

Editorial: Old Wine, New Bottles: National Identity, Citizenship and the History Curriculum for the 21st Century

When IJHTLR was a figment of the imagination, the editorial team produced a declaration of intent, a mission statement for the putative journal that has since given a sense of purpose and direction:

History Education permeates the fabric of modern society. In Europe, apparently the only countries who leave history off the curriculum post-14 are Albania and Britain. The teaching and learning of history is often a source of heated public and private argument, impinging upon the worlds of politics, nationalism and cultural identity. Yet there is no forum where findings located at the intersection between scholarship, research and the classroom can be reported, reviewed and debated to inform and even influence political discourse.

Most of the papers that make up the first edition of the journal reflect the idea that history education is too important to be left up to either politicians or educationalists. In relation to society's perceived intent for education, no matter how inchoately or incoherently expressed, history education sits uncomfortably at the intersection between the worlds of politics, journalism, educational research and scholarship and the teaching communities of schools and colleges. As such, history teachers are caught up in tensions generated through the rapid and exponentially accelerating changes that reflect a world in which nationalism, and belief in the myths which sustain it, is still an active force despite movements for pan-nationalist cooperation and even integration, and the impact of globalisation. Within Britain, pan-nationalism in Europe might appear to the public, teachers and students to be a question of deciding on the shape of cucumbers, the number of cod to be caught from the North Sea and the role of bureaucrats in Brussels. In countries like Poland, located at the intersection between the 20th century nationalisms of German and Russia the perception is different. Thus in a seminar we ran in Cracow for undergraduates in 1998, the question 'would you prefer to be ruled from Brussels, Berlin or Moscow' elicited a single, overwhelming response - Brussels, please. Globalisation is a related issue - the extent to which in a world of international economic organisations and instant communication and decision making either the nation-state or the pan-national community can protect the interests of its citizens. Linked to decisions taken on a world-wide scale and outside the control of national or pan-national politicians is the recognition of global concerns and issues that require a united response - be they issues of war and peace, global warming, monetary management, trading regulations or the movement of people. Yet within history education the globalist perspective of politicians sits uncomfortably alongside their prioritisation of national and even parochial interests.

Nationalism emerged as a dominant ideology in the 19th century. The first half of the 20th century saw the world ripped apart in a succession of wars fought in its name. The second half of the century witnessed a Pax Americana in which the tension between America and her allies and the perceived global threat from the Soviet Union and China preserved a global peace. Yet, at the same time, the political edifices of the 19th century empires were cracking and disintegrating along nationalistic lines. The collapse of the European empires, themselves expressions and extensions of nationalism, resulted in the emergence of nations often within the carapace of the administrative structures and within the colonial boundaries of their former imperial masters. The most extreme recent case has been the breakup of the USSR, with the new nation states emerging fully fledged from the chrysalises of their respective Soviet republics: same boundaries, same bureaucracy, same educational system, same communications and transport systems and same politicians - but with a disintegrated supra-national economic framework. Nationalism, with its political, cultural and moral imperative, permeates the consciousness of the 'political nation' despite its open adherence to other philosophies and creeds.

Nowhere in education do the values, beliefs and concerns of the 'political nation' express themselves more strongly than in their views on the formal teaching of history or its covert presence within the curriculum in the guise of 'social studies'. History, and history education, becomes a live political issue and concern within nation states at points of evolution or transition. Different nation states respond to the challenge of a new or revised national identity in different ways. Context and circumstance dictate the political response to the educational challenge - a response that may not even involve those previously and currently involved in the development, implementation, assessment, monitoring and revision of the history curriculum. History education becomes too important to be left to historians, history educationalists and teachers. History is about the individual and collective psyche; it informs notions of citizenship and how people see themselves.

Thus, South Africa, upon the collapse of Apartheid, was faced with the problem of reconciling its past with its future. One alternative to reconciling the historically irreconcilable was to promote a view of the past based upon collective amnesia. Robert Siebörger examines different responses in a society that included strong support for a 'period of denial about its past'. In South Africa, not only was revisiting the past considered too painful, but it was also feared that history as a school subject would exacerbate tensions, divisions and fissiparous tendencies. The political nation's response was to create a curriculum that deliberately excluded the historians' and history educators' voices. Instead of a subject with a substantive and syntactic base, the government created a content free, skills-based Outcomes Based Education [OBE] curriculum. As in the primary curriculum for Northern Ireland, by leaving out anything that is potentially controversial there is a danger that pupils fail to see its relevance.

The implementation in South Africa of the OBE curriculum has proved unsatisfactory: a government review has recommended a radical revision with the re-introduction of history as a discrete curricular subject aimed at promoting learners' sense of national and international identity. The problems of implementing such a curriculum are immense, relating as they do to the existing teacher stock of skills, knowledge, understanding, values and attitudes. Jacqui Dean, in *Coping with Curriculum Change in South Africa*, explores in detail a project for the re-education and re-training of an annual cohort of some 12 History teacher trainers/advisors and history teachers within the Western Cape. Here there is a conscious attempt to implement a teacher education/training model based upon action research linked to reflective practice. The project grounded personal development in a cycle of demonstration and modelling of good practice, followed by implementation of ideas and approaches within the project members' own educational context. Through this approach, the project hoped to alter the teachers' orientation and praxis in a direction that subsequently the South African government's review of the OBE curriculum has recommended!

The central issue that the Siebörger and Dean papers raised, the historical education that students are entitled for citizenship, was also addressed within a second new national context, that of Rumania. Laura Capita, Hilary Cooper and Iosif Mogos in *History, Children's Thinking and Creativity In The Classroom: England and Romanian Perspectives* report upon a small-scale project that initially focused upon the quality of questioning as a factor in developing critical thinking in pupils. The comparative study however raised within the context of a single reviewed lesson the issue of creativity and the open-ended, affective, expansive, exploratory and imaginative thinking that this promotes. If we are attempting to promote a curriculum which develops the cognitive qualities that citizens of a modern state should be entitled to acquire, then is the issue of creativity one that the history education community needs to address? How can creativity, linked in to notions of 'involvement of students in the learning activities' be developed within our existing curricula? One facet is to harness the power of the microcomputer to the ability of children to both undertake historical investigations and express their understanding through tools that the computer provides. Kate Watson, Kevin O'Connell and Derek Brough report upon a

curriculum development project using a readily and universally available tool - hyperlink. As with the Romanian example, *Hyperlink: A Generic Tool for Exploratory and Expressive Teaching and Learning in History* focuses upon an approach in which the expressive creativity of the teacher has allowed the pupils to be involved in exploratory, open-ended thinking.

The complexity of historical thinking, both from the pupils' and teachers' perspectives is central to Shari Levine Rose's *Fourth Graders Theorize Prejudice in American History* and to Penelope Harnett's *History in the Primary School: Re-Shaping Our Pasts. The Influence of Primary School Teachers' Knowledge and Understanding of History on Curriculum Planning and Implementation*. Shari Levine's article locates pupil thinking in the richness of contextualised knowledge that they can bring to the classroom, both individually and collectively. Through the fusion of 'school' history with 'life' history it suggests that we can encourage and promote a level of understanding in pupils of complex citizenship issues that relate directly to their adult roles. As such, it is a supremely optimistic paper that suggests a possible solution to the question of teaching history within the new nation states of Europe, Africa and Asia. Penelope Harnett reviews the complexity of teacher knowledge and understanding that underpins, shapes and forms their classroom practice. The lesson to be learned is the danger of top-down government curricular and training initiatives that do not reflect the complexity of the teaching and learning situation

The breadth of experiences furnishes a contrast with the current standardised and utilitarian initial teacher training curriculum which focuses on the acquisition of a narrow range of standards and provides little opportunity for reflection (DfEE, 1998). The primary teachers within the case studies were able to transform the written curriculum into meaningful experiences for their children. They did this by reflecting on their own knowledge and beliefs and linking them to their evaluations of the needs and interests of their children.

Penelope echoes Jacqui Dean's report on the South African training initiative. Its implication is that the implementation of a history curriculum for citizenship based upon the liberal values that governments support will require an extensive programme of teacher re-education and training that is far more sophisticated than one based upon a technicist, competency-based approach. Petr Baranov brings us face-to-face with the problems of the interface between history education and education for citizenship. *Some Russian Approaches to Civil Education: Problems and Perspectives: The Historical Perspective* raises fundamental questions about the attitudes, values and perspectives of a society grounded in an authoritarian culture. In identifying possible 'growth points' for citizenship education within the family, the peer group and approaches to teaching and learning that assimilate citizenship attitudes, values and behaviours, it has explicit messages for the professional development of history teachers both within Russia and elsewhere.

All of the papers in this edition reflect on the complexity of historical education when set against the rapidly evolving and changing contexts of nation states and the Zeitgeist of their 'political nations'. Keith Crawford in *Researching the Ideological and Political Role of the History Textbook - Issues and Methods* reflects upon the implications of this for textbooks, a major if not the major vehicle for history education:

... school textbook knowledge is socially constructed and ... evidence from national education systems strongly suggests that textbook content is manufactured by powerful groups who see it as being central in the creation of particular forms of collective national memory designed to meet specific cultural, economic and social goals.

Robert Guyver's review of *Approaches to European Historical Consciousness - Reflections and Provocations*, and Joke van der Leeuw-Roord's *Working With History: National Identity as a Focal Point in European History Education* address both the question of the nature of history education within the

European context and the issue of what kind of history education we should support. As with the other papers in this edition, the focus is upon the promotion of critical, informed thinking that rest upon a set of shared assumptions about the nature of civic society. Joke van der Leeuw argues for a common approach to history teaching that develops a sense of the past base upon three precepts:

- understanding that different interpretations of the past, develop or construct different understandings of the present and influence different options for the future;
- pupils should be able to understand the world they are living in and to understand how it came about;
- these issues should be related to elements such as space, perspective and perception.

A central, unresolved concern is for the history education community to inform and influence those groups within the 'political nation' that determine the nature of the history curriculum and related initial teacher training and continuing professional development. As this edition suggests, the 'political nation' reflects a view of history based both upon a mythic, nationalist re-invention of the past and a view of history and its teaching as the transmission of knowledge about that mythic past to a new generation of citizens. The role of the history education community is to educate our masters to see history teaching as a factor in the entitlement of children to be members of plural, liberal and democratic societies that respect the rights of all, irrespective of gender, race or creed.

Good history teaching can diffuse the worst effects of nationalism by maintaining higher standards of scholarship and philosophical integrity. Jörn Rüsen's critique of the errors of ethnocentric history wisely identifies three lacunae, though his first and third points are closely connected:

- dualism of values where the positive evaluation of one's own history is set against the negative evaluation of the history of others;
- "Whiggism" - an unbroken continuity, tracing one's own development from origins to the present and relevant projections of the future;
- a clear location of one's own positive development at the centre of history in terms of time and space and a corresponding discriminating marginalization of others' histories.

(Cf. Rüsen, in Macdonald, 2000, p. 81, as reviewed by Guyver in this edition of IJHTLR.)

This can be turned into two important recommendations. The history of 'other' countries and communities should be respected, and not just marginalised or seen in a negative light. The development of any nation is never an unbroken continuity from its origins, and should not be seen as always central to global developments even where there are clear parallels elsewhere. Underpinning any choice of substantive contexts should be a clear commitment to fostering objectivity and creativity in historical thinking, though many teachers of history are struggling to do this against the current of politicised curricula and school systems. The principles behind the highest standards of scholarship in history can and should equate with the highest standards of citizenship.

History in the Primary School; Re-Shaping Our Pasts. The Influence of Primary School Teachers' Knowledge and Understanding of History on Curriculum Planning and Implementation.

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Abstract *The article reviews different views of school history and questions the extent to which official policy is implemented in schools and classrooms. It suggests that the origins of many of the beliefs which primary teachers hold in relation to history are located within their own experiences of learning history and their family backgrounds and interests. Ways in which these beliefs about history impact on teachers' curriculum decision making are explored through individual case studies. In terms of classroom practice, the article explores the relationship between teachers' historical knowledge and understanding and their pedagogical beliefs about children's learning. In the discussion, the important mediating influence of teachers in implementing policy is acknowledged and issues for further consideration are raised.*

Teaching history in schools: changing rationales and changing histories.

Over the past hundred years shifts in the rationale for teaching history in schools have occurred. As the present becomes the past, changes arise in beliefs about what constitutes history and what a study of the past should involve. In the early years of the twentieth century, history was regarded as an important subject for moral training, as, 'the lives of great men and women, carefully selected from all stations of life, will furnish the most impressive examples of obedience, loyalty, courage, strenuous effort, serviceableness, indeed of all the qualities which make for good citizenship' (Board of Education, 1905, p. 5). It could be argued that as the influence of the church over education declined, historical stories were providing exemplars of moral behaviours for children to emulate. Straightforward stories about famous characters (mainly men) and their contributions to the nation's and empire's well being were advocated.

The slaughter of the first world war tempered strong nationalistic histories, and the importance of learning about other countries' histories and the work of the League of Nations was emphasised in the 1920s. As child centred ideas gained credence in official circles, the importance of history for developing children's own sense of identity was increasingly acknowledged. History offered opportunities for building on children's own enthusiasms and extending their imaginations. Progressive ideas incorporated within Plowden's report on primary education emphasised the importance of learning about children's personal histories and local studies. Topic approaches permitted linkages to be developed with a range of subjects (CACE, 1967).

The above rationales for learning history are included within the different versions of the history National Curriculum which outline the content for children's progress in history from ages 5 to 14. History's contribution to citizenship education and its potential for generating children's enthusiasm and interest are acknowledged in the National Curriculum (DES, 1991; DfEE & QCA, 1999). In addition, specific skills and distinctive ways of conducting historical enquiries are also included. For example, the current history National Curriculum includes in its statements about the importance of history, 'History fires pupils' curiosity about the past in Britain and the wider world. Pupils consider how the past influences the present, what past societies were like, how these societies organised their politics, and what beliefs and cultures influenced people's actions.....In history, pupils find evidence, weigh it up and reach their own conclusions. To do this they need to be able to research, sift through evidence, and argue for their point of view.' (DfEE & QCA 1999, p. 103).

The breadth of aims, and the Programme of Study within the history National Curriculum require primary

teachers to have a complex and detailed knowledge of the subject. In this respect, teaching history provides a challenge for many primary school teachers, who are also expected to develop a depth of knowledge about a further seven foundation subjects as well as the core subjects of maths, English and science.

From policy to practice; implementing the curriculum

Curriculum implementation, however, does not always correspond with official rhetoric. For example, there is evidence that many of the progressive ideas included within the Plowden Report were not incorporated within primary schools in the 1960s and 1970s (Galton & Simon, 1980; Simon, 1981; Gammage, 1987) In their 1978 Primary Survey, HMI (Her Majesty's Inspectors) present a picture of very narrow curriculum provision, with a concentration on the basics (DES, 1978).

Within the last decade, it might appear that the statutory requirements of the National Curriculum with its Programmes of Study for different subjects introduced in 1990 and 1991 would ensure greater congruence between official policy and classroom practice. Several studies however, indicate that official policy is often mediated in practice (Bowe & Ball, 1992; Helbsy and Saunders, 1993; Pollard et al.,1994; Croll, 1996; Phillips, 1998). Ball & Bowe (1992) identify constant 'curriculum slippage' as teachers implement policy texts. A number of variables may be identified as contributing to such slippage, including resourcing and institutional constraints. However, a key factor remains teachers' own subject knowledge and understanding and their interpretations of curriculum requirements. These understandings are based on a complex set of beliefs and values deriving from teachers' personal experiences and career histories.

Teachers' beliefs and values and pedagogical content knowledge

The range of factors which influence teachers' decision making is identified within Shulman's description of teachers' pedagogical content knowledge, which he describes as a blend between knowledge of content and knowledge of the diverse factors which effect its implementation in the classroom (Shulman,1987). The influence of Shulman's work can be seen in the work of Peterson et al. (1989), McDiarmid et al. (1989), Grossman (1989), Ormrod & Cole (1996) and Askew et al. (1997) where different components of pedagogical knowledge are identified.

In terms of history, John (1991) suggests that secondary history teachers' knowledge draws on a range of elements to inform planning and teaching, which incorporate personal beliefs and values, knowledge and understanding of history and an awareness of educational contexts. A more complex model of teachers' subject knowledge is developed by Turner Bisset (1999) who includes John's elements and also stresses the dynamic nature of teachers' knowledge as it is developed in day to day classroom interactions. The eleven components of her knowledge bases for teaching include substantive and syntactic subject knowledge and curriculum knowledge, alongside general pedagogical knowledge and knowledge derived from teachers' classroom experiences.

This broad range of factors which influences teachers' decision making and curriculum implementation can account for the variations in interpretations of official policy. Knowledge and understanding of the subject are layered across educational concerns such as children's learning, effective teaching strategies and respect for the outcomes of education.

The history National Curriculum requires primary teachers to have knowledge of history's syntactical and substantive understandings. Substantive knowledge comprises the series of facts and concepts that can form a network of semantic understandings. This aspect of historical knowledge is embedded within the areas of study and study units in the Programme of Study. Syntactic knowledge relates to the truth claims of particular

disciplines; it concerns the procedures of the discipline and how valid judgements may be made (Schwab, 1964). In this respect teachers are expected to be familiar with skills and understandings of the subject, outlined in the Programme of Study for history.

History teachers and pedagogical content knowledge

However, whilst the distinction between syntactical and substantive knowledge is helpful for describing different kinds of subject knowledge, in practice both components are often very dependant on each other. Different historical enquiries influence both the selection of historical knowledge and its interpretation. This interdependence of syntactical and substantive knowledge is acknowledged within the history National Curriculum. Phillips (1998) describes how members of the History Working Group fought hard to link the acquisition of historical knowledge with children's development in historical skills in their recommendations for the first version of the National Curriculum. Thus a first version of the National Curriculum incorporates Knowledge and Understanding in history within the assessment target Attainment Target 1 (DES, 1991). A second version of the history National Curriculum recommends that historical content in the history study units and areas of study is to be taught alongside Key Elements incorporating historical skills and concepts (DFE, 1995), and the most recent history National Curriculum links skills and understanding with knowledge acquired within different history study units and areas of study (DfEE & QCA, 1999).

The dialectic relationship between substantive and syntactical history knowledge is identified in Evans' (1994) study of secondary history teachers. His typology of history teachers indicates that their beliefs about history influence both selection of content and ways in which they teach the subject. Five broad categories of history teachers emerge from Evans' data: storyteller; scientific/historian; relativist/reformer; cosmic philosopher and eclectic. Storyteller teachers emphasise the importance of telling children about events and people in history to gain cultural knowledge and a sense of identity. Scientific/historian teachers focus on historical explanation and interpretation, valuing analytical and research skills and approaching history with an element of objectivity. An emphasis on the importance of an historical perspective for understanding current issues, creating a 'better world' and learning from past mistakes is a feature of relativist/reformer teachers. Cosmic philosophers search for general laws and patterns in history and eclectics are teachers who do not respond to any particular typology.

Evans' study (1994) acknowledges the important influence of family, personal backgrounds and teachers' own beliefs and values on their professional identities and work practices. He suggests that teachers within different typologies share similar backgrounds and interests and that teachers' conceptions of history can also be related to their political beliefs.

This close relationship between teachers' personal and professional identities is also in evidence in several studies of teachers' lives (Middleton, 1993; Goodson & Walker, 1991; Goodson, 1992; Goodson, 1995). Nias (1989) explores teachers' private and professional identities and suggests that teachers' own identities are interlinked with their teaching roles in terms of personal fulfilment.

In considering the implementation of the history National Curriculum within primary schools, account needs to be taken of both teachers' knowledge of history and their personal beliefs and values. The history curriculum presents one view of history. Teachers are surrounded by history in their everyday lives. They have a view on the past - which may or may not always correspond to school history, prescribed in the curriculum. The different ways in which teachers' views concur with the history National Curriculum and relate to their beliefs about education and children's learning are analysed in the following case studies.

Researching primary teachers' pedagogical content knowledge in history

The research with primary teachers outlined below took into account different beliefs and rationales for teaching history and insights gained from earlier studies on teachers' pedagogical content knowledge (John, 1991, Turner Bisset, 1991). Data relating to primary teachers' knowledge and understanding of history and their implementation of the history curriculum in primary schools were obtained through interviews with individual primary school teachers.

Key areas for analysis were identified which were then broken down into further categories as different issues began to emerge from the data. The structure for analysis which evolved is outlined below.

Key areas for discussion	Additional categories
Teachers' backgrounds and interests	a) the influence of teachers' family and childhood b) teachers' own school experiences c) teachers' current interests and leisure pursuits d) teachers' qualifications e) teachers' career details
Teachers' general beliefs about education	Teachers' responses to; a) the 'basics' b) curriculum breadth and balance c) personal and social development d) education as process e) curriculum integration
Teachers' views on history and the history National Curriculum	Teachers' views on; a) the rationale for history as a subject b) internal aspects of history as a school subject c) ways of teaching and learning history d) subject classification and the relationship of history with other subjects

Responses by individual teachers to these different areas were noted and discussed at collaborative meetings

which served to verify initial impressions and analysis. In addition, data maps were made of individual teacher's responses to these different areas. Words and phrases which teachers frequently used were plotted on a data map, which enabled the identification of key concerns and issues. More detailed comments which further illuminated teachers' understanding of these words and phrases were then added and connections between them traced.

Common features within the data maps were identified, together with the frequency with which teachers referred to them. Comparing the data maps of individual teachers also enabled the identification of different emphases which teachers placed on their history teaching. The frequency of comments which related to the key issues which teachers had mentioned were noted and compared with the clusterings on the data maps. Through charting the frequency of certain comments, some conclusions about the main beliefs and emphases of individual teachers concerning history and history teaching were reached, which were evaluated within Evans' (1994) typology of history teachers. Grids noting the frequency of teachers' comments relating to Evans' different typologies were constructed.

The following case studies reveal the diversity of beliefs about history and ways in which it is taught in primary schools. They provide insights into ways in which primary teachers' knowledge and understanding of history is layered within their educational beliefs and values.

a) Harriet

Harriet was an experienced teacher, deputy head and humanities co-ordinator of an inner city junior school, who had been teaching since 1972, with a career break for raising a family. She had a broad range of teaching experience ranging from nursery-aged children to A level Geography and had taught in a language centre for Asian children from Uganda. Harriet had also taught for several years in India.

Harriet had an A level in history, and history had also been part of her degree. She had not enjoyed her degree work in history which had repeated work she had done at A level, and said that her disappointment in this subject had, *'given me an agenda about how I teach history.'* Following a secondary PGCE course, Harriet had undertaken several in-service courses including an history/geography project under the auspices of an inner city rejuvenation scheme.

Looking back on her own experience of learning history, Harriet remembered being bored by A level note taking and the detentions which ensued if notes were not correctly written up. Yet she also remembered particular, *'dynamic'*, and *'interesting'* teachers who *'really knew how to communicate.'* She recalled two particular history teachers who were, *'always full of story telling.'*

Harriet remembered her parents and grandparents telling her stories when she was little and believed that this had really helped her to understand her roots and appreciate the concept of time. She contrasted her experience with those of present day children who lack an appreciation of time because, *'they haven't got the background of it, whereas I think hearing those stories about India, and you know, bombs and wars from my own parents, right as far as I can remember, perhaps as early as two or three and my grandfather taking me in his old vegetable van round the streets*

Whilst working in India, Harriet had become fascinated by Indian history, culture and the architecture and had travelled extensively around the country. Her other interests in history were very far ranging, including the Reformation in Germany, haemophiliacs within the royal family, eastern Europe, Germany, art and architecture and anthropology. She also hoped to do some research on her own family's genealogy. Harriet enjoyed watching TV documentaries and the news. On holiday, her family would visit sites of historic interest

Harriet's interests and family background were reflected in her views of history and the way she taught it in school. Drawing on her own experiences she was able to comment, *'And the most important thing for a primary teacher is to be interested in the subject and to be able to inspire the children.'* Harriet talked about the successful visit of a member of the local history association to the school, talking about his life in the community as a coal miner. She noted that the children were able to listen for over an hour and commented that they were, *'spellbound....and that's how it should be.'* A further group of children had been taught about the Indus Valley by another teacher who was, *'seriously excited about history.'*

Harriet's experience of listening to family stories had also impacted on the way she felt history should be taught. She commented that stories enabled her to get ideas over and that she always started with a story. *'That's how you grab them in the beginning, the story telling bit.that is probably my most effective strategy.'*

Harriet recalled the days when people in communities listened to the stories of, *'scholars who were seriously interested in what they were teaching.'* She suggested that if teachers were not interested in history in school, then the school should go out into the community and invite those with an interest in history to come in. Harriet's enthusiasm for local history was connected with her beliefs that through learning about history and the locality children developed their, *'cultural understanding'*, and also the *'sense of being rooted.'* Many examples from the interview data emerged of how Harriet took the children out into the local community to learn about their history and to look for evidence of the past in their surroundings.

Harriet criticised the history National Curriculum for lacking continuity and being too piecemeal. It *'ruins motivation'*, she commented. However, her strongest complaint was that, *'...they have not given people the freedom to develop the interest of the community. You can't impose on a community where they should start learning history, because I sort of think it has to begin with roots and local stuff...'* Her views on history also influenced her comments on the distinctive methodology employed by historians. *'I don't think historians have got a methodology, because if there's a sort of sense of belonging and story telling and part of culture, there isn't a methodology to that... I want to see history as, because history is an art. I think of methodology as being a science.'*

In terms of Harriet's views we can see that they most closely identify with those of Evans' (1994) storyteller teachers concerned with passing on cultural traditions.

Type of history teacher	Number of instances when comments on background and experience can be related to different types of history teacher.	Number of instances when comments on views of history can be related to different types of history teacher.
Storyteller	14	29
Scientific/historian	1	10
Relativist/reformer		1

The absence of any strong storytelling tradition within Key Stage 2 and the lack of emphasis on local history cause Harriet to criticise the history National Curriculum.

Harriet's vision of culture includes grass roots culture and the culture of the community, not just the inculcation of knowledge about the great and good. Her views are also tempered by the developmental needs of children in the ways in which she describes how to interest children in the subject through 'hands on' activities and inspiring teachers. There is evidence from the data which illustrates that Harriet is responding in creative ways to the history National Curriculum and interpreting it within her own beliefs about history and education.

b) Ruth

Ruth taught year 4 (8-9 years old) children in a large primary school in a city suburb. She was an experienced teacher who had qualified in the 1960s and had been teaching for 15 years full time, with various other temporary and part time appointments. Her teaching experience ranged from reception aged children (4-5 years old) to year 6 (10-11 years old).

At primary school Ruth had enjoyed doing history topics and researching her own information about various historical periods. Her interest in history had continued at secondary school although she admitted that historical study had involved a lot of dates.

The close relationship between Ruth's professional and personal identity was revealed as she described how much she enjoyed teaching history and that prior to teaching any topic she bought books and enjoyed researching the area. Ruth was keen to pass on this enthusiasm to her children. *'I always say to the children that come into my class, that I enjoy history, and they are going to enjoy it by the time they leave, and I have had several children come to me and said " I really love history now".'*

Ruth viewed history as important since it related to contemporary life. Many of the classroom examples which she gave of her practice included developing children's awareness of particular issues such as unemployment, racism and other social issues. She was very keen to *' link the present with the context of the past.'* Ruth also contrasted saving resources in the second world war to current concerns about the environment and compared wars in the past, with reasons why there was continued conflict in Europe today.

Ruth used history as a vehicle to help children understand people's motivation for their actions and their feelings. She explained how talking about the Jews and Hitler's treatment of them had extended children's awareness of racism, and was keen to point out that children could relate talking about other people's feelings to their own social behaviour, *'...you know why people behave in certain ways , and there are probably reasons for it, and I think it helps them to become a more full person. I mean they will look at people in different ways, so it is important for their development socially.'*

Ruth's approach in the classroom was to foster a *'spirit of enquiry,we're detectives and we have got to find out, there is some evidence that we've got, some sources that we've got....'* Raising questions and developing critical judgements were central. *'I think the most important thing that history can do is making children think, and to think for themselves that all the knowledge that has been given them, is it true? Reading different accounts in different books, which one is right? and actually forming opinions for themselves.'*

To achieve this, Ruth believed that she needed to do a great deal of preparation in the classroom to make historical ideas and concepts accessible to children. She gave many examples of activities which she did with children to help them grasp the significance of particular issues. In this respect she was very much drawing on Brunerian notions of the curriculum spiral; that children are capable of engaging with all subjects provided they are presented in a meaningful way to them and in ways in which they can understand. *'You can't just give them the facts and the information, I think with primary age children you have got to do so much foundation work to start with before you actually start putting the knowledge that you are supposed to cover in the National*

Curriculum...you need to do an awful lot of background with the children before you start giving them the knowledge about the Greeks.'

Ruth welcomed the history National Curriculum, but she did feel that it contained too much and this could result in teachers being tempted to teach just the facts and neglect the enquiry skills. However, Ruth had a good grasp of the subject herself and it is possible that she perceived the study of history in greater depth than most of her colleagues in school.

Ruth's classroom practice clearly reflected the views which she articulated. When I visited her in school, Ruth was preparing a lesson which focused on selecting an appropriate place to build a settlement. She explained how she planned to organise the activity and how it built on earlier work. In earlier work, children had discussed people's general needs for shelter, security, food and water. This was the background knowledge which Ruth had stressed was so important in her first interview. Using a map showing a river and marsh, wood and heathlands, the children had discussed possible sites for an Anglo-Saxon settlement. They located the settlement taking into account different needs as well as the geographical terrain.

The activity which I observed developed from this work and children were again asked to consider the possible site of a settlement taking into account different geographical features. In this instance, the map which the children were given was of Bristol in Anglo Saxon times, although the children were not told that it was of Bristol until later on. Ruth hoped this would involve, *'using the knowledge that the children have and actually sort of finding out things themselves.'* The activity which Ruth organised reveals evidence of her enquiry approach to history; she organised a problem solving activity which would enable children to make links between the past and their present locality and which would enable children to identify some key features of settlements. She commented, *'..well I think they are looking at the past and how sites develop and perhaps thinking about, you know, how a town would grow, and perhaps using it as a link with later on if they look at XXXXX(locality of the school) and how that's grown and sort of houses, and how they can look at buildings and see how old they are.... and how settlements need certain things, like probably churches and town halls and different sorts of people trading...'*

Ruth also drew attention to cross curricular links, particularly those with geography as children worked to develop their understanding from the maps. When she evaluated her lesson, Ruth recognised that many of her learning intentions had been achieved. She commented that, *'they were learning hopefully to look at a situation and bring the knowledge that they already had having done a similar exercise, and realising that you have got to look at all points of view, for all things that were important, and assessing it....they were learning about history, but also about how to have discussion and arrive at decisions.'*

Ruth's emphasis on problem solving approaches and explaining current social issues could connect her with Evans' (1994) concept of relativist/reformer teachers. She described many ways in which she attempts to make the curriculum accessible for children, building on their current interests and understanding which accords with developmental perspectives of the curriculum. Attention to analysing different sources of evidence also aligns Ruth with scientific historians. Interestingly, storytelling appears less significant in Ruth's approaches to teaching history.

Type of history teacher	Number of instances when comments on background and experience can be related to different types of history teacher.	Number of instances when comments on views of history can be related to different types of history teacher.
Storyteller	1	13
Scientific/historian	1	17
Relativist/reformer	2	21

c) Anne

Anne had been teaching since 1985 and was currently teaching a year 4 (8-9 years old) class in a junior school. Her teaching experience had ranged across the whole of Key Stage 2 (7-11 years old) and she had also taught year 2 children (6-7 years old) in a former school.

Anne could remember little history being taught to her in her primary school in the late 1960s and early 70s, apart from a little history on her local town. Her chief memories were of topic work, which were largely dependant on her teachers' interests.

At secondary level her enthusiasm for history diminished. She remembered taking *'loads of notes, which you learned by heart for an exam question'*, and remembered nothing, *'practical or skill based.'* This approach had put Anne off learning history and still effected her in that she was reluctant to read books about the Victorian era, although she did, *'really enjoy 'rabbiting' with records and things and census returns.'* Anne had an O level in bi-lingual history and her degree had included some modern European history and politics.

Anne had a broad interest in history which included archaeology and she spoke of her archaeologist husband who acted as a personal guide to the different sites which they visited. She enjoyed well researched historical narratives and some history programmes on TV such as the Time Team.

Anne enjoyed history since she liked, *'finding out how things were, how they've affected now.'* She spoke of her fascination in touching an old artefact and recalling all the other people who had touched it previously, or viewing the landscape and thinking about how it had changed. Looking for evidence of the past was important for Anne's enjoyment. *'...that is really what makes it interesting for me - is being able to develop my own ideas about the past or about something by looking at the evidence that has been left behind, whether that's a site or an artefact or whatever.'*

From an early age Anne's family had interested her in history. Her grandmother had taken her to visit stately homes and shown her around London where she lived. Consequently, Anne commented, *'I was indoctrinated I think really from a very early age, and that's how I started - going around all the stately homes. And that's when I was little I saw history as happening in stately homes and not anywhere else....'* Anne felt that this grounding in history had remained with her and had developed her subsequent interest in pre Victorian times. She also recognised the influence of her childhood on her current teaching practice. *'I would like to communicate my own interest to the children in the same way that maybe my grandmother did with me..'*

Anne's personal interest in investigating different sources as evidence of the past is apparent in the teaching approaches which she emphasised in her classroom. Anne focused on enquiry skills, teaching children how to find out from a range of evidence. She commented, *'So although I think that yes history is linked with facts, I don't think the facts are as important as the skills. I think the skills are much more important.'*

Consequently when Anne discussed her curriculum planning she described how she would prefer to begin with skills and to incorporate facts as appropriate. Thus she explained, *'my class have been practising looking at what Roman writers said about themselves and about other people,and if you knew you were focusing on that I wouldn't be feeling like, well I've got to do Julius Caesar and I've got to do Claudius, and then we have got to go on and do the Iceni, the rebellion, and all the rest of it, and we had better have a look at everyday life as well. I would far rather say to myself I want to look at Roman writings and how that might be biased, and along the way I would be doing those things....I would rather see it that way I think, rather than you have got to do this long list of facts and events, and this body of historical knowledge.'*

This approach which most closely resembles Evans'(1994) scientific historian, however was an approach which Anne developed in all curriculum areas. *'I mean if you think about it the way of examining history and looking at evidence and weighing it up, it's the same as science in a way isn't it? You are conducting an investigation and there you are weighing up what you have observed, the evidence what you have gathered from your scientific experiment, and drawing conclusions from it, and that's really, a similar way of working an investigational technique to history.'*

Anne concluded, *'I have always felt that the National Curriculum would have been better done, rather than items of knowledge that you will know, would have been very much better done from a skills base.'*

In this respect there was a congruence in Anne's beliefs about history and the views which she held on children's learning and the aims of primary education in general. Anne very much viewed children's learning in holistic terms and wanted to create a unified curriculum. It was for this reason that she disliked National Curriculum with its separate subject boxes which didn't 'mesh' together. Several times during the interviews Anne returned to this theme. She identified history's close links with english in several comments, but was also aware of the links between other curriculum subjects and history. Since the introduction of the literacy hour in September 1998, Anne felt very pressurised for time, and felt that her tight learning objectives did not permit her enough opportunity to develop individual children's interests and meet their different needs.

Anne described her favourite classroom lesson on the Romans where she took in pieces of Roman pottery and the children had to think about the purposes for which the pots might have been used. She explained how she encouraged children to think about the design of the pots and the materials which were being used. Such work addressed two curriculum areas. *'I mean it's history, and it's using historical enquiries, but it's also technology.... I think this is where with time to sit down and actually think those things through, I think a lot of overload can be reduced, and its why I would like to see a curriculum not in 9 separate little boxes.'*

Anne's emphasis on enquiry skills and the cross curricular nature of the primary curriculum was revealed in the lesson which I observed. The lesson on historical maps developed from work in geography and also earlier work which had focused on the derivations of local street names. During the activity, Anne wanted children to sequence a series of maps of the same area and explain the reasons for their order. Maps of the local area were chosen since Anne felt they were real for the children. She wanted children to have an appreciation of change and continuity and also of using maps as evidence. Alongside these aims, Anne's other focus was on children presenting and communicating their investigations in an interesting way. She wanted the children to work together, *'so there is a lot of sort of PSE (personal and social education) issues coming in out of it as well.'*

When she evaluated the lesson, Anne spoke of her frustration in finding time to work with the two groups and simultaneously managing the rest of the class. She observed that children had acquired ideas about change and continuity and that they, *'were slowly realising that things might change and why they might change.'* Anne recognised links with geography and language development and also noted that broader aims had been achieved in terms of learning habits and organisation. The children had co-operated well in organising their tasks and had thought of ways in which to communicate their findings to others.

Anne's emphasis on methodology contrasts strongly with those teachers emphasising cultural transmission through stories and community traditions and also relativist/reformers, studying history to explain contemporary issues and concerns. Anne did mention myths and legends and the value of story, but did not dwell on these aspects or elaborate them within the interviews.

In terms of Evans' (1994) typology, her approach to teaching history most closely resembles that of scientific historians.

Type of history teacher	Number of instances when comments on background and experience can be related to different types of history teacher.	Number of instances when comments on views of history can be related to different types of history teacher.
Storyteller	9	6
Scientific/historian	7	19
Relativist/reformer	4	8

Discussion

The above case studies provide insights into ways in which teachers' beliefs and interests impact on the implementation of the history curriculum in primary schools. The influence of teachers' background and experience contributes to different interpretations of official policy. Thus it could be argued that the curriculum cannot be imposed from above, but develops from the reality of different encounters within the educational context. Total compliance is not achievable and is a factor which needs to be considered in the current educational climate of accountability, standards and target setting prevalent in English primary schools.

A broad range of aims are incorporated within the current history National Curriculum and the case studies reveal that individual primary teachers emphasise particular aspects more than others. Harriet is concerned with passing down cultural traditions through stories; Ruth employs history to explain current events and focuses on problem solving activities. The development of skills in analysis and deduction are key features of Anne's approaches. In this respect teachers are according different priorities to particular aspects of the history curriculum and to history's syntactical and substantive structures. However, the data also suggest that whilst teachers might emphasise particular features, they do not neglect other areas completely, since comments, albeit fewer are recorded in all other categories.

In terms of the rationales for learning history identified at the beginning of the article, different strands can be

discerned. The potential of history for citizenship education is particularly in evidence from Ruth's comments and to some extent from those of Harriet. However, the notion of citizenship education has altered radically from the beginning of the twentieth century where it comprised generally listening to stories about the great and the good, to a more active approach, involving children in participation and decision making. In line with child centred approaches, all three teachers were keen to generate children's enthusiasm for the subject and their planning took into account children's interests and stages of development. The teachers also encouraged children to raise questions and to draw conclusions from different historical sources. Although Harriet commented that she felt history did not have a methodology, she described several instances when children were encouraged to evaluate evidence either in the classroom or as they worked in their local environment.

Evans' (1994) typology provides a structure for evaluating teachers' different views of history. It enables comparisons to be made between teachers, together with some assessment of the links between personal backgrounds and teaching history. Negative as well as positive experiences of learning history contributed to teachers' teaching strategies and teachers also drew on personal interests to inform their teaching.

The three case studies provide a glimpse of the breadth of teachers' personal interests which ranged over different aspects of history within different historical periods and societies. It could be argued that this breadth enabled teachers to feel confident in their history curriculum decision making; they were aware of what they hoped to achieve and of the strategies through which they might accomplish their aims.

The breadth of experiences furnishes a contrast with the current standardised and utilitarian initial teacher training (ITT) curriculum which focuses on the acquisition of a narrow range of standards and provides little opportunity for reflection (DfEE, 1998). The primary teachers within the case studies were able to transform the written curriculum into meaningful experiences for their children. They did this by reflecting on their own knowledge and beliefs and linking them to their evaluations of the needs and interests of their children. As they talked about history, teachers were constantly making pedagogical connections. As Bennett and Turner Bisset's study (1993) indicates, it is often difficult to distinguish between teachers' pedagogical knowledge and their specific subject knowledge.

The case studies illustrate teachers' important roles in mediating the curriculum and in re-shaping it for the children in their classes. They serve as reminders that in a technical age, personalities are still important and teachers remain powerful influences on children's learning.

The beginning of the article reviewed the development of different rationales for teaching history in school, during the past hundred years. The case studies provide further evidence on how this process continues to occur and ways in which history is legitimated within the curriculum. Questions relating to whose history and who creates the story of the past are raised. Teachers' different interpretations of the history curriculum suggest that history cannot be viewed as a distinct body of knowledge which can be handed down intact to succeeding generations. Rather, it is a fluid cluster of understandings, shared and shaped by everyone who comes into contact with it.

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History, Children's Thinking and Creativity in the Classroom: English and Romanian Perspectives

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Abstract *The article arose incidentally from a research project aiming to identify common features of good practice in teaching history to 10-11 year olds in England and Romania, as a basis for further collaborative development. Analysis revealed lessons characterised by higher-order questioning in both countries, but also raised questions about whether children were learning the process of historical enquiry. One lesson in England, based on pupil activities which was not typical of this sample stimulated discussion of what is meant by 'creativity' in history, and whether this is an integral component in historical thinking.*

Keywords

History teaching, Historical thinking, Teaching strategies in history, International comparisons, Questioning in history, Historical imagination, Activities in history, Creativity in history,

Background to the Discussion

The authors of this paper first met at a 'Meeting of Experts in Educational Research on the Learning and Teaching of History' convened by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg in 1995. (Capita, 1995; Cooper, 1995). The Council of Europe has for many years organised conferences to discuss principles and strategies for good history education. In recent years there have been seminars to support the writing of new curricula in the previously Communist countries of Eastern Europe, but these have had limited influence on classroom practice. It was suggested in Strasbourg that small-scale, classroom-based collaborative case studies may be an effective way of sharing, evaluating, developing and disseminating practice between countries.

Laura Capita and Hilary Cooper responded to the challenge. They began by investigating one of the questions raised at the Strasbourg meeting: what do young children know about the past before their formal history education begins, and how do they acquire that knowledge? (Cooper, 1997; 1999; Capita and Cooper, 1998).

In the summer of 2000, a small research grant made it possible to undertake a new project based on reciprocal visits in order to video-record history lessons taught to three classes of ten-year olds in Bucharest and three classes in Cumbria in an attempt to identify common features of good practice irrespective of National Curriculum, resources or types of schools. These visits provided a rich context for developing shared understanding and dialogues. Images that remain of Bucharest: elegant Belle-Époque buildings as described in the Balkan Trilogy (Manning 1987); Ceausescu's Peoples' Palace; the collection of old wooden farm houses from all over Romania in the Muzeul Satuli which prove that traditional illustrations of European folk tales are true; the flowers and the warm welcome from pupils and teachers in all the schools, their wonderful English, and the ten-year old boy desperate to ask if I had seen Time Watch, 'BBC2 - you should - it's very good'.

The Cumbria context included a visit to Hadrian's Wall, the North-West Frontier of the Roman Empire, symbolically similar to the South-Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire in Romania; the shockingly irrelevant approach to the past of the Smelly Histories, Horrible Histories, and 'Roman bath oil' for sale at Housesteads; the five-year old overheard to ask, 'Are all the baddies the other side the wall?'

Data capture and analysis

The aim of our project was to identify common features of good practice in teaching history to ten-year olds in England and in Romania as a positive foundation for further dialogue between the participating schools. In each of the 3 schools in Bucharest and in Cumbria a lesson considered by the teachers to be typical good practice was video-recorded. It was decided to analyse the lessons using categories of questioning, on the basis that the process of enquiry (learning the questions to ask and appropriate ways of answering them) lies at the heart of history as a discipline. Details of this analysis will be found elsewhere (Cooper, 2000; Capita and Cooper, 2003)

The Egyptian Day

However, one English lesson did not conform to the questioning pattern. When one of the English schools withdrew through illness at short notice, a teacher in another school generously allowed us to video-record an 'Egyptian Day' which traditionally takes place in her Year 6 class on the last day of the Summer term - the very last day in primary school for these pupils - as a conclusion to a unit of study on Ancient Egypt. 'It keeps the children busy right up until the end', she said. One hour during this day was recorded.

The children and teacher were all elaborately dressed as 'Ancient Egyptians' in costumes they had made at home by copying wall paintings or artists' illustrations in reference books. The girls had spent much time on their exotic eye-make up; one explained how the cone on her head was designed to drip perfume throughout the day. Anubis had to remove his dog's head to speak on camera, and a rich merchant displayed his replica jewellery and his slaves. There was constant chatter as they undertook a variety of investigations, in rotating groups throughout the day, to investigate questions about life in Ancient Egypt.

The project had aimed to identify similarities between the English and Romanian lessons. It had developed frameworks for the analysis of questioning which could be applied to all the lessons. But it was differences between the Egyptian Day and the other lessons which intrigued the Romanian researcher. This gave rise to much discussion, both in England, and on her return, with Romanian colleagues. It seemed a very 'creative' approach, she said. But what does this mean when applied to teaching and learning in history, and how important is it? Is it a dimension we should be aiming to achieve, or in fear of losing, and if so why? The discussion in England proceeded as follows.

What is meant by 'Creative Thinking'?

Both in England and in Romania the concepts of 'multi-intelligences' and 'emotional intelligence' are currently familiar.

The report of the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (DfEE (a) 1999 p. 27-39) is a recent attempt to define 'creativity' in the following ways:

- * Creativity is multidimensional. Drawing on recent research on multiple intelligences (e.g. Boden, 1990: 259; Gardner, 1993; White, 1998), creativity is seen as involving all fields of activity.
- * Creativity involves 'playing with ideas' in all areas of work; conducting experiments in mathematics and science or 'writing stories' for example, acquiring insights by making unusual connections. This echoes the work of earlier psychologists who saw creative thinking as the ability to think flexibly, provide a variety of possible solutions to a problem, and to tolerate ambiguity (e.g. Getzels and Jackson, 1962; Torrance, 1962).
- * Creativity involves imaginative and affective as well as cognitive dimensions. Expressing ideas, values and feelings, is termed 'emotional intelligence'. (Goleman, 1996).
- * Creativity is purposeful, and directed to achieving an original objective.

Is Creative thinking an Essential Part of Historical Thinking?

- * Historical enquiry is multidimensional. History encompasses all aspects of society: art, music, science, technology, religion, explored and communicated through language and mathematics. It involves making connections within and between societies.
- * Finding out about the past involves 'playing with ideas'; asking, and trying to answer questions about sources, the traces of the past which remain. Because what is known is often incomplete there may be more than one possible interpretation. Collingwood (1946, p. 198) defined the job of the historian as

`asking and answering questions; the `right' questions are the ones that lead to the larger, complex answers; there is no limit to the number and kinds of questions or to the relevant evidence'.

* Historical imagination is integral to the process of historical enquiry. This includes attempts to infer the behaviour, thoughts and feelings of people in the past. Collingwood (1939, p. 7) attempted to clarify the relationship between interpreting evidence and interpreting thoughts and feelings of people who made it. Mink (1968) clarified his arguments. Others (e.g. Jones, 1968; Watts, 1972) have stressed the constant interaction of deductive reasoning with imaginative thinking in history. Historical imagination may be defined as the ability to make a rich variety of suppositions about how things were made and used in the past, and so infer the possible behaviour, thoughts and feelings of the people who made and used them (Cooper, 2000 p. 147). Children will be constrained by their immaturity and limited knowledge, but it can be argued that participation in this process from the beginning is essential to the achievement of mature historical understanding. The importance of imagination as integral to historical thinking has been increasingly emphasised recently. Academically, even `the old Aristotelian distinctions between history and poetry, reason and imagination are becoming increasingly eroded' (Southgate, 1996 p. 122 in Bage, 1999).

* Historical enquiry must be purposeful and have an objective. Historians select, interpret and combine sources to construct accounts of the past. Similarly the English National Curriculum for history requires pupils to communicate their findings, in, for example, art, stories or Information and Communication Technology. (DfEE, 1999 p. 104-105).

It could be argued then that creative thinking is integral to the process of historical enquiry.

Did the Egyptian Day involve the `Creative' Dimensions of Historical Thinking?

It seemed unfair to apply these criteria for creative thinking in history to what was planned as a `fun-day', the last day of the school year. However when we watched the video, with the four aspects of creative thinking in history we had identified in mind, we found that they were all represented in the `Egyptian Day':

It was multidimensional and involved `playing with ideas' in mathematics, language, art, science and technology. James explained that he was using 3D mathematical shapes to try to find out how the pyramids were constructed out of blocks of stone, `to see how hard it was - to work out how they might have done it - the problem is we can't get the point on ...'

Shelley and John were making puppet models of an Egyptian prince and princess. They had movable joints so that they could re-enact a story written by an Egyptian scribe 3,000 years ago, in which the son of an Egyptian King wooed and won the daughter of the King of Naharin by leaping high enough to reach her in the tall tower in which she had been imprisoned by her father.

Paul and friends were playing senet - `Instead of a die you used coins. If you get 5 you start from 5 and move down the board and the first person to get 30 has to start going backwards on even numbers ... We don't know how they played it but they may have played it like this ...'

Peter explained the difficulties his group was encountering in constructing messages in hieroglyphics on the back wall of the classroom.

Andrea, Jack and Jason were designing tops for mummy cases - `looking in books to get ideas for the sort of patterns they used'.

Levi had made a model shaduf. `I'm trying to find out how they lifted water out of the Nile, and onto the crops. There's a bucket on one end and a weight on the other. When it comes down someone pushes it into the Nile and gets the bucket full of water and brings it back up - it flips down like that - and the bucket tips over'.

Jason was sitting in the sunshine. 'We're grinding corn seeds into flour like they used to - with stones. I don't think they could have done it exactly like this - we could do some research to find out how they did it - it's not as fun as it looks - I think they must have used a bowl'.

The Egyptian Day involved historical imagination; considering, based on what is known, how people may have thought, felt and behaved.

For example Laura and her friends were writing a diary account of a farming family over ten years, suggesting how their lives may have been affected each year by different levels of flooding of the Nile. 'The levels are determined by a dice game', they explained, 'If you get a nine the water's too high and your house might collapse. If it's a three it's low and you won't get any crops'.

It was purposeful.

One activity with an original objective involved selecting, interpreting and combining sources found in wall paintings, books, on video and the internet, to construct an account of an Egyptian banquet, which was audio-taped for a 'radio-programme' on Ancient Egypt. This account, created by a group of eleven-year old girls, demonstrated some awareness of the processes of historical enquiry. They were aware that sources are selected, depending on the focus of the enquiry and the interests of the historians. Being both fashion conscious and worldly-wise, the first source they used was illustrations of Egyptian fashion depicted in wall paintings, which they used as a model for their replica dresses, jewellery, hair-styles and make-up. The second source, which they discussed at length, was the myth of Isis and Osiris, and in particular how Isis became pregnant.

They were aware the validity of sources must be considered.

'How could Isis become pregnant after Osiris had died - and he was away a lot - a mystery'. 'We shall never find out. There are different versions'. 'In one version she turned into a kite and flew over his body. We didn't believe that one!'

On the basis of their own knowledge of human nature they also discussed why Osiris was killed 'by his evil brother Seth'.

'If he was honest, tall, truthful, handsome and generous Seth probably would hate him. No one is that perfect'.

And they 'filled in the gaps when facts are not known'. (Elton 1970).

'We gave the Egyptian fashions modern names, like Versace and we had the sound of modern dancing in the background, and we made up jokes, like 'how did you cook this hyena?'

On returning to Bucharest the Romanian research continued the discussion of the Egyptian Day video with the teacher in the partnership school. They explained their responses from a Romanian perspective.

The Ancient Egypt British Classroom Experience

The English teacher's approach to teaching Ancient Egypt in the video is quite different from the classroom practice in Romania, mainly because of the involvement of students in the learning activities. The use of drama in teaching stimulates much more creativity than debate. The use of primary sources as a basis for the drama enactment is interesting and is able to satisfy scholarly demands. From a Romanian perspective, the following characteristics are very significant:

- There is interaction between pupils; by means of drama and play, students team up and develop an holistic approach towards history.
- The student-centred approach enables students to develop their own perspective on the topic.

- Pupils use of information which is relevant to their interests; the 'abstract' character of ancient history is avoided.
- The development of communication skills should, in our opinion, underpin all classroom activities.

The Next Stage

This project identified both similarities and differences between the English and Romanian lessons. Similarities in lesson structure and classroom organisation are found in Capita and Cooper (2001). The original analysis showed that the lesson in the Romanian school which focused on the spread of Islam, was characterised by impressive questioning skills. It was structured around clear, open, key questions requiring thought: Where do the Arabs come from? What do you know about the Muslim religion? What do you know about the spread of Islam? What is the cultural legacy of the Arabs? These were supported by clusters of precise questions, differentiated, paced and distributed widely around the class, to scaffold pupils' thinking. The questions related to maps and a variety of written sources. Pupils learned and used specialised vocabulary (e.g. agriculture, polytheistic, manuscript). For homework, pupils were asked to look for more examples of Arab culture in art, literature and technology.

The Egyptian Day also revolved around key questions: what does the story of Isis and Osiris tell us about Ancient Egypt? What was the impact of the Nile floods on daily life? How were Mummies and pyramids made? Why? How did hieroglyphics evolve? It also involved the use of maps, written and visual sources and specialised vocabulary (e.g. hieroglyphics, myths, beliefs). English pupils had also done homework to research, design and make their 'Egyptian' clothes. But since the children worked on the ten activities in rotating groups to investigate these questions, it was not possible to record teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interactions or analyse the extent to which discussion was supported, developed, challenged and refocused to extend and share pupils thinking.

The English and Romanian schools plan to continue to develop this partnership through their internet web-site, which will allow both pupils and teachers to share their work. Maybe Socrates funding will make exchange visits possible between these two extremities of the Ancient Roman Empire, and of the 'new Europe'.

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History and the Emerging Nation: The South African Experience

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Abstract *The article traces developments in the history curriculum in South Africa from the early 1990s to the present. It describes the ideals cherished for a post-Apartheid curriculum and the grounds for hope at the time. The initial steps towards a new curriculum were contested and only partially successful. What followed, however, was the antithesis of what had been expected: an outcomes-based curriculum which excluded any reference to subjects or disciplines and disallowed any systematic study of the past. Recent reports give new reason for optimism, but the malaise might be more widespread in a society which may be said to be in denial about its past.*

Keywords

South Africa; history; curriculum; textbooks; outcomes-based education; nation-building

Conception

There was a sense of great expectancy in the years between the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 and the first democratic election in South Africa in 1994. History teachers, history educationalists and historians looked forward with impatient anticipation to the time when the apartheid curriculum would be cast aside and history could claim its place as an important instrument in the construction of a new national identity. It would fulfil three roles: keeping the triumph over evil fresh, memorialising the struggles of the past, and helping to break down all remaining racism; giving back a history to those who had been denied or robbed of one before; and helping to strengthen democratic and constitutional values - or the three 'r's of reconstruction, redress and reconciliation.

There were reasonable grounds for the expectation. The task, though daunting, was by no means an unrealistic one. The country had always had a national curriculum (a 'core syllabus') and, with small exceptions, everyone in country had been exposed to the same brand of Afrikaner nationalist history in the curriculum documents and public school leaving examinations. Though no-one proclaimed simplistically that one nationalism should replace another, at the least all that was needed was a change in the curriculum format. History was also well served by the vigorous scholarship of historians of South Africa, many of whom worked outside the country. From the mid 1980s their views began to be represented in 'alternative' textbooks which were nevertheless published by more progressive educational publishers. Not only was their content different, but they also espoused a skills-based, discipline-led pedagogy. The books were not widely used in schools but they provided models for what future textbooks might be like. There was also the enthusiasm of many teachers, evident in conferences, unions and in the National Education Crisis Committee [NECC], which had in 1987 published a 'People's history' for use in schools. These elements seemed, further, to accord well with African National Congress [ANC] policy as it was perceived to be (Dean and Siebörger, 1994, pp. 34-37).

In 1992, three conferences for history teachers were held in the main urban centres, Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, to debate a new history curriculum for South Africa. There was widespread consensus about the way ahead, across a range of speakers covering the spectrum of views, and representative groupings of teachers from all sectors. The first two of 29 specific proposals from the conferences conveyed the tenor of the rest.

1. Any new syllabus or curriculum document should have clearly stated aims which accord with those of a new South African constitution and Bill of Rights, and with developments in the discipline of history in South Africa and overseas.
2. Establishing criteria for the content of a new curriculum is an important first phase in the development of the curriculum and can provide a justification for what it contains... (History Education Group, 1993, p. 44).

In terms of both content and 'skills', the way ahead was clearly conceived as being discipline-based. For decades the views of a narrow grouping of Afrikaaner historians had dominated school syllabuses and books and critical questioning and debate was absent. A new curriculum would represent the opinions of liberal and radical historians as well, and would expect pupils to develop 'the skills of the historian' (History Education Group 1993, p. 48). There was discussion about the proportion of core and optional content in the curriculum and suggestions stretched from 15% to 75% core. A higher core content was seen to favour the re-building of the nation, but there were also strong arguments in favour of regional and local diversity (History Education Group, 1993 p. 50).

A year after the conferences, the first of three colloquia on 'School History Textbooks for a Democratic South Africa' was held. The Georg-Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, Braunschweig in Germany initiated the colloquia as an attempt to get current and prospective textbook writers of all persuasions to talk to one another. On a very small scale, they mirrored the political negotiating process taking place at the time at the Congress for a Democratic South Africa [CODESA]. It is questionable whether such discussions could have taken place without outside facilitation and both significant clashes and reconciliations took place in the process. An agreed statement was published after the first two colloquia. It again drew attention to advances in the discipline of history in its first paragraph, and the second paragraph expressed a vision of the role for history in the new society:

The approach to the past should be inclusive and democratic: it should explore the experiences of ordinary men and women as well as leaders and heroes, and should deal with the political, social, economic, cultural and environmental dimensions of human experience. The manner in which history is taught should promote democratic values, and democracy should be introduced through the mode of classroom discourse and the experiences of students in the classroom (Siebörger, 1994 p. 3).

The rest of the statement was similarly optimistic about the future of history and history teaching, while observing that it should not 'exclude, diminish or distort the history of particular groups, classes or communities' and should reflect cultural diversity while reconciling national unity (Siebörger, 1994, p.5).

Transition

An early decision of the newly appointed Minister of Education, Sibusiso Bengu, in 1994 was to set in motion an interim revision of school syllabuses, to remove inaccuracies, outdated and contentious content - with the important proviso that amendments made would not necessitate new textbooks. As with many aspects of the country's transition, the process by which the revision was conducted was as important as the changes in the curriculum itself. It took place under the National Education and Training Forum [NETF], a bargaining forum of stakeholders in education, comprising education departments, with business, parent, teacher and student organisations (Seleti, 1997, p. 10). This determined the composition of the history sub-committee, which consisted entirely of stakeholder representatives, including a departmental official who had served on apartheid-era syllabus committees, five representatives of teacher organisations, a high school and a university student. There were no academics and no representatives of professional history bodies or history teaching associations (Lowry 1995, p. 20). For the exercise, history together with geography was regarded as a sub-field of Social and Human Sciences, a conceptual arrangement devised by the previous Department of National Education as part of its Education Renewal Strategy of the early 1990s (a counter to NECC and ANC curriculum initiatives). A further innovation was the public participation which the minister had invited. Far more submissions were received for history than for any other subject, though many were regarded as falling outside the brief of the sub-committee as they dealt with longer term issues (Lowry, 1995, p. 21). The issue was that there was no mechanism to deal with these central concerns and they were effectively ignored, creating a most unfortunate precedent. In the event, the interim syllabuses, though workable adaptations of the old syllabuses, pleased few if anyone and were subject to criticism from many of those who had been involved in the 1992 conferences and 1993 colloquia. They did, however, confirm the importance of the discipline in their Specific Aims:

1.3.1 To give pupils the sense of such characteristics of historical knowledge as its time dimension; the importance of placing events in their historical context; the concepts and terminology and the interpretations and perspectives of historical knowledge; the changing state of historical knowledge and the contribution made by related disciplines to historical knowledge.

1.3.2 To give the pupils an understanding of such historical skills as the ability to locate evidence (sic), to organise, classify and interpret this evidence in a logical way and to communicate historical ideas (WCED, 1995).

Curriculum 2005

The interim syllabus process and the need for the Government of National Unity to deliver on promises of transformation in education, made the development of a new curriculum framework a high priority and a National Curriculum Development Committee assumed the responsibilities of the NETF. But there were much larger forces at work in determining the direction of future curricula. The government had accepted proposals (emanating in the main from the labour movement) for the creation of an overarching National Qualifications Framework [NQF], to combine education and training in the country on an outcomes-based model (Kraak, 1999). In late 1996, work began on a new Grade 1-9 compulsory education curriculum, named Curriculum 2005 to reflect the fact that it would be revised then.

The negative factors which had been present in the construction of the interim syllabus were magnified with Curriculum 2005. The separation between history and geography was removed and a Human and Social Sciences learning area created which made no mention of subjects. The learning area committee and other curriculum committees, were again formed on a stakeholder basis, with a majority of departmental officials (who were not appointed in any systematic way and served as representatives rather than experts), and minimal involvement of higher education. This time there was even less possibility for public participation or comment, as unrealistic time frames drove the process relentlessly (Siebörger, 1998).

Not only was all reference to history removed from the curriculum, but the brand of outcomes-based education [OBE] employed had a very marked impact on what became the study of the past. Outcomes were written on a clean slate with no influence of any disciplinary thought apparent in them, following the notion of 'transformational OBE', a term used by Spady (1994) in his classification of three variants of OBE: traditional, an outcomes approach within subjects or disciplines; transitional, the integration of subjects and approaches; and transformational, the needs of society are defined by means of the outcomes without any reference to subjects. (see Siebörger, 1999). The description of the specific outcomes for Human and Social Sciences was fraught with problems and there was no rational basis by which the final nine outcomes for the learning area were derived (Siebörger, 1998). Had the learning area committee been given the task of drawing up only nine specific outcomes from the start, the product would have differed significantly. The model which was employed of having one specific outcome as a content-based outcome, one as a skills outcome and the remaining seven descriptive of attitudes and values, has had serious shortcomings. It created the sense that some content was privileged and the idea of a skills outcome to be used at all times in Human and Social Sciences, though arguably a very useful one, was not employed elsewhere in the curriculum.

Curriculum 2005 also constructed elaborate mechanisms to ensure integration within and between learning areas. Specific outcomes (66 in total, in eight learning areas) are meant to be clustered in teaching, so that nothing is taught within one learning area only. The device of 'organisers' is intended to guide teaching. Programme organisers are topics which may be short (a few lessons) or long (a term) and may be used across a grade, or even in a school as a whole. Phase organisers are broad themes which are prescribed and intended to reflect the key areas, such as communication or environment, which ought to inform the choice of content for the programme organisers. The curriculum, on the other hand, made very poor provision for progression and the description of desired performance according to the outcomes. A number of attempts have been made to write expected levels of performance, but the number of outcomes, coupled with the lack of a disciplinary structure on which to base progression in skills and concepts has made this an almost impossible task.

The consequence of these mechanisms is that the content which ought to be studied in each phase, key stage, or grade cannot be defined from the 'range statements' of each outcome, and it is impossible to prevent the repetition of content. Some would argue that this implies that it's the outcomes that matter not the content. But in an outcomes-based framework, suitable content is essential for optimal performance towards achieving an outcome, as content provides motivation and relevance at each level. The way in which the range statements have been interpreted, however, has created the impression that all the content has to be covered (as a syllabus was) in each phase. In reality, the range statements were only intended to be *suggestions* of a wide range of suitable content in the human and social sciences. Provincial and school-based curricula were to use them as the basis of selecting what content was optimally useful in each phase and grade. If this were not the intention, there would, for example, be no world history taught at all, as it isn't specified in the range statements. There would also be no opportunity for any study in depth, and outcomes could not be pursued in depth either. The South African Historical Society pleaded in a statement to the minister, 'We urge that more comprehensive guidelines be drawn up to indicate how repetition should be avoided and key historical knowledge included in the curriculum' (SAHS, 1998, p. 202).

A fresh chance?

Concerns about the way in which aspects of Curriculum 2005 [C2005] were being practised in the Grade 1-3 classrooms in which it had been introduced, and fears that it would prove counter productive (see the criticisms contained in Taylor and Vinjevold, 1999) led to the appointment of a ministerial review committee, chosen chiefly for expertise in the curriculum area, in February 2000. The committee presented its report at the end of May. It was critical of many aspects, including the training of teachers, the learning support materials and the shallow understandings of many teachers of the operation of the curriculum. But the major criticism was of the design of the curriculum. It found that the model 'is strong on integration and weak on conceptual coherence or progression. It overemphasises connective relations and fails to provide structured guidelines for sequence, progression and pacing...' and 'If lessons are developed inductively from programme organisers or activities recommended in C2005 training, and if there is no curriculum document which specifies core content to be covered, then there is a real chance that teachers will miss out key content' (Ministry of Education 2000, pp. 44, 47). Significantly, it recommended a rationalisation of learning areas, which included a revision of Human and Social Sciences, to become Social Sciences (History and Geography). It specified that:

These should not be integrated mechanically but should ensure that the distinctive concepts and 'ways of thinking' of each is fostered and developed. The teaching of history should ensure learners develop a 'narrative' and a conceptual understanding of the history of South Africa and Africa and their place in the world (Ministry of Education, 2000, p. 138).

The committee, whose report was adopted with very few amendments by the cabinet, has thrown a lifeline to history: once again it has a place in the curriculum. There will be a National Curriculum Statement which provides for sequence and progression and there is a recognition of the contribution of disciplines to the curriculum.

Further support for history has come from another committee appointed by the present Minister of Education, Kader Asmal. The Working Group on Values Education published its report in September 2000. It identified six values (equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, accountability and social honour) to be promoted in schools. Under tolerance, it recorded, 'We are persuaded that the teaching of history is central to the promotion of all human values, including that of tolerance' (Department of Education, 2000 p. 23). It supported its view by pointing out that the history of human evolution was not taught in schools; that a 'general and comprehensive history of all people who live in South Africa who are connected to the people of Africa, Asia, and Europe can encourage openness, an understanding of our diverse past and a mutual grasp of and respect for cultural origin'; and that a history of past abuses of human rights 'can serve as a powerful reminder of the folly of repetition' (Department of Education, 2000 p. 24). A history panel has subsequently been requested to prepare a report indicating how the school curriculum can better achieve these objectives.

What of the nation?

The past is very close to the surface in present-day South Africa. There is hardly an aspect of life that is not still influenced by it. But it is not allowed to break the surface for long. Playwright Sabata Sesi, when asked why he had written another play about racism replied 'Racism is something we should be vocal about. If you don't talk about it then how do you destroy the monster in front of you?... Why are we hiding it away and pretending it doesn't exist?' (Naidu, 2000 p. 23). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission had as one of its objectives that the past should be revealed and dealt with, but a recent conference has criticised the government (with had established the commission) of doing very little to take forward its recommendations or to give effect to the reparations proposed¹. And in the annual review of the Post Graduate Certificate in Education in my department, it was realised that nowhere in the programme had we made space to confront historically constructed issues such as race and identity.

Not surprisingly, similar attitudes exist in classrooms. Sarah Dryden spent a month each in four Cape Town schools in 1998. A pupil told her that the history they were exposed to made them think of revenge on white people, but they didn't want to think that way. 'I think history is a wrong subject, just because I've told myself that we must make peace in our land', he said. 'I think we must forget history and think of the future', a fellow pupil agreed. At another school she was told, 'I don't think we can talk about things because it makes pain for other people and their families. And then the pain comes again. They must put it in the past and plan for the future' (Dryden, 1999 p. 122). Teachers had a variety of views. Some wondered about what they could do: 'I think it must be terribly difficult for teachers at schools that are still so racially divided to teach about diversity and about the new South Africa. Empathy goes only so far. The new South Africa hasn't reached those areas yet', one commented. 'I'm not sure whether we as teachers are exercising our role to prepare students for life out there. I think it will come as a real shock', another considered. One echoed the pupils, 'In this situation, teaching about inequalities and racism can be dangerous. We have to be careful not to make people hate with the history that we teach them.' Other teachers were more confident of a mission: '[They] need to know the history of the oppression of the past fifty years to understand why things are like this today. Some of them live in shacks, but they don't know why. It will help them to live in South Africa.' And, '...we try to make sure that students can speak well and make an argument and analyse situations and documents. That's what history needs to be all about these days.' (Dryden, 1999 p. 122; 123).

It may be argued that the country is in a period of denial about its past. Certainly no one feels comfortable about it. Is this why history disappeared below the surface in Curriculum 2005? And could it be the reason why, despite the promised resuscitation, it is not about to re-surface?

Peter Kallaway (2000, p.1) has attempted to describe the present moment:

The tensions raised by a society in transition where the values of democracy , nation-building and non-racialism intersect with notions of ethnic identity and group rights - and taken for granted notions of nationalism and ethnicity are being challenged by the logic of globalisation and the market economy - mean that there are many contests regarding the assumed common sense of popular historical legacies.

He suggests that the concerns for society, citizenship, culture and values strongly espoused in the early 1990s have been overtaken by the market, competition and the world of work, philosophies which have dominated the latter years of the decade. Faced with the need to modernise and globalise in order to survive in the world economy, history has been uncritically abandoned, along with much else in a ruthless economic and social transformation.

Aslam Fataar (2000) takes this argument further, and adds the element of what he calls 'constructed idealism', which is the vision to plan and negotiate but an inability to implement. The policy promises much and delivers little, yet its discourses fill the educational terrain. These perspectives go a long way to explain Curriculum 2005, which was an attempt to create a globally relevant curriculum without borrowing from the rest of the world. It was not difficult to create a new curriculum language and design but there was no capacity either to critique it internally or to support the scale of innovation it required. History was ignored in the new

dispensation, not because of what it was, but because it was part of an old (and therefore discredited), pre-Apartheid mindset about education which needed to be swept away in a reign of virtue.

It does not explain, however, why teachers have not fought for history and have largely remained silent, despite the high levels of interest before 1996. A number of answers may be mooted. Teachers had never had a say in curriculum development (even the school-based variety) before, and lacked a spirit of criticism. If this was the government's promised new curriculum, who were they to question it without attempting it - there was, after all a great deal of history in some of the outcomes? But they were also very demoralised following rationalisation (so-called redeployment) which brought considerably larger classes, a decline in real salary levels and a reduction of service benefits, which took place at the same time as abrupt changes in the pupil composition of many schools and in their management. Perhaps the Values in Education Working group is correct; that it is only in a climate which is conducive to the values it espouses that history will also be valued by teachers.

Then there may be more teachers who profess 'But we must help them. History can help them to have the discussions they need to have, to understand each other. They must learn to live in the kind of South Africa that is made of diverse people, who are equal. That's hard for some of them. But as history teachers, we're trying' (Dryden, 1999 p. 122).

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Coping with Curriculum Change in South Africa

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Abstract *The paper looks at managing change through a teacher/adviser development programme in South Africa. Programme teachers and advisers are working within the context of an unequal, divided history and recent education initiatives which require all educators to move from a rigid, authoritarian model of education to one radically different, based on outcomes. Participants in the programme experience alternative models of education in the UK and subsequently in South Africa, in particular Nuffield history approaches. This has helped them to develop new ways of thinking and a range of skills and understandings rooted in new experiences, new knowledge and participant research. Crucially, the programme promotes democracy within its structures and philosophy, addressing teacher/adviser autonomy and professionalism through action research and reflective practice. The paper charts changes in participants' orientation, beliefs and practice. Professional development is evidenced through programme members' reflections on their experiences and practice. Some key obstacles to change and equity are discussed.*

Keywords

South Africa, history education, curriculum change, values, professional development, action research, reflective practice.

Background and context

The Apartheid education system and its replacement

In April 1994, South Africa's first democratically-elected government inherited all the problems bequeathed by the divisive, unequal and fragmented education system that for the past half century had failed adequately to educate the majority of the country's people. There was a high dropout rate among black school children linked to widespread poverty and social alienation, coupled with a lack of provision for over one million children. The education problems faced by the emerging nation included:

- ⇒ an inadequate teacher education system, particularly in black colleges of education
- ⇒ the structural legacy of Apartheid divisions : eighteen separate, racially-defined education departments
- ⇒ black children in classes often as large as 100
- ⇒ disaffected and underqualified black teachers
- ⇒ a rigidly-defined, politically-driven history curriculum prescribed by whites for blacks, used as an element of control and as a rationale for the racist model of Apartheid (Black teacher : 'During my school days in history classes I would always wonder why the white people were getting the credits and praised all the time, and nothing constructive seemed to be mentioned about the black indigenous people of Africa')
- ⇒ no culture of problem-solving, free enquiry or active learning: the prevailing model, fundamental pedagogics, was technicist, rigid, authoritarian and conservative. Apartheid education for blacks had successfully suppressed teachers' and pupils' intellectual and analytical abilities (Walker, 1990)
- ⇒ the destructive influence on schools of the power struggle
- ⇒ chronic underfunding of black schools (see Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Resource allocation and performance (adapted from Kahn, 1993)

	Whites	Indians	Coloureds	Blacks
Pupil-teacher ratio	16	21	25	41
% of underqualified teachers	2	4	43	87
Student capitation (Rands, 1989)	3600	2600	2100	750
Fraction of entry cohort passing matriculation (=UK year 12)	.85	.84	.30	.14

The aims of the democratic government's education initiatives (e.g. African National Congress' policy papers, 1994a; 1994b; Dept. of Education's White Papers, 1995, 1996; the Schools Act, 1996; Dept. of Education's Curriculum 2005, 1997) have been to redress the educational wrongs of the Apartheid years within a democratic framework of justice, civic responsibility, equality of opportunity, tolerance and stability. Indeed, over the past five years the government has abolished the old racial divisions and put in place an integrated education system. Pupil-teacher ratios have been established on a basis of equity.

Early on, the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme [RDP] envisaged national growth through redistribution of resources, linked to the freeing of previously repressed human potential (African National Congress, 1994b). In the RDP political and ideological aims predominated: education

must address the development of knowledge and skills that can be used to produce high-quality goods and services in such a way as to enable us to develop our cultures, our society and our economy.

Education must be directed to the full development of the individual and community, and to strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It must promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all South Africans and must advance the principles contained in the Bill of Rights. (African National Congress, 1994b, p. 60)

By 1996 the government's second education White Paper still espoused distributive aims, but the relative importance of economic factors had grown and these factors visibly constrained, and still constrain, possibilities. Thus economic Apartheid is, effectively, perpetuated. Overall education expenditure is simply too low to deliver to the most disadvantaged schools (Tikly, 1997). Schools in disadvantaged areas are still suffering from problems of acute resource shortage, overcrowded classrooms and demoralised and undertrained teachers. In contrast, the ex-white schools have an immeasurably superior capital resource base from the past to draw upon, and inherited racial and economic demographics enable these schools to charge high school fees to pay for additional resources. In the Western Cape, ex-coloured (mixed race) schools have also historically been well funded in comparison with black township schools, though less so than white schools, as Figure 1 illustrates. The black township schools can charge only minimal school fees: their communities simply cannot pay them. Wealthier blacks either move from the townships, or bus their children out to ex-white or ex-coloured schools. In effect, previous patterns of differing opportunities for the majority of children in black, coloured and white communities have been accentuated.

The introduction of Curriculum 2005

Attempts to change education have been philosophical as well as structural. The long-term challenge is to change entrenched attitudes and values and educate all the country's citizens for a modern, democratic society. To this end, in 1996 the new government inaugurated a nationwide process to transform the country's

curriculum, particularly its aims and methodology. They had to be seen to be delivering on their education promises, and thus needed a new curriculum to be published and at least partially implemented before the 1999 elections (Sieborger, 1998). Over the course of 1996 and 1997, various curriculum committees representing a range of stakeholders were charged with producing the new curriculum. Its structure and framework were centrally pre-determined and non-negotiable; the model was to be outcomes-based, and the traditional subjects were abolished in favour of 'learning areas'. A major problem was the timescale: 'from the start participants were presented with deadlines which they knew were impossible to achieve and the process was always constrained by severe time pressures and overly optimistic planning' (Sieborger, 1998, p.1). Another difficulty faced by the curriculum committees was that they had no disciplinary context or content within which to develop the learning outcomes. The curriculum that has emerged from this process is described in terms of outcomes, characterised by abstruse language and a host of new concepts for schools and teachers to digest: learning outcomes, assessment criteria, range statements, performance indicators, programme and phase organisers. There are neither programmes of study nor a model of progression in Curriculum 2005 - indeed, there is virtually no content at all. In the past, the content **was** the curriculum. Teachers' initial reaction to Curriculum 2005 was, 'But what are we going to teach?'

Curriculum 2005 covers Grades 1 - 9 (roughly equivalent to Years 1 - 9 in England). Subjects are subsumed into eight learning areas; history appears as a strand in the Human and Social Sciences learning area.

The new curriculum duly began its staged implementation in 1998, facing provincial education departments, schools and teachers with a radical departure from anything they had previously encountered. Two and a half years into implementation, the difficulties encountered have produced a national curriculum review, as Sieborger (1998) predicted even before implementation had begun. Thanks in large measure to a submission by South African Primary History Programme members, the curriculum review report (Ministry of Education, 2000) has proposed that history be re-established as a subject in its own right, with its own learning outcomes, increased teaching time, specified skills and programmes of study defined grade by grade. The review heralds the return of a coherent history curriculum, this time firmly based on history as a discipline, with both the procedural and the propositional elements of historical study in place.

Curriculum change and the South African Primary History Programme

As Fullan (1991) and others (e.g. Dyer, 1999) have made clear, the status quo is difficult to change if the designated change agents - overwhelmingly, the teachers - do not perceive themselves as having any stake in the process. Without such a stake, South African teachers are unlikely to undergo the radical changes in behaviour and beliefs that the new curriculum demands. 'Educational change depends on what teachers do and think - it's as simple and as complex as that' (Fullan, 1991, p.117).

Fullan's comments provide the rationale for the South African Primary History Programme in relation to the new South African curriculum. Curriculum 2005 left teachers stranded, with their values, attitudes, beliefs and practice threatened. In Human and Social Sciences they find it difficult to relate their understanding of history and its pedagogy to the specified outcomes. The challenge for the Programme has been to start from where the teachers are, where they feel confident, and then to move them forward through a long-term and diverse educational process. (See Appendix for an outline of the Programme, its aims and strategy).

The Programme provides a context and a domain - history - within which teachers and advisers alike can explore the underlying philosophy of Curriculum 2005, can think about what approaches will promote the development of the confident, competent, critical and responsible citizens that the government desires. The Programme has inducted team members into 'doing history', i.e. provided participants with procedural knowledge and skills, within the context of appropriate propositional knowledge, as the medium for the fostering of changes in attitudes and detailed pedagogy so that they will be able to implement Curriculum 2005.

This occurs within a profoundly unfavourable cultural, historical and social context. There is no culture of democracy in society at large or in schools. Most teachers have neither tradition nor experience of professional autonomy and agency. In this context, the Programme employs the dual strategies of:

1. extensive exposure to alternative working models, and
2. action research by team members to bring about changes in culture, perceptions and practice :

1. An intensive in-service and investigative two-week visit to the UK

The benefits of experiencing different models of education have been discussed elsewhere (Dean, 1998). Of prime importance is that the experience occurred among members of a team living in close proximity for a fortnight. This provided shared experiences to discuss and reflect upon. The UK study visit has enabled each year's Programme team to see working models that demonstrate the meaning of much of the new language they are hearing in South Africa, but which they have no lived experience of. In the UK they see pupils being active critical enquirers, practising democracy through class and school councils, working collaboratively and 'doing history'. They view outcomes-based education in operation in primary and intermediate schools. Team members' evaluations of their UK visit reveal that it has given them: confidence; broader horizons; an enlarged sense of the possible; appreciation of different history teaching methods; approaches to tackling racism and education for citizenship; and viewing in UK schools a positive attitude towards children that contrasts starkly with the deficit model endemic in South Africa. One of the team teachers expressed the value of the visit to him:

I went to the UK to see how they implemented the outcomes-based education system, a system that was totally new to our country and me. Without this experience I would have made a lot of mistakes myself. It helped me to stand back and take a look at schools where they implemented the system already and to see what we must still do in our country. It gave me confidence to handle this new and difficult system, confidence to stay always positive and to try and convince the teachers in my school that we must not just look at the negative side of the new system. Change (transformation) is an ongoing process.

Transformation does not happen overnight. A curriculum plan must be developed according to the specific character of a school by the whole staff. We will have to take care that we do not kill the system again with too much red tape. Must concentrate on what a child CAN DO

He has moved a long way from the mental model of education he took with him to the UK. A process of subtle re-orientation has occurred.

2. Action research by team members

Curriculum 2005's outcomes statements and explicit promotion of critical thinking require a very different kind of history teaching from the authoritarian and rote-learning styles of the Apartheid years. The assessment criteria and performance indicators mark a shift from norm-referenced to criterion-referenced assessment. The teaching of skills and concepts is now a requirement; for example, 'a critical understanding of the nature and use of sources and evidence' (Department of Education, 1997). By implication, a repertoire of teaching/learning strategies such as discussion, debate and questioning will be necessary to meet the learning outcomes. However, in most South African schools, history has consisted of memorising a textbook (Dean & Sieborger, 1995). Most teachers see history as a body of content; their training has given them no introduction to history as an investigative, source-based discipline. The leap from this tradition to one of 'critical awareness' is simply too great for the majority of teachers, as they have no familiarity with the concept of procedural (know-how) knowledge nor in-depth substantive (know-that) knowledge (Nichol, with Dean, 1997), and therefore no experience of 'doing history' in Hexter's sense (Hexter, 1971).

The Programme aims to empower and professionalise teachers through introducing them initially to different models, then asking them to apply these models through action research, in order to address issues of relevance to them. It builds on Stenhouse's pioneering work, particularly his idea of teacher as researcher (Stenhouse, 1975). Action research enables teachers to retain a locus of control and to drive their own improvement through critical reflective practice, thus escaping from the traditional technical rationalist paradigm (Elliott, 1991). Its essence is a liberating, democratic and humanising approach to enquiry (Stringer, 1996), in which a community of colleagues support one another in pursuit of common aims.

Team members' action research is formalised within the Programme by the diploma course, which requires them to keep a reflective journal and to write a formal assignment showing evidence of reflective practice. The team's action research projects, written up as assignments for the diploma, are based on issues and problems they have identified in their own practice and the strategies developed to address those problems. In the reflective practice assignments, we look for:

- the interface between critical thinking and critical practice
- a discussion of new understandings reached ('In acting I change my understanding')
- a review of a learning journey
- validated conclusions/practices
- evidence of reflection made explicit
- a consideration of implications for future practice.

Reflective practice within action research

Ghaye and Ghaye's (1998) framework for reflective practice within action research accords well with the diploma's requirements:

Reflection needs to be built into each part of the action research process. In particular we have identified four parts of this process where reflection is crucial. They are in:

- problematising teaching and learning
- observing and creating a 'text' about our work
- confronting ourselves and the teaching context
- refocusing and creative action

(Ghaye & Ghaye, 1998, p. 66)

A brief case study of one team teacher (Teacher A) and her work illustrates such reflection. The case study highlights the problem of the multi-faceted social and cultural situation that faced the teacher. There was the culture of the school and the teaching force. Then there was the equally negative issue of working within a world which rejected much of what school stood for. Finally, there was a deeply ingrained and developed set of attitudes and behaviours towards learning that vitiated any serious attempt to bring about change.

Problematising teaching and learning

Four-fifths of Teacher A's Grade 7 history class came from deprived homes. Poverty, parental unemployment, neglect and physical abuse, alcohol and drug abuse, teenage motherhood, lack of positive adult models, gangsterism and crime were part of many pupils' lives. They suffered from low self-esteem manifested in behaviour and learning problems in class. Teacher A first tried a traditional autocratic approach with these pupils. She made no headway, so turned for help to a manual about co-operative learning in groups. The subsequent groupwork lesson started her reflecting on what was happening in her class, and why.

I started off with a lesson on the ancient Egyptians, gave each group a set of pictures indicating their different occupations. They discussed the pictures in their groups, had to select a person to record, and decided on who would report back. The result? Only two groups worked effectively. The other six groups were not working effectively for several reasons: Pupils were disruptive, joking, openly rejecting a member of the group, arguing about who would report back or record or simply refusing to be a part of the group. I found myself running up and down among the groups, trying to restore peace and order.

After this lesson, I sat down and tried to work out what went wrong and why. I looked at a list of their names and thought carefully about each one in turn. There were so many different personalities reflected in that class, but I realised that in order for me to establish a culture of learning, I had to

'reach' each one, teach them to respect one another and work at their self-images which were very low.

Observing and creating a 'text' about our work

Through her reflective journal Teacher A created a dialogue with herself. She read research on group behaviours:

This set me thinking: this is exactly what I am experiencing in my groups. How do I change the dynamics of the groups? It is clear that:

- a) there is such a lot of hidden resentment among them
- b) they have difficulty in expressing themselves
- c) they find it hard to express a personal opinion, and
- d) they don't know how to relate socially to one another

If I wanted to instill in them a love for and understanding of History, then I would have to address these issues.

She also sought dialogue and co-operation with her colleagues, only one of whom was happy to discuss the pupils' backgrounds and problems.

Confronting ourselves and the teaching context

Teacher A confronted herself by questioning her earlier approach to teaching her history class (see above). She turned to the theoretical and research literature to find ways of transforming her situation. The works she read, she reflected on in relation to her practice. For example, after reading Lennox's (1991) observation that a child who comes from a background where swearing is acceptable is perhaps not displaying aggression if he swears at a teacher, she noted:

In my teaching experience, this has been one of the most difficult things to accept. Swearing comes so naturally to them because it has become a means of conversation in their home environment. I realise that I will have to change my thinking and instead try to understand how difficult it is for learners to feel accepted in their school environment.

She also reflected on how the culture of the school affected her teaching context:

When they were in the other teachers' classes, very little was done about building their self-esteem, often they were criticised and humiliated publicly and this broke down what I was trying to do. So, every period, I spent time settling them down and trying to build up the relationship again. This did not always work for some of the pupils who wanted to carry on in the same vein they have been the whole day. I thought about this long and hard and came to the conclusion that I needed to find new ways of fostering their self-esteem and gaining the support of the pupils with unacceptable behaviour.

Refocusing and creative action

Ghaye and Ghaye (1998) argue that critical reflection is a creative process, driven by the reflective teacher's interests. They assert (p. 68) that reflection can serve personal interest, learning-through-experience interest, competency-based interest and transformatory interest. Teacher A's interest was primarily transformatory, challenging the current situation and its disempowering effect on her pupils.

She adopted as her action research improvement plan the initiation of a programme of circle time activities to raise her pupils' self-esteem and provide security at the beginning of every history lesson. Through this emancipatory approach (Carr and Kemmis, 1986) she effected a radical change in her pupils' self-image and behaviour. This impacted positively on both their personal interactions and their learning in history; for example, all pupils in the class, unprecedentedly, handed in their final assignments. At the end of the year, she posed herself a question:

What has this past year's history teaching meant to me? It has opened a whole new world to me, given me an understanding of a once neglected subject, how important it is to show learners that history is a living breathing subject. If I thought that I knew how to teach after twenty-seven years of teaching, I have discovered through this action research that I have a great deal to learn.

Discussion

The South African Primary History Programme's strategy of teachers, lecturers and advisers working closely together has fostered change at both an individual and a group level through time. A dynamic to sustain change has built up, underpinned by a shared alternative world picture to the one existing in schools. Each group has brought different perspectives and priorities to the programme; the interaction between these perspectives has proved particularly fruitful. In brief, the teachers have ensured that classroom realities are acknowledged and responded to; and the lecturers and advisers are able to support and inform the teachers regarding policy, planning and curriculum development. As a result, the team as a whole has gained curriculum understanding grounded in an interactive relationship between policy and practice. The Programme has provided team teachers and advisers with alternative models, a focused test-bed, structured academic programme and supportive environment in which to work out in detail the implications and practicalities involved in major curriculum change. Team teachers are now in a position to influence change within their own schools through the confidence to promote an alternative approach that demonstrably succeeds.

However, there are multiple obstacles in the path when working in a country that has a large inherited democratic deficit to overcome. We have found that the following three factors in particular have affected the capacity of the Programme and its members to achieve their aims :

Linguistic issues

These are a particular concern of black township teachers in the Programme. During the Apartheid years, black children were educated in their home language for the first three years of school. Thereafter, all teaching and learning was officially done through the medium of one of the two official languages, i.e. English or Afrikaans. Children were thus expected suddenly to start learning and operating in a second or, indeed, a foreign language. Since the arrival of democracy, African languages have been recognised; the country now has eleven official languages. Parents now have the right to vote for the language of instruction in their children's schools. They have overwhelmingly voted for English as the medium of instruction in township schools, from Grade 4. This they do for the very best of reasons: they wish their children to be able to operate competently in a wider world dominated by English. However, they have perpetuated a system which puts their children at a disadvantage in learning. The outcome is that black township teachers officially continue to teach in a language foreign to both them and their pupils. In practice, much classroom interaction is in their mother tongue. However, all written work must be in English, a language few of the children speak. In addition, there is no explicit teaching of their mother tongue (although both English and Afrikaans have formal timetabled lessons). This situation forms a formidable obstacle to black children's learning, and ill-serves the cause of educational equity.

Working democratically

South Africa has a deeply rooted racist, authoritarian and hierarchical tradition, reinforced over decades by cultural labelling and Apartheid era race laws and practices (Muller, 1992). Throughout the life of the Programme we have worked hard to create a democratic ethos based on mutual respect. Comments by team members suggest we have, on the whole, succeeded (e.g. 'The very nature of the whole project has brought that out ... the types of activities and the way in which we do it has brought the principle of democracy out clearly'). But operating democratically has not been easy for all team members, some of whom initially viewed themselves as superior, educationally, culturally, racially or in terms of status, to others in the Programme. Still others find it difficult to break away from the belief that 'doing something wrong' will result in punishment by those perceived to be in charge. Most South Africans have for so long been treated as children by the system that situations in which another adult is seen as having power over them can provoke a 'child' reaction (Berne, 1967). Such perceptions and reactions have inhibited some team members' abilities to work collegially.

The importance of beliefs and values

Harland and Kinder's (1997) research showed that for teachers on in-service programmes the learning of new knowledge and skills was a key factor in changing practice. Equally necessary was value congruence with course leaders. If both key factors were not present, in-service courses had minimal impact on teachers' perceptions and practice. In-service courses tend to focus on new knowledge and skills. Course leaders assume at their peril that course participants share their values. What affects the quality of teaching is the orientation of the teachers; their values determine how they teach, and are expressed through their teaching. They express them in their content of instruction, personal curriculum and didactic methods (Veugelers, 2000 p. 41). Within the South African Primary History Programme the multiple legacies of Apartheid are reflected in team members' values and perceptions, and in their communities, schools and classrooms. The Programme had a minimal impact on two or three team members because their values did not accord with those intrinsic to the Programme. The authoritarian, rigid and unquestioning models within which they had been raised proved too powerful, preventing them from embarking on a self-questioning, reflective journey. Despite the alternative models of practice and thinking experienced in the UK, they were unable to question their past experience and adapt their mental models.

The majority, whose values were democratic and caring, entered fully into the philosophy and practice of reflective practice/action research, and in so doing they changed both their perceptions and their practice. The action research provided a framework for building a bridge between their situated, familiar models of history teaching, the models of good practice they saw in the UK and a new model of good practice that could be realised in their South African context.

Action research, which offers a systematic way of thinking and gathering evidence about practice, enabled them to question their entrenched models of education metacognitively, and by so doing escape from the straitjacket of their Apartheid history. The Programme's action research/reflective practice focus has resulted in deeper learning and more thoughtful professional practice. In investigating the factors underlying their areas of concern in their own classrooms or in-service courses, team members tackled fundamental issues such as the effect of socio-economic factors on learning or how to devise a conceptual model of Human and Social Sciences that teachers could use to teach with.

The evaluations of the Programme by three team members testify to the impact of action research on their thinking and practice:

Teacher B:

'Before I started with the Primary History Project, I must be honest, I never thought that there was anything wrong with my teaching practice. I must say that the action research and reflective practice approach opened up a whole new world to me. The perfect 'me' had to admit that I was living under a sense of false consciousness and this also made me reflect critically on my practice. I really think that there should be more programmes like this one because our teachers come to a dead end after a while and they need to look at the theories of other professionals to improve or make their practice interesting.'

Teacher C:

'Never during my training as a teacher was I introduced to a method to test or to develop myself as a teacher. Many times I have been frustrated not knowing how to solve some of my problems. Thanks to the action research and reflective journal, I am now able to structure my planning as a teacher better and solve some of my problems. This approach helps me to be more focused in my teaching on what I want to achieve and to see if I really reached my goals. This approach helped me realize that I must become my own critic. Doing this you grow as a teacher. By writing the assignment I was forced to think really carefully about what I want to teach and how I am going to reach my goals.'

History adviser:

‘Action research and reflective practice opened a new world to me. Although I knew about both it was the first time I have been involved in action research through a reflective practice approach. It helped me to question my practice rigorously and continuously. In questioning my practice I forced myself to look for various options to address the need/problem/concern I’ve done a number of degrees and diplomas, but this one, being involved in this reflective practice journal as well as the assignment is much more practical than those other qualifications that I do have, because I can actually use this. I can actually reflect on my own practice and make it also applicable to my work for the future.’

These are not technicians speaking. The teachers' testimony makes clear that engaging fully in action research has been a means of increasing critical thoughtfulness, professionalism and autonomy - those qualities the ANC government wishes all to acquire as citizens of a functioning democracy. The Nuffield Programme's way of thinking, plus the chance to see it in practice within the English context, has enabled them to develop a range of skills and understanding, reinforced through action research, to bridge the gap between old and new education models.

Acknowledgements

I wish to record my thanks to all members of the South African Primary History Programme team quoted here. The comments by Programme members were obtained from three sources : tape-recorded interviews; reflective journals and reflective practice assignments; and written evaluations of both the UK visit and the Programme as a whole. None of the team members quoted speaks English as a first language.

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Appendix: Outline of the South African Primary History Programme

Funded by the Nuffield Foundation, the three-year South African Primary History Programme, 1997-2001, builds on a successful pilot project (see Dean, 1998) and is based in the Western Cape Province. The programme operates in partnership with the Western Cape Education Department, working to implement Curriculum 2005 effectively. The programme explicitly addresses teacher development, and also the professional development of the Western Cape Education Department's Primary and Human and Social Sciences advisory teams. Each year a new cohort of eight teachers and advisers undertakes the programme. A permanent support/management team provides academic teaching, developmental support and continuity.

Aims. The programme's overall aims are to :

1. support the establishment of a functioning democracy through enabling teachers to change the way they teach children : a change from a rote-learning authoritarian tradition to one of critical enquiry where all are equally respected;
2. provide a model for delivering Curriculum 2005 in the classroom and a structure for the dissemination of new methods and materials;
3. support the Western Cape Education Department in its in-service programme to implement the new national curriculum in primary schools from 1998.

Strategy.

1. An intensive in-service and investigative two-week visit to the UK. During each annual visit the current team is introduced to a new context for history teaching. The Programme then, and afterwards, provides them with an alternative set of models that they can use, where relevant, within their own teaching and

learning contexts. In the process they move along a spectrum from an inflexible inherited model of education to one that is more subtle, rich and complex.

2. Action research by team members. The role of the action research is for team members to implement their ideas within the South African context. The action research is given status and formalised by enrolment on a professional diploma course. The diploma course focuses on historical subject knowledge, methodology and pedagogy. Regular meetings throughout the year provide on-going in-service and developmental support. At the end of each year of the programme, the outgoing cohort presents the results of their action research to the incoming cohort, together with an evaluation of what they have learnt over the year.

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Fourth Graders Theorize Prejudice in American History

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Abstract *This article describes the explanations three fourth grade students developed to account for prejudice and discrimination as they studied Michigan history. The results of this study demonstrate that students' theories parallel those of social scientists who have grappled with similar questions about why people dislike or discriminate against those who are different. Moreover, the students in this study explained past actions by looking to what Collingwood (1946) refers to as 'the inside of the event' -- the thoughts in the minds of historical actors. The article explores how these students' historical sense-making is subject-specific, constructed, and situated in multiple contexts.*

Keywords

Children's historical sense-making, Situated cognition, Constructivism, Teacher research, History teaching and learning, Sociocultural

Introduction

The 'life and times' of historians matter. The unspoken assumptions of an age influence historians' thinking in ways in which they are often unaware. Tacit assumptions shape the questions historians ask and the narratives they construct. So too, the 'life and times' of students influence their historical sense-making - an idea consistent with constructivist theories of cognition. In the last decade, researchers have begun to investigate the social, cultural, and historical contexts in which students' historical understandings develop, highlighting the values, beliefs, and experience that shape their sense-making (Epstein, 1994, 1997; Gabella, 1994, 1998; Levstik & Barton, 1996; Seixas, 1993a; Wertsch, 1994).

Recent research has shown that students derive much of their historical understanding from family stories and popular culture (Barton, 1995; Levstik & Barton, 1996; Seixas 1993b). Epstein (1994, 1997) concluded that, based on their prior experiences, African American students were likely to regard their family members as more credible sources than their textbooks, while European Americans found the textbook to be more believable. Barton (1995) found that students' views of the present shaped their encounter with new topics. As children studied immigration and the Civil War, they imagined what life would have been like if those events had not taken place.

Educational researchers have sometimes claimed that students have little experience to draw upon in understanding history (Brophy, 1995; VanSledright & Brophy, 1992). Yet, children bring much with them to their encounter with formal school history. They already, like adults, 'encounter everywhere traces of the human past' (Seixas, 1995, p. 766). In addition, children bring more than just informational knowledge to bear when they make sense of the past. They bring theories of motivation and human behavior, as well as a capacity to theorize gained from their own experience trying to make sense of the world (Wellman, 1990). Although most research on children's theories and their relationship to how students understand subject matter has focused upon the sciences, Byrnes and Torney-Purta (1995) have found that adolescents use naive social, economic and political theories in identifying causes of social issues.

In this article, I describe the explanations three fourth grade students - Josh, Jessica, and Michael - developed to account for prejudice and discrimination as they studied Michigan history. I offer these as an initial exploration of how students' life and times influence the sense they make in history class. As the following portraits demonstrate, the students' theories parallel those of social scientists who have grappled with similar questions about why people dislike, discriminate against, or exploit those who are different. Moreover, like historians, the students strove for unity between what Collingwood (1946) refers to as the 'inside and outside of events.' The 'outside of the event' represents:

everything which can be described in terms of bodies and their movement: the passage of Caesar, accompanied by certain men, across a river called the Rubicon at one date, or the spilling of his blood on the floor of the senate-house at another. (p. 213)

In contrast, the inside of the event represents that ‘which can only be described in terms of thought: Caesar’s defiance of Republican law, or the clash of constitutional policy between himself and his assassins’ (Collingwood, 1946 p. 213). The students in this study explained past actions by looking not only to the events themselves, but also to the thoughts that motivated historical actors (Collingwood, 1946; Ashby & Lee, 1987; Barton, 1996; Lee, Dickinson, & Ashby, 1997; Portal, C., 1987; Shemilt, D., 1984; Wineburg, 1999).

More than interesting similarities or proof of the students’ capacity for abstract thought (although they are that as well), I use the parallels between the students’ and scholars’ explanations to illustrate how historical sense-making is subject-specific, constructed, and situated in multiple contexts.

Methods

In the tradition of a growing number of studies where researchers use their teaching as a site to investigate student learning (Ball, 1993; Heaton, 1994; Lampert, 1985; Lensmire, 1994; Wilson, 1990), I conducted this study at Walker Elementary, a professional development school (The Holmes Group, 1990) where I taught social studies three days a week to third and fourth graders as part of my graduate studies. Most data collection, therefore, took place during the normal course of instruction. I collected student written work, audio-taped class discussions, and kept a journal in which I recorded my lesson plans, reflections, and observations. I supplemented this with semi-structured and informal interviews of focal students whom I interviewed at least five times each.

The Setting In contrast to traditional social studies classrooms in which teachers feed students the product of historians’ and textbook writers’ work, my students constructed their own historical narratives. Like Bruner (1996), I believed that schools should aid children ‘in learning to use the [culture’s] tools of meaning making and reality construction’ (p. 20). In this spirit, I provided my students with the opportunity to engage in a year-long disciplined inquiry into the questions, ‘Why have people moved to Michigan and what was it like for them?’ Mid-year, we began investigating the impact of the automobile industry on migration, focusing primarily on the experience of African Americans who came to work in the factories. Students embarked on an oral history project, crafting interview questions, conducting interviews, analyzing their data, and writing historical narratives about this time period.

Data Analysis The analysis I provide is interdisciplinary. It stands at the intersection of multiple streams of overlapping intellectual work, including history, philosophy of history, and social science, and emerged out of the dialectic between reading from these fields and my reflection upon the artifacts of students’ learning from a year of teaching. I use ideas from these writings as lenses through which I might ‘see’ and ‘hear’ the children’s sense-making. Learning theories alone do not readily illuminate the specific values, beliefs, or cultural tools people draw upon in making sense of the past. Reading across theories of prejudice as well as reviewing the historiography of this field provided a strategy for delving below the surface of these theories to the values and beliefs underlying them. Reading philosophy of history helped illuminate the kinds of explanations historians have offered across time and, hence, the way my students’ explanations reflected Western culture’s folk psychology and assumptions embedded in the language they inherited.

Theorizing about Prejudice

Most of the students initially shared the image of the North as morally superior to the South, unblemished by the legacy of slavery. They did not expect that Michigan would have racial problems. As a result, the existence and persistence of discrimination and segregation throughout the 1950s and 60s represented breaches in the canonical - deviations in the expected. Bruner (1996) argues that explanations emerge from our struggles to resolve

something puzzling. The stories our African American interviewees told of not being able to get served at certain restaurants and hotels, of having trouble buying homes, and of going to largely segregated schools were matters in need of explanation. These stories stood in contrast to the students' lived experience, for the ideology of racial and ethnic equality was not simply empty rhetoric at Walker Elementary. In many ways it was a reality.

For my students, the story of U.S. racial relations ends happily, at least for now. It is a tale in which Martin Luther King, Jr.'s dream has come true and their lives provide the evidence. They live in integrated neighborhoods and go to an integrated urban school where 55% of the students are black, 30% white, 11% Asian, and 1% Native American. Thirty percent of the students in this study come from interracial families in contrast to one-half of one percent of marriages nationwide (Shipler, 1997). Josh, Jessica, and Michael - the focal students in this analysis - each come from an interracial family.

In the light of the students' deeply held belief about the equal worth of all people, they wanted to make sense of the history of hatred, exploitation, and disregard for democratic principles they learned about. Although students developed explanations about prejudice throughout Michigan's history, this article focuses on the stories Josh, Jessica, and Michael constructed in response to what they learned about the 20th century.

Josh: Stories of Changing Attitudes

Throughout the year, Josh linked events from the past to the present, noting the impact of those events on contemporary society, a society which he viewed, like most of his classmates, as being relatively free from racial problems. As Josh learned about our interviewees' experiences with prejudice, he worked to construct stories that explained how these problems were solved. When we studied desegregation, Josh developed an explanation for the local school board's decision to implement busing that contained a theory about both the cause of prejudice and how it was overcome. Although he knew that black schools were often inferior to white schools, he did not focus on the possibility that the school board started busing to eliminate inequalities in education. In an interview, he was quick to tell me about the ways in which busing contributed to improvements in racial relations:

Josh They were making the schools integrated so white kids and black kids could go to school with each other so they could see each other in a different way.

Shari What do you mean by that?

Josh Like their parents keep on making them say that black kids or white kids are all mean or stuff and then when they start going to school together, they might start being friends with them and stuff and they would see them from their own point of view. (Interview 4/30/98)

Although Josh did not have direct evidence of the school board's intentions, his belief that the school board started busing so that 'white kids and black kids could see each other in a different way' mirrors an assumption held by many social psychologists and sociologists who supported integration of the schools. Known as the 'contact hypothesis,' sociologists promoted the idea that prejudice could be unlearned through increased contact between groups (Duckitt, 1992; Saenger, 1953). Saenger, a social psychologist, wrote:

In abolishing discrimination and segregation we make it possible for majority and minority members to meet each other as equals. . . . Advances in the fight against discrimination and segregation may originate with relatively unprejudiced persons in positions of power, who can dictate the behavior of the more prejudiced whom they can influence. (Saenger, 1953 pp. 232-233)

Josh saw the school board members as 'unprejudiced persons in positions of power' playing the role of 'dictating the behavior of the more prejudiced' (i.e., the children's parents).

Over the course of the year, Josh continued to fit information together to construct stories of change as he sought to understand how people began to reassess undemocratic attitudes. During one class discussion, Josh identified the power of ideas to resolve the contradiction between the American creed and discrimination:

[Things got better in Michigan because] Martin Luther King said speeches like, 'I Have a Dream' and he led a lot of people to help him and even some whites started to help them. And I know the sign that helped the most. The 'I AM A MAN' sign. (C.D. 5/6/98).

Josh proceeded to explain that protesters put up that sign instead of using violence:

... because the Declaration of Independence said, 'All men are created equally.' And so the sign says, 'I AM A MAN' to get people thinking about how they should be treated equally. (Class discussion 5/6/98)

In a follow-up interview, Josh told me that the 'sign brought out stuff,'

Josh ... because of the Declaration of Independence. If they knew about that they could have put up that sign because the Declaration of Independence said, 'All men, and that includes women too, are created equally' so, they, blacks, are men, too.

Shari: So what do you think the sign meant?

Josh They are men, so they are created equally, too. They have the same qualities. They are just a different color. They're everything the same except the color. They can do all the stuff they can do. Maybe the sign started making people think they are equal to whites. (Interview 6/6/98)

While Josh knew that Martin Luther King, Jr. and many others fought to bring about social change, he also understood that the speeches and protests - the outside of the events - did not explain why or how attitudes or beliefs would have changed or why people chose to put up particular signs. Josh looked to the 'inside of the event' to understand why people would have put the sign up in the first place and how this sign would have influenced people's attitudes. He imagined that if the people who put up the signs knew about the Declaration of Independence, then they might have put up the 'I AM A MAN' sign because they wanted to convey the message that all men are created equally, including blacks, and, thus, should be treated equally.

Josh's speculation that the sign might have appealed to people's conscience resonates with the thinking of social psychologists who attempted to explain how people dealt with the American dilemma (Myrdal, 1944), 'the moral uneasiness' endemic to a society that ostensibly valued equality but treated some people as second class citizens. For example, Allport (1954) argued that when the incongruity between people's ideals and attitudes becomes too obvious to ignore, they sometimes respond by reconciling this split in their basic value system. Resolution of the American dilemma occurs when a person rejects his prejudiced attitudes and begins to live in accord with the ideal of equality. Josh seemed to understand that the sign highlighted the inconsistency between the Declaration of Independence and people's prejudiced attitudes. Furthermore, he hypothesized that the inconsistency the sign surfaced might act as a catalyst for change.

Jessica: A Story of Power, Privilege, and Political Activism

Unlike most of the children in the class, Jessica expected there to be racial discrimination in Michigan up through the 50s and 60s. She had heard her grandfather tell story after story of his efforts to solve those problems through his work with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Still, she was surprised that the examples of segregation and discrimination she heard from her grandfather seemed worse than the problems that the people who came earlier in the century had described. Jessica expected things to get better over time. Her perception that segregation had worsened conflicted with this expectation. In response, she developed an explanation for why racial problems had increased rather than diminished.

Looking to the beliefs of whites, Jessica theorised that they must not have perceived blacks as a threat to the status quo when there were 'only a few black people here' in the 20s and 30s:

[The first group of oral history interviewees] came earlier and there weren't a lot of black people around here, there were only a few black people here. When I say a few, I mean [a much] lower population than in the 50s and 60s. So, [whites] didn't feel like they really had anything to worry about because they felt like a couple of people in each city isn't going to hurt anything. It's not going to be a real problem. (Interview 5/5/98)

She went on to speculate about why whites would not have felt threatened when the black population was lower:

They didn't have to worry about the black people there wanting to get in power or wanting a lot of rights or stuff because [blacks] wouldn't have much of a case because there was only a few of them. And so there wasn't much to worry about because they couldn't start anything really because there were hardly any black people there, so they couldn't really start anything, like any movements or anything like that, so [the whites] didn't have much to worry about. . . . [If there are only a few people up there, it would be kinda hard for them to get gatherings and stuff. (Interview 5/5/98)

In contrast to their inability to 'start anything' in the early 1900s, Jessica explained that blacks were able to exert their will and 'get the jobs that would help them make decisions and stuff' in the 50s and 60s due to the dramatic increase in Michigan's black population between 1940 and 1960. She pointed to the census chart which hung in our class - the African American population went from 208,234 to 717,581 in only 20 years. As a result, she imagined that whites began to feel threatened:

But then when more people started to come it was like, 'Oh my gosh, they are going to try to take over!' and it was like, 'Well since we're in power right now, we really have to be real strict.' (Interview 5/5/98)

Next, Jessica hypothesised about why whites began to feel the need to 'be real strict,' drawing upon her knowledge of social movements that she claimed to have learned about in the first grade:

Like there are more people there and so the black people have a better chance of being able to affect things like they did in the South with the bus and stuff. If there were only a few people, it wouldn't have been that big of a loss anyway, but when more people weren't riding the bus, then it was a bigger deal for them to lose all those people. (Interview 5/5/98)

Jessica reasoned that the growing black population would endanger the historic privilege whites had enjoyed -- they would, as she explained, 'be able to have a say-so in everything that happens.'

Drawing upon the interviewees' stories, Jessica proceeded to describe ways whites sought to maintain power. Along the way, she wove in explanations of the inside of events, focusing on the motives behind their actions: Whites marched against the blacks because they did not want any blacks in the neighborhood; whites did not give blacks loans because they wanted to prevent them from buying houses in their neighborhoods whites got notes from doctors to send their children to different schools because they did not want their children going to school with black children.

Jessica's theory about the relationship between the increase in the number of blacks and an increase in discrimination resonated with a hypothesis set forth by Allport (1954). He argued that in small numbers minorities could be tolerated. In large numbers they became a threat:

A single Japanese or Mexican child in a classroom is likely to be a pet. But let a score move in, and they will certainly be set off from the remainder of the children, and in all probability be regarded as a threat. (p. 227)

Jessica, too, imagined how threatened whites must have felt and how this would have influenced their behavior.

Michael: Making the Irrational Rational

Michael expected people to behave rationally. Like economists who argue that individuals are, at their core, rational maximizers who behave in their economic self-interest (Becker, 1957), his assumptions about rational behavior resonated with free market ideology. People are motivated by the desire for money. This belief framed the sense Michael made of the failure of restaurant and hotel owners to serve blacks and the refusal of schools to hire black teachers. By theorizing about the reasons behind people's actions, Michael told stories that helped him make sense of behavior which at first seemed irrational.

Based on Michael's assumptions about the profit motive, he anticipated that store owners would serve all customers, regardless of race. Surprised to hear that several of our interviewees could not get served at certain restaurants and hotels in Michigan, he blurted out:

Everyone knows everyone loves money. Why wouldn't they sell them the food so they could make money? Why won't they serve you when you can make a lot of money with blacks coming in to eat?
(Journal 3/12/98)

To Michael, the restaurant and hotel owners' failure to serve blacks was irrational or what Bruner (1990) calls 'folk-psychologically insane' (p. 40). Over the next two months, Michael constructed and reconstructed stories which reflect his attempts to make sense of what he viewed as deviations from the canonical.

Although several classmates explained that 'the whites probably didn't serve the blacks because they didn't like them,' Michael remained dissatisfied. He believed that the desire to 'make a lot of money' was stronger and more fundamental than personal dislike. Economists highlight a similar disincentive to discriminate when there is a simultaneous exchange of money for goods and services:

One person's money is as good as the next's. As long as there is no residual ongoing relationship between the two sides, the bigot is well advised to take money from strangers he does not like and spend it in the company of friends. (Epstein, 1992, p. 60)

Michael expected the 'bigot' to sell blacks the food 'so they could make money.' When he learned that some did not, Michael searched for an explanation that would make the store owners' behavior seem consistent with their economic self-interest.

One classmate's ideas did make sense to Michael. He incorporated this student's idea that store owners might not have served blacks because they 'knew that [blacks] couldn't pay for what they would have gave them' into his narrative about why African Americans came to Michigan between 1920 and 1940:

Some white people in Michigan were prejudiced of blacks. If you go into a restaurant if you were black back then you might not get served in a restaurant. If you went to a hotel or a restaurant, they would not let you come in if you were black. Why? Because they know that you don't have enough money to go into a restaurant or hotel. (Journal 3/12/98)

Initially, Michael posited a direct correspondence between what the store owners thought and reality, accepting the idea that blacks must not have had enough money to pay. However, two months later, he speculated that whites might have thought that blacks did not have enough money, even if that was not, in fact, the case.

Maybe they wanted just whites to get served. Maybe cause they . . . somebody said that maybe [whites] thought that [blacks] wouldn't have enough money. Somebody said in the class that they wouldn't let the blacks go into the hotel or restaurant cause [the whites] didn't think [the blacks] had enough money.

Michael went on to express his confusion over these beliefs:

I don't know why other people would have thought that, but I can tell you why I don't. Why would they go there if they didn't have enough money? (Interview 5/14/98)

Although Michael continued to wonder why whites would have thought that blacks did not have enough money to pay, he tentatively adopted an explanation that allowed him to once again view the restaurant owners' behavior as being economically rational.

Michael heard other stories that did not conform to his expectations. When he learned that one interviewee could not get a job as an English teacher, he asked: 'How come some people wouldn't let people work in teaching even though they went to school to try to get a job? The people wouldn't even give it to them. Why?' (J., 4/17/98). While economists typically define rational behavior in terms of the profit motive, several social psychologists have argued that prejudice is an irrational attitude because it violates the 'norm of rationality by being overgeneralised, rigid, and based on inadequate evidence' (Duckitt, 1992, p. 15). For Michael, discrimination in employment violated this norm. He tried to imagine what the school employers were thinking when they made the decision not to hire blacks:

Maybe [the school employers] think [the white parents] will move their kids, the parents will move their kids to a different school if they had a black teacher. 'Cause maybe their parents don't like black people. 'Cause there was this one movie where the parents wanted their children to leave school cause there was this black girl coming to the school. I think the movie was called *Ruby* (Interview 5/14/98).

In contrast to the restaurant scenario in which Michael perceived the costs of discrimination as being high (not getting money for food), and hence, the incentive to discriminate low, hiring black teachers had the potential to incur a substantial 'cost' to schools. Similarly, Epstein (1992) explains that the decision to discriminate may be economically rational when doing so promotes profits:

The problem for the firm is to find a way to maximize its profits, taking into account its total costs, including organizational costs. In some cases the gains from diversity may be rejected as too costly (p. 69).

Michael hypothesised that the potential loss of 'clients' as a cost for hiring black teachers might be more than a school was willing to incur. Michael's explanation allowed him to see the school employers' decision in a rational light. Like the restaurant and hotel owners, they were acting in accordance with the profit motive.

Discussion

The striking similarities between my fourth graders' and scholars' explanations about prejudice may seem extraordinary, yet they were just ordinary children. What set them apart from most, I would argue, was the extent of their content knowledge. Most children do not engage in a systematic study of history until the fifth grade (Vansledright and Brophy, 1992). Therefore, their ideas are not grounded in contextualised knowledge of the past. While my students, like others their age, offered fanciful stories to explain certain historical events, their explanations became increasingly grounded in the growing historical knowledge that our sustained and in-depth inquiry afforded them.

My students, however, were more similar to their peers than different. They - like other children, lay people, and scholars alike - possessed a need to understand their social world, to make sense of both its past and present (Becker, 1932). They wanted to understand why people behaved in ways they viewed as inconsistent with the value of equality. Moved by the same curiosities and interests which have motivated both historians and social scientists, they (often quite strenuously and persistently) searched for explanations. Dewey (1902/1964) identified this continuity between children's interests and subject matter in *The Child and The Curriculum*:

[There is] no gap in kind (as distinct from degree) between the child's experience and the various forms of subject matter that make up the course of study. From the side of the child, it is a question of seeing how his experience already contains within itself elements - facts and truths - of just the same sort as those entering into the formulated study; and what is of more importance, of how it contains within itself the attitudes, the motives, and the interests which have operated in developing and organizing the subject matter to the plane it now occupies. (p. 344)

Born of lived experiences, my students' theories and theorizing differed in degree, not in kind, from those of social scientists and historians. But, my students' and scholars' explanations do not represent 'facts and truths,' fixed in space and time (Duckitt, 1992). Rather, they are social constructions, developed by people who bring their own interests, values, and assumptions to the task of understanding their worlds.

Like scholars, students' sense-making is inseparable from the culture of which they are a part. Bruner (1990) explains:

Human beings do not terminate at their own skins; they are expressions of a culture. To treat the world as an indifferent flow of information to be processed by individuals is to lose sight of how individuals are formed and how they function. (p. 12)

Inherited values, beliefs, and tools for sense-making shape the questions scholars and children ask, where they look for explanations, and the content of their explanations.

Prejudice and discrimination captured my students' imaginations. Yet, prior to the 1920s, prejudice was widely viewed as natural, a normal response to the innate inferiority of particular racial and ethnic groups (Duckitt, 1992; Milner, 1983). It needed no explaining. Racist attitudes only became a legitimate and compelling object of inquiry for scholars when such attitudes began to represent a breach in the canonical, a violation of the belief that 'all men are created equal.' (Duckitt, 1992; Milner, 1983). So too, my students' desire to explain prejudice was rooted in their belief in the equal worth of all people. Children of a different age, who grew up in a different time and place, would probably not have been seeking such explanations.

Similarly, what constitutes a reasonable historical explanation has varied across time and cultures and continues to be contested (Appleby, Hunt, & Jacob, 1994). During the Enlightenment, for example, thinkers began to develop scientific explanations - laws that might explain the course of human development. My students' explanations reflect the language of free will and human agency which is part and parcel of contemporary Western folk psychology. They, like historians, (Berlin, 1969; Hexter, 1971; Ricoeur, 1965) spoke a language of intention, focusing on the wishes, beliefs, and plans which motivated people's actions and attitudes (Bruner, 1990; Wellman, 1990). They sought to explain actions from 'the inside,' equating the 'cause' of an event with 'the thoughts in the mind of the person by whose agency the event came about' (Collingwood, 1946, pp. 214-215). Berlin (1969) argues that the belief in human agency is so firmly embedded in the normal speech and thought of either ordinary men or historians, . . . in the Western world... (p. xxviii) that even historians who profess their belief in determinism often construct historical explanations that reflect the language of free will. My students' belief in human agency was neither explicit nor examined. It was a belief with which they thought and spoke.

Finally, the content of the children's explanations reveal Western cultures' 'vocabularies of motives' - pervasive folk theories about standardised motives that we learn in the course of everyday living (Mills, 1940). Michael's hypothesis that restaurant and hotel owners did not serve African Americans because they thought they did not have enough money to pay reflects the assumption that individuals are, at their core, rational maximizers who behave in their economic self-interest (Becker, 1957). Children from a communist society probably would have explained people's behavior very differently. Josh's explanation that increased contact through busing might lead to racial harmony can only be understood in light of the fact that he lives in a society that has a deep and abiding faith in our ability to live together, *e pluribus unum*.

As both teachers and researchers, we have much to learn from listening to students, yet learning how to listen is a complex endeavor that requires us to become both more reflective of and sophisticated about the frames we bring to bear in hearing them (Ball, 1997; Rose, 1999). Moving back and forth between the children, our classroom discourse, and disciplinary ideas, I developed my capacity to see what had previously been invisible to me. I was, for example, well into my analysis before I started examining the specific beliefs and values which shaped my students' explanations. After all, I too am a part of the same culture and share many of the same suppositions and ways of making sense as my students.

Stanford (1986) argues that an historian has 'a better chance than most of recognizing (through comparison with other ages) at least some of the suppositions of his world' (p. 93). History provided me with a lens through which I could better hear the way students' canonical views of equality influenced the questions they asked, how contemporary Western folk psychology shaped where they looked to explain human behavior, and how inherited beliefs such as the conviction that economic interests motivate actions colored the content of their explanations. Considering features of the students' and scholars' sense-making through the lens of history - historicising their views of equality, their use of the language of human agency, and the beliefs underlying their explanations - allows us to get a subject-specific handle on rather vague constructivist claims regarding the culturally and historically situated nature of students' sense-making. Taken together, the insights of contemporary learning theorists and historians help us hear our students better. At the same time, attending closely to the sense students make mirrors back our own values and meaning-making strategies, making our 'lives and times' more visible.

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Researching the Ideological and Political Role of the History Textbook - Issues and Methods

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Abstract *In many nations debates over the content and format of school textbooks are sites of educational and political conflict. The paper argues that school textbook knowledge is socially constructed and that evidence from national education systems strongly suggests that textbook content is manufactured by powerful groups who see it as being central in the creation of particular forms of collective national memory designed to meet specific cultural, economic and social goals. Based upon this analysis, a possible framework for the critical analysis of textbook construction is identified and possible areas for investigation offered with the aim of making more visible and transparent the cultural, ideological and political motives of dominant groups.*

Keywords

History, Textbooks, Ideology, Politics, National identity

Textbooks as Ideological Discourses

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). Textbooks are social constructions which during their process of manufacture include and exclude the expectations of numerous, and often competing, interested parties concerning what constitutes legitimate curriculum knowledge (Anyon, 1979). Although authored by specific individuals textbooks present broader cultural ‘messages’ and in terms of their social function bear similarities to government policy documents (De Castell, 1991). 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 socialisation and as sites of ideological discourse, textbooks introduce young people to an existing cultural and socio-economic order with its relations of power and domination. Exploring the social construction of textbooks provides an important context from within which to investigate critically the dynamics underlying the cultural politics of education and the social movements that form it and which are formed by it.

Through textbook analysis we can provide a context for the analysis of the interplay of power, history and culture. I agree with Giroux here that ‘central is the importance of challenging, remapping and renegotiating those boundaries of knowledge that claim the status of master narratives, fixed identities and an objective representation of reality.’ (Giroux, 1992 p. 26). The process of constructing textbook knowledge involves what Williams (1961) called a ‘selective tradition’, where from the vast store of available knowledge the school curriculum is manufactured to reflect the values considered important by powerful groups. Thirty years ago Bernstein identified the hegemonic power of curriculum in claiming that ‘How a society selects, classifies, distributes transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control.’ (Bernstein, 1971, p. 47).

What is constructed through the selective tradition is what is claimed to be legitimate knowledge which, by its elevation, is provided with status, territory and resources; through a process of textual inclusion and exclusion one group’s cultural knowledge is given an official stamp of approval. The outcome of constructing social representation, historical memory and identity in this fashion is that it 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).

The process through which historical factual knowledge is transformed into legitimate curriculum knowledge for pupil consumption through school textbooks involves two stages. First, the factual historical knowledge, which will represent the core of official knowledge to be transmitted through the curriculum, is selected, reproduced, and structured around specific sets of cultural, socio-economic and ideological aims (Arnove, 1995; Jansen, 1991; Kwang 1985; Adamson & Morris, 1997; Oispuu, 1992; Silova, 1996). For example, Washburn's (1997) study of US textbook portrayal of slavery between 1900 and 1992 identified a pronounced shift of emphasis from the multicultural texts of the 1960s and 1970s to the more conservative representations of the 1980s and 1990s.

Second, the selected text is modified through further selection, simplified and condensed in order to satisfy the demands of textbook publishers. Textbooks are economic commodities and it has been argued that they are published for economic rather than intellectual reasons (Apple, 1991b). School textbook sales in the USA is a \$2.5 billion a year business with many books being adopted for a five to seven year period requiring repeat print runs.

As they are based upon the cultural, ideological and political power of dominant groups, textbooks seek to enforce and reinforce cultural homogeneity; they seek to promote shared attitudes and shared historical memories. Debates, controversies and tensions over the construction of school textbooks involve a struggle over the manufacture of and control of popular memory. The objective is to create a shared hegemony, a process through which powerful groups offer intellectual and moral leadership which enables them to rule not by *coercion* but to *lead* a society in which subordinate groups actively support and subscribe to dominant cultural norms. School textbooks are one vehicle through which attempts are made to disseminate and reinforce those 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 & Marciano, 1979 p. 35).

In some societies this is achieved through direct political control, in others the control is perhaps less visible resulting in more pragmatic responses. Apple, in reflecting upon the USA, where textbook wars are fiercely fought, has written: 'There is considerable pressure to ... standardise their content, make certain that the texts place more stress on 'American' themes of patriotism, free enterprise and the 'Western tradition' (Apple 1993 p. 52). For Foster, USA history textbooks have:

... championed the capitalist system, endorsed traditional lifestyles, urged unquestioned patriotism and preached reverence to the 'Western' tradition ... The function of history in American schools essentially has been to instil in the young a sense of unity and patriotism and a veneration for the nation's glorious heritage.' (Foster, 1999 p. 3).

In his critique of USA history textbooks, Loewen claims that the teaching of history is dominated by textbooks whose contents are predictable, uncontroversial and exclude material which '... might reflect badly on our [USA] national character' (Loewen, 1995, p. 13). For Loewen, the American past is presented as a morality tale with textbooks encouraging students to believe that 'history is facts to be learned' (Loewen, 1995, p. 16). Most publishers in the USA ensure that the content of their textbooks will be approved by state textbook adoption committees (not all states have such committees but many, particularly in the south, do). Especially those in the highly populated states of Texas and California, and more recently Florida, exert tremendous power over what counts as official knowledge nationally. For example, Texas legislation asserts that textbook content will:

... promote citizenship and understanding of the essentials and benefits of the free enterprise system, emphasising patriotism and respect for recognised authority, and promote respect for individual rights. Finally, textbooks approved for use in Texas shall not encourage lifestyles deviating from generally accepted standards of society. (Delfattore, 1992, p. 139).

The Construction of Truth and Knowledge

It is generally assumed that what appears in textbooks is accurate (factually) and true (Graham Down, 1988; Lastrucci, 1998). Yet, the evidence from a number of nations is such that it is not possible to conclude that they offer 'truthful' or accurate accounts. Malhi, in his exploration of factual inaccuracies in Malaysian history textbooks, writes:

It does appear that there is a trend of 'rewriting' our history which glorifies certain local rulers, leaders and personalities but conceals their weaknesses. What concerns me most is that our history textbooks have been plagued with factual errors and contradictions since 1989. Something is terribly wrong with our system of writing history textbooks. Could it be the authors are selected by the Ministry to write a single textbook which will be approved regardless of quality? (Malhi, 1999 p. 23)

Following Hong Kong's return to Chinese control, Chinese vice-premier, Qian Qichen, confirmed that the ex-colonies' history textbooks not conforming to Chinese principles would be revised. In China, children are instructed on the history of Hong Kong through textbooks which present an unflattering image of colonial rule and credits the Chinese for Hong Kong's economic success. Chinese officials have said that in Hong Kong textbooks not enough is taught about China, patriotism and nationalism (*Times Educational Supplement*, March 21 1997; 16th May 1997 p. 21). Within China the writing of textbooks is closely monitored by the state to ensure that they provide pupils with a foundation for the development of ideological and moral character and the in interests of the socialist state (Liu Bin, 1994). Higgins has observed that one Chinese text 'cites Tiananman student protesters as evidence of popular support for the party, claiming to see a shared contempt for corruption among the protesters and the government' (Higgins, 1997, p. 14).

Lisovskaya and Karpov (1999), in their study of recent ideological changes in the content of Russian secondary school textbooks in the social sciences and humanities, have analysed how under Communist rule textbooks representations of history, society, and culture were distorted in order to match the ideological dogma of Leninism. Under Gorbachev's perestroika, textbooks continued to support communism but included topics which had been forbidden including critiques of Stalinism. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union concepts such as capitalism, economic entrepreneurship, political freedom and the rights of individuals have found their way into textbooks. More recently diverse ideological groups, from neo-Stalinists to conservative nationalists, have attacked these changes. Lisovskaya and Karpov conclude that the content of Russian textbooks has shifted from support for the key ideas of Marxism-Leninism toward support for a combination of nationalism, westernization and a reinterpretation of communism.

In Israel, there is evidence that textbooks paint a simplistic picture of Arab-Israeli conflict and are avidly ethnocentric. Daniel Bar-Tal, a researcher from Tel Aviv University, analysed one hundred and twenty four history, geography and civics textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education and found evidence of a belief in Israeli victimisation and the negative stereotyping of Arabs. For example, one textbook states that 'They [the Arabs] are extremists and we are more moderate. They murder indiscriminately and we defend ourselves.' (Surkes, 1997, p. 4). On the other side of this divide *Reading, Writing and Hate*, a study of three hundred and thirty Egyptian, Jordanian, Syrian and Palestinian textbooks by Susan Sachs, found that reference to Arab-Israeli co-existence was ignored. Egyptian textbooks did not name Israel on maps and Jordanian textbooks contained evidence of anti-Semitism (Surkes, 1996). Russian textbooks have been accused of being crudely patriotic, nationalistic and anti-Semitic and links have been suggested with attacks on Jewish communities and with a rise in extreme forms of Russian nationalism (Pirani, 1999).

Smith (1994) has explored the politics of textbook construction in Japan and the intense internal and external re-writing and re-positioning of Japanese history and its relationships with its neighbours in south

east Asia. In 1997, Japanese historian, Saburo Ienaga, won a victory against government censorship when the Japanese Supreme Court ruled that the removal from a school textbook of a passage about Japanese germ warfare experiments in World War Two was unlawful (*International Herald Tribune*, Saturday, August 30, 1997, page 1; *Times Educational Supplement* 10th January 1997); *Times Educational Supplement* 2nd July 1993; *Asia Wall Street Journal* 12th May 1997). In Italy, Lastrucci (1999) reports a nationalistic and ethnocentric bias in Italian history books and Kallis (1999) reached a similar conclusion in his study of German, Italian and Greek textbooks. In Spain, problems over selection and bias is pronounced in a nation where textbook publishers have to provide seven versions of history texts in response to regional demands. Castille and Catalan have very different views on the role of Ferdinand and Isabelle's contribution to financing the voyages of Columbus and history texts in the Basque region describe France *and* Spain as neighbours (Mackay, 1997).

This range of evidence suggests strongly that there is a need to engage in the critical analysis of textbook production and to uncover the ideological and political forces at work in their manufacture. The following section suggests a possible framework for such investigations and offers a tentative research agenda.

An Empirical Framework?

In their analysis of the 1988 Education Reform Act in the UK, Bowe and Ball with Gold (1992) identify three sites within which they claim that the construction and reconstruction of educational policy takes place:

- *The Context of Influence*: where the ideological and political basis of policy is decided by government and powerful interest groups;
- *The Context of Text Production*: where texts deemed to represent policy are constructed;
- *The Context of Practice*: the professional sites within which policy and policy texts are interpreted by teachers.

This framework provides a useful model from within which to mount studies of textbook construction both *within* individual contexts, and crucially, exploring textbook construction in terms of the structural, ideological and political relationship *between* different contexts.

The context of influence provides the arena within which educational policy is initiated and policy discourses are constructed, the context where 'Interested parties struggle to influence the definition and social purposes of education' (Bowe & Ball with Gold 1992, p. 19). It is at this level, the level of the political, ideological and educational state, that cultural wars are conducted and where a selective tradition is formed. In the context of text production individual texts are 'The outcome of struggle and compromise' (1992, p. 21). Within this context, textbook authors, publishers, pressure groups etc. construct what is claimed to be legitimate curriculum knowledge through turning selected historical knowledge into school textbook knowledge. Within the context of practice, Bowe & Ball with Gold claim that policy is open to interpretation: 'Parts of texts will be rejected, selected out, ignored, deliberately misunderstood, responses may be frivolous etc.' (1992 p. 22). Based upon this model, textbook studies could usefully focus upon:

- 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;
- the relationship between the exercise of power, the selection of curriculum knowledge and its classroom implementation.

Within the context of text production, what is the process through which textbook knowledge is constructed; what claims to truth and knowledge are presented; who are the characters, heroes and villains; how does the process of textual inclusion and textual exclusion work? Is what is presented nationalistic or national history; are accounts 'safe' and uncontroversial, excluding material which reflects badly on

national sensitivities; is the development of a critical historical consciousness suppressed by a dominant elite? Here the focus might be upon the following questions:

- Who is it that selects school textbook knowledge and what are the ideological, economic and intellectual relationships between these different interest groups?
- Through what process is textbook knowledge declared to be official knowledge and how is it filtered through sets of political screens and decisions before it is declared legitimate?
- What voices are heard in textbooks, *whose* knowledge is included, which group(s) receive the most sustained attention, whose story is being told?
- To what extent do school textbooks act as a filter in the ignoring of other views? Do texts exclude or marginalise particular groups who are part of a nation's history e.g. those representing social, cultural, religious, economic, ethnic or geographical groups?

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 can be subject to a multiplicity of readings and that the manner in which a text is received can vary (Ball, 1990). Within the context of practice, teacher and pupil responses to textbooks may be different from that intended by authors. Material can be re-structured, re-interpreted and part, or all, of what is said to constitute official knowledge can be rejected. I find Usher and Edwards' claim that texts [here I include textbooks] are stories or narratives that education tells about itself or that are told on its behalf, helpful. They write:

These stories, like all stories, have a plot, a narrative, a cast of characters including heroes ... and villains (feared and rejected others) and a style (a set of metaphors which 'animate' the text) ... these stories, because they are texts, always have sub-texts, that which is implied but not overtly stated.' (Usher & Edwards, 1994 p. 145)

This perspective acknowledges that written texts are subject to a multiplicity of reading and meanings and that the manner in which a text is received varies significantly. (Barthes, 1976). Apple (1991a) 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. Within the context of practice, useful areas of investigation might focus upon:

- The extent to which teachers re-select, re-define and re-interpret textbook knowledge in their teaching; are elements of texts rejected, ignored or deliberately misunderstood?
- The pedagogic approaches teachers adopt and their impact upon presenting textbook knowledge as 'writerly' or 'readerly'; what evidence is there of dominant, negotiated or oppositional readings? Do teachers engage in interpretation and meaning-making?
- The impact of teacher belief and values systems on curriculum delivery;
- The structural limitations to teachers' work which impact upon the use of textbooks and evidence of teachers' work being over-regulated, over-determined and bureaucratised.

Conclusions

Textbook analysis should focus upon exploring particular problems, issues and themes such as the nature of Europe and its representation in textbooks, the principles and practices of citizenship education, the presentation and representation of issues of environmental concern, human rights education and education in a multicultural society. There are a number of organisations across Europe which can aid this task. Perhaps the most significant is The Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany, which compares historical, political, and geographical presentations in the textbooks of the Federal Republic of Germany and those of other countries, and submits recommendations for making them

more objective. In addition, the Institute organises conferences, advises authors, editors and publishers and disseminates the outcomes of research through publications and lectures.

Methodologically, textbook analysis offers the potential for historians, geographers, social scientists, and educationalists to join in inter-disciplinary research through which can be developed more coherent and grounded understandings of different cultures. The role of textbook study should be to expose to analysis the type, variety and content of knowledge, insights and value judgements included in textbooks. Textbook study ought to involve individuals and groups engaging in critical enquiry into national perceptions of nation, culture and history, enabling the development of cross-national networks of researchers and practitioners.

Textbook research needs to focus upon more than textbook revision in an effort to identify and eliminate factual errors. It must explore the interrelationship between socio-historical, ideological and geo-political influences. Textbook research would contribute little if it failed to analyse the elaborate and complicated inter-relationship of ideological and cultural legitimisation and historical, geographical and political consciousness. This is an important and legitimate task. In such a rapidly changing world, the mark of a mature democracy, confident with itself and with its place in the world, is the extent to which it consciously enables its young people to engage with the national past in a critical manner.

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Sharon Macdonald (ed) (2000) *Approaches to European Historical Consciousness - Reflections and Provocations*, Eustory Series: Shaping European History, Vol 1. Hamburg: Körber-Stiftung. ISBN 3 89684 015 0.

This remarkable collection of essays not only highlights issues associated with European Historical Consciousness but also gives valuable insights into how similar are many nations' approaches to the teaching of national history. The aim of the Körber Foundation to foster a cross-border dialogue on history and identity in Europe has been actively pursued in these challenging and perceptive academic essays. Sharon Macdonald, assisted by Katja Fausser have done an excellent job in presenting so creatively the work of a contributing team who evidently know each other's ideas well, and cross-referencing is conducted almost at a conversational level. Jörn Rüsen's Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities (KWI), in Essen co-operated with the Körber Foundation in sponsoring this project on European Historical Consciousness.

The notion of the 'self' and the 'other' is a theme running through the book, and the glorification of the self at the expense of the other is one feature of the taught history of many nations. One can see a somewhat horrifying vision of history teaching across Europe consisting of the re-affirmation of many separate tribalisms, each blind to how similar it is to its neighbour. The experience of colonialism, the promotion of slavery, and pursuit of imperialism are common features of many (especially the seaboard) European countries, but is often taught without sufficient recognition of the similarities. Industrialisation, democratisation, the growth of capitalism is to some extent pan-European with some notable exceptions, or perhaps differing interpretations in some periods.

The notion of diverse communities within nations, and the long-term and short-term memories of those communities are issues examined by Sharon Macdonald (pp. 86 – 102), who looks at how memories can play tricks with 'taboo' periods of history. These taboos can play a key part in creating national or communal identities, and can influence political and possibly military action even today.

Heritage can exclude, as David Lowenthal (quoted by Svein Lorentzen in his chapter on Key Aspects of European Historical Consciousness) expresses so wisely:

History and heritage transmit different things to different audiences. History tells all who will listen what has happened and how things came to be as they are. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose. History is enlarged by being disseminated; heritage is diminished and despoiled by export. History is for all, heritage for ourselves alone. (Lowenthal in Jensen, 1999, p 59)

The negative aspects of European historical consciousness, for example the Holocaust, collaboration, and the Gulag, should not be side-lined or overlooked. These events, indeed these crimes, must be studied and understood. Collaboration in its many forms shows that the Holocaust was not just the initiative of the German nation. Other communities share the burden of guilt.

The history of historiography needs to go into the equation. As Michail Boytsov reminds us, there is a temptation to ignore generations of the Marxist interpretation of history both in eastern Europe and elsewhere, but this too has contributed to European historical consciousness and cannot just be brushed aside. He half-mockingly juxtaposes two approaches to historical thinking in Europe: the countries, mainly in Western Europe for whom the path seems to be the creation of a 'super-national' way of imagining history as a way of overcoming national prejudices; and those, mainly in Eastern Europe who still have irritating national ideas that currently play an important role. But he decides that these states of mind are not geographically divided, they co-exist everywhere:

Maybe one should assume that groups representing both 'progressive' and 'regressive' types can be found (in higher or lower concentration) everywhere. Therefore the relations between

these two groups are better described with the help of the Augustinian metaphor of two 'cities' (*civitates*), that exist everywhere in close proximity and even intermix. (p. 70)

The idea of a centralized European curriculum is discouraged by Joke van der Leeuw Roord, who thinks that differences as well as similarities should be celebrated, but she urges a more inclusive curriculum where the deeds, lives and memories of ordinary people are taught as well as the great public events. The lives of women, both common and heroic, should also have a higher profile. Different parts of Europe have been from time to time Catholic and Protestant, communist and capitalist, fascist and liberal.

The power of national and regional myths was the topic of Michael Ignatieff's 'Blood and Belonging' (1994), but it is not ignored in this publication. Even in national curricula powerful and potentially dangerous myths can be sustained, especially in the area of one nation's attitudes towards its neighbours. The current Eurosceptic debate in the Conservative Party in England reflects this. Indeed, so do some of Margaret Thatcher's recent outbursts about Britain's role in the second World War and her linking of this glorious isolationism against tyranny to her own reluctance to approve of Britain being involved in a single European currency, or moves towards greater European integration. To follow Joke's vision, history teaching would benefit if it embraced the notion of examining national myth making as an objective study. The power of myths to foster and promote long-standing hatreds and to convert the word into flesh and blood can be seen in most European countries, but perhaps especially in the histories of Ireland, Spain, Germany, Russia, and Yugoslavia. The history of the British Empire in the early and even middle 20th century shows that it also is not without sin.

Jörn Rüsen's analysis (p. 81) of aspects of ethnocentricity as an element of European historical consciousness is a stern but enlighteningly perceptive critique. Which European nation in hot pursuit of its national historical self-image is not guilty of at least one of his three deadly sins?

- 1) normative dualism of, or Manicheism of values (where the positive and normative evaluation of one's own history is set against the negative evaluation of the history of others);
- 2) reprojective teleology (an unbroken continuity of one's own development from origins to relevant projections of the future); (*this of course is Whiggism by another name, RG's note*);
- 3) temporal and spatial centralism (a clear location of one's own positive development in the centre of history and the corresponding discriminating marginalization of others).

Joke van der Leeuw reaffirms this view:

The wish to develop a national consciousness of the past also entails a third problem. The building of such consciousness is very much based on those elements that made the nation or state unique, rather than on those elements which were shared with neighbours or other nations. As a consequence, pupils were and are taught about national particularities, even though these may in fact be regional or even global experiences (p. 116)

This theme was developed by Bodo von Borries in his chapter on narrating European history, in which he points out the neglect of Orthodox, Byzantine, and Islamic traditions in the dominance of the influence of Western Europe in European Historical Consciousness. An obsession with the history of success tends to neglect errors, failures and crimes of Europeans.

Therefore, I plead that we dispense with widespread and well-known uniform 'master narratives', especially national ones. History should be presented as 'historical anthropology' of an 'animal not yet fixed and defined'. This is the only way of understanding human beings in their immense capability for metamorphosis, change and alteration in their extraordinary readiness to undertake extreme action and suffering. Therefore, I conclude that history must also – though not exclusively – be approached as micro-history of everyday life. (p. 155)

Gabriele Bucher-Dinç devotes a chapter on how the Eustory project is fostering a historical-political dialogue in Europe. Due to the transformation process in central and eastern Europe caused by the disintegration of the Soviet Empire, there is a growing need not only for debates on national and supranational identity in this area but also for a European-wide discussion about a common awareness of history. This could indeed be one of the keys to a common European future (p. 137).

Ann Low-Beer calls for an elevation of European history as an academic subject in its own right, but complains that the history taught in schools (except in Finland) does little to connect with contemporary issues, especially the changes over the last 15 years. She quotes from the English European historian, Norman Davies:

There is strong reason to believe that European history is a valid academic subject, which is solidly based on past events that really happened. Europe's past however, can only be recalled through fleeting glimpses, partial probes, and selective soundings. It can never be recovered in its entirety. (1996, p x)

Sharon Macdonald, the editor of this most successful anthology, in her chapter throws a fascinating light on how national identity is constructed and expressed in local terms, and gives some examples from Greece and Berlin. She analyses certain ways of conceptualizing collective pasts and of narrating life stories, some of which play tricks with chronology and conscience.

Jutta Scherrer presents a penetrating analysis of perspectives on Russia and Russian history, and gives examples to support one of the commonly-held themes of this book, that the integration of negative historical experience into the historical self-consciousness is fundamental for creating a European Historical Consciousness. In a short chapter, Neville Alexander raises awareness of the southern perspective on 'Europe' – Europe as seen from an African point of view:

We need only list the headlines, as it were, to realize how profoundly ambivalent the African's people's idea of Europe is bound to remain: the voyages of 'discovery'; colonial conquest, transatlantic slavery, racism, imperialism, genocide, neo-colonialism and, in our own day, underdevelopment, xenophobia, structural adjustment programmes and the illusory notion of development aid. (p. 55)

Another theme elsewhere in this collection is the Americanisation of Europe, and the export of Euro-American culture to Asia since the Second World War.

Armin Heinen (p. 111) reflects what other members of the group advise, that European Historical Consciousness cannot be centrally controlled:

This new discourse on Europe can perhaps better express identities at a time when, it is often argued, structures of modernity are being undermined by globalisation, national communities are becoming weaker, individualization ever stronger, and cultural authorities gaining in significance ... European Historical Consciousness can therefore not be directed centrally (from Brussels?!), but must direct itself towards this individual and meaningful level.

I would recommend this book to all politicians, history teachers, and indeed to all thinking citizens across Europe who are concerned about the effect that history teaching can have on regional and national attitudes and on moves towards mutual understanding.

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Robert M Guyver (references updated May 30th 2006)

Some Russian Approaches to Civil Education: Problems and Perspectives: The Historical Perspective

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Under the circumstances of reforms in Russian society the issue of the development of the individual's personality and the implementation of her/his rights gains a special importance. This problem is not only of an academic or cognitive nature. It is also directly linked with a practical problem of contemporary society: what way Russia will go and what, thus, will the role of an individual be within Russian society? Transformation of the obsolete Soviet system of social control destroys existing deep-rooted social institutions, resulting in alienation. Therefore, civic education becomes an urgent priority when oriented towards the citizens' feelings and moral values. These are significant for the Russians as the bearers of historical tradition. An analysis of both the contents and forms of civic education in Russian schooling has allowed identification of a number of objective factors that handicap the implementation of civic education.

First of all, the current transition period of development of Russian society has a huge negative influence. This is expressed not only in major economic and social changes, but also in an ideological vacuum and in the corrosion of base values. It is impossible to achieve positive results in civic education without understanding key features of the historical development of the country, its national mentality and the political culture of its citizens. On what foundation are we going to develop citizenship? In Russia we do not have a tradition of a civil society with its institutions of self-governance and self-development. The strong state and authoritarian rule have always been features of Russian historical tradition. Russian internal state policy has never been based on human rights; they have never been a priority even at the level of public consciousness (for example, it is enough for any Russian to recollect a conversation with an officer, a trip on public transport, a visit to a district clinic). The overwhelming majority of the country's population does not have any basic implicit or explicit knowledge or understanding of the Constitution of Russian Federation, the Declaration of Human Rights or the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Then, we can ask 'How do our civics textbooks, with their ideal models of implementation of human rights correspond with this reality?' Can we teach students to understand what is missing in Russian life today? Are we not again presenting a Utopian educational goal - in this case the education of a 'new kind of person', a civil person? Not claiming to give a full answer, we should note that the civil person is simultaneously not only a consequence of, but also a reason for the formation of civil society and the legal fabric of the state. It means that support for civic education becomes one of the most significant goals for the modern school. However, if there is no possibility of relying upon national historical traditions, then we need to identify other factors that can promote civic education.

First, there is the family. Here children receive their first lessons of political knowledge and stereotyped behaviour, developing feelings of love for the Motherland. The English philosopher F. Bacon wrote 'Love of Motherland begins from family'. However, a cultural gap exists between generations, when parents and children, elder and younger brothers and sisters in one family live in completely different cultural and values strata. This can result in mutual misunderstanding. What is urgent and significant for one group is treated indifferently by another. Because of tensions within the family, therefore, one should not overestimate the role of the family in civic education.

Second, there is the peer group identity that teenagers and children and develop either independently or through public youth organisations. Today, as a rule, children depend largely upon their own resources. Within contemporary Russian society we obviously cannot count upon effective help from organisations

in civil education. An American classical political scientist, Merriam, pointed out the effectiveness of the Soviet system's organisations for the political acculturation of its citizens, though he did not support and adopt the principles underlying it. Under current circumstances, the school can become the major institution for civil socialisation and civil education. It can block the negative tendencies in students' consciousness and behaviour as well as use its means for consolidation of civil culture in the society. The basic curriculum, starting from kindergarten and elementary schools, includes different civil and legal educational courses appropriate for the different ages and stages. The curriculum is aimed at the development of a firm legal conscience and civic identity. Thus, the foundations for civil and legal knowledge have been laid.

The efficiency of these civic courses in many respects depends on the methodology of the educational process. The methodology is stipulated by a new philosophical and psychological perspective on the individual, perceived as 'a self-overcoming and self-conversing being'. A. Maslow judged that education passes to the 'model of dissecting and opening therapy instead of moulding, creating and reshaping therapy'. Proceeding from the existing methodological rules, we can formulate major principles for designing the contents of educational courses of civic studies.

First, there is the need to create indispensable conditions for the exercise of the basic rights to which every person and citizen is entitled. It means that the contents of civil education should include knowledge and understanding, how to behave and operate, and values without which one cannot undertake normal social roles in a modern society.

Second, there is the 'objective' approach to the construction of civic courses. It pre-supposes a complex, simultaneous consideration of each 'factor' of social reality from the perspective of different humanities (for example, political science, economics, philosophy, sociology, ethics, law, etc.). The modern school should present the pupil with objective, scientific knowledge through a pedagogically effective system that entails the consideration of 'objects' by a person who understands them from an integrated, holistic perspective. It is therefore not necessary to consider them separately in a system of disparate social sciences.

Third, it is necessary to reject the acceptance of the anthropocentric principle in analysing civic problems. The humanist approach, in its classic, anthropocentric sense, is of limited value in Russia today. In conditions of rising ecological crisis there come to the foreground problems related inextricably to the survival of the person. This demands from the individual a realisation of herself/himself as a part of society, a part of nature. Therefore, it is necessary to form for the pupil comprehension that the person is not the centre of the Universe, but just a part of society, nature and space.

Fourth, the personal experience of students acts as an effective element in civic education. The personal experiences of the pupils include common sense and an understanding of fallacies and myths. These require objective consideration, analysis and understanding, since only objective knowledge allows students to understand factors that influence change and provide a genuine sense of events. It is necessary to synthesise personal experience and objective, scientific information. These not only promote civic knowledge, but also the attitudes, values and models of civil behaviour.

Fifth, is the identification of activities as a key component in the educational process. Activities are oriented on systematic simulation and analysis of daily life situations; they require pupils to apply their knowledge and skills in a practical way. Such activities often involve role playing and 'gaming' technologies. A danger is that teachers tend to stress the educational activity without paying sufficient attention to what is being taught. So, the content of problems analysed by students is important in terms of its potential to develop students' conscious moral and legal awareness.

Sixth, there is the development of the skills and attitudes indispensable for direct participation in politics. These provide a system of civil values that underpin political institutions and procedures. Such attitudes towards political rights and freedoms imbue them with the highest value, for example civil peace and consent, state unity, love and respect for the Motherland.

These six principles for constructing the content of civic/citizenship courses become effective only under the condition of a productive communication between teacher and students, based upon genuine dialogue. Educational dialogue can only be successful if carried out with respect for the personal rights of both student and teacher freely to express their opinions.

The introduction into the school curriculum of different citizenship courses creates only some of the pre-conditions for forming a civil culture of the students. The educational activity should be supplemented by the transformation of the social and pedagogical environment of the school. Acquisition by the pupils of concrete experience of a tolerance, partnership, solidarity and consensus is equally important. The life of the school should represent a key factor in the personal development of students. It should enable the generation of views and model behaviours through the organisation of student's associations, bodies of school self-management and development of co-operative communications. These activities should be directly related to the implementation of the purpose of civil education - pupil's readiness to participate in perfecting and personally influencing the public life of country. For this purpose the students should understand relations between citizens, citizens and society, citizens and state; they should know how to live in the contemporary world with its diversity of cultures; they should possess ways of activity, practical skills and models of civil behaviour. The student should also know how to overcome her/his own egoism and realise consequences of her/his activity.

Thus, the implementation of the purpose of civil education demands a systematic approach in integrating lessons and extra-curricular activities. The overall educational process is essential to ensure the civil socialisation of the individual.

Translated by Konstantin O. Bityukov

Hyperlink: A Generic Tool for Exploratory and Expressive Teaching and Learning in History

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Abstract *A major challenge of the micro-computer's impact upon history education has been to identify the unique qualities that it brings to teaching and learning. The issue is simple: what is the value-added factor that conventional pedagogy cannot provide? The initial response to using the micro-computer was to see it as a tool for processing data more quickly and effectively than conventional means. However, because data handling was only a small proportion of the educational process this failed to answer the bigger question of how it could transform education. Within this context Seymour Papert's revolutionary use of LOGO to provide a computer-mediated environment appeared to be the Holy Grail that we had been looking for. Central to LOGO and related developmental work was the creation of micro-worlds, mental models which were used both to express understanding of situations and to promote related problem solving through the exploration and transformation of the micro-world. The early developmental work on micro-worlds and their use in the classroom proved transitory: a major factor being the technical problems involved in creating the content-free software that allowed for the construction of micro-worlds. In 1999 we returned to the area when we realised that the technical problems could be largely resolved through use of Microsoft's hyperlink facility in Word. This enabled us to explore the potential of a range of exploratory micro-worlds for teaching and learning in the domain of history, both in the training of postgraduate students, training courses for practicing teachers and in the teaching of pupils. The paper reports upon the initial stages of this research and developmental work within the context of a PGCE history course, TTA funded History INSET.*

Keywords

Computing, History, In-service, Information and communications technology, Teacher training, Mental modelling, Micro-worlds,

Introduction : Expressive and Exploratory Tools for Learning

Background

From c. 1980, excitement and enthusiasm were general reactions to the advent of the micro-computer in history education. Excitement and enthusiasm were based upon the often tacit, intuitive and inchoate understanding of researchers and teachers of the potential for teaching and learning of a machine that could apparently 'think'. The micro-computer promised to be an extension of the cognitive capacities of both children and teachers. The impact of IT upon the history curriculum was a rich field for both research and related development, falling as it did at the intersection of computer science, cognitive science, developmental psychology, epistemology and education (Nichol et al, 1987).

At one level it was argued that the computer deepened understanding through its ability to store, organise, manipulate and present data in forms that were only available in computer-mediated form.. The computer facilitated the better testing of hypotheses through providing information in ways otherwise unavailable. For example, it enabled us to understand the mentality of the

Polynesians who explored and settled the islands of the Pacific Ocean through producing data in a form to test conflicting hypotheses (Oatley, 1977, p.537).

At a deeper level a particularly positive vein of development was the link between a Piagetian model of learning and the capacity of computer languages like LOGO, LISP and Programming in Logic [ProLog] to both support, reinforce, augment and accelerate children's thinking and cognitive development (Papert, 1980). Papert's *Mindstorms* and the widespread uptake of LOGO proselytized the idea of LOGO as a tool for learning. A major aspect of using LOGO was that children could either explore or produce their own micro-worlds within the domain of mathematics (Sewell, 1990). Micro-worlds are a form of mental modelling. Mental models provide an explanation of the thinking involved in problem solving:

Once users have constructed a model, they can infer relations between the items which are represented in the mental model, but not present in the sentences themselves. The ability to "run" the model is especially powerful in explaining the processes of deduction. Here it is argued that people construct a mental model of the state of affairs described in the problem. They then "run" that model to test it against different inputs or scenarios to draw a conclusion. This model is a better predictor of errors and the relative difficulty of problems than theories that assume people follow conventional syntactic rules of logic and inference.(Ehrlich, 1996, p. 225)

Interest in micro-worlds became widespread within the Computer Assisted Learning community. A micro-world is a mental model that extracts key features of the complex 'real world' that it represents. These features can include dynamic, interactive elements. Thus micro-worlds can be activated for problem solving, where pupils are faced with taking decisions in order to achieve a stated goal or goals that transform the original state of the micro-world. Within history education micro-worlds were a logical extension of earlier work on historical investigation and simulation. In the 1990s the increased emphasis upon social, distributed learning; the contextualisation of thinking - situated cognition; and the role of cognitive tools reinforced earlier perceptions as to the potential of the computer for learning (Bruner, 1986, p. 73; Lave and Wenger, 1991). Particularly attractive was the idea that history micro-worlds, based upon mental models, could provide a set of 'tools' to be applied in analogous problem-solving situations .

Micro-Worlds: Semantic Networks, Concept Webs and Decision Trees

Micro-worlds are contextualised; they are constructed for particular, complex situations which they reflect (Hennessy, 1993; Clancey, 1997). To produce a history micro-world the pupil needs to master the topic-based knowledge that the micro-world represents at an appropriate level of understanding. Such mastery requires the transformation of propositional [substantive] and procedural [syntactic] knowledge into a new form, a mental model (Geminiani, Carassa, Bara, 1996, pp. 275-303). This process heightens understanding, involving as it does the extraction, organisation, selection and restructuring of data, the perception of key features of the situation being modelled in the micro-world and the ability to explain its salient features. The *expressive* potential of pupils creating micro-worlds relates to theories about computer programming, knowledge representation, cognitive processes and mental modelling, as reflected in a British-government funded research program in the 1980s (InTER/5/88, 1988).

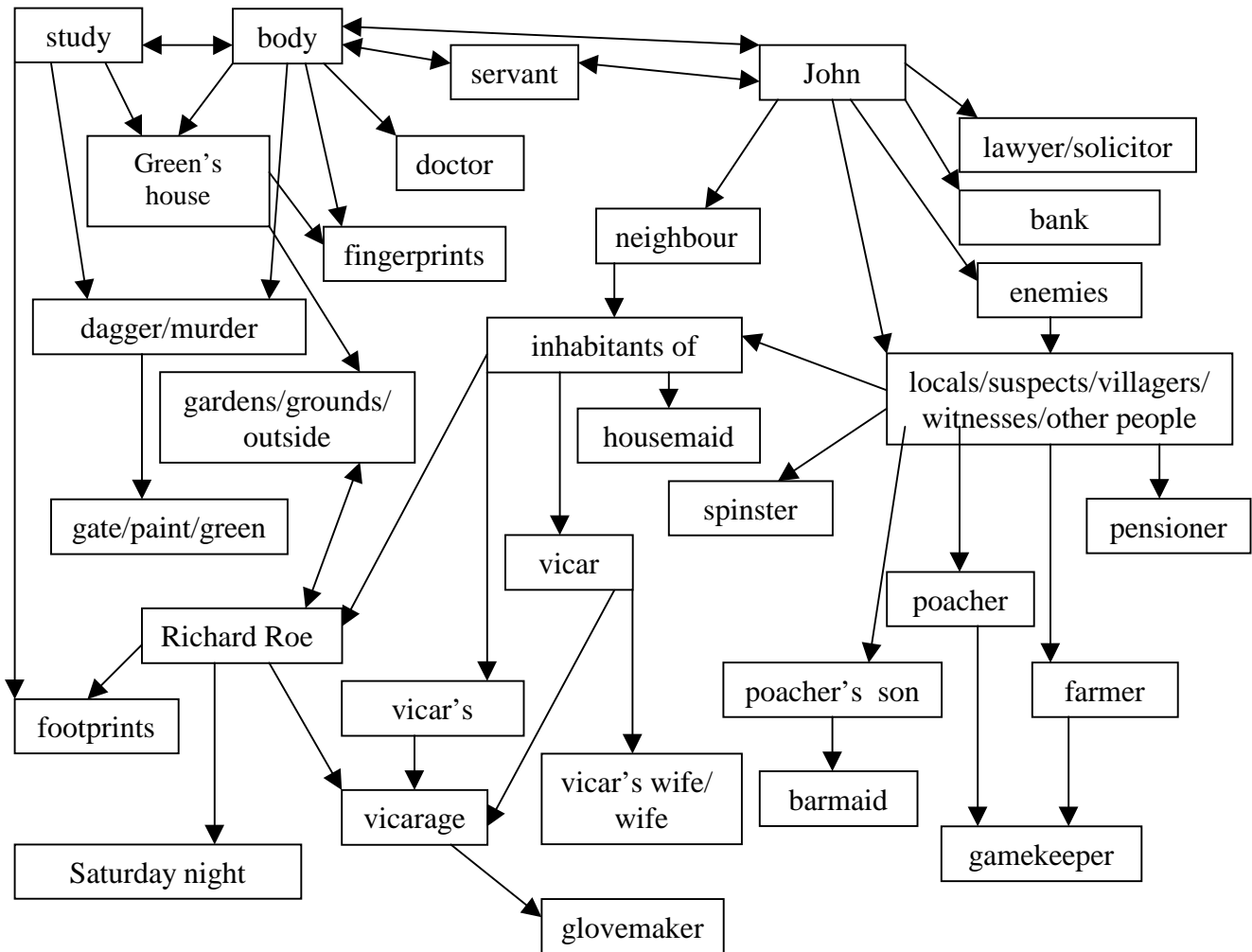
Micro-worlds can take the form of either declarative or procedural programs, although they can combine elements of both (Rumelhart and Norman, 1985). A declarative program enables the exploration of a database of discrete, free standing items. The program *Greendie* is a declarative database: it enables the pupil to solve a murder mystery from the detective's perspective. As

such, *Greendie* reflects a semantic network that maps the nodes and connections of a declarative body of knowledge. *Greendie* is also embedded in a history education context and continuing, evolutionary paradigm that intertwines theory and practice. The program is a version of R.G. Collingwood's John Doe mystery, a classic case of presenting history as an investigative discipline (Collingwood, 1946). Collingwood's writings in general and his John Doe mystery metaphor played a major role in the development of a seminal British history teaching curriculum development project, the Schools Council History Project (1971-75).

David Sylvester, the project director, explained in 1971 how he took the Collingwood metaphor of the historian as detective and used it as the basis for a set of curriculum materials based around a view of history as an investigative discipline that developed skills, processes and first-order concepts. Collingwood, as mediated through Sylvester, returned the teaching of history to its roots as an investigative discipline with a definable set of procedures (Cooper, 1992). The outcome was an introductory course in history that significantly included a number of investigations: the mystery of a dead student, a body found in a bog, the Sutton Hoo burial ship and the disappearance of the princes in the tower (Schools Council 13-16 History Project, 1976). The introductory program was built around a conceptual schema that emphasized different first-order or key concepts about the discipline. The Schools Council 13-16 History Project has had a transformational impact upon the history curriculum and its teaching at all levels within Britain (Shemilt, 1980; Aldrich, 1991, pp. 107-08). Its influence is both direct and indirect: the project has affected syllabus, curriculum materials, resources and teaching programs and the initial and continuing professional development training programs of teachers. Its findings are reflected in the History National Curriculum for England, with its emphasis upon substantive knowledge being the outcome of *applied* syntactic skills, processes and conceptual knowledge (DfEE, 1999).

Collingwood's John Doe mystery seemed perfect as a vehicle for introducing ideas about history as detective work. The story of John Doe [re-named John Green] could be represented as a set of clues for the student to investigate to solve the murder mystery. Each clue took the form of a card. With the computer's ability to store large amounts of textual and other data, and its capacity to retrieve information, *Greendie* was an obvious set of teaching materials to put upon the computer. The links between the clues meant that we could transform them into a concept web. Concept webs have a simple, tripartite building block, a predicate and its relationship to an object. The predicate and object are nodes, the relationship a link or arc. The arcs can be labelled to define the relationship between the nodes. In turn, the object becomes a predicate whose arcs define its relationship to other linked objects. The result is a semantic network that maps the relationships between the information that the network represents. Thus in our murder mystery *Greendie* we represent the nodes and their arcs diagrammatically. See Figure 1.

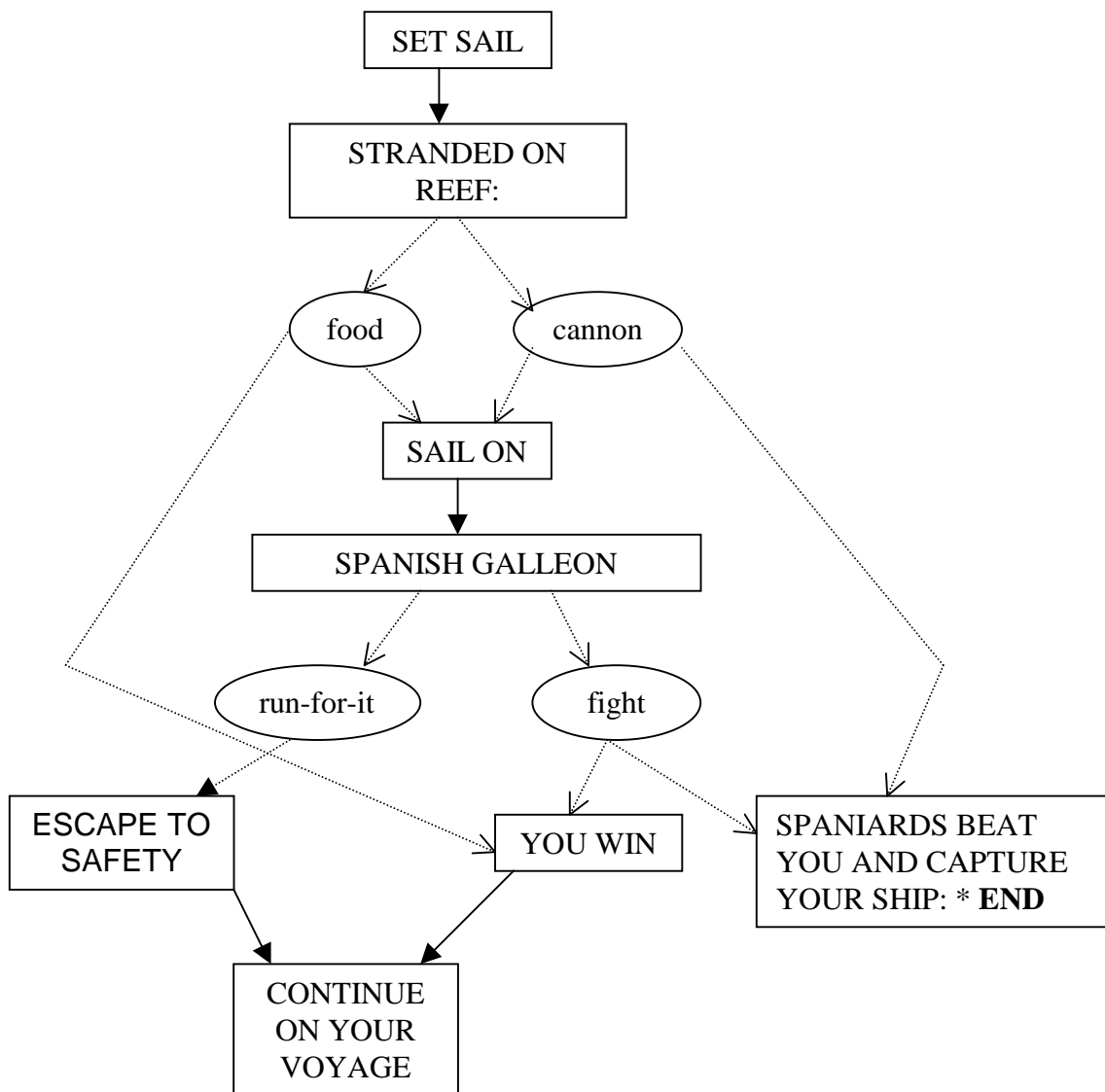
Figure 1



Alternatively, a procedural program reveals an unfolding, chronological scenario. A tool for procedural representation is the decision tree. The decision tree also consists of predicates, arcs and objects. However, these are organised in a linear sequence that represents the passage of time. This linear/temporal aspect enables a range of educational applications such as simulations, adventure games, expert systems, classification trees, taxonomies, typologies and story lines. A typical simulation constructed as a decision tree is *Seadog!* based upon the adventures of Sir Francis Drake upon the Spanish Main. See Figure 2.

Figure 2. Decision tree

If you were an Elizabethan sea-captain, and your ship lodged on a reef, what would you throw overboard to lighten your ship to free it – cannon or food? The immediate consequence of either choice is that you escape the reef. Later, however, when attacked by a Spanish galleon or becalmed in the Doldrums, that early choice will matter. The decision to fight the galleon can have two possible outcomes, depending on what was jettisoned earlier.



Content Free Shells

The enthusiasm for micro-worlds and related mental modelling led to the creation of a range of content free 'shells' like LOGO, Expert Systems and Knowledge Based Systems. In history, these shells enabled both teachers and pupils to create their own programs that *expressed* their understanding of a topic without them being computer programs. The user only required keyboard skills to enter data into the computer once s/he had mastered the procedures of the shell. However, the use of these shells was restricted because of both their technical limitations and their limited availability. Although Hypercard was widely developed as a Macintosh facility and played a seminal role in developments in knowledge engineering in the 1990s, it did not have the overall educational impact expected at its launch. Consequently, while there was a general acceptance of the potential of hypertext tools, the 1990s failed to result in their widespread integration into curricular provision and practice. It was not until 1997 that a similar, ubiquitous feature became available from Microsoft. Use by the Internet of hypertext popularised it and spread the development of easy to use and widely available authoring tools. Microsoft's Hyperlink seemed to be a partial answer to our problems of the previous decade.

Theory into Practice: A Tool for Learning in the year 2000

The research and development site and the research design

In 1999 we returned to the idea of content free software to provide a tool for creating history micro-worlds that would encourage learning in both an expressive and exploratory mode when we began to experiment with Hypertext Markup Language [HTML]. HTML seemed to provide the main facilities of the content free shells we had developed in ProLog ten years before. The micro-world research and development program had three main phases: preparatory, application of HTML, and switch to Hyperlink in Word.

1. The preparatory context was a curriculum development project on teaching of literacy, history and ICT to 11 to 12 year olds in a Devon comprehensive school in May-June 1999.
2. The HTML phase involved a PGCE history group from October-December 1999.
3. The HYPERLINK stage involved five in-service training courses on history, literacy and ICT that ran from January-June 2000.

It is the third of these sites to which this paper refers. The site is a rich one, in that it deals with three highly complex and difficult issues:

- the nature of teacher knowledge and understanding in terms of the knowledge bases involved in effective teaching (Shulman, 1986, 1987; Bennett & Carre, 1993),
- the nature of historical thinking in relation to historical investigation, the development of historical accounts and historical explanation,
- models for the effective professional development of teachers (Pendry & Husbands, 1999).

The research is linked to the twin ideas of situation and context and the complexity of existing knowledge, beliefs, values and attitudes that both the teachers and the taught bring to the lesson, seminar, lecture or workshop (Hennessy, 1993). These three contexts were based upon an action research model of curriculum research and development (MacKernan 1996; Macintyre 1988). The model is firmly embedded in the qualitative research tradition of the academic historian (Elton, 1967; Hexter, 1972; Evans, 1997). Here we will examine the action research program in its third context: the TTA courses. The research program's focus is a key question or questions: the question[s] act as a starting point for organizing a program of research that is consciously

designed to produce as rich an archive as possible for subsequent investigation. There is an implicit tension between the research questions and the research program: for as the research and development develops, new questions suggest themselves which can have implications for research methodology. The key questions for the research program were:

- What concepts of history do the course members bring to the course?
- How does *Greendie* impact upon their understanding of the nature of history?
- What role does *Greendie* and related materials have in changing their orientation towards teaching the discipline?
- How effective is the electronic version of *Greendie* when compared with the printed card-based version?
- What is the effectiveness of a training program based upon cognitive apprenticeship, with its demonstration, modelling, implementation, reflection, review and re-implementation phases? (Collins et. al., 1989; Lave, & Wenger, 1991; Jennings & Dunne, 1997; Clancey, 1999)
- What is the value of concept-webs in terms of providing structures and scaffolds for the selecting, sorting, organising and presentation of information?

As action researchers, we collected data from a multiplicity of perspectives in relation to these questions: pre-course questionnaires, student-opinionnaires, audits, classroom observation, interviews of course members and pupils, curriculum materials developed and used in training, reflective diaries and data collected from course members. In particular we wished to capture the teacher's voice, and, where appropriate, those of their pupils. We have drawn upon this archive of material in reporting and analyzing the results of this initiative in the short-term context of the training program. Data will become available as to its longer-term effect, i.e. the role it has played in the specific teaching contexts of course members.

Phase 1 Potential and prototyping: the use of HTML

The literacy, history and ICT project with 11 to 12 year olds in a Devon comprehensive school investigated a genre based approach to literacy, enshrined in the National Literacy Strategy for 5-11 year olds that was being extended to the 11-14 year old age range. We wished to explore approaches to literacy within a subject context. So we focused upon the genre of historical investigation in the mode of a detective mystery. Previously we had produced two such investigative programs, *Greendie*, our classic murder mystery, and *The Princes in the Tower*. The HTML facility enabled us quickly and easily to convert these two existing text files into a web format. Because of lack of ICT facilities, we were unable to use the HTML materials with the pupils: they were taught using printed versions of the resources. However, we were convinced of the potential of the new version of the software which seemed to solve technical problems and difficulties we had previously encountered.

Phase 2 Implementation of the HTML exploratory and expressive tool

During the autumn term of 1999 Kate Watson and Kevin O'Connell introduced the PGCE history cohort at the University of Exeter to the web-based materials developed in the summer. They trained the students in how to produce their own materials. One student produced *Bogbody*, a set of materials adapted from a classical historical investigation, *The Body in the Bog*, using the text files previously produced for a program written in ProLog. The planning of the declarative program took the form of a semantic network, a concept web. The student used a word processor to write documents which were then converted into HTML and linked together via keywords in the text using the web authoring facilities of Word

In the spring of 2000, we planned to use learning materials in the form of web pages (i.e. hyperlinked HTML documents) on three in-service courses run for primary teachers on literacy, history and ICT. We included the *Bogbody* materials authored by the student teacher to help to convince the teachers that authoring such materials is a straightforward process. The courses aimed to develop the teachers' own ICT skills as well as providing materials that they might use in the classroom. The course team was committed to training teachers in how to author and link documents so that the software could be used in both exploratory and expressive ways. On our first course we demonstrated the technique of authoring documents in a word processor, converting them to HTML and then setting up links.

However, the process of preparing text, converting and linking documents was intimidating for most course members, as their day-to-day course evaluations revealed. Editing a document after conversion involved calling up the source of the HTML document with all the programming tags in place. Teachers with only a moderate confidence in the use of ICT became quite alarmed at this prospect: the complexity of the technology was impeding the curricular application. We were thus back at the point we had reached a decade earlier!!

Phase 3 Hyperlink

Kate Watson then realized that the process of converting documents to HTML was unnecessary. It was with great delight that she discovered that **Microsoft had provided us with a generic, universally available tool within Word, *Hyperlink***, that would enable us to link documents quickly and effectively, and allow easy subsequent editing. In other words, the universal facility that we had dreamed of in the 1980s and early 1990s was now available.

All the creative, expressive work that reflects the hard thinking involved can be expressed using a familiar word processor's hyperlink facility to set up links between discrete items of data, eg. documents, images, statistical data.

Hyperlink enables us to use the word processor as a tool for both exploratory and expressive learning

Editing is as easy as editing any document in Word. In most cases, the need to convert the materials into web pages is redundant as the products are destined for use within a particular class or at most within a school. Should it become necessary to convert the materials into HTML for publication on the Internet, this is easily accomplished at the end of the authoring and linking process (with the proviso that formatting images may be problematic). When teachers on later courses were shown how to use hyperlink within Word, there was widespread enthusiasm. Even very tentative users of ICT were encouraged to produce linked documents. Rapidly, all course members became confident in their ability to master the process. Many of the more ICT-confident participants grasped the technique eagerly and were quickly planning how they could put it to use both for producing programs for pupils to explore, and for pupils to create their own programs.

Hyperlink: An exploratory and expressive tool

The curricular context: models of effective training

The training model that we use for hyperlink involves five phases: demonstration, modelling, implementation, reflection and revision. Since 1993, the Initial Teacher Training [ITT] group at the University of Exeter has developed, applied and refined this model for its ITT courses, based

upon ideas of cognitive apprenticeship (Collins et al., 1989; Gliessman & Pugh, 1984; Jennings and Dunne, 1997). The following account relates to training in authoring materials to produce a concept web:

1 Demonstration involves:

- stimulus / challenge : introduction to the problem of solving a mystery

Training starts with student use of an example of the software in order to both engage and enthuse course members and to provide them with a model that they can then assimilate. The trainees take the role of investigators trying to solve the mystery, either the *Greendie* murder or the *Bogbody* investigation, solving the problem through exploration of the data.

- investigating the problem

In pairs or small groups, course members work as teams of detectives or investigators to solve the problem. They do this through:

1. planning out the enquiry,
2. systematically [hopefully!] working upon avenues of enquiry, recording and cross referencing clues as they obtain them,
3. following up clues that each piece of evidence suggests. These clues lead to new pieces of evidence that the course members access from the archive stored in the computer,
4. creating their own concept web of information about the mystery, based upon the links between the clues.

- solving the problem

Each pair or group has to decide on a solution to the problem, based upon the information they have available at the end of their investigation.

- communication / reporting

Each pair or group then reports back its conclusions to the rest of the group

- discussion and reflection upon the problem solving activity

The whole group then discusses which is the most plausible interpretation in relation to the conclusions reached.

A major element of the demonstration phase is to link use of the materials back into the everyday teaching and curricular contexts of the teachers. In particular, we discuss how the activity maps onto: the statutory National Curriculum for History's Key Elements and Attainment Target, i.e. its learning outcomes; the National Literacy Strategy; related research that defines the features of effective literacy teaching (Medwell et al., 1998); and the seven principles that underpin the Nuffield Primary History Project (Fines and Nichol, 1997):

- Challenge
- Questioning
- Authenticity of resources
- Economy in use of resources
- Depth of Study
- Accessibility of resources to students

- Communication by students of findings

2 Modelling

Having worked through an example, we now examine it thoroughly to create a model of how it is created, taught and linked to learning outcomes. Modelling involves:

- looking at how the concept web is created from the links between the documents. The key is to point out that each document, the predicate, contains clues, objects, which we can then access through a link. Each object in turn becomes a predicate. Thus we have an ever-expanding concept web, a network of linked information that is accessed in a declarative, non-linear form;
- showing course members how to author and link documents, working solely within the word processor. A visual demonstration is given to the whole group, using a data projector, and written instructions are provided for the sequence of stages needed to author materials. Demonstration uses a simple example such as a nursery rhyme to show how a concept web can be built up on any topic;
- emphasising the vital role of prior planning of the concept web and the researching of information to enter for each item of data;
- exploring the curricular context - how does the model program relate to the objectives and learning outcomes of the history, literacy and ICT curriculum?
- showing real examples that students and teachers have produced, such as *Bogbody* and *Vikings!*
- involving course members in the physical act of entering nodes and links into the computer, using the hyperlink facility;
- assimilation - crucially the course members should have assimilated a model of how to plan their own programs through the creation of a concept web based upon research, and the entering of it into the computer.

Each course member should now have a 'mental model' of how to create their own programs and to enter the data into the computer. The mental model will encompass a large number of the knowledge-bases that Shulman and subsequent research has delineated as being central to successful teaching (Shulman, 1987; Bennett & Carre, 1993).

3 Implementation

Working in pairs or small groups, course members then use the 'model' that has been demonstrated to create their own programs. We provide a set of resources, large sheets of paper for planning the concept web and tutorial support throughout this stage. All course members to date have been able to create their own programs.

4 Reflection

Course members then share their work, demonstrating their programs to each other and discussing how they might be used in the classroom as learning tools. This gives participants the opportunity to assimilate and internalise the structure which can then be applied within their own teaching contexts.

5 Revision

After demonstration, modelling and reflection, the process is completed with modification to the programs in the light of feedback. Necessary modifications may only become apparent after use of the program with other groups.

At the end of the training program we recorded 100% success in terms of teacher understanding of the idea of using *Hyperlink* and its classroom application, both in exploratory and expressive modes.

Into the Classroom

As a course requirement, each teacher had to undertake a piece of small-scale action research to apply the course ideas to a teaching situation within their own schools. Ideas could be drawn from the whole of the five-day in-service program with its focus on literacy, history and ICT. The teachers then presented their action research to other course teachers on the final day of the course. Two teachers produced a hyperlink program, *Viking!*, for their year 4 mixed ability, mixed gender class to explore. The hyperlink program was integrated into a scheme of work in which the pupils:

- learned how to use a hyperlinked investigation
- developed an understanding of the Vikings as raiders, traders, invaders and settlers
- developed their ability to gather information from a variety of sources
- learned to question the information being given for bias / objectivity
- expanded their use of the terminology used about the Viking period
- argued persuasively their point of view'

(Brookes and Griffiths, 2000)

The resources were:

1. the hyperlinked program;
2. a set of six pictures showing Vikings in a good light and a set of six pictures showing them in a bad light;
3. recording sheets that focused upon word-level work in relation to the categories/concepts 'good' or 'bad'

In lesson 1, the pupils worked in two groups, one on the hyperlinked program, and the other group on pictures showing the Vikings in a bad light.

In lesson 2, the groups switched, with the ingenious strategy that the group that had used the hyperlinked program in lesson one were given pictures showing the Vikings in a **good** light! So, both groups had interrogated the hyperlinked database and two different sets of pictures, leading into:

lesson 3: the debate

The teacher introduced the activity - a class debate, explained what a debate was and the statement they were going to debate: 'Were the Vikings good or bad people?'

The children divided into two groups, those that had looked at the pictures showing Vikings in a bad light, and those that had looked at pictures showing Vikings in a good light. The sheets on which they had made notes were given out and the children were given 20 minutes to collect points to support their argument.

Focus of the debate: arguing points of view, with supporting evidence.

The children held the debate, which they argued well and each group managed to counter the other's argument. They also gave reasons for their opinions. In the end, after exploring all the information from the investigation sheet, the class concluded that the Vikings were both good and bad people. Bad because they raided, killing and stealing from the Saxon unnecessarily, and good because they traded with different countries and were working (and invading) to support their families and way of life. (Brookes and Griffiths, 2000)

Conclusion

This paper suggests that the hyperlink facility in Word enables both teachers and pupils to create and explore micro-worlds within specific teaching and learning contexts. The relative technical ease and effectiveness of the process of constructing such micro-worlds, and the educational benefits of exploring them, is a subject of ongoing research and developmental activity. The Viking micro-world enabled pupils to explore a database and develop an understanding of Viking society from it. They were then able to use this information to underpin their interpretation of Viking society based upon the additional visual information provided. This year we will ask course members to extend this kind of work with their own pupils, not only to analyse the impact that the exploratory micro-world had upon their understanding but also to create their own micro-worlds using the Microsoft hyperlink facility. In the 1999/2000 academic year the KS3 Literacy project has monitored two comparative groups using the *Greendie* program. One class solved the mystery through a paper based version, the other explored the program in an electronic form. The data is due to be analysed and will be the subject of our next paper. As with the Viking case, pupils will also use the hyperlink facility to create their own expressive micro-worlds of an historical investigation.

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Working With History : National Identity as a Focal Point in European History Education.

Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, Executive Director EUROCLIO

Abstract *The role of teaching history in schools is inextricably linked to the perceptions of politicians and their bureaucrats as to how it can promote and strengthen national identity. The paper provides a critique of this naive and potentially damaging orientation that reinforces values and attitudes that have fuelled international conflict in the past. In detail, the author examines the extent to which the concept of national identity influences and permeates textbooks, drawing upon examples from across Europe. It focuses upon a joint European textbook, and analyses how even here different countries have produced nationalistic versions of the same event through translating the original text from their own country's perspective. The conclusion argues that textbooks should promote a sense of co-operative international awareness through providing different, contrasting interpretations that reflect national diversities. This will allow pupils to construct their own understanding of the world that they live in and how it has come about.*

Keywords

Euroclio, Europe, History, National identity, Nationalism, Textbooks

Introduction

I am rather doubtful about the issue of national identity especially when it is so closely linked to history teaching. Travelling around in Europe, I have heard and seen so many negative examples of concepts of identity, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, that my belief in building identity as a positive instrument for history teaching is rather small. I will later go further into this issue and show you examples.

A second reason for my difficult relation to the issue, is the fact that I was born in a country, and possibly therefore from a family, where the issue of identity is rather complicated. In post-war Holland/The Netherlands, the two names have already to do with identity. In post-war Holland/The Netherlands where I grew up *national* identity was strongly linked to religion, the situation or role of the family during the war and the area you where were born. The shared WW II histories shaped Dutch identity, and on the other hand the old dividing lines were still there.

Both experiences always make me wonder, as soon as people start to discuss the issue of national identity and national heritage, which I consider closely linked, who is considered to belongs to the group and who is not and who shares this heritage and who does not? The key word with national identity is *exclusive* and not *inclusive* as far as my experiences reach. The three elements I have mentioned make me often rather doubtful about national identity as a key word for history education.

What I would I like to present and discuss is:

- what is EUROCLIO;
- some results concerning the national history and national identity from a European research project Youth and History and the EUROCLIO questionnaires of 1999 and 2000;
- linkage of history and identity, a political issue;
- national history teaching as national mirrors of pride and pain;

- national perspective versus European dimension;
- the interest of EUROCLIO in this topic;
- some conclusions.

School history and national identity

In many countries, teachers teach history with very little questioning of the purpose of their work. From December 1999 to June 2000, I held workshops with history teachers in six Russian and seven Baltic cities. I invited the teachers during these workshops to discuss those issues which they regarded as the most important for their work as history educators. Interestingly enough, the purpose of their work, and the aims of learning and teaching history, were scarcely mentioned. If any, the most likely purpose of history teaching to be mentioned was *to educate a good patriotic citizen*. And that was quite often after some pressure to return to the matter.

To create national identity through history education is in the first place an ambition of politicians, often in co-operation with academic historians and the media. Many history educators agree if you ask them. However, it seems not to be their prime concern.

To create national identity through history education is a political aim. Nick Tate formulated such aims during the Council of Europe seminar on *the role of history in the formation of national identity* in York in 1995. He said that:

economic globalisation and the revolution in communications and information technology have the potential for sweeping aside national identities... Combined with the weakening of traditional social classes and the emergence in Western Europe of culturally and ethnically more diverse societies this conjures up to a world in which there is little sense of identity between local or ethnic group identity (where it exists) and the emerging of a 'global citizen of the planet' identity...

He then stresses the great importance of a strong sense of belonging to counterbalance these developments. For him a strong majority culture that is recognised with its identifiable customs and traditions is a thing to be valued. To reach this situation he argued that pupils needed at least the 50% national history prescribed in the National Curriculum in Britain. The mere fact that his speech was headline news the following day shows how easy or popular these ideas are.

In 1999, the Russian Ministry of Education wrote a draft *National Doctrine of Education in the Russian Federation* for the purposes for Russian education up to 2025! This aimed to counterbalance the chaotic situation in education, eight years after the changes. The main aims for education, not especially history education, are:

the system of education should ensure the historical continuity of generations, the preservation, handing down and development of national culture and the bringing up of Russian patriots, citizens of a lawful Russian state etc....

Dr Sirkka Ahonen, specialist in history education from the University of Helsinki, early in 1998 told a European audience of history educators that

History in schools has traditionally served an important social purpose, namely a construction of collective historical identity. From the point of view of the power elite and leaders, such an identity

is desirable as it creates social cohesion and makes people easier to govern....In the west the idea of history as a story of the rise of nations lost much of its previous momentum.

Looking into press outcries and hearing politicians speak, I am not so sure her observation is true. Dr Bob Stradling has done research for the Council of Europe and found that in the 70s and 80s there was a distinct shift of emphasis towards European and global history. However in the 90s the movement is back to national history and not only in those countries where we would expect it, but almost throughout Europe.

Margaret Thatcher wanted and the present British government wants to highlight the development of the British Empire. The Republican, conservative Congress in the USA voted in 1995 against the new American history standards, because they did not contribute enough to the development of American identity and Kohl announced in 1997 that no nation could live without historical identity. The former Dutch liberal leader, and now European Commissioner, Bolkenstein asked for more national history in schools to strengthen the national identity and most new leaders in Central and Eastern Europe agree with this point of view whole-heartedly.

Today it is considered normal among professional history educators to accept that if two stories provide different accounts of what has happened one is not persuaded to accept one of the stories as true. However, some quite recent political leaders seem to deny this point of view in history teaching. In my work as Executive Director of EUROCLIO – the European Standing Conference of History Teachers' Associations – I have come across many situations where I meet people who do not subscribe to the idea that history is written as an interpretation based on careful inquiry. There are even some academic historians who believe that laborious academic research work is interpretation-free and merely brings to light all facts necessary for the truth. Their aim is that history contributes to a sense of the past through solid knowledge of the *national* past. Such historians and politicians are convinced that society is able to develop national historical awareness or as some people would say, consciousness, through teaching a clear map of the past, a set canon of national dates, events, heroes and, rarely, heroines.

In many countries in Europe, nationalist tendencies have gained in significance. The stressing of national values occurs in many cases in a context of a recalled past. The approach to this new national history follows the same pattern almost everywhere. It starts with a mythical foundation of the nation, for example for Slovakia, the Moravian kings; Rumania, the Thracians and Daciens; the Cossacks in Ukraine etc. Then there will be periods of decline and bloodshed, the suppression of big powers like Habsburg, Ottoman or Russia until the final '*birth*' of the nation. The great myth of the nation.

David Lowenthal wrote in his book 'Possessed by the Past': 'heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes'. Interesting enough the history teaching about these (new) states mostly pictures a mono-ethnic history, or at least diminishes the influence of other groups in the national histories considerably. (Demel, 1996)

However a second type of myth related to the issues of identity and heritage has entered history and history education recently. A closer look into the past of many countries has revealed a multicultural society. Examples could be Spain, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Ukraine and Rumania. To strengthen the identity as a tolerant nation, the glorification of the past demands a picture of positive peaceful co-existence of all these people together. Such approaches aim to develop the historical consciousness of the national past and carry the danger of advocating and exploiting national myths and fostering ethnocentric national identities at the expense of critical questioning and reflective approaches. In such approach there is no space for critical questions or different interpretations of events in the past.

Most national curricula for history in Europe give evidence of the impact of such nationalist understanding of historical consciousness. The curricula list the most important facts, events and persons in the national history and pupils have to know them. However, there are serious problems with the sense of the past pupils acquire through such history. The map of the past presented is, of course, a selective representation of the past. Most school history curricula in Europe present national *mirrors of pride and pain*, in which pupils are made aware firstly of national sufferings and secondly of credits to national pride. The damage done to others and the mere fact that others could even have been victims of one's own country are issues which hardly feature in any history curriculum or syllabus in Europe. Also, those issues which are part of other people's history but do not touch *our* history do not concern us.

The first aim for French history education is to create the French citizen; this is specifically written into the curriculum. In Russia pupils have to understand the Russian soul and in Slovakia to understand the Slovakian spirit. We can immediately identify if a country belonged to the victors or to the defeated in the Second World War. And to give an example from Dutch history education, for a long time there were big differences between Roman Catholic and Protestant approaches, very clear while teaching about the Dutch Revolt. It made a world of difference how to interpret Philip II or William of Orange. Since Dutch society secularised, these contrasts have disappeared.

Excluding the others

But these examples are rather harmless compared to some results of this tendency to stress national identity in some Central and Eastern European countries. In the active discussion in Central and Eastern Europe **what, why and how** history should be taught, predominance is given to justify the new nation state, the strengthening of the new identity, and the creation of the new national narrative for history. It sounds reasonable and logical, but the outcomes are often not very pleasant.

In the Baltic States, the first new textbooks pictured most foreign cultural influences, German, Russian and Polish as negative factors. Only the Swedish influence was considered positive. The first textbook which appeared in the Czech Republic for XX Century history for the end of compulsory education did not mention the Shoa. Slovakian textbooks diminish the importance of the holocaust. Russian teachers prefer to teach Mediaeval and XIX Century history because Russia was powerful in those days. And the textbooks in Rumania up to 1999 described the history of the Rumanians instead of Rumania and ignored among others the Slovak, Romai and the Hungarian populations. Things have recently improved. However, the general trend is still there.

But there is more. The presumed *truthful* representation of the past is further limited by the fact that national heroes, a few national heroines and some national villains have received their place in this map of the past. However, ordinary people, bystanders, women, minorities and others in society are mostly invisible. Events such as wars, disasters, and dictatorial regimes receive far more coverage than the everyday life experience of ordinary people. The consequence of this approach is that pupils are made much more familiar with extraordinary, negative and exceptional events, persons and dates from the past than with the ordinary everyday life experience of people living in the past.

The wish to develop a national sense of the past also entails a third problem. The building of such consciousness is very much based on those elements that made the nation or state unique, rather than on those elements which were shared with neighbours or other nations. As a consequence, pupils were and are taught about national particularities, even though these may in fact be regional or even global experiences.

None of these key elements in national curricula have been helpful for a healthy national sense of the past. The effects of this rather *classical* approach to developing national historical consciousness are still manifest in the arguments used by many European politicians. The recent conflicts in the Balkans are also evidence of the mobilisation of such arguments and nationalistic senses of the past.

I would like to present some European information on how issues related to identity and national history education have worked out on the European pupils and their teachers. In the period 1995-1996 **Youth and History**, a comparative European Survey researched among 31.000 15 years' old their Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes. The survey was carried out in 27 countries. The majority of the countries were European but Turkey, Israel and the Palestine Area were also included. Results of this research are published in several books. (Angvik, 1997; van der Leeuw, 1998)

For this paper I have listed the questions, which give you deeper insight about the opinions of European pupils concerning issues related to identity. As there was also a teachers' questionnaire, I would like to give some clues about the opinions of the teachers. In the answers of the teachers you receive further answers on the questions related to national history teaching in Europe concerning concepts such as identity and heritage.

Recent experience and research results give evidence that instances of trying to develop a more European sense of the past still bear the marks of the classical national approach. Dr. Falk Pingel, Deputy Director of the Georg-Eckert-Institute in Brunswick, Germany, recently carried out a research project for the Council of Europe. The question was: *How do textbooks in Europe perceive Europe?* In the UNESCO conference *Disarming History* in September 1999 in Visby, Sweden, he presented some conclusions of this research. He told the audience that national textbooks in Europe only offer a European dimension when that particular country has contributed something to Europe. Otherwise European history is neglected in history textbooks throughout Europe.

The 1999 questionnaire of EUROCLIO on national identity and heritage education does not promise a different approach for the near future. History Teachers in most countries in Europe believe that national history should be in the core of history teaching in the future.

In the National Curriculum of Britain for secondary education, teaching about Europe before 1900 in school history is almost absent. However, Twentieth Century European History is compulsory for each pupil of 13/14 years old. Looking into the curriculum dealing with the Twentieth Century as reflected in British school textbooks, I once wrote in an article explaining that I was not surprised that British people had problems with Europe: it is all wars and dictators!

... What should English pupils know about Europe? The new study programme asks only for the wars of the 20th century. If students study this topic and look in their history textbooks they will receive a queer notion of Europe. The impression given is that this continent is full of wars - The First and the Second World War and the Cold War - and dictators such as Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler. I must say I would not care much myself about being part of Europe if my only source of knowledge was the compulsory 20th century unit from the curriculum in England. (van der Leeuw, 1994)

During the annual conference of EUROCLIO in 1995, we discussed *Teaching about the Potsdam Conference and its Consequences*. It came out that there is hardly any history curriculum or textbook on XX century history in Europe, which does not mention the Conference of Potsdam. But at the same time,

the participants became very much aware of the various national emphases in this European and even global issue.

In Great Britain predominance is given to the *Polish question*. In Russia it is the *Victory in the war and the need of reparations* for the immense damages of the war, whereas for Germany Potsdam is seen in the first place as the official start of the *allied occupation* which lasted until 1990. In France attention is paid to the fact that it was *not invited to the meeting*. For the Spanish historians, the Potsdam Conference has meant virtually nothing; only recently the Conference of Potsdam is becoming more than just a concept in the textbooks.

In the official USSR textbooks, Potsdam was seen as the ultimate co-operation between the allies and the termination of the World War in Europe. Any relation to the beginning of the Cold War was absent. The mutual tension was seen as a contradiction with the positive spirit of the Conference. In most West European textbooks, on the contrary, the decision of Truman to test the atomic bomb during the meeting is mentioned as evidence of the growing tension between the Great Powers during the conference' (van der Leeuw, 1995)

In an attempt to avoid these effects, in 1989 Ferdinand Delouche took the initiative to bring together 12 historians from 12 different countries from the European Union to write and publish a uniform history of Europe. **The Illustrated History of Europe** was published in 1992. The original French text is translated into at least 15 languages, including Russian and Polish. This book has been a success, in several languages it has already seen a reprint. But the question is of course 'were the authors able to avoid the national mirror of pride and pain'? My answer is simply 'no'. The national translations present these elements again. Sometimes it is just a matter of language concept, but often it is more. The national publishers changed words and sentences to demonstrate the national points of view.

I have compared four editions: French, English, German and Dutch. The French text is, as I have already said, the original one where the twelve authors agreed. The different publishers used it as the base for the national translations. The English version follows the French text very closely, the Dutch translation a little less. The German edition shows the largest deviations.

In 1995, during an EUROCLIO conference in Toledo on **Philip II and his Time** it came out that some of the changes were really funny. The official text made William of Orange a dedicated Calvinist. The Dutch evidently were not able to write such incorrect fact in their translation. But looking into the text about the Second World War, the deviations are more serious.

It is interesting to have a closer look into some examples concerning World War II in this European textbook:

- The original French text shows deviations as soon as we reach topics where the involvement of France in the war is mentioned. In the English, German and Dutch versions it is said that after 5 weeks of war on June 17, 1940, *'the Wehrmacht broke through the French defence lines, the French government asked for an armistice'*. What is written in the French text, *'Marshal Petain announces the armistice'*. Was *'asked for an armistice'* too much for French pride? Does this event still hurt too much?
- The next example comes from the English edition. The French, German and Dutch versions inform us that, *'Hitler finally had to give up his plans to invade the British Islands'*. The English text mentions British *soil* instead of British *Islands*! Pride? Only the English text refers to the *occupation* by the

Germans of the Channel Islands; in the other texts this fact is not mentioned. Here we see a clear example of pain again.

- The Dutch text is very preoccupied with the victim status of all those people living under Nazi Government. In several instances, extra words are added to emphasise this issue. I will just give one example: the French and English versions inform us that the war with Poland started quote *'when prisoners from concentration camps are dressed up in Polish uniforms'* to show the world that a German radio transmitter on the frontier was attacked by Polish soldiers, and therefore Nazi Germany had a argument to go to war with Poland. In the Dutch edition they are not called prisoners but quote *'victims of the German concentration camps'*. The sentence in the French and English version says *'their bodies were left in the transmitting station'* and is changed into *'the German soldiers liquidated them and left their corpses behind'*. The Dutch evidently liked to make us aware a little more about the 'pain' caused by the German occupation.
- The German edition shows the largest deviations. Figures are changed, some sentences are added, and other information has disappeared. It was not easy to decide which deviation gives the best impression of what happened. But I thought it appropriate to use the paragraph *'The Wehrmacht attacks the Soviet Union'* as the example. The title of the paragraph is already different in the German version: ***'Attack on the Soviet Union'***.
- But the most interesting part of the paragraph is on the actual war events. The French, English and Dutch texts state that *'the Wehrmacht advanced rapidly, but was not able to wage a 'lightening war' or Blitzkrieg like its campaigns in Poland and France. In the winter of 1941-42 German troops were halted outside Moscow and Leningrad'*. What is written in the German version *'A Blitzkrieg like in Poland and France and, adding, in spring 1941 just one other time in the Balkan area, was the campaign not. In the winter of 1941/42 the attack stopped at Moscow and Leningrad, adding, not in the least because of the strong resistance of the Soviet counter attacks'*. Was it the pride of the victors (France, Great Britain and the Netherlands) who wanted to make clear that in fact the German army lost its absolute power at the end of 1940?

It is perhaps interesting and quite curious that a German historian was responsible for the original text on the Second World War.

Looking into all these issues and examples I find that a search for, and a possible development of a sense of the past on a national and a European level has to be seen and understood quite differently. My definition of developing sense of the past or historical consciousness is that pupils should develop *the understanding that there are different interpretations of the past, develop or construct different understandings of the present, and influence different options for the future*. Another important purpose for history education is that pupils should be able *to understand the world they are living in and to understand how it came about*. Depending on what history curriculum you would like to develop, these issues should be related to elements such as *space, perspective and perception*.

My work is in many ways concerned with trying to convince people that detailed knowledge of the past does not mean that pupils will then automatically understand the past or have a sense of the past. Detailed factual knowledge alone is certainly not very helpful for developing a healthy sense of the past in the mind of young people. However, it is obvious that, for a more peaceful co-existence in Europe, a shift from national to wider historical awareness is quite important. This change of perspective could help to develop awareness among pupils and other people that the world is wider than the nation or the nation state. The Russian teachers I have been working with were quite amazed by how much Europeans share, and how European

they themselves were. They even spoke of *self-isolation* in relation to their national tradition of history teaching.

National history should not be the obvious, eternal starting point for history in school in Europe. An equal treatment of local, national, regional, European and world history should help to create awareness of much broader perspectives and perceptions of the past. However, a wider perspective demands above all a change in the approaches to the learning and teaching of history. In many countries a history curriculum with a detailed description of (national) dates, events and person is everyday practice and even desired future practice as stated in the 1999 EUROCLIO questionnaire on national identity and heritage education. Only if we are able to change these sorts of practices into ways of learning and teaching history which give far more space to open attainment targets, methods and approaches, can a wider and healthier (European) historical consciousness possibly be developed. EUROCLIO sees the spreading of such ideas as one of its tasks.

Some conclusions

- ⇒ A healthy identity of young people is vital but until now I am not very convinced that history education contributes positively to identity building.
- ⇒ Strengthening national identity through history education leads often to a national narrative of the past depicting national mirrors of pride and pain.
- ⇒ Strengthening national identity through history education leads often to an emphasis on national history and a national perspective in history education. This diminishes the European and global perspective, which are inherent to history education.
- ⇒ History education can contribute to the self-identity of young people when it offers role models, not as national heroes, but as valuable people.

To finish my contribution I would like to quote the words written on the grave of a Dutch social democratic politician Wibaut. These are slightly pathetic but quite significant for me:

There is just one country: the earth.
There is just one people: humanity
There is just one religion: love

Everybody shares that identity.

Correspondence

Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, Executive Director EUROCLIO.

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IJHLTR NEWSDESK

1. FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

a) History Teacher Education Network

Values in History Teacher Education University of Ulster, Derry Campus 7th to 9th July 2001

The conference will take the usual format. A number of invited speakers will make inputs on the theme of values education, although we would be delighted to receive offers of papers on aspects of this theme from colleagues. Any offers of papers on this theme should be sent to Cliff O'Neill, HTEN conference Secretary at the address below.

There will, of course, be the usual Research in Progress sessions for colleagues wishing to report their research in any area of education.

Approximate cost of the conference, including fees, food and accommodation for two nights, will be £125 for members, and £165 for non-members. It therefore makes sense to become a member. The Magee campus of the University is situated on the city side of the River Foyle, close to the centre of Londonderry and about three miles from the border with the Irish Republic. Accommodation will be in apartments with single bedroom facilities adjacent to the campus. Full details and application forms will be sent out in February 2001.

N.B. Colleagues should take careful note of the dates of the conference. It will now run from Saturday 7th July to Monday 9th of July. This is both longer than usual and at an unusual time of the week. This has been organised in order to facilitate cheaper airfares, and to allow an extra afternoon for participants to tour the 17th-century city walls and visit areas associated with the recent 'Troubles'.

For further details please contact: Cliff O'Neill, HTEN Conference Secretary
History Department, St Martin's College, Lancaster LA1 3JD Tel: 01524 384455
E-mail: C.O'Neill@ucsm.ac.uk

b) Teaching History in Divided Societies

An International Summer School to be held in the Unesco Centre, School of Education, University of Ulster at Coleraine, Northern Ireland. 14 – 22 July, 2001

For further information contact: Alan McCully, School of Education, University of Ulster at Coleraine, Northern Ireland. BT 52 1SA Email: AW.McCully@ulst.ac.uk
Tel. (44 – 28 – 7032 – 4975)

c) Diverse Citizenship: March 30th and 31st at the University of North London.

March 30th is devoted to speakers and papers, and the second, March 31st to workshops by and for practitioners. For details contact Jim O'Keeffe, Rm. L101, University of North London, School of Education, 166-220 Holloway Road, London, N7 8DB Tel: 020 7753 5104
j.okeefe@unl.ac.uk

d) Historical Association: Free Members Event: 7 April 2001 at The British Library

This event involves both teachers and general members and will include a number of exciting attractions throughout the day. There will be lectures by Christine Counsell and David Starkey, this year's winner of the Medlicott Medal. Also included are exclusive visits and gallery talks in the British Library, the Historical Association's AGM and meetings of our local branch officers.

Please phone the Historical Association on 020 7735 3901 or e-mail us at enquiry@history.org.uk for further details. Booking opens on 8 January 2001.

e) Historical Association: 14-19 Education Conference: 28 July at the PRO

This year the conference for 14-19 teachers has two main themes: ICT and Using Original Documents in history teaching. There will be a wide range of workshops by experts from the Historical Association and the Public Record Office. The price is still to be confirmed. Please phone the Historical Association on 0207 735 3901 for further details or e-mail us at: enquiry@history.org.uk

f) Historical Association: General Education Conference: 6 Oct at the Uni of York

This is the major education conference now redesigned as a one-day event, which we hope will make it accessible to more of our members than ever before. The conference will include a plenary lecture (to be decided) and the usual popular workshops from our experts. There will be a major exhibition of educational resources/services. Please phone the Historical Association on 0207 735 3901 for further details or e-mail us at: enquiry@history.org.uk

2. NEWS FROM SOUTH AFRICA

The History Panel appointed by the Minister of Education has now submitted its report, and it has just come on to the web:

http://education.pwv.gov.za/history_and_archaeology.htm

3. NEWS FROM EUROCLIO

Please go to the EUROCLIO homepage at: <http://www.webeuroclio.com>

The General Assembly and Conference in March 2001 will be in Tallinn, Estonia.

4. NEWS FROM AND ABOUT OTHER JOURNALS

a) The upcoming January/February 2001 issue of **Middle Level Learning** features several articles on oral history projects in grades 5 through 8. Articles include 'Wandering Behind: Talking About Pearl Harbor,' by Daniel J. Ferri; 'Oral History Research: Internet Resources and Reports,' by Margaret Hill; and 'A World War II Oral History Project for Eighth Graders,' by Thomas E. Gray. Middle Level Learning is a 16-page insert of SOCIAL EDUCATION, the flagship journal of the National Council for the Social Studies. Visit www.socialstudies.org For individual copies, call 800-683-0812. Contact Steven S. Lapham, Associate Editor, National Council for the Social Studies 3501 Newark Street, NW, Washington, DC 20016-3167, 800-296-7840 ext. 119 (free voice), 202-966-7840 ext. 119 (voice), 202-966-2061 (fax), slapham@ncss.org (e-mail), www.ncss.org (NCSS website)

b) Primary History

From Penelope Harnett, editor. We are always looking for contributions which relate to teaching and learning history in the primary years. Primary History is published three times yearly by the Historical Association, 59a. Kennington Park Road, London SE11 4JH.

www.history.org.uk Penelope.Harnett@uwe.ac.uk

IJHLTR Volume 1 Number 1 December 2000: Contributors

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Joke van der Leeuw is Executive Director (since 1999) and former President (1992-1999) of EUROCLIO, the European Standing Conference of History Teachers Associations. She previously worked as a history teacher and teacher trainer and was President of the Dutch History Teachers Association. She works as an expert for the Council of Europe on history and citizenship education; and has contributed through reports, lectures, workshops and advisory work to seminars, conferences and other activities in numerous countries. joke@euroclio.nl

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Derek Brough is a senior lecturer in the Department of Computing at Imperial College London. He has been working for many years in conjunction with the PEG group on creating computer tools to support teaching and learning across the curriculum. Currently he is developing web and MS Office based tools to investigate methods of self-paced remote learning. drb@doc.ic.ac.uk