.
- Wyatt-Smith, C. (1997) *English Education*, 31/3.

Yeandle, P. (2003) 'Empire, Englishness and Elementary School History Education, c.1880-1914', in *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, Vol. 2.2

APPENDIX 1 Account of the lesson: Roman Army – Spy!

The lesson was the third in a term's course on Invaders and Settlers for a class of 32 year 5 and 6 mixed age and gender pupils. The school is located in a small village on the edge of a small industrial town, with a kilometre of fields between it and the built-up area. Pupils are drawn from rural, village and urban homes.

We had introduced the course three weeks earlier with a mystery suitcase (link) and continued with an investigation into Celtic Britain, where the children had written travel brochures about Celtic Britain. When I arrived in class, the travel brochures were on display!

This week we would visit Caesar's camp before he invaded Britain in 55 BC. I wanted the children to get a clear and full picture of what the Roman army was like, before we worked on Caesar's short-lived invasions of 55 and 54 BC and the Claudian conquest of 43 AD. So we decided to move through time and space, using a magic cauldron and an invisibility cloak, to visit both Caesar's camp and a Roman battlefield. The battlefield was the one shown in the opening scenes of the film *Gladiator* – I only decided to use it when I learned that Peter Connolly was the historical consultant. Peter is a genius who has spent his life recreating in visual form what the Roman army was like, so I could be certain that it was an accurate reconstruction.

The key idea of the lesson was that the children would be spies, and that as spies they would report back to Caradoc on what a Roman army was like and how it would fight.

The lesson was fully in line with the National Literacy Strategy, even down to the detail of using film as a genre.

Year Group / class

Years 5 and 6: a class of 32 children, split evenly between the year groups. The children were benign: I had taught half of them the year before. Fred, the only potentially disruptive pupil, was involved, cheerful and co-operative throughout. All the children were adequate to good readers and writers.

The teaching was based on a previous scheme of work, including 'Celtic Britain: the land the Romans conquered'. We decided to take the existing Scheme of Work, and modify it in the light of changes during the past three years. We also looked closely at the QCA Scheme of Work, and were able to relate our planning to the pattern it suggested – indeed, it was almost identical. In terms of our own planning, our own SoW and QCA's fitted in perfectly with the school's brief.

The school asked us to focus on three linked elements:

- the substantive concepts of migration, invasion and settlement for the whole period from Romans to Normans – Celts, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Vikings, and Normans – with a focus on the middle three.
- the integration of literacy within the context of history and related curriculum areas.
- the use of ICT to the full in a natural way, both in the context of exploratory and expressive learning, that is, as a tool for children to find out about the topic and to express what they had learned.

Teaching time

One hour forty minutes, split between a forty-minute and a one-hour lesson.

Learning objectives

- To develop an understanding of the nature of Roman warfare, and the problems that a Celtic king might face in fighting a Roman invasion force.
- To develop this understanding through using the resources for this lesson, the battle scene from the film *Gladiator*, and a pack of colour pictures.
- To develop the ability to extract and organize information from these sources, and to present it in the form of a written report.

Key question

What was the Roman army like, and how did it fight?

Resources

1 The Roman Army – Spy! (the story of Emma and Dylan)

2 and 3 The Roman Army: Spy sheets 1 and 2

4 Spy Report: Caesar's Army

5 Report genre frame

Video: the battle scene from the start of the film *Gladiator*

Nine pictures of contrasting aspects of Roman military life. These were laser-printed on A4 paper and laminated. Such pictures can be taken from topic books, monographs, postcards or downloaded from the internet.

Photographs of 'Roman soldiers' can be found at:
www.roman-empire.net/army/army.html

The teaching

The children were to act as spies both during the battle and on a visit to Caesar's camp.

Episode 1

Focus: Introducing the lesson – getting the children into the frame of mind to engage fully in the spying activity.

We started the lesson with a recap on what had happened last week. I told the children that Dylan and Emma were going to find out about the Roman army. To do this the class would first need to read through *The Roman army – Spy!*. They would read silently, and we would then discuss any ideas and problems.

This we did, with a lively discussion on the problem that the first paragraph raised – how Caradoc might deal with the issue of the Roman invasion. We talked about problems like this in the world today. The pupils supported the idea of sending hostages and bribing Caesar with money.

Then we moved into the main body of the lesson – the children's trip to both the Roman battlefield and Caesar's army. But first we needed to come up with the questions we would ask in order to find things out and make our report to Caradoc. I had sorted out a list of questions (given on the Roman Army *Spy sheet 2*) but also provided a blank sheet (*Spy sheet 1*) as the first page for the pupils' own questions.

Episode 2

Focus: Spy questions.

We asked the pupils in pairs to come up with questions. We then went around the class. A pupil contributed a question, and then asked a pupil on another table for his or her question. Ben was the most original, raising the issue of finding out about strategy, and giving a very clear and full account of what the word meant! The pupils' list read:

How many soldiers did they have?

What types of weapons did they have?

Where will the soldiers attack first?

How many weapons?

What did the soldiers wear?

What armour did the soldiers have?

Where are the soldiers fighting?

What strategy is planned?

What explosives did the soldiers have?

How did the soldiers camp?

Episode 3

Focus: The battle scene, Gladiator.

Now was the time to play *Gladiator* using the electronic whiteboard. Miracle of miracles – it worked brilliantly, just like being in a cinema. Lots and lots of fine detail. Vivid colour, sound, stupendous action. We stopped the video every minute or so to focus on the specific aspect of military life that it showed. The pupils were entranced, fully engaged in the film. The only dark spot was one pupil's comment that it was an age 15 film. We pointed out we were only showing an extract suitable for their age range, and took comfort when we discovered that two-thirds of them had already seen the film!

Episode 4

Focus: Researching the army.

We now wanted the pupils to add to their spy sheets, using information from the pictures. So, we split the class into nine groups of three or four pupils. Each group had three copies of a single picture. They had to use this to find answers to the questions (theirs and mine) on their Roman Army *Spy sheets*. They would move on the word '*Change!*' to the next set of picture clues.

This we did quickly and effectively – a technique we had introduced in the 'Mystery suitcase' lesson three weeks before. There was lots of on-task talk and involvement, working on the spy sheets. We only had time for four sets of clues before break.

Episode 5

Focus: Writing the report.

Break went on a long time as an assembly followed, in which it seemed that every child in the school received an orienteering certificate! But, back to work with 45 minutes to complete the lesson. We wanted to make sure that the report was as fully and carefully structured as possible. I did not have a 'model' report to demonstrate and analyse – I assumed that they had already worked extensively on this particular genre.

We were conscious of the need to provide triggers for the field of the report – its content. (*The Spy Report: Caesar's Army* has trigger words and smart words to help in the writing.) The final section was designed to make the children think clearly about how to use their information.

We decided next to go through what was involved, so we worked out the structure of the report genre on the blackboard. This covered three elements:

- setting the scene
- details of what we would write about
- the advice we would give to Caradoc

In working out the report genre's framework, we stressed tenor throughout, identifying the authorial perspective, and how the writing would be directed towards a specific, clearly and fully defined audience. For details see the 'Report Genre Frame' which we worked out with the class.

A sense of audience: we discussed who the children were writing for, and the point of view from which they were writing. They all realised that they were writing for Caradoc, as his son Dylan or daughter Emma.

Episode 6

Focus: Writing.

The pupils then wrote their reports, using the *Spy report: Caesar's Army* sheet and the Report Genre Frame to guide them.

Learning outcomes

The children:

- gained a detailed understanding of the Roman army, its weapons and fighting methods
- were able to use and synthesise a range of sources to construct their understanding of a past situation
- developed skills in questioning and discussing evidence
- deepened their understanding of the report genre: they organised a plethora of information to write well-structured, vivid and accurate reports.

Reflection

This was a bubbling, enthusiastic and driving piece of teaching which culminated in the pupils' written reports. It was interesting using carefully structured supports for the pupils' literacy at each stage, engaging them in a whole range of modes of expression, with a stress upon questioning, discussion, reading of a text, exposition, engagement with a visual stimulus, and writing in both expressive and transactional modes.

THE ROMAN ARMY SPY SHEET	Name:	Date
??????????????????s	Answers	
What armour did Roman soldiers wear?		
What weapons did Roman soldiers have?		
What were the shields of Roman soldiers like?		
How did Roman soldiers fight?		
What did Roman army camps look like?		
What would you hear, smell, see and taste on a visit to a Roman army camp?	hear	
	smell	
	see	
	taste	
What words and phrases would you use to describe a Roman army on the march?		

THE ROMAN ARMY SPY SHEET	Name:	Date
??????????????????s	Answers	

THE REPORT GENRE FRAME – SPY REPORT: CAESAR’S ARMY

1. SET THE SCENE

- Place - Where
- Setting the scene
- When – date, day, time
- You are there
- Feelings

Audience Whom is the report going to? Caradoc the Celtic King
Authors Emma and Dylan

2. DETAILS

- armour
- weapons
- explosives
- camp
- campaign
- battle plan – tactics
- smells
- where marching to

3. ADVICE TO CELTIC KING - CONCLUSION

SPY REPORT: CAESAR'S ARMY

Name: Date:

To help you write your report, think about :

- **trigger words:** armour, boats, camp, catapults, cavalry, charge, fight, general, legions, march, officers, spears, swords, tunic
- **smart words:** then, another point, because, finally, first, I think, in conclusion, next, we saw
- ***Look at your Roman army spy sheet: put the points in the order you will report on them***

carry on your report on a new sheet of paper

APPENDIX 2 Writing for children

Preparation

- Get the best academic textbook / monograph on the subject to acquire academic subject knowledge, both substantive (i.e. facts) and syntactic (the processes the academic uses to create the text).
- Think **creatively** about the activities and the detailed teaching and learning protocols of each activity that your teaching-text will support.
- Have a clear mental model of what your teaching-text might look like, and what activities it entails. Then:
- Think clearly about *what genre* is appropriate for the pupil presentation of the understanding that they developed from the teaching.
- Never, never ask a child **to write a newspaper report**. If so, resign your job immediately....

A checklist of criteria for writing for children

- Link the *teaching-text* to the *world of the children*, to their interests, motivations, what they *know, do and understand* – and what intrigues and excites them
- Write if possible *through the eyes of a child*.
- Provide a *stimulus* that generates enthusiasm.
- Write in a personal, direct and friendly way. Enter into a *conversation* with the reader.
- *Use different voices* in the teaching-text, looking at events through the eyes of those involved in the action where possible.
- Use the *active voice* throughout. Avoid passives like the plague. *Go through a text and turn all the passive voices into active ones*. It makes the writing clearer, sharper and more direct.
- Use nouns where possible – pronouns can confuse.
- Keep sentences *as short* as is sensible. So, go through the teaching-text and turn ANDs and WHICHes into fullstops – try it! Make sure that the next sentence runs on logically from the last.
- *Balance & rhythm*. Try to keep a balance and rhythm to the text.
- Listen *to the voice of the teaching-text in your mind*. What sense might it make to a child? What do they need to know / have access to understand it?
- Use *concrete, simple words*, both nouns and adjectives as *synonyms*, where you are introducing abstract or much longer technical words.
- Always *move from the concrete to the abstract*, from what the child knows and understands to what they don't know or understand.
- *Link* if possible the written word to *visual imagery*.
- *Chronology and sequence* – make sure that the teaching-text runs in strict chronological sequence of events – avoid running backwards and forwards in time.
- *Get a child to read your text before using it*. So that:
- *Editing* You **MUST** change anything that is not clear, never, never argue with the reader. The first-time reader is **always right** – you are always wrong!!

After teaching

- Record the children's reactions and revise accordingly.

Views of Russia in the English Classroom for 14-16 year olds

David Treharne, University of Exeter, England

Abstract *Textbooks for examination courses for 14-16 year olds present themselves in the garb of academic respectability as providing balanced, analytical, objective interpretations of historical events, their causes and consequences. However, on detailed examination the story is far more complex: textbooks are the victims of a number of forces that mean they enshrine a stance rooted in ideologies, values, beliefs and interpretations of a bygone age. Nowhere is this more so than in the representation of Soviet Russia in textbooks for examination courses in Britain since the 1970s. This paper examines one seminal element of such coverage: the collectivisation of agriculture under Stalin. The striking conclusion is that many textbooks still represent a view of Russia's past rooted in the Stalinist myth that the Soviet regime assiduously peddled from the 1940s and that a Marxist generation of academic historians corroborated.*

Keywords History teaching, Textbooks, GCSE, Myth and reality, Academic subject knowledge, Teaching subject knowledge

Introduction

Myth and reality, the gap between an often mythical view of the past and the historian's perceived actuality, has always been meat and drink to the historical enquirer. Sir Lewis Namier, the doyen of English historians in the mid 20th century, was able to draw upon his understanding of his native Eastern European society and politics to illuminate and debunk what he felt was the myth of the Whig interpretation of George III (Namier, 1957). More recently Hobsbawm has explored the shallow and often mythical roots of what has passed into acceptance as being in the mainstream of our cultural inheritance. Peering back into the 19th century there is a perceived view of Russia as an autocratic and all-powerful military power, capable of threatening the heartland of Western Europe, the new Ottoman Empire banging on the door of Western Civilisation. The myth of the Russian steamroller, despite the lessons of the Crimean War, continued until the First World War, and resurfaced after 1945. Likewise, since 1917 a perception of Russia has emerged which is both reflected and perhaps even formed by school textbooks.

There is a grave danger of over-emphasising the influence which a handful of lessons during adolescence might have on perceptions in a world in which there is incessant media cover of topics like Russia from an historical perspective. In this paper we focus on one central aspect of Russian history within the examination syllabi for 14-16 year olds: the collectivisation of agriculture under Stalin in the period from c.1928 onwards.

History teaching for the 14-16 age range still relies heavily upon the use of textbooks, although there is input from videos, resource packs, the internet and other ancillary materials. Almost by definition school textbooks must lag behind the focus of interest of the academic community and the loci, which the corpus of their world gives, to the interpretations of the topic.

The gap between academia and the classroom teacher has two dimensions, the substantive and the syntactic. Substantive knowledge covers academics' orientation - their deep rooted values and beliefs and their finding and interpretations that are embedded in their narratives and interpretations. Orientation is a crucial aspect of the historiography of Soviet Russia: a generation of Marxist historians shaped and influenced the interpretation that entered into the mainstream of history teaching in the

United Kingdom. The syntactic dimension relates to historians' methodology based upon their understanding of the nature of their discipline: the skills and procedures that result in the detailed protocols they adopt in the initiation of an historical enquiry until its resolution and the presentation of its finding. Each historians approach to the past is subtly different - each school or grouping of historians shares a consensus on how to address historical problems that gives the school its identity, and identity that is often bitterly at odds with the methodology of rival and competing schools.

Crudely expressed, the gap between academic substantive and syntactic subject knowledge (as presented in academic literature) and teaching subject knowledge (mainly enshrined in the medium of textbooks) reflects the time since the teacher last seriously engaged with the germane academic literature and current teaching. The gap between academia and the classroom has a second dimension: the external constraints upon a teacher from both outside and within the school, constraints that often reflect dim and distant scholarship that academia has long since condemned to oblivion. For the 14-16 age range the most obvious external constraint is the examination syllabus and its specific requirements. Through the medium of the syllabus, past examination papers and examiners reports we can identify the knowledge and understanding that the teacher has to master before teaching it to his or her pupils. Examination Board syllabi and their examining apparatus reflect an understanding of contemporary scholarship at the time the syllabi were created: as such they can become increasingly outdated and vehicles for the unwitting transmission of an anachronistic body of knowledge. They can also be the victims of political interference, either from government apparatchiks or even politicians.

It is a cliché that history is about asking questions; the questions determine the selection of the content. The questions which frame the content of the taught school examination syllabi are those which appear in the examination papers, and these need to be available for several years before the real shape of the taught course can emerge. Because syllabi take a full five years to design and implement, and once the pattern of their of their question papers is set it must not deviate from the expectations of teachers, in a real sense syllabi mirror views which may be decades out of date. As such they are a perfect vehicle for preserving in amber a segment of our culture inheritance and for the perpetuation of attitudes and feelings, which no longer reflect those of the academic community.

The final factor that influences and shapes teaching is the classroom environment - the multiplicity of factors that determine the teacher's personal style and performance. The teacher has to mediate the academic subject knowledge in a form that pupils can access, assimilate and master in order to meet examination requirements.

The final problems for the textbook writer are speed, economy and distortion. Books have to be written quickly and to demanding deadlines and they also have to be crafted within tight financial limits. Simplification can lead to gross distortion - the examples on the collectivisation of agriculture quoted in this paper are good examples of the problems that writing to strict word limits can cause. All of these diverse elements move school textbooks further along the spectrum from scholarship towards the heady mix of fact and fiction – faction.

Russian history in the English classroom, 1951-87

What form does the teaching of Russian history take in English schools? From the 1950s Russian history was often an element in World Studies courses for 13-14 year olds, but the evidence suggests that such courses were only available in 20% of schools (Patrick, 1998). The extent to which Russia was covered in these courses is

unknown, but it must have been limited. Russian history could only have been a cameo in a World Studies programme, and the amount of time available for such courses, up to thirty teaching sessions in a fifteen week term or sixty in two terms, suggests that coverage of Russian history, if any, could only have been facile and simplistic. From 1993 in English state schools even this possibility was removed. At a time when Russia was dismantling its prescriptive pattern of state education, the English government introduced a highly centralised and directed curriculum. The section of the new history National Curriculum for 11-14 year olds only mentioned Russia in the context of a one-term study unit on the era of the Second World War. This unit's focus was English but required coverage of 'the role of wartime leaders, including Hitler, Stalin and Roosevelt' and the study of 'the experience and impact of war in Europe, Asia and other parts of the world', which presumably included Russia.

For the older 14-16 age range, from 1951 Russia became an object of historical study as one element in the public examination of World History General Certificate of Education (GCE) syllabuses. In 1951 the Government introduced the GCE with Ordinary (or O) Levels for the most able of the 20-25% of pupils who attended selective state schools, Grammar Schools. In 1965 the government also made available public examinations for all secondary school pupils through its Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) aimed at the remaining 75-80% of the 14-16 cohort. The CSE syllabi mirrored those for GCE. Both for O Level and CSE history was treated as an uncontested and unproblematic body of knowledge, which pupils would assimilate and memorise. Such knowledge had a firm ideological grounding with clear political messages. Pupils had to assimilate and remember a large body of knowledge to answer an unseen end of course examination, often in essay form. Surveys in the 1970's found that the pattern of teaching which this encouraged made history the most unpopular school subject, vying with music and religious education for the bottom slot.

The GCE and CSE systems were merged into a single pattern of examining, the General Certificate of Secondary Examination (GCSE) in the 1980's. CSE's and GCE's were increasingly anachronistic for a state system in which the majority of pupils attended a single type of school, the comprehensive. Comprehensivisation changed the face of English education in the 1970's and 80's, sweeping away the old system of grammar and secondary schools based upon selection at eleven. However, the emergent GCSE examination did not change the pattern of examination post 1987; there was still outline coverage of international affairs and study in detail of two or three topics such as Russia.

Russian history in the English classroom, 1951-87

Since 1987 World History has been an element in England's GCSE syllabi. History is one of the extensive range of examination options, which pupils can choose. History is only taken by about 40% of the age range; for the remaining 60% their formal historical education ends at 14. For the 40% who elect to undertake history there is no common overall pattern of study, although candidates opt for three main History syllabi: British Social and Economic History, World History and the Schools History Project. About 40% of candidates study World History, and Russia is an element in all such syllabi. Taking the original figure of 40% this gives us some 10% of school children taking a syllabus which might involve some coverage of Russia. Within this 10% the actual number learning Russian History is problematic as no hard information is available, simply because examination boards do not record which options within a syllabus students choose from.

Russia could be studied in depth in a range of options. Each syllabus presented a menu of global issues for teachers to choose from. In reality, most schools seemed to

restrict their choice to a central core covering the post First World War settlement, and responses in the 1930's to the world economic crisis, fascism in Germany and Italy, the early history of communism in China and Roosevelt's New Deal. Why they made this choice is unknown - is it because of the established pattern of teaching the subject, the knowledge teachers bring with them, their views on the need to politically educate pupils in relation to dominant political ideologies, some other reasons or a melange of these elements? The pattern of choice involving the Russian option after 1994 was:

Examining Group	% of marks	Number of Topics	Chronological Coverage
London	10	One out of 5 to be covered from 20 on offer	1917-1941
Midland	15	2 from a list of 9	1917-1941
Northern	10	1 from 3	1917-1956
Southern	10	2 from 7	1917-1941

Immediately the chronological coverage alerts us to the imbedded assumptions about the nature of the collective examination board and teacher view of Russia, and the messages which they may impart to students. The focus was on the world's first communist power. The Russian topic concentrates on the factors which led the communists to seizing power in 1917, the struggle by which they consolidated their control over the whole country and the type of society that they created between 1917 and 1941. There are many minor themes as well, such as the study of the meaning of dictatorship in the guise of Stalin and the way in which he used the army and secret police to murder his enemies and wipe out all the real or imagined opposition of the Great Terror. Behind a study of Russia lies the question: what led to the rise of one of the world's great superpowers and its creed, which has dominated world politics since 1945? I leave my colleagues to decide whether this is still the focus of interest and concern in the academic study of Russia. In preparing this paper (2004) I consulted Exeter University's leading academic expert on the social and economic history of Russia during this period. He wrote: 'You asked about latest interpretations of collectivisation. In terms of the discussion of its effects, there is nothing really new. The recent stuff has been more on the social history. e.g. Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's peasants; Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village after Collectivisation*'. So, at GCSE do we have fossilised in our history syllabi a moribund area of academic concern?

During the mid 1990s there was a rationalisation and amalgamations in what had originally been regional examination boards, but with a clear continuity of syllabi. A separate examination board dealt with Welsh Schools leaving three main examination boards. Russia appears as a topic in each of them. It appears within the EDEXCEL syllabi as part of the short course as 'The rise and fall of the Communist State' and in the full course as 'The rise and fall of the Communist state - The Soviet Union 1928-1991'. In the AQA syllabi it appears as part of 'Governments in action in the first half of the 20th century', where Russia 1914-1941 is one of four choices, and also appears as part of 'World History' as "Russia/USSR 1914-1941'. It also appears as an in depth

study in OCR where it is framed within the context of the Russian Revolution. In reality, within the short courses the focus seems to be fourfold:

- The impact of the Versailles settlement and the relations between the powers in the 1920's
- The events leading up to the outbreak of the Second World War
- The Second World War
- Superpower rivalry after 1945.

Interpretations of Russia in Textbooks for Examination Classes, c1965-2003

From 1965 to 1987 what were the dominant messages which CSE and O level pupils received about Russia? For illustration we can examine this in relation to judgements on Stalin, with particular reference to collectivisation. I have chosen Stalin for the sake of convenience. The most influential CSE textbook was M.N. Duffy's 'The 20th Century', first published in 1964, reprinted ten times and revised twice in the space of the next ten years (Duffy, 1964). His book deals with the aspects of Russian history from 1917 to 1941 outlined above and was based on the printed CSE syllabi. What is Duffy's view of Stalin? Duffy uses language to produce a disembodied, even-handed interpretation of the impact of Stalin's policies which emphasises their relative success. Of collectivisation he writes:

Farming was revolutionised too. The peasant smallholdings were often primitive and inefficient, so all holdings were combined into huge 'collective farms' or kolkhozes as they were called.....Stalin hoped that the new farms, big enough to use the new methods and modern machinery, would achieve a huge increase in crop production....Peasant resistance took the same forms as it had during the period of 'war communism' and by 1930 another famine threatened the basis of planned economy. But Stalin ruthlessly stamped out opposition. As a class the kulaks disappeared and hundreds of thousands of objectors were banished to the Siberian labour camps. Remorselessly collectivisation was carried through (Duffy, pp 90-91).

'Famine', 'stamped out', 'disappeared', 'banished', 'remorselessly' are words behind which lie the realities of collectivisation. There are no examples of what collectivisation meant in practice for village communities and regions. Indeed Duffy gives no information about the impact of collectivisation in terms of agricultural production i.e. whether it was a relative success or failure in terms of its own criteria. His views are subsumed in his summary of the period:

In spite of the astonishing hardships the Russian people were forced to bear, the five year plans had succeeded by 1939 in transforming Russia into a powerful and highly industrialised country, second only to the United States of America. These achievements were even more remarkable because they came about during a period which for the rest of the world was one of sheer industrial depression.

These judgements about Russia's industrialisation and the state of the world economy may be mythical, but Duffy uses them to justify 'the astonishing hardships' that were the consequence of Stalin's policies. Duffy then notes the form which Stalin's dictatorship took, concentrating on the 'purge' and its political implications. He views Stalin as a ruthless dictator who carried through a series of measures necessary for Russia to survive Hitler's 1941 onslaught and counter-attack in 1942-43. 'Under the iron control of Stalin, Russian industry and agriculture began to recover from the devastating losses of the German invasion.' Again whether this generalisation is a

realistic assessment is something for academics to decide. On the whole Duffy's interpretations reveal the problems of simplification and the difficulty of writing a text for 14-16 year olds, which contain hidden assumptions, judgements and moral positions.

Books like Duffy's held sway until 1987 when the switch to GCSE resulted in a flood of new textbooks, which included coverage of Russia. GCSE changed the emphasis in studying history from the mastery of a body of propositional and conceptual knowledge to students being introduced to the procedures of historical study, and on the basis of this reaching their own conclusions. Each syllabus was prefaced with four assessment objectives, the fourth of which required pupils to 'show the skills necessary to study a wide variety of historical evidence which should include both primary and secondary written sources, statistical and visual materials, artefacts, textbooks and orally transmitted information'. Textbooks written to satisfy GCSE requirements included both outline coverage of the topics and exercises and activities to give pupils practice in the handling of sources.

In relation to Stalin coverage was remarkably similar to that of Duffy, both in terms of information and judgements made. This is understandable. It is axiomatic that a textbook writer has the books of his/her competitors open on the table, as the new books coverage must map onto what teachers already know and use. Indeed, we can argue that textbook authors draw upon a common pool of knowledge, ideas and sources, building upon and only slightly deviating from the standard pattern. GCSE textbooks fall into two categories: those that try to present a range of information and judgements about Stalin, and those that take a single stereotypical stance. O'Callaghan (1987) attempts to produce a balanced view, providing contrasting opinions and a range of printed sources and statistical evidence for the pupils to use in reaching an opinion:

Yet had collectivisation been a success? If we judge it by the amounts produced on the farms, the answer is 'no'. It was not until 1954 that farming output again reached the levels of 1928 – the year before Stalin started to force the peasants to join his collectives. And by 1954 the USSR had millions more people, no one needed to starve in the 1950's but food was often rationed and every town had long queues of people hoping for the chance to buy a few extra eggs or apples.

So had all the suffering and waste caused by collectivisation been necessary? Stalin would have answered 'Yes'. Collectivisation had fed his factory workers. It had crushed the kulaks. To him that was enough. In the 1930's many peasants saw things differently. To them the price of collectivisation was starvation, broken families and imprisonment. Most farm work ended up being done by women and old men at wages far below those factory workers. (p. 81)

In reaching a judgement on Stalin there has been a clear shift from the views of Duffy. Whether O'Callaghan is providing new myths for old is something for my academic colleagues to decide. More stereotypical views are those of Ray and Hagerty (1986) and Scott (1986). The judgement of Ray and Hagerty on collectivisation is a clear moral message:

To the person in a free society, such an existence sounds terrifying. But the average Russian peasant felt better off than in the days of the Tsar, and therefore accepted the new rulers quietly. They grew their grain and tended cattle for their new masters.

Apart from whether these assertions are myth or reality the authors' assumption is that we can only judge treatment of other humans in the context of their own value system, a quite extraordinary view to take. It might just about do for Richard III or Ivan the Terrible, but not for the treatment of contemporaries. Scott's summary is an implicit justification for the famine of the early 1930's and what Robert Conquest and others have revealed about Stalin's war on the peasantry. 'The policy was brutal, but it worked. Soviet farming was still inefficient compared with farming in countries such as Britain, but it produced enough to feed the new factory workers' (Scott, p.37).

Following the amalgamation and rationalisation of the examination boards, from 1994 there was yet another shake up in the examinations system. Firstly, the government loosened controls over the option system at 14+ whereby students could choose from a wide range of subjects outside a core of English, a Modern Foreign Language, Mathematics, Science and Religious Education. In many cases this forced pupils to make a direct choice between History and Geography. Secondly, the government imposed a statutory change on GCSE History courses insisting that they should have three strands:

- The development of British democracy 1900 to c 1980
- International conflict and co-operation 1945 to c.1980
- Economic, social and cultural change in Britain, Europe and the world in the 20th century.

In reality, what has emerged has been a series of rationalisations both in subject areas to be covered and in the number of examination syllabi. Study of Russian history, has, if anything been further eroded. As an example, the AQA History Syllabus B course for 2003 offered an outline paper attracting 37.5% of the marks in which there is the chance to study Russian history only within 'The centre's own choice of topic or issue in 20th century world history'. The examiners' report indicated that this was a choice taken up by very few centres. In 'Government in action in the first half of the 20th century', Russia/USSR 1914-1941 is one of four choices offered for 37.5 % of the marks. In the specimen papers offered, of two questions to be answered only 20% of the marks were available for questions about the agricultural policy. Candidates were able to opt for either a coursework option, which is 'normally based on British history', or a written paper worth 25% of the marks where 12 options are offered as topics and a possible 'topic or issue in 20th Century World History' may be chosen.

The OCR Board Syllabus B has a similar pattern to the AQA history syllabus. Some indication of how individual schools choose to cover the syllabus is available by access to the worldwide web. A typical breakdown is available at www.geocities.com/larwilson2001/gcse_overview.htm. Talking about the subjects followed in Year 10, a pupil writes of the course he is following:

Then we go on to our second depth study which we will do the final coursework on The Russian Revolution. Why it happened, who were the key people and the basic ideas of communism will be examined. The effects of life under Lenin and then Stalin's reign will be considered. The coursework will compare the key differences between Lenin and Stalin.

Interestingly, several of the textbooks which have been produced for these new courses follow almost directly the ideas introduced by both Duffy and O'Callaghan. Thus John Laver writing in 1997 confirms the view that:

In some ways collectivisation was a success for Stalin and the Communists. They had finally got control of the countryside. The peasants never again

openly revolted against Communist rule. Stalin made sure that he had a secure supply of food for the towns, and workers for the factories. This was very important to Stalin....There was still not enough food and some had to be brought from abroad. But by the middle of the 1930's there was just about enough food for everybody. For Stalin that was all that mattered.(Laver, 1997, p.41)

The analysis of textbook coverage of Russia in general and an aspect of Stalinism leads us to question whether pupils are being taught myth or reality, particularly where judgements are being made and opinions expressed. Implicit judgements are already made in the initial selection of content and the ways in which it is handled and presented can reinforce the covert political messages. Particularly worrying is that textbooks are presented as an objective statement of scholarship; even the most cursory glance suggests that they are something completely different. One conclusion to be drawn is that the British government should have addressed the question of the nature of history teaching materials in drawing up its English National History Curriculum and the examination boards their GCSE syllabi. Curriculum and resourcing should have gone hand in hand. The lessons of O Level, CSE and GCSE are not very reassuring. The logic of the argument is simple: textbook writers should work in teams, one at least of whom should be a leading academic authority on the subject. Otherwise history teaching will see the perpetuation of myth, myth dressed up as fact in a form that is prescriptive and unchallenged. Worse, the myth may well enshrine the ideological preoccupations of a generation of academic historians from a dim and distant era: in this case the Marxists who held sway in the 1940s and 1950s, a generation in thrall to Stalinist orthodoxy.

Correspondence

David Treharne, School of Education and Life Long Learning, University of Exeter,
EX1 2LU
Email: D.A.Treharne@ex.ac.uk

References

- Duffy, M.N. (1964) *The 20th Century* Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
O'Callaghan, B. (1987) *A History of the Twentieth Century* Harlow, Longman.
Laver, J. (1997) *Russia and the USSR 1905-56* London, Hodder.
Namier, L.B. (1957) *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* Basingstoke, Macmillan.
Patrick, H. (1998) *The Twentieth Century World* London, Hutchinson.
Ray, J. & Haggerty, J. (1986) *The Twentieth Century World* London, Hutchinson.
Scott, J. (1989) *The World since 1914* Oxford, Heinemann.

Teaching History in Serbian and English Secondary Schools: a Cross-Cultural Analysis of Textbooks

Marijana Mirkovic, Graficka Skola, Beograd, Yugoslavia and Keith Crawford, Edge Hill College of Higher Education, Ormskirk, England

Abstract *This paper presents a cross-cultural analysis of the teaching of history in the UK and in Serbia and Montenegro. Based upon an analysis of two secondary textbooks in common use in each country, beginning with a comparison of history teaching in both nations, the paper then explores the role of history textbooks as intellectual maps before exploring the similarities and differences between the textbooks in terms of content, the use of photographic evidence and pedagogical approaches.*

Keywords School textbooks, History, Serbia, World War I

Introduction

Learning inside classrooms is clearly the product of a number of inter-related experiences, professional and personal resources. The social context of the school and the impact of wider cultural demands produce a context within which pupils are introduced to key sets of knowledge, skills and concepts which, mediated through educational media and teacher interpretation, guide their learning. This paper explores one particular aspect of pupil learning, that which takes place through the textbook, specifically the history textbook. There is a general consensus, supported by a growing body of research evidence, that textbooks are important artefacts in the cultural socialisation of children. Social constructions manufactured within particular climates of opinion, school textbooks present official versions of publicly sanctioned knowledge. Through the narratives and discourses they present, through visual images in the form of photographs and primary evidence and through the activities which children are invited to complete, history textbooks serve to transmit and reinforce the dominant cultural hegemony of a nation.

Textbooks are cultural artefacts and, in their production and their use inside classrooms, confront a range of issues to do with ideology, politics and values which in themselves function at a variety of different levels of power, status and influence. Imbedded in textbooks are narratives and stories that nation states choose to tell about themselves and which, it has been decided, offer a core of cultural knowledge which future generations are expected to both assimilate and support. On a more fundamental level, to think about the content of textbooks and how they are authored, published and used is to think about the purpose of schooling. So dominant are textbooks in the education system that their selection and use are the closest thing that we have to systematic debate over what schools should be teaching (Chambliss & Calfee, 1998).

School textbooks are crucial organs in the process of constructing legitimated ideologies and beliefs and are a reflection of the history, knowledge and values considered important by powerful groups in society. In many nations debates over the content and format of school textbooks are sites of considerable educational and political conflict. Evidence from national education systems across the globe strongly suggests that the manufacture of textbook content is the result of competition between powerful groups who see it as being central in the creation of collective national memory designed to meet specific cultural, economic and social imperatives (Altbach, 1991; Marsden, 2002).

Altbach has pointed out that since textbooks provide an intellectual 'map' of the world and its knowledge for students, the ideas that shape textbook development have considerable importance not only for the book but also for the curriculum'. (Altbach, 1991, p.244). These ideas are particularly important in the teaching of history. In some nation states history teaching is used openly and unashamedly to promote specific ideologies and sets of political ideas; in some states under the guise of patriotism the history of a nation served up for public consumption is what its leaders decide it is to be. In states which consider their existence to be under threat or in states which are struggling to create an identity or which are re-inventing themselves following a period of colonial rule, teaching a nationalistic and mono-cultural form of history can be the cement which binds people together. In its worst form the manufacture and teaching of such an official past can create, sponsor, maintain and justify xenophobic hatred and racism. More subtly, nations which give the appearance of stability, cohesion and well established liberal traditions also re-visit and re-invent aspects of their past to promote particular forms of domestic behaviour and to support the creation of a particular form of international identity. Xenophobia, racism and the manipulation of national histories is not confined to fledgling nations or to one-party totalitarian states supporting ideologies of the left or right.

Given the claim that school history textbooks are social constructions, an important pre-requisite in understanding the wider cultural, ideological and political frameworks within which the textbooks are used is to ask:

- what is the influence of state control over school knowledge and the nature of the structural (historical, economic, cultural, ideological and political) constraints impinging upon textbook construction;
- who is it that selects school textbook knowledge and what are the ideological, economic and intellectual relationships between these different interest groups?

The first section of this paper pursues that aim, albeit, in a paper of this length, briefly. This is then followed by a discussion of the textbooks in which we investigate:

- whose voices are heard in textbooks, whose knowledge is included, which group(s) receive the most sustained attention;
- the extent to which pictorial images are used, or not used, to support particular points of view;
- the didactical opportunities the texts offer for the purposes of teaching and learning.

Finally, arising from this analysis we offer some brief conclusions and make some observations regarding the potential of textbook analysis in understanding common issues which move beyond national boundaries.

History Education in the United Kingdom and Serbia

Secondary education at Key Stage 3 (11-14) and Key Stage 4(14-19) in the United Kingdom is largely non-selective. The most common type of school is a secondary comprehensive which all children in the local community attend. There is generally no entrance examination for this type of school. However, it is very common for children to be 'set' or 'streamed' once inside the school; the outcome is that the majority of school operate 'ability sets'. While all children take the *General Certificate of Secondary Education* (GCSE), only those children with higher achievement levels may

proceed to Advance Level courses ('A' Levels). At Key Stage 4 for 14-16 year olds, the curriculum includes English, mathematics, science, design and technology, modern foreign languages, information and communication technology (ICT), physical education (PE) and, from August 2002, citizenship. Each of these subjects has a statutory programme of study that must be taught to all students. Schools can make other areas of the curriculum, such as history, compulsory, although there is no national requirement to do so. The outcome is that for the majority of children their formal study of history ends at the age of 14.

At Key Stage 4 history teaching is dominated by examination specifications for the GCSE and the *Advanced Level General Certificate of Education* (16-19), required for university entrance. Examination Boards in the UK offer GCSE and Advanced Level courses in:

- History A (Modern European and World History);
- History B (Aspects Of Modern Social, Political and Economic History);
- History C (Schools History Project);
- A/S Level GCE;
- Advanced Level GCE in History.

Schools are free to choose which examination they wish their pupils to enter. Consequently, there exist a number of options and combinations from which schools can select (see Fig. 1). *History A (Modern European and World History)* is essentially a political history course covering the 20th Century through a mixture of core and depth studies. Assessment is through the completion of two examination papers and one piece of coursework. *History B (Aspects Of Modern Social, Political and Economic History)* focuses upon a study of major changes in British society and the national economy in the 18th-20th Century, consisting of core and optional thematic studies. The core is an outline study of developments in agriculture, industry and transport from 1700 to c.1900. The thematic studies focus on a single topic, such as poverty, or medicine, surgery and health and local history. Assessment is through the completion of two examination papers and one piece of coursework. *History C (Schools History Project)* requires that pupils study an issue or theme in terms of change and causation over a period of time e.g. *Crime and Punishment* and a study in depth which looks at people and problems in the past through the study of social, economic, political, cultural and religious aspects of a country over a relatively short period of time. The course is assessed through examination and two coursework assignments, one based on a visit to an historical site, the other on a modern world study.

A Level specifications offer teachers and pupils great flexibility in constructing a course of study to suit their interests and resources. Specialisation is possible in studying a particular historical period: the history of an individual country and certain type or types of history (social, military, religious, cultural, economic or political history). Courses may also be created offering considerable variety and contrast.

The choice is, therefore, between different examination boards, different syllabuses and different option courses within particular syllabuses. The outcome is that examination based history for 14-19 year olds in the UK is highly fragmented and specialised and the range of textbooks wide with many publishers providing core texts that cover a complete course as well as shorter, 64 page, specialist texts on quite specific units of work e.g. Nazi Germany, Soviet Russia, the USA.

Figure 1: GCSE History Course Choices

History A (Modern European and World History):

Paper 1 – *Depth Studies*

Paper 1 - A1 - The Road to War (Europe 1870-1914)

Paper 1 - A2 - Nationalism and Independence in India (c1900-1949)

Paper 1 - A3 - The Emergence of Modern China (1911-1976)

Paper 1 - A4 - The Rise and Fall of The Communist State (The Soviet Union 1928-1991)

Paper 1 - A5 - A Divided Union (The USA 1941-1980)

Paper 1 - A6 - Superpower Relations (1945-1990)

Paper 1 - A7 - Conflict and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East (1948-1992)

Paper 2 – *Core Studies*

Paper 2 - B1 - The Russian Revolution 1910-1924

Paper 2 - B2 - The War to End Wars 1914-1919

Paper 2 - B3 - Depression and The New Deal (The USA) 1929-1941

Paper 2 - B4 - Nazi Germany

Paper 2 - B5 - The World at War 1938-1945

Paper 2 - B6 - The End of Apartheid in South Africa 1982-1997

Paper 2 - B7 - Conflict in Vietnam 1963-1975

History B (Aspects of Modern Social, Political and Economic History)

Paper 1 - Changes in Work and Employment in Industry

Paper 1 - Changes in Work and Employment in Agriculture

Paper 1 - Changes in Health and Population

Paper 1 - Changes in Transport, Communications and Leisure

Paper 1 - Changes in Education

Paper 1 - Changes in Politics

Paper 2 - Study G - Parliamentary Enclosure and its Effects 1790-1830

Paper 2 - Study H - Poverty and Poor Relief 1790-1850

Paper 2 - Study I - The Chartist Movement 1830-1850

Paper 2 - Study J - The Campaigns for factory and mines reform 1800-1880

Paper 2 - Study K - The Campaigns for Women's Suffrage 1870-1918

Paper 2 - Study L - Cinema, Radio and TV since 1918

Paper 2 - Study M - The Impact of the Great Depression on Britain 1929-1939

Paper 2 - Study N - The Impact of the Second World War on British Society 1939-1945

Paper 2 - Study O - Race Relations in Multi-Cultural Society Since 1945

Paper 2- Study P - Ireland

GCSE in History C (Schools History Project)

Paper 1

A - Medicine

B - Crime, Punishment and Protest

One depth Study from:

The American West c1840 - 1895

The Nazi Germany c1919 – 1945

Britain 1815-1851

Medicine

Crime, Punishment and Protest

Paper 2: source-based investigation from either Medicine through Time or Crime and Punishment Through Time.

Paper 3: coursework

The Serbian History Curriculum

Serbian high school education ages 15-19 operates two forms of schooling, a gymnasium for more able pupils and vocational schools for those of a technical disposition. Upon the completion of general secondary education, pupils in a Serbian gymnasium take a general graduation examination, enabling some to move into university education. A vocational graduation examination for those pupils attending a vocational secondary school after three or four years of study provides students with a qualification to enter the labour market and, for some, is an entry qualification into higher education.

Until quite recently, the education system in Serbia was highly centralised and authoritarian, monopolised by the State. Its organisational features, school curricula and textbooks were strictly prescribed by the Ministry of Education. It was a system which left no space for teacher initiative and student participation. The system was designed for life preparation in an ideological and closed society. Today the climate is changing radically and educational reforms currently being implemented in Serbia are asking fundamental questions regarding the shape, content and aims of the school curriculum based upon economic recovery, democratic participation and the international integration of Serbia. These changes are seen in Serbia as being highly significant and important (Commission for Curriculum Development, 2002). One important site for this development is the history curriculum (*The Guardian*, 12th September 2001; Janjetovic, 2001).

Currently, the history curriculum for the Serbian High School (15-19) follows a chronological survey approach from antiquity to the 20th Century in two weekly lessons of forty five minutes (see Fig. 2).

Figure 2: The Serbian High School History Curriculum

Grade 1 (15 – 16): Stone Age; Egypt; Mesopotamia; Babylon, Assyria; Asia Minor; Greece and Hellenism; Ancient Rome;

Grade 2 (16 – 17): Medieval history in Europe and Serbia;

Grade 3 (17 -18): 15th Century Humanism, the Renaissance; Discovery and Settlement (Columbus); European monarchies (France, UK, Russia, Ottoman Empire); 18th Century Revolutions (France, USA);

Grade 4 (18 -19): late 19th and 20th Century European history, World War 1; World War 2; the Russian Revolution; Nazi Germany until today.

An added dimension to the Serbian history curriculum is that while it follows the same chronological pattern, Serbian history is taught parallel to European history in Grades 2-4 with textbooks providing separate chapters on Serbian history.

While textbooks are cultural commodities they are also economic commodities, produced within structural systems characterised by political, social and economic conditions of existence. In the UK textbooks are sold in a market dictated by public and private interests and their success, or otherwise, is at the mercy of a market economy. This is because textbooks are invariably published as much for economic as educational reasons (Apple & Christian-Smith (Eds.), 1991). As Apple has claimed: 'The [textbook] industry remains perilously posed between the requirements and restraints of commerce and the responsibilities and obligations that it must bear as the prime guardian of the symbolic culture of the nation' (Apple, 1986, p.86).

One way of describing textbook knowledge is that it represents a cultural map requiring the acknowledgement that this particular form of selected knowledge is a product presented in a particular fashion for populist consumption. As such it is coded and classified, placed within contexts, assigned spaces and ranked in terms of status and meaning; the process of its manufacture is, therefore, intensely political. Textbook knowledge is far more than mere information, being located within clear cultural contexts; its meanings are changed and are used to justify behaviours and actions which are designed to have specific social consequences.

History textbooks as intellectual maps

The focus of this section is to critically analyse the textbook content and pedagogic approaches contained in the two history textbooks books used by Serb and English secondary school pupils. Using only two texts creates a methodological dilemma given that Serb pupils in secondary schools have a single history textbook which provides the basis of their course of study. In the UK schools and teachers have a bewildering choice of textbooks from which to select. The paper is based upon a critical analysis of the Serbian textbook, *Istorija za III razred gimnazije prirodno matematičkog smera i za IV razred gimnazije opsteg i društveno-jezičkog smera* (Nikolich, Zutic, Pavlovich, Spadijer 2002), and a recently published textbook for A Level studies in English schools, *Conflict, Communism and Fascism: Europe 1890-1945* (McDonough, 2001). The Serbian textbook is the standard text used by all pupils in the gymnasium; the English text is one that schools may select for use in comprehensive secondary schools. A further methodological consideration is that of comparing one nation's textbooks with another given different socio-cultural contexts, the differential nature of education systems and textbook adoption procedures. While the Serbian textbook is typical, it is the only text available. The question of whether the English text is typical was addressed by undertaking a content search of ten alternative English texts covering the same period. The results indicate that in terms of topics and didactical approaches the text chosen for this study was remarkably representative. This is unsurprising given the high level of conformity that exists within the publishing of history textbooks in England and the need to respond to national examination specifications.

The context for the study is the teaching of World War 1, a topic selected because it appears on the curriculum of secondary schools for both UK and Serbian pupils and is an issue in which both English and Serbs have a common sense of involvement, experience and, perhaps, understanding. We have elected to analyse three aspects of the textbooks: *content*, *photographs* and *didactic* approaches. The discussion is framed by a short introduction on some methodological issues regarding each of these areas which is followed by an analysis of the textbooks.

Content Analysis

From a cultural, ideological and political perspective, analysing the content of textbooks provides a framework within which to explore underlying motives and intentions together with those assumptions that a nation makes about itself. Important here is whether textbooks are accurate in terms of content and 'up-to-date' in terms of developing debate. Critical here is to mount national and international comparisons focusing upon the relationship between the content of school textbooks and the most recent academic research. Such an approach enables comparisons to be made between what is known and what is presented to pupils – the two are not always the same.

Many nations choose to ignore aspects of their past which might reflect badly upon national character while they emphasise stories and narratives which provide positive

images of, for example, a national past. For example, Japanese textbooks tend to at best marginalise, and at worst, ignore the Rape of Nanking and the experiences of Korean 'comfort women' (Crawford, 2002) and USA textbooks adopt a partial view of the bombing of Hiroshima (Crawford & Matseu, 2002). While textbooks in some nations are regularly reviewed and 'up-dated', even if that selection is open to political pressure and debate, others are not and edition after edition of textbooks can continue to promulgate errors, omissions and half-truths, particularly during periods of profound socio-economic and cultural dislocation when conservative approaches to the selection of textbook knowledge serve to maintain a status quo (Fitzgerald, 1979).

While there is a strong tendency for school textbooks to present themselves as objective and non-discursive, complex judgements are still made through the language that is employed in the narrative. One possible area for investigation is to explore how characters, social groups and events are described, and what adjectives, verbs etc. are juxtaposed within texts next to these groups which might help reveal some hidden assumptions regarding the politics and cultural ideology of textbook construction and what constitutes legitimate definitions. For example, how are enemies described i.e. wicked, evil etc.; how is war described i.e. righteous, glorious, wrong, tragic; do textbooks stress homogeneity rather than variety in the manner in which issues, themes and events are presented. Linked to the previous suggestion, further analysis could be undertaken which explores the power of language to move, to inspire, to disgust etc. Here analysis could focus upon language which is emotive, urgent, euphoric, showy and flamboyant; to what extent do textbooks use parody and pastiche, pun, allusion and metaphor to describe individuals, groups and events. Again, these overt messages offer the potential to offer important subliminal images to pupils.

For example, the manner in which evaluative language in a sample of Japanese and USA history textbooks can produce quite distinctively different readings of the same event and Barnard in his analysis of the Rape of Nanking in Japanese history textbooks found a complete absence of perpetrators identified on an individual level (Barnard, 2001). This was also true of Serbian textbooks which during the Milosevic era were politically dogmatic in a very overt manner. The dominant social context in Yugoslavia during the 1990s can be characterised as a state-run, institutional promotion of ethnocentrism, xenophobia and belligerence. Analyses of the socialisation patterns offered in textbooks (Plut, no date) illustrates that socialisation was viewed by some with strong political motivations as being ideological; an analysis of history textbooks conducted during the war in Bosnia (Pešić and Rosandic, no date) argued that they presented a dominant nationalist narrative i.e. the heroic nation surrounded by enemies, endangered by others' hostile intention, suffering huge losses, but enduring with dignity and a strong sense of patriotism.

The content of both textbooks is dominated by a descriptive narrative and reveals strong similarities; both cover the same topics although the extent to which different uses are covered differs. In the UK textbook considerable attention is given to the battles of the Western Front and to trench warfare, focusing upon the experiences of ordinary men; in the Serbian textbook these events are allocated no more than half a page and the focus is more upon the politics of the time together with a section on the impact of war on the homeland. Both describe the war as 'bloody', 'deadly' and 'futile' and provide statistical summaries of the victims. The role of the USA is broadly similar; the reasons for them entering the war are much the same although there are some differences. Differences are matters of degree, in terms of the 'depth' or 'outline' content; naturally different nations emphasise different things in their textbooks. In the UK textbook, references to Serbia are minor; 65% of the content in the Serbian

textbook is national history and approximately 35% focuses upon European/other Balkan nations.

The UK text, in talking of 'German aggression' and '... high-handed action' (page 35), is very clear that responsibility for the war lay with Germany. For example:

'The German government made *no attempt to restrain* Austria-Hungary throughout the July crisis'(p.33).

'Yet it was the German government, *by its actions*, which had *escalated a minor quarrel* between *Austria-Hungary and Serbia* into a major European war, which developed into a world war'(p.34)

'The Tsar's decision to mobilise his troop against Austria-Hungary was another contributory factor in escalating the crisis, because it gave the German government *a perfect opportunity* to enter the crisis as he defender of its alliance partner. *It must be emphasised*, however, that *Russia had every right to defend its ally from attack...*'(p.34).

'The German government was *principally responsible* for the outbreak of the First World War'(p.36)

(our emphasis)

The English textbook's focus upon 'German blame' can be seen as a result of the fact that on the western front the principle enemy was Germany, while for the Serbs on the eastern front it was Austro-Hungary.

The events leading to the beginning of World War 1 are covered in both books, and the explanations offered as to how this escalated into a world war are similar. Both acknowledge that the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand was an 'excuse' to begin the war:

UK: 'The assassin was Gavrilo Princip, a *Bosian terrorist* with close links to the Black Hand, a Serbian *terrorist organisation*. The Serbian government had no *direct link* to the assassination, but this was not believed by the Austrian government, which decided to use the incident to *settle accounts* with Serbia' (p.32)

'*To make matters worse*, the French pledged to stand by Russia in the event of a German attack. In this way, a *minor quarrel* between Austria and Serbia was *escalating* into a major European *crisis*.' (p.33).

Serbia: 'The *excuse* put forward for the First World War was when on 28th June Gavrilo Princip who was a member of the organisation Young Bosnians killed Duke Franz and his wife Sophia.' (page 109)

(our emphasis)

However, Gavrilo Princip is described in a more positive light in the Serbian text:

"He was a member of the *revolutionary organisation* called the Young Bosnians, an *agitator* in Sarajevo. He went to a gymnasium in Tusla and Sarejavo and from 1912 he was in Belgrade where he was connected *with the organisation Unity or Death, called the Black Hand*. In May 1914 he went with friends in Sarajevo where he killed Ferdinand. In front of the police and the court *he was very brave* and declared that he *fought for the unity* of all Slavs.

He was committed to 20 years hard labour and he died in prison of pneumonia 1918.”

(our emphasis)

In the UK text, Princip is a ‘terrorist’ and the Black Hand a ‘terrorist group’, in the Serbian text, he is a member of a ‘revolutionary organisation’ and an ‘agitator’; he was ‘very brave’ and ‘fought for the unity of all Slavs’. These differences might seem minor, but they are significant in helping to develop the manner in which pupils in the UK and Serbia understand the same events. Ball provides a Foucauldian definition of discourse which is helpful in this context:

‘Discourses are ... about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. *Discourses embody meaning and social relationships*, they constitute both subjectivity and power relations ... Thus, discourses *construct certain possibilities for thought*. *They order and combine words in particular ways and exclude or displace other combinations*’ (Ball,1990).

(author’s emphasis)

The outcome of the way in which individuals create meaning from a textual narrative means, for example, that if you live in Northern Ireland or the Balkans, the word ‘terrorist’ carries a particular meaning based upon the experiences young people bring with them to school; ‘revolutionary organisation’ and ‘agitator’ have different sets of meanings.

Analysing Photographic Evidence

At a simplistic level photographs are visual representations of past events. Vivid illustrations can capture and sustain attention; they evoke in us emotive responses to events and impose upon us the immediacy of meaning in a way in which written text cannot although they certainly contain ‘content’. The power of illustrations is that they are irresistible to the human eye, and the bigger and more colourful they are, the more realistic they become, and the likelier they are to gain the reader’s attention and empathy. For example, photographs of the liberation of Buchenwald Concentration Camp in 1945, the bombing of Japan in 1945 and the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1990 exert a powerful impact upon both our imagination and sensibilities. Historical photographs are not neutral. Like authors, photographers make decisions about what to photograph and what not to photograph, some are posed photo-opportunities, reconstructions taken after the event, and other emerge by accident with the photographer being in the right place at the right time. Often the choice of the subject, the selection of the camera angle, the cropping and manipulation of photographs to emphasise and reject particular images and the manipulation of the viewer’s emotional response are all consciously planned by photographers. This, coupled with the production of captions, encourages viewers to ‘read’ and interpret photographs in quite specific ways. Earlier research in textbook analysis has revealed that teachers and pupils strongly value the importance of good illustrations (Evans, Watson & Willows, 1987). Research questions in this area might focus upon:

- do photographs serve simply illustrative purposes or are they presented as alternative forms of evidence to be critically analysed;
- exploring what individuals, groups and situations are depicted in illustrations; whether illustrations supplement the text, simply repeat points made in texts or are simply ‘free-standing’;

- do the photographs challenge and extend or reinforce current historical knowledge and stereotypical representations;
- do they present evidence of contradiction and ambiguity to be explained;
- are pupils provided with an analytical framework which they can use to investigate the problematic nature of photographic evidence?

The images in both textbooks have a mixture of military, political and social images. Only one of the images in the UK textbook asks a question; the other images in both the Serbian and UK textbooks serve illustrative purposes only. The Serbian textbook contains many more images, seventeen as against nine in the English text, twelve as against three of which are photographs. Chapters on World War 1 in the Serbian textbook has an average of 1.4 images per page, the chapters in the English textbooks, an average of 0.23. Both the Serbian and the UK texts contain a photograph of Archduke Ferdinand and Sophia in Sarajevo, the photographs are of the same event on the same day but taken from different angles and at slightly different times, perhaps seconds.

The Serbian textbook also includes photographs of British troops marching to war and trench warfare in Gallipoli and on the French Western Front. Also included are photographs of German recruits, Kaiser Wilhelm II and Berlin. The UK text contain images of German dead but none of trench warfare or British troops. All the photographs in the UK text are in black and white while the Serbian text uses colour much more in the text, for maps and photographs. In summary, these images can be 'read' by the pupils in a manner which suggests that they are not designed to be an integral element of the unit on World War 1. The photographs in both textbooks are not presented as forms of evidence or as sources to be analysed; they provide illustrations which reinforce the written narrative but which are not integrated into the writing for discussion; they are 'free-standing' and pupils are not invited to interrogate them, discuss them or ask questions about them.

Didactical Analysis

Not only do textbooks contain a mixture of narrative text, illustrations, maps, diagrams, primary evidence etc., they also contain activities for children to complete. These take a variety of forms ranging from the bland and unimaginative to well structured and well formed activities based upon what is known and understood about children's learning. The former include activities such as cloze procedure requiring from pupils little but the ability to read and memorize and tasks which are more related more to English comprehension and knowledge assimilation than critical enquiry and understanding. The latter include evidence-based tasks which require pupils to analyse, discriminate and reach judgements based upon the evidence. In a study of primary school history textbooks Crawford (1996), found that a number of the activities contained in the selection of textbooks analysed required no more than mechanical comprehension tasks of the 'fill in the missing word' and 're-write the narrative in your own words' variety. Many of the worksheets accommodated exercises which promoted low order language and mathematical skills, such as word searches and dictionary exercises. Whatever their format, such activities are often powerful determinants in dictating the pedagogic approaches that teachers adopt. As tools around which to base pupils' assessments and with which to shape teaching, these activities are viewed by teachers as being particularly necessary as they struggle to cope with the burdensome demands of the official, examination based, curriculum or their own lack of subject knowledge (Chambliss & Calfee, 1998).

While the structured narrative of textbooks provides a learning focus for pupils, end of chapter or unit activities are important sites of analysis for they have the aim of reinforcing pupil learning and are often sites of what it is considered vital that pupils 'know'. Therefore, important areas of analysis are:

- what kinds of activities are teachers and pupils invited to pursue; e.g. comprehension based; skills-based; knowledge-based etc.;
- how are these activities constructed and structured; e.g. to what extent are they related to a text's key issues; do they invite pupils to enhance their learning by moving away from a textual narrative etc.;
- how do teachers and pupils use such activities inside classrooms; what is their impact upon pedagogy; e.g. are such activities used programmatically; are they related to assessment; do teachers select and de-select particular activities?

In this section we confine our attention to the first two questions. The UK text asks twenty three questions, the Serbian text fifteen. From an analysis of the questions included in the UK text pupils are expected to: *identify, summarise and explain, evaluate and compare, assess and criticise* the discourse and 'story' presented in the author narrative; this reflects the nature of historical enquiry in English schools where emphasis is placed upon the examination and analysis of sources, skill and conceptual development (the English book is endorsed by the OCR Examination Board for A Level (16-18) history), although in this text the interrogation of source material is not required. This is less the case with the Serbian textbook, in which pupils are provided with opportunities to *explain causes, examine differences and reach conclusions*, but there is a greater proportion of questions requiring more factual answers than in the English text e.g. 'What battles and events were the most important during the war?' 'What was the attitude of Serbia and the Allies to the Austrian ultimatum?'

The questions asked in both textbooks are very similar but the structure of the activities in the UK text ensures that a depth of knowledge and understanding is progressively constructed through summary questions and through the presentation of questions which build upon and which extend previous knowledge. For example, the Serbian texts ask pupils "Can you *explain the causes* of the first world war?" (my emphasis) The UK texts asks the same question but pupil knowledge is scaffolded, moving learning from lower order to high order, more complex questions:

'Give a *brief* explanation of which was the most significant factor in bringing about the outbreak of the First World War' (p.36)

'Identify and explain *two reasons* for the growth in tension in Europe in the period 1890-1814'(p.37)

'Compare the importance of at least *three factors* which led to the outbreak of war in 1914' (p.37)

(our emphasis)

The Serbian text asks: 'What were the results of the First World War?' The UK text asks:

'Draw up a list in order of significance of the reasons why Germany lost the war' (page 49)

'Identify *three major* consequences of the First World War' (page 50)

(our emphasis)

In both the Serbian and UK texts the activities build upon the pupil engagement with the narrative. Similarities also exist in so far as the questions presented, in both the Serbian and the UK textbooks, provide no opportunities for individual research which takes the pupil away from the narrative to explore alternative sources, nor opportunities to engage in collaborative work; this is probably because examination work tends to be largely solitary. As we write, the situation in Serbia is changing and for the first time some children are beginning to use class activity worksheets which contain a number of skills and concept-based tasks focusing upon the analysis of sources.

Conclusion

We frame this analysis within the context of a quotation:

‘Perhaps the most important factor is to determine what goals the textbooks are designed to achieve. Are they to be primarily sources of information, builders of reading, writing and critical thinking skills, purveyors of ethical models, or promoters of patriotism’ (Fleming, 1990, p.7).

A general conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that there are significant similarities between history textbooks in the UK and the new textbook to be used in Serbian secondary schools; the content selected offers comparable themes. One difference is that while the Serbian text focuses largely upon the political and military impact of the war, the UK text also includes references to the changing role of women and the economics of war.

One aim of conducting an analysis of content and language was to explore the extent of similarities and differences in the power of language to elicit emotive responses from readers. This was partly because we were interested in whether elements of patriotism and nationalism emerged through the texts. What is clear is that there is no evidence of forms of nationalism or patriotism in the UK text. In this sense the text is typical of English textbooks which tend to shy away from the overt presentation, not of national history, but of nationalistic history, although other researchers have certainly found evidence of nationalistic and xenophobic attitudes among English pupils as a consequence of studying the Second World War (Cowans, 1996; Cullingford, 2000; Crawford, 2001).

In the sections of the Serbian textbook focusing upon the European aspects of World War 1 there is no evidence of an overtly nationalistic approach to the narrative. However, in those sections of the Serbian text focusing upon the regional aspects of World War 1, which separates out the Serbian experience from the European, there remain strong patriotic echoes which through the discourse promotes an emotive response to the struggle of the Serbs, designed to reinforce cultural homogeneity and hegemony through the promotion of shared attitudes and the construction of shared historical memories. Nevertheless, what is apparent is that the new political context in Serbia has resulted in the construction of a textbook which, while it continues to respect those that died in the war, appears largely free from the ideological baggage of previous texts.

There are differences in the didactical approach offered in the two texts under consideration. The UK textbook provides more opportunities for structured and developmental, ‘scaffolded’ learning based around the development of key ideas and concepts. This is not to say that this is entirely lacking in the Serbian text but there is certainly a more pronounced emphasis upon a knowledge-based approach. We suggest that further analysis of teaching methodologies and the manner in which young Serbians learn how to think like historians would be a fruitful area of

investigation for textbook authors and for teacher trainers. Fig. 3 offers a tentative model of the kind of personal competencies which might result from historical investigations.

Figure 3: Competencies in History Education

Cognitive Competencies	Affective Competencies	Social Competencies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ The development of a critical capacity; ◆ Understanding rights, duties and the rights and duties of others; ◆ Knowledge of local, regional, national and global problems and their possible solutions; ◆ An understanding of inter-cultural understanding and the multiplicity of identity; ◆ A holistic view of the world; .. Competence in the critical analysis of evidence and sources. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ The adoption of a human rights ethic; ◆ The strengthening of a positive self-image and confidence; ◆ A personal desire to promote social justice and equality; ◆ The ability to cope with change and to manage conflict; ◆ Responsibility for the individual and others; ◆ Solidarity with others; .. Understanding and respect for other peoples and cultures. 	<p>The ability to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ act as a member of a group; ◆ show compassion and consideration to others; ◆ communicate with others; ◆ participate in democratic forums; ◆ self-motivate and to develop new forms of knowledge and skills; ◆ articulate considered views based upon evidence and sound judgement; .. critically reflect upon views and opinions.

In terms of images, this investigation has added weight to previous research which has suggested that evidence in the form of photographs, maps and cartoons are an under-used resource in promoting pupil learning. While the Serbian textbook makes better use of colour and contains more images than its UK counterpart, absent from both texts was a didactical approach which sought to employ these images as sites of analysis for pupils which might add to the narrative or which might provide alternative or complimentary perspectives. The images simply stand as part of the overall narrative but no methodological principles are offered to pupils; instead learning is dominated by the textual narrative and the allied questions. Clearly, this is an area worthy of further empirical research.

Finally, one of the most important dilemmas for those exploring the social construction of curriculum knowledge is to find methods and techniques for understanding it and interpreting it ideologically. The difficulty stems from the fact that curriculum can be misleading. On the surface level it is there to be seen, read, used and discussed, it is visible in the form of textbooks, teacher guides and pupil exercises. However, these physical manifestations of curriculum are in a very real sense hollow shells to which little in the way of meaning is attached. Understanding curriculum through the forms in which it is publicly presented requires identifying, analysing and critiquing the sequence of its building through investigating the work of authors, editors, publishers, teachers and pupils as they struggle to create meanings.

The content of the curriculum is always a source of social conflict. The pedagogy that accompanies the curriculum and the allied assessment procedures are subject to analysis and comment by competing groups who invariably hold distinctly different educational and ideological visions. As Walker and Soltis put it: 'In deciding what and how to teach our children, we are expressing and thus exposing and risking our identity - personal, social, and cultural' (Walker & Soltis, 1986, p. 14). This should not surprise us. Curriculum as theory and practice has never been, and can never be, divorced from the ethical, economic, political, and cultural conflicts of society which impact so deeply upon curriculum construction. We cannot escape the clear implication that questions about what knowledge is of most worth and about how it should be organised and taught are problematic, contentious and very serious.

Acknowledgments

This paper was researched and written at the Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung, Braunschweig, Germany in December 2002. We wish to express our grateful thanks to the institute for the scholarship and financial support which made our visit possible and to our colleagues who provided us with so much helpful dialogue.

References

- Altbach, P.G. (1991) 'Textbooks: the international dimension', in Apple, M.W. and Christian-Smith, L. (eds), *The Politics of the Textbook* New York, Routledge.
- Apple, M. (1986), *Teachers & Texts: A Political Economy of Class & Gender Relations in Education* New York, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Apple, M. & Christian-Smith, L. (Eds.) (1991) *The Politics of the Textbook*, New York, Routledge.
- Ball, S. (1990) *Politics and Policy Making in Education: explorations in policy sociology* London, Routledge.
- Barnard, C. (2001) 'Isolating Knowledge of the Unpleasant: the Rape of Nanking in Japanese high-school textbooks', in *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Volume 22, No.4, 520-531.
- Chambliss, M.J. and Calfee, R.C. (1998) *Textbooks for Learning: nurturing children's minds* Oxford, Blackwell.
- Commission for Curriculum Development (2002) *Policy for Curriculum Development in Obligatory and Secondary Education* Belgrade
- Cowans, P. (1996) 'Reading About the Enemy: school textbook representation of Germany's role in the war with Britain during the period from April 1940 to May 1941', in *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Volume 17, No.3, 327-339.
- Crawford, K.A. (1996) 'Packaging the Past: the primary history curriculum and how to teach it', in *Curriculum Studies*, Volume 3, No.4, 401-416.
- Crawford, K.A. (2001) 'Constructing National Memory: UK school history textbook representations of the 1940-1941 'Blitz'', in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, Volume 23, No.3, pages 6-19.
- Crawford, K.A. (2002) 'Culture Wars: Japanese History Textbooks and the Construction of Official Memory', in *Paradigm*, Volume 23, No.1, 12-23.
- Crawford, K.A. & Matseu, S. (2002) 'Presenting the Past, Shaping the Future: the discourse of historical interpretation in Japanese and American history textbooks', in *Pacific-Asian Education*, Volume 15, No.1, 2003, 11-23.
- Cullingford, C. (2000) *Anglo-German Attitudes* Aldershot, Ashgate.
- Evans, M.A., Watson C., & Willows, D. M. (1987) (eds.) 'A Naturalistic Inquiry into Illustrations in Instructional Textbooks', in Houghton, H.A., and Willows, D.M. (1987) *The Psychology of Illustrations (2). Instructional Issues* New York, Springer.
- Fitzgerald, F. (1979) *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* New York, Vintage Press.

- Fleming, D.B. (1990) 'High School Social Studies Textbooks: good or bad compared to what?', in *The International Journal of Social Education*, No.4, 23-34.
- Janjetovic, Z. (2001) 'National Minorities and non-Slav Neighbours in Serbian Textbooks', in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, Volume 23, No. 2, 13-26.
- Marsden, W (2002) *The School Textbook* London, Frank Cass Publishers.
- McDonough, F. (2001) *Conflict, Communism and Fascism: Europe 1890-1945* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Nikolich, K., Zutic, N., Pavlovich, M. & Spadijer, Z. (2002) *Istorija za III razred gimnazije prirodno matematickog smera i za IV razred gimnazije opsteg i drustveno-jezickog smer a* (3rd Grade gymnasium book for natural sciences and mathematics instruction and for 4th grade gymnasium social language instruction).
- O'Brien, S. (1988) 'The Reshaping of History. Marketers vs. Authors', in *Curriculum Review*, Volume 28, No.1, 12-19.
- Pešic, V. & Rosandic, R. (no date) *Patriotism, Patriarchy and Belligerence* Belgrade, Center for Antiwar Action.
- Plut, D, (no date) *Socialisation patterns in the Yugoslav textbooks* Master's Thesis, University of Belgrade.
- Walker, D.F. & Soltis, J.F. (1986) *Curriculum and Aims* New York, Teachers College Press.

The Presentation of the Holocaust in German and English School History Textbooks – A Comparative Study

Barbara M. Wenzeler, Edge Hill College of Higher Education, Ormskirk, England

Abstract *As textbooks are one way of teaching and influencing pupils' learning, this paper aims to examine critically and compare the presentation of the Holocaust in English and German textbooks. To set the scene, the paper investigates the theoretical and methodological background of textbook analysis. This is followed by a description of the sample and method chosen for this study. The analysis concentrates upon the question of culpability for the Holocaust in German and English textbooks and reasons for this. The paper concludes by exploring the possible effects the presentation of 'blame' for the Holocaust has upon the pupils who read textbooks.*

Introduction

'If we simply transmit a received account of the Holocaust, and 'preach' about the wickedness of Hitler, ...are we equipping pupils with the intellectual foundations that will enable them to subject contemporary values and policies to intelligent scrutiny?' (Haydn, 2000, p.138).

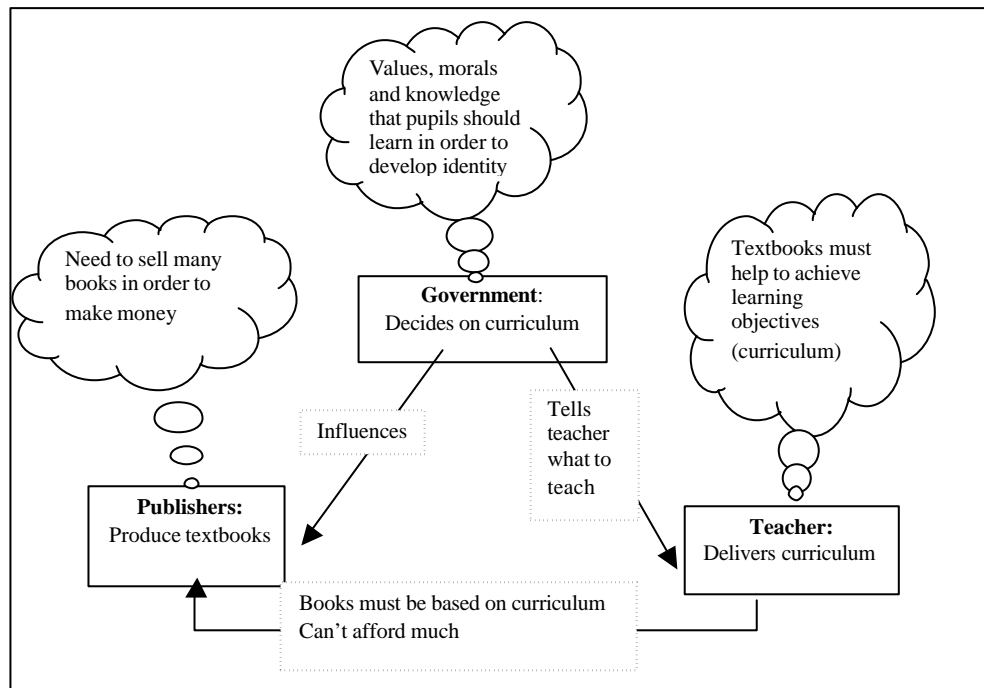
The way in which the Holocaust is taught does not only have an impact on pupils' understanding of the past but also upon their understanding of the present and the future. If pupils examine the Holocaust in a critical way that enables them to see the different dimensions of the topic, they might be able to grasp what this means for them today. Pupils have to understand that if the Holocaust happened once, it could happen again (Rossel, 2002).

From primary school onwards, pupils are taught to be critical, to look for meaning beyond the literal and to distinguish between fact and opinion when reading texts. However, when it comes to textbooks 'children do not have the right to disagree with the authorized texts' (Olson, 1989, p.239), as the written text separates speech from speaker, which can 'make the words impersonal, objective and above criticism' (Olson, 1989, p.239). This means that textbooks have immense power over pupils' thinking and understanding. Pingel (1998) argues that textbooks in the social sciences contribute to developing a concept of oneself and others. These concepts will generally be built upon the moral values and norms of a society, or the country for which the textbooks have been written. In other words, next to delivering facts, textbooks transmit the ideologies and values of a society or its politicians in order to strengthen and promote national identity (Anyon, 1983; Crawford, 2000; Pingel, 1998 and Van der Leeuw-Rood, 2000).

The above indicates that textbooks are social constructions, 'conceived, designed and authored by real people with real interests' (Apple *et al*, 1991, p.9). These 'real interests' are of a political, cultural, social, ideological and economic nature (Nicholls and Foster, 2003). The 'real people' are a society led by a government, and within this society people such as politicians, teachers and publishers will have an important influence upon what is written in textbooks.

Fig. 1 outlines the interrelations of influences on textbook content. By deciding on the curriculum content, the government has a major influence on the topics that are chosen for textbooks. The government can decide what, and which, history should be passed on to the pupils in order to help them understand the values of their country.

Figure 1. Interests of Government, Publishers and Teachers influencing Textbook Content



As teachers are mainly interested in textbooks that will help them to teach the topics they have to cover, publishers will – in order to make the biggest possible profit – generally only cover the topics that are included in the curriculum to meet the wishes of their potential buyers (Apple, 1989). In addition to this, publishers also consider the cost of the textbook production; this means that the number of pages on a particular topic, illustrations and the amount of narrative and primary texts are under an economic constraint. Finally, the textbook that gets into pupils' hands will not only have a selective choice of factual knowledge, but also a selective choice of sources and information to cover this factual knowledge. This means that the words in the textbooks that seem so 'objective and above criticism' (Olson, 1989, p.239), and that have been officially acknowledged to be true, are in fact merely 'claims to truth' (Crawford, 2003a, p.9).

Clearly, the degree, to which a textbook differs from the truth, can vary from book to book and from nation to nation. However, Crawford (2003a) concluded from several studies, which considered a number of nations, that no textbook offers a fully truthful account. Consequently, we have to assume that the textbooks in this study also offer claims to truth and that we should be able to get a better idea of the values and morals that the German and English government want pupils to learn, as well as how these nations are supposed to view themselves.

Previous textbook studies on a variety of topics show that the 'real interests' of the people involved can cause very different presentations of one particular topic (for example Van der Leeuw-Rood, 2000; Thornton, 2003). Often, their own nation is glorified whereas others are belittled (Pingel, 1999). This is to ensure that students feel pride in their country, which develops a strong sense of national identity. By looking at the question of responsibility for the Holocaust in English and German textbooks, I aim to discover if there are tendencies within the texts that glorify or belittle certain people or groups of people and how this affects each country's sense of national identity.

To get a general overview of the coverage of the Holocaust, ten textbooks were selected from each country, each with a publication date of within the past eight years. The German textbooks were designed for pupils of average ability in secondary school (*Realschule*) in the *Bundesländer* of the German Federal Republic. The number of pages ranged from 176 at the minimum and 407 at the maximum, all A5 in format. The English textbooks were published for secondary schools and have an average of 220 pages. They are used widely in the United Kingdom. The format varies slightly; generally it can be said that books with fewer pages are usually of bigger format. Both English and German textbooks cover 20th Century history and include a chapter on the Second World War, which incorporates the topic of the Holocaust. The books contain primary evidence in the form of photographs, personal accounts or maps, which are supported by author narrative. All the textbooks analysed in this study are listed in Appendix 1.

These twenty textbooks will be analysed using a quantitative method, looking at the relation between number of pages overall and number of pages on the Holocaust, as well as the number of illustrations and primary texts. Next, a more detailed qualitative analysis of three textbooks will follow which concentrates on culpability for the Holocaust. Guiding research questions include:

- Does the text give multiperspectivity or monocausal explanation?
- How are the leading Nazis and the German public portrayed?
- Are pupils invited to investigate or does the text simply describe and give 'final' answers? Are pupils invited to interact with the sources?
- What is the role of language? What messages does the text transmit?

By using both quantitative and qualitative analysis, it should be possible for me to arrive at a good overview of the importance and interpretation of the Holocaust in the textbooks of both countries.

Quantitative Analysis

Authors and publishers make choices concerning the length and layout of textbooks. By deciding on the number of pages per topic and the kind of illustrations, activities and primary texts to be included, they put an emphasis on some topics and make others seem insignificant. This and the inclusion of illustrations of, or texts about some groups involved and the exclusion of others will convey a message about what is seen as important and what is not (Pingel, 1999).

This section uses a statistical summary of the twenty chosen textbooks to analyse content, illustrations and other primary sources provided to get an overview of the importance of the Holocaust in general and to find out if the textbooks put a particular emphasis on certain aspects of the topic.

It is important to consider the government's influence on textbook content at this point. The theoretical underpinning for this analysis has already illustrated the great influence that the government has when it comes to the topics to be included in textbooks. It therefore needs to be asked to what extent the publishers and authors in this case have been led by the governments of the countries in question.

Although there are differences in the general guidelines and curricula for each *Bundesland* in Germany, Crawford and Jones, (1998) found that there are commonalities within the study units for 20th Century history. The Holocaust is taught in all *Bundesländer* in either year 9 or 10 in all strands of the secondary school system.

The teaching is supposed to help pupils understand the past and ensure that fundamental human rights, as set out in the German constitution, will not be disregarded again (Rathenow, 2000). In England the teaching of the Holocaust is also compulsory, as it is part of the world study after 1900. This is usually taught to pupils at the age of 14, which is earlier than in Germany. In both countries the topic is expected to take about eight to eleven lessons, which indicates that it is of similar importance.

However, Table 1 illustrates that, generally speaking, the Holocaust is given more significance in German textbooks than in English textbooks. Although at first glance at the average percentage of pages on the Holocaust in German textbooks (3%) is less than in English textbooks (4%), a closer look shows that the average proportion of

Table 1. Content Analysis

	Pages	Pages on Holocaust	in %	Mean in %	Median in %
D1	256	14	5	3	4
D2	312	11	4		
D3	246	10	4		
D4	176	6	3		
D5	313	8	3		
D6	247	10	4		
D7	198	8	4		
D8	304	5	2		
D9	407	6	1		
D10	344	5	1		
E1	128	8	6	4	2
E2	218	8	4		
E3	251	31	12		
E4	273	3	1		
E5	96	2	2		
E6	192	2	1		
E7	208	3	1		
E8	129	8	6		
E9	428	4	1		
E10	240	3	1		

pages in English textbooks results from an unusually high number of pages on the Holocaust in one book, E3.

On average, the German textbooks analysed also have more illustrations per page than English textbooks, as shown in Table 2. Textbooks from both countries in question have a very high percentage of illustrations of victims. Pingel (1999, p.31) states: "illustrations attract.....attention more than a written text". By presenting pupils with a large number of illustrations of victims, textbook authors arouse feelings of horror and disgust as soon as the pupils open the book. Presumably, this is meant to be the first step towards educating the pupils that such a thing should never happen again, which is the educators' aim in both countries.

Interestingly, the percentage of illustrations of leading Nazis is more than twice as high in English textbooks as in German textbooks. In a previous study of English and

German textbooks, Crawford (2003b) found that English textbooks tended to support the idea that the responsibility for the Holocaust had to be found within the Nazi Party. This belief also seems to be evident in the textbooks I analysed: it is easy for pupils to conclude that active members of the Nazi Party must be responsible, if the pupils are presented with such illustrations.

Table 2: Analysis of Illustrations

	Number of illustrations	Illustrations per page	No. of victims in %	No. of leading Nazis in %	Other illustrations in %
Total average of German textbooks	12	2	54	2	44
Total average of English textbooks	6	1	39	5	56

Table 3 is a statistical summary of the primary texts contained in the textbooks analysed. It appears that textbooks from both countries have a tendency to focus on primary sources written by Nazis.

The average percentage of texts by Jews in English textbooks should be handled with care. Although it reflects the general trend that English textbooks contain fewer primary texts by Jews than by Nazis, it is influenced by the one primary text in E5, which happens to be Jewish. Had this textbook not been included or had the sample of textbooks been bigger, the average percentage of Jewish texts would be likely to be even lower.

Table 3: Analysis of Primary Texts

	Primary texts	Nazi Texts in %	Jews' texts in %	Other primary texts in %
Total average of German textbooks	10	52	22	26
Total average of English textbooks	7	36	22	42

The quantitative analysis leads one to the conclusion that although both countries concerned have made the teaching of the Holocaust compulsory the topic is given more importance in Germany than in England. This outcome is not surprising, if we consider that the Holocaust is part of Germany's history and that the curricula of the German *Bundesländer* have been influenced by the fundamental human rights set out in the constitution. It also seems that English textbooks still tend to emphasise the guilt of leading Nazis.

To get further answers, the question of blame and other questions have to be investigated in more detail in the qualitative analysis. It will be interesting to see if and to what extent the pupils are invited to interact with the materials just analysed. Narrative, images, written sources and activities work together in forming the pupils' view of the topic, and influence whether pupils simply learn about the past or also learn from the past.

Qualitative Analysis

In order to consider the question of culpability in more detail, it is important to be aware of the main concepts concerning the Holocaust. I have already mentioned that previous textbook studies by Crawford (2003b) found that English textbooks tended to follow the idea that members of the Nazi Party can be seen as the main perpetrators. This concept, which Crawford calls 'Hitlerism', used to be popular in Germany and other countries too (Von Borries, 2003). Against that, Goldhagen's thesis argues that deeply rooted anti-Semitism caused 'ordinary [meaning all] Germans' to commit such mass murder (1996, p.9). It shall be interesting to see whether Goldhagen's view has influenced school textbooks, or whether other more multi-causal views have been taken into account.

The ideas arising from the above models concerning culpability shall form the focus of this analysis. In other words, the explanations the textbooks offer for the Holocaust, and the portrayal of the degree of responsibility of the Nazis and the German public for the Holocaust will be reflected upon. Each reflection will include an analysis considering the opportunities given for the pupils to interact with the sources, and the role of language, particularly within the narrative.

Although all textbooks place the Holocaust within the context of Hitler's strong anti-Semitic views and his rise to power, hardly any of the explanations can be seen as straightforward. D3 and all three English textbooks, for example, focus on the importance of Nazi propaganda. Activity 1 in E2 asks pupils to consider the effect on people, who were 'continuously surrounded' by propaganda (E2, p.187), and D3 talks about the 'poison of anti-Semitism' that has been spread (D, p.175). Two German (D2 and D3) and two English (E2 and E3) textbooks also refer to the anti-Semitism that existed in Europe prior to Hitler's rise to power. E2 uses this to set the scene for the topic 'How did the Holocaust happen?' (E2, p.186).

Unemployment and poverty caused by the social crisis are mentioned too (E2, p.187). E1 states that 'Hitler was in no doubt who was to blame for the downfall', and that it is not unusual for human beings to look for a scapegoat during difficult times (E1, p.96).

D1, however, contradicts many of these views. By pointing to a source which describes a Nazi being misled by the 'Aryan' features of a Jewish girl, it questions, for example, if the Nazi's racist views might have convinced the Germans (D1, p.45). Although D1 acknowledges the significance of racism regarding the National Socialists' aims and policies (D1, p.44), it also views the behaviour of German society in a critical light.

This leads me to the portrayal of the groups responsible for the Holocaust. D1 does not leave any doubt that the 'ordinary Germans' carry guilt. The activity mentioned above might only infer this, but the following sentence makes it clear:

'Many people have been involved in the acts of murder – not just the ones who shot or threw the gas pallets into the gas chambers. The train drivers, for example, who drove the trains to Auschwitz or the civil servants in the offices, who organised the mass murders, were also involved.' (D1, p.52)

Authorial narrative, primary evidence and activities work together to portray a picture of 'willing criminals' who were free to make the decision to kill (D1, p.52). As the textbook was published two years after Goldhagen presented his thesis, this textbook appears to be a classic example of the influence of external factors on the content of textbooks. D3, on the other hand, gives a more balanced view on the question of blame. It considers the influence of the 'anti-Semitic mania' caused by the Nazis (D3,

p.175), as well as the responsibility of German industrialists. After reading the correspondence between the IG Farben factory and the leaders from Auschwitz, pupils are required to do the following activities:

- Analyse this matter-of-fact correspondence.
- What does this document tell us about the shared responsibility of German industry for Nazi crimes?' (D3, p.177)

The pupils are therefore made to think about the guilt of non-Nazis – ordinary Germans – as well as Nazis.

This is in contrast to the other texts, which tend to blame the Nazis for the Holocaust. Although allegations against the German public are made in E1 and E2, these allegations are undermined by information that follows. The two English textbooks mention the involvement of ordinary Germans in one sentence, but lead straight on to the guilt of the Nazis in the next sentences. This specific consideration of where and how information is presented can be seen particularly well in an extract taken from E1. The extract (see Appendix 3) shows that this is especially interesting as the extract also conveys a little about the role of the Allies. Directly after having talked about the importance of the question of responsibility of the Allies in order to ensure lasting peace, the pupils are confronted with the Nuremberg trials and Denazification on the following page (E1, p.101). This seems to infer that the Allies, including the British, have done their best to guarantee lasting peace. As Pingel (1999) said, one's own nation is glorified and other nations, in this case Germany, are belittled.

However, this is not true for all textbooks. We have seen that German textbooks tend to blame their own nation, at least partially, for the Holocaust. A possible reason for this can be found in one of the textbooks themselves: Buchenwald and other memorial sites of the Holocaust should be a warning to everybody to ensure that 'never again shall any extreme rightwing group get to power in Germany' (D2, p.126). Naumann (2002) states that Germans have to get used to the idea that an innocent patriotism in Germany is not possible due to its past. This could be a reason, why ordinary Germans are generally not presented well in the textbooks.

Yet, the textbooks do not stop at the thought of dreadfulness. All three German books analysed ask what Haydn (2000, p.136) calls the 'important 'So what?' question'. This is the question that makes history fascinating, as it considers the impact of the past on us and on the future. All three textbooks invite the reader to some extent to consider what they can do about issues such as discrimination and prejudice, issues that made the Holocaust possible. In D2, for example, the topic of the Holocaust follows a chapter on Neo-Nazism. The photograph shown in Appendix 4 depicts some of the current racist issues in Germany, and it invites the pupils to draw parallels to the Holocaust as there are also some icons related to the Third Reich.

Apart from E1, the English textbooks also invite the pupils to draw parallels between the past and the present. E3 has the topic of the Holocaust embedded between a double page on human rights and people's responsibilities today (E3, pp.144/145) and another page with recent issues such as the killings in Kosovo at the end (E3, p.176).

Conclusion

This study has shown that the textbooks from both countries tend to invite pupils to develop critical historical thinking through learning about and learning from the Holocaust. Books from both countries are inclined to associate the beginning of the Holocaust with a variety of causes, and the strengthening of anti-Semitic views through

Hitler's rise to power. Germany's economic situation and the use of propaganda are mentioned as possible causes in the books.

Both sets of textbooks make use of a variety of sources to develop the pupils' investigative skills. However, the higher percentage of illustrations of leading Nazis in English textbooks and the particular use of narrative still show a tendency towards an interpretation that sees Hitlerism as the major factor. It seems that German textbooks, on the other hand, have been influenced by the Goldhagen thesis, particularly D1. Nevertheless, research on more textbooks published during that time would be needed to further clarify the influence of Goldhagen's thesis on German textbooks. For now, it can be assumed that the politics of a country and some major current debates have had an influence on the content of these textbooks.

This can be said, disregarding the Goldhagen debate, simply by looking at the information gained from this study. The higher percentage of pages on the Holocaust in German textbooks, compared to the English textbooks, reflects that this topic is still very important to the German government and therefore to the German nation. German textbooks have also been strongly influenced by the outcry that such crimes should never happen again. The textbooks analysed encourage German pupils to accept the responsibility for the crimes of the Holocaust, and to come to terms with its consequences for the German nation.

English pupils are mostly encouraged to look at the Holocaust from a different angle. Although the English textbooks invite the pupils to draw parallels with present issues, the tendency to portray the English as the Allies that came to bring lasting peace to the world might aim to foster a pride in Englishness. The way the English see themselves is therefore also influenced by their textbooks.

Pupils' ideas of themselves and of others are not influenced by textbooks alone. The use of the textbooks in schools could be another area of research. The materials a teacher provides in addition to textbooks, such as worksheets or films, will have an impact on the pupils' learning, as will the teaching strategies used. Pupils are also likely to be influenced by the media: documentaries and movies on the Holocaust have been very popular, particularly in England.

The Holocaust has been and will always be a debated part of the past. This analysis has been an attempt to shed light on the representation of the Holocaust. However, the question of culpability will never be easy to answer; due to all the factors involved, such as the rise of Hitler and anti-Semitism in Germany. Nevertheless, it is important to consider the Holocaust's lessons for us today, especially as we are living in a world where genocide and mass murders are still part of the lives of many people.

References

- Anyon, J. (1983) 'Workers, Labour and Economic History, and Textbook Content', in Apple, M. and Weis, L. (eds) *Ideology and Practice in Schooling* Philadelphia, Temple University Press.
- Apple, M. & Christian-Smith, L. (1991) 'The Politics of the Textbook', in Apple, M. & Christian Smith, L. (eds) *The Politics of the Textbook* New York, Routledge.
- Apple, M. (1989) 'The Political Economy of Text Publishing', in De Castell, S., Luke, A. & Luke, C. (eds) *Language, Authority and Criticism* London, Falmer Press.
- Crawford, K. & Jones, M. (1998) 'National Identity: A Question of Choice?' in *Children's Social and Economics Education* Volume 3, Number 1, pp 1-16.
- Crawford, K. (2000) 'Researching the Ideological and Political Role of the History Textbook - Issues and Methods', in *International Journal of History Learning, Teaching and Research* Volume 1, Number 1, pp 81-91.

- Crawford, K. (2003a) *Introduction* Unpublished Paper.
- Crawford, K. (2003b) *Learning about the Holocaust: a comparative analysis of German and UK History Textbooks* Unpublished Paper.
- DfEE (1999) *National Curriculum for Key Stage 3 History*
www.nc.uk.net/nc/contents/#breadth
- Fawcett, G. (2001) 'Teaching History and the German Right' in *History Today* February 2001, Volume 51, Issue 2, pp16-17.
- Goldhagen, D.J. (1996) *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* New York, Knopf.
- Haydn, T. (2000) 'Teaching the Holocaust through History', in Davies, I. (ed) *Teaching the Holocaust* London, Continuum.
- Naumann, M. (2002) „Wie fühlt die Nation?“, in *Die Zeit* www.zeit.de/202002.html
- Newnham, D. (1999) 'Please Sir...What does 'genocide' mean? - Holocaust education', in *TES Friday*, 4 June 1999.
http://www.tes.co.uk/search/search_display.asp?section=Archive&sub_section=Friday&id=310617&Type=0
- Nicholls, J. & Foster, S. (2003) 'Portrayal of the Soviet Role in World War II, unpublished paper, *School Textbooks and Educational Media Conference*, Ormskirk, England, June 2003.
- Olsen, D.R. (1989) 'On the Language and Authority of Textbooks', in DeCastell, S., Luke, A., & Luke, C. (eds) *Language, Authority and Criticism* London, Falmer Press.
- Pingel, F. (1998) *Falk Pingel reports on his work at the German Institute for International Textbooks Research* <http://www.civnet.org/journal/issue6/mefpin.htm>
- Pingel, F. (1999). *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* Hannover, Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung.
- Rathenow, H.F. (2000) 'Teaching the Holocaust in Germany' in Davies, I. (ed) *Teaching the Holocaust – Educational Dimensions, Principles and Practice* London, Continuum, pp 63-76.
- Rossel, S. (2002) *Holocaust – An end to Innocence*
<http://www.rossel.net/Holocaust15.htm>
- Thornton, K. (2003) 'History, but not as we know it', *Times Educational Supplement*, 9 May 2003, p 5.
- Van der Leeuw-Rood, J. (2000) 'Working with History: National Identity as a Focal Point in European History Education', in *International Journal of History Learning, Teaching and Research*, Volume 1, Number 1, pp 111-120.
- Von Borries, B. (2003) 'The Third Reich in German History Textbooks since 1945', in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 38, Number 1, pp 45-62.

Appendix 1

List of Textbooks

D1	Kosche, G. & Wunderer, H. (1998) <i>Geschichte Konkret 3 – Ein Lern- und Arbeitsbuch</i> Hannover, Schroedel.
D2	Berger, T. (ed) (1996) <i>Entdecken und Verstehen 3 – Von der Oktoberrevolution bis zur Gegenwart</i> Berlin, Cornelsen.
D3	Osburg, F. & Klose, D. (2003) <i>Expedition Geschichte, G3 – Von der Entstehung des Deutschen Kaiserreiches bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges</i> Frankfurt, Main, Diesterweg.
D4	Funken, W. & Koltrowitz, B. (eds) (2003) <i>Geschichte Plus 9 – Mecklenburg Vorpommern</i> , Berlin Volk und Wissen.
D5	Fiederle, X., Hergenröder, G. & Simioner, N. (eds) (1998) <i>Von... bis: Von 1933 bis heute 3</i> Paderborn, Schönigh.
D6	Brückner, D. & Lachner, H. (eds) (2003) <i>Geschichte erleben 4</i> Bamberg, C.C. Buchner.
D7	Flues, H., Höfer, A., Kehrig, K., Leinen, K. & Steidle, H. (1999) <i>Zeitreise 10 – Rheinland Pfalz</i> Leipzig, Klett.
D8	Brokemper, P., Müller, K-H., Potente, D. & Regenhardt, H-O. (eds) (1999) <i>Ansichten – Arbeitsbuch für Geschichte/Politik 3, Nordrhein-Westphalen</i> Berlin, Cornelsen.
D9	Lendzian, H-J. & Marx, C. (eds) (2001) <i>Geschichte und Gegenwart 3</i> , Paderborn, Schönigh
D10	Regenhardt, H-O. & Tatsch, C. (2003) <i>Forum Geschichte, Band 4</i> Berlin, Cornelsen.
E1	Lancaster, T. & Lancaster, S. (1995) <i>Discovering History – Britain and the World: the 20th Century</i> Ormskirk, Causeway Press.
E2	Shephard, C., Reid, A. & Shephard, K. (1993) <i>Discovering the Past, Y9 – Peace and War</i> London, John Murray. (The Schools History Project – Official Text)
E3	Kidd, J., Rees, R. & Tudor, R. (2001) <i>Heinemann History Scheme – Into the twentieth century, Book 3</i> Oxford, Heinemann. (A complete match for the QCA Scheme of Work)
E4	McAleavy, T. (ed) (2002) <i>Modern World History – Combined Edition</i> Cambridge, CUP.
E5	Clare, J.D. (1996) <i>The Twentieth Century</i> Walton on Thames: Nelson.
E6	Sauvain, P. (1996) <i>Key History for GCSE – Key themes of the twentieth century</i> Cheltenham, Thornes.
E7	Mason, J. & Leonhard, A. (2001) <i>Modern World History to GCSE (2nd edn.)</i> Oxford, OUP.
E8	Byran, J., Counsell, C., German, M., Peuple, D. & Riley, M. (1999) <i>Think Through History: Modern Minds – The twentieth century world</i> Harlow, Longman.
E9	Walsh, B. (2001) <i>History in Focus, GCSE: Modern World History (2nd edn.)</i> London, John Murray.
E10	Kelly, N. & Rees, R. (2001) <i>Heinemann Secondary History Project – The Modern World</i> Oxford, Heinemann.

Appendix 2

Statistical Summary of all Textbooks

	Pages	Pages on Holocaust	in %	No of illustrs*	No of victims	in %	No of Nazi leaders	in %	Primary texts	Texts of Nazis	in %	Texts of Jews	in %
D1	256	14	5	25	18	72	0	0	11	1	9	3	27
D2	312	11	4	9	4	44	0	0	11	7	64	1	10
D3	246	10	4	11	7	64	0	0	16	12	75	1	6
D4	176	6	3	11	2	18	1	9	9	3	33	2	22
D5	313	8	3	15	11	73	0	0	11	8	73	1	9
D6	247	10	4	13	6	46	0	0	12	6	50	4	33
D7	198	8	4	10	2	20	0	0	6	1	17	4	67
D8	304	5	2	11	9	82	0	0	3	3	100	0	0
D9	407	6	1	11	6	55	1	9	9	5	56	0	0
D10	344	5	1	8	5	63	0	0	7	3	43	3	43
E1	128	8	6	10	4	40	1	10	11	5	45	3	27
E2	218	8	4	14	7	50	0	0	16	10	63	1	6
E3	251	31	12	15	6	40	1	7	21	3	14	12	57
E4	273	3	1	4	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
E5	96	2	2	2	2	100	0	0	1	0	0	1	100
E6	192	2	1	2	1	50	0	0	4	3	75	0	0
E7	208	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
E8	129	8	6	8	3	38	1	13	7	3	43	1	14
E9	428	4	1	5	1	20	1	20	9	5	56	1	11
E10	240	3	1	4	1	25	0	0	3	2	67	0	0
AvD	280	8	3	12	7	54	0	2	10	5	52	2	22
AvE	216	7	4	6	3	39	0	5	7	3	36	2	22

*Maps, photos, pictures

AvD: Total average of German textbooks

AvE: Total average of English textbooks

Appendix 3

Extract from E1 (p.100) showing how the responsibility of the Germans is mentioned, but undermined by the source on the Nuremberg trials just below it.

It was only after the Allies had won the war that the extent of the Holocaust became clear. Since then many people have been trying to understand how it could have been allowed to happen. An important question to answer is, 'Who was responsible?' Some people have argued that Hitler was personally to blame. Others say that it was the Nazi system rather than Hitler himself. A third group argues that the German population as a whole was in some way responsible. At the end of the war this question was particularly important because the Allies had to decide what measures should be taken to make sure there was a lasting peace.

Source A The Nuremberg trials



Goering in the dock at Nuremberg

At the end of the war Hitler, Goebbels (Minister for Propaganda) and Himmler (Head of the SS) committed suicide. All three had played an important part in making the decision to go ahead with the final solution.

After the war, 22 leading Nazis were put on trial at Nuremberg. The most senior was Hitler's deputy, Goering. In July 1941 he had signed an order instructing the SS, 'to make all necessary preparations to bring about a total solution of the Jewish problem'. Goering was sentenced to hang but committed suicide beforehand. The other defendants were hanged or given long prison sentences.

Over the next 20 years 20,000 people were convicted by either Allied or German courts for crimes committed in Nazi Germany. Most were convicted for their part in the Holocaust.

Appendix 4

A photo used in D2 to set the Holocaust into the current context



Contributors

Keith Crawford is Reader in Education at Edge Hill College of Higher Education, Ormskirk, England. His research interests include the social construction of curriculum, textbook analysis and citizenship education. He edits *Citizenship, Social and Economics Education: an International Journal*. Colleagues interested in joining in the debate regarding international textbook analysis are invited to contact Keith at Crawfork@edgehill.ac.uk.

Marijana Mirkovic teaches at Graficka Skola, Beograd, Yugoslavia where she teaches courses on Serbian and world history to secondary school pupils. Her particular interests are in the teaching and learning of history, particularly in terms of comparing Serbian textbooks with those of other European nations. She can be contacted at mmmaja@eunet.yu.

Barbara Wenzler is currently studying for a degree in History and Education at Edge Hill College of Higher Education, Ormskirk, England. Colleagues interested in discussing the issues raised in this paper are invited to contact the author at Barbara.Wenzler@edgehill.ac.uk.

Jon Nichol is a Reader in History and Education at the School of Education and Lifelong Learning, University of Exeter, England. He has been writing textbooks and other materials for children for over thirty years, having published over sixty books. His work is for all age and ability ranges. The connecting theme in his materials for children is their active engagement in solving historical problems through participating in enquiries that require them to develop their own understanding of the past. This they do with the full support of the teacher at every stage. Jon can be contacted at J.D.Nichol@ex.ac.uk.

David Treharne is an Education Lecturer at the School of Education and Lifelong Learning, University of Exeter, England. He teaches on the PGCE History Secondary Course and provides a Citizenship input on the course, as well as teaching the Citizenship specialist group. He is at present researching the embedding of the Citizenship Curriculum in Secondary Schools, the impact of 'Fast Track' History trainees in schools and developing History and Citizenship materials. He is a member of the ITT CitEd group, which reports directly to the DfES and is undertaking work on the comparative impact of the Citizenship Curriculum in England and New Zealand. David can be contacted at D.A.Treharne@ex.ac.uk.

Jason Nicholls is a doctoral research student at the Department of Educational Studies, University of Oxford, England. His current research, funded by the ESRC, involves the comparative analysis of representations of World War Two in the school history textbooks of formerly belligerent and non-belligerent states. In particular, he is interested in the epistemological and methodological dimensions that underpin comparative research. Before commencing his doctorate he taught at schools, colleges and universities in the UK, Japan, China, Argentina and the US. He is currently involved in teaching comparative and international education at the University of Oxford as well as post-compulsory teacher education at the Institute of Education, University of London.

Penelope Harnett is a principal lecturer in primary education at the Faculty of Education, University of the West of England. Her research interests include curriculum policy and young children's learning in history and she has published widely in this field. She is currently editor of *Primary History*, a teaching journal published by the Historical Association. Penelope has also been responsible for developing

curriculum materials to facilitate young children's learning in history. Penelope can be contacted at Penelope.Harnett@uwe.ac.uk.

Jacqui Dean is Senior Lecturer in the Carnegie Faculty of Sport and Education at Leeds Metropolitan University, England, working in both Initial and Continuing Teacher Education; she is also honorary University Fellow of Exeter University. She has taught in schools and universities in South Africa, Australia and England. Over the past eight years she has directed three Nuffield Foundation-funded projects, the most recent of which has had a significant impact on the post-Apartheid history curriculum in South Africa. She is currently co-director of the Nuffield Primary History Project. Research interests: teacher development; management of personal and professional change through action research and reflective practice; teaching, learning and knowledge construction; identity and citizenship; literacy learning through history.