

όμιλος ιστορικού διαλόγου και έρευνας **association for historical dialogue and research** tarihsel diyalog ve araştırma derneği

The Future of the Past: Why History Education Matters

EDITORS: Lukas Perikleous and Denis Shemilt

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AHDR is an intercommunal organization whose mission is to contribute to the advancement of historical understanding amongst the public and more specifically amongst children, youth and educators by providing access to learning opportunities for individuals of every ability and every ethnic, religious, cultural and social background, based on the respect for diversity and the dialogue of ideas. In doing so, AHDR recognizes the values of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the UNESCO aims on education, and the Council of Europe's recommendations relevant to history teaching. AHDR activities include research and dissemination of research findings; development of policy recommendations; enrichment of library and archives; organization of teacher training seminars, discussions, conferences; publication of educational materials; organization of on-site visits and walks; development of outreach tools; establishment of synergies between individuals and organizations at a local, European and international level.

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Why History Education Matters in Cyprus

Rana Zincir Celal

Why History Education Matters in Cyprus

On 6 May 2011, the two leaders of Cyprus stood side by side with representatives of the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) in a joyful and unique celebration within the buffer zone in Nicosia, Cyprus. The occasion marked the opening of the Home for Cooperation, an educational and research centre born out of the ideas and efforts that first came into being when the AHDR was formed in April 2003 by an inter-communal group of history educators, historians, academics and activists from across the divide in Cyprus. The newly restored building, with its fresh paint, gleaming windows and spacious rooms stands in distinct contrast to what was in place before: a faded, abandoned structure, overwrought with pigeons and weeds, marked by a bullet-ridden façade and strewn with shards of glass.

Indeed, the buffer zone, for many years a physical, political and emotional reminder of the history which led to the current separation of the two communities of Cyprus, has since, through the Home for Cooperation, been transformed into an arena of dialogue, cooperation, and promise. In contrast to the omnipresent forces and symbols that point towards a seemingly foregone conclusion of enduring separation, the Home for Cooperation, by offering a space for fresh ideas, opportunities to communicate with others and develop diverse relationships, presents the possibility of forging a new kind of history. Therefore, beyond reconstituting the geography of the buffer zone, the Home for Cooperation and the activities of the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research are committed to contributing to rewriting possibilities for the future (from multiple historical perspectives), where understandings of the past can be reassessed through healthy, productive and sustained dialogue.

The significance of history and the many purposes for which it is used, not just in Cyprus but all over, was what led the AHDR to come together nearly seven years earlier to promote a productive dialogue about history and history education. History is a matter of great importance particularly in conflicting societies like Cyprus, where efforts to establish and substantiate political claims are ongoing. Often attached to promoting a particular social goal or agenda, 'history' becomes reproduced in textbooks, within political rhetoric, within the media, in public spaces, becoming part of how we construct our understanding of our culture and identity, and how we approach others. By the same token, one can also find history being used for other means, whether it is to cultivate peaceful relations, or

notions of co-existence, or democratic citizenship. In either case, the outcome or over-riding purpose seems to take precedence over process. Under such circumstances, it is easy for history to be used as a tool and thus become distorted, with the result being, in the case of Cyprus, the reinforcement of mutual antagonism and mistrust. Such monolithic interpretations of history have made history and history teaching highly contested and controversial subjects.

This provided the founders of the AHDR with fertile ground upon which to work, with emphasis on the notion that history must be approached as a discipline in itself, and priority given to the concepts and skills within history and history teaching that allow students and researchers to advance historical understanding and critical thinking. A good historian, a good history teacher, a good history student - all must draw from knowledge, from concepts and practices within a disciplinary framework that enable one to teach and learn to cope confidently with the familiar and the less familiar, to question accounts, to come to grips with multiperspectivity, to evaluate historical significance, to construct interpretations through disciplined argument and debate, and to acknowledge and celebrate a multiplicity of potential identities. Within the context of Cyprus then, such a pursuit could only happen by coming into contact with and engaging in an open and respectful dialogue with members of the other community.

Understanding the discipline of history in the broadest sense, with the full range of its complexity and diversity, within the context of trying to make the historical learning journey more meaningful and engaging for educators and for students across the divide are the key principles that have defined the programmes and activities of the Association. From the beginning, the Association has set as one of its priorities teacher training on the epistemology and methodology of history teaching and learning. *The Association's first public event, an educational seminar titled "What does it mean to think historically? Approaches to teaching and learning history" was held in February 2004. Nearly 250 participants from a range of professional, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds came together in what was to become a long-term process of exploring how historical understanding could be enhanced through the adoption of new teaching practices.* Training sessions taking place almost three to four times a year since then have been organized in collaboration with both international and Cypriot organizations, such as the Council of Europe, EUROCLIO, and teacher trade unions across the divide,

offering valuable opportunities for educators to become exposed to new concepts and better equipped to meet the demands of multiperspectival approaches in the classroom.

The Association has also emphasized the importance of research as a means to further our understanding of how history is constructed and represented, and how perceptions of history influence contact and trust between the two communities. Reports soon to be published by the AHDR present pioneering research on these dimensions in Cyprus. A library and the work of the Cyprus Critical History Archive undertaken in partnership with the PRIO Cyprus Centre are both additional ways that new resources are being built and offered to facilitate the exchange of ideas based on in-depth research. Both are housed at the Home for Cooperation.

Turning back to 2011, we can say for certain that this is a milestone year for the AHDR. In 2011, along with the opening of the Home for Cooperation, the AHDR is launching a set of educational materials on issues related to life in formerly mixed villages, the missing persons, Cypriot artefacts, the Ottoman period, traditional games, and cultural heritage. The materials have been prepared by inter-communal teams of educational associates, working with the guidance of educational experts from the UK. They seek to further historical understanding by making use of key pedagodical concepts and tools, as applied to topics which emphasize a multi-cultural and pluralistic understanding of Cyprus history. Many of these are untouched subjects, often too sensitive to be discussed at the inter-communal level, or discussed only on a monolithic, mono-perspectival basis. However, it is only by offering new tools that bring together diverse perspectives within a strong disciplinary framework that we can venture forward.

The Home for Cooperation then represents not only a symbolic resource - of what can be achieved when vision is combined with and driven by theory, praxis and a good deal of dedication - but also a very real tangible resource of inter-communal dialogue and learning that encourages continuous questioning, examination and reflection through a process based on mutual respect and disciplinary understanding. Indeed, the AHDR's work as whole offers a model that links theoretical and academic work to a collective-collaborative process of dialogue, inquiry and learning, and to tangible and direct products that can be utilized on the public and educational level.

This is exemplified by the 2010 Symposium "What does it mean to think historically? Six Years On" which presented a significant opportunity for the academic and educator communities to learn about and debate new findings and trends in history education. This volume is a collection of the academic papers that were given during the Symposium, offering the reader an opportunity to engage with leading scholars from within and without Cyprus and cutting-edge thinking on history education. Creating a space for, documenting and sharing ideas are together essential to fostering the kind of long-term exchange and dialogue that enables the growth and evolution of efforts. We hope this volume contributes to another step in that direction.

Preface

Lukas Perikleous & Denis Shemilt

Preface

The papers contained in this volume were delivered at or inspired by an AHDR sponsored symposium in Nicosia, Cyprus in May 2010. The symposium aimed to bring together scholars from around Europe to share the latest developments and innovative ideas on core areas of history education: development of historical thinking, teacher training and teachers' representations, and trends in educational materials. In this symposium the work of local researchers on history education in Cyprus was also presented, marking AHDR's commitment to furthering new scholarship on these issues.

The survival and status of history within the mass education systems of post-industrial and post-conflict states cannot be taken for granted. Nor should it be. As several of the following papers make clear, official history curricula in some countries tend to memorialize old resentments and grievances, thereby inspiring future generations of citizens to repeat the follies and excesses of the past. Elsewhere, history curricula can be self-consciously innocuous, paying tokenistic homage to fashionable obsessions and venerable traditions whilst striving to minimize or, more usually, balance offences and irritations offered to diverse interests and communities. At no time in living memory has uncertainty about what school history is for been so widespread. This state of affairs is inflected with irony in that more and more is being demanded of school history: history teachers may be expected to develop in students the basic skills deemed necessary to moderate the pace of economic decline whilst, at the same time, promoting cross-communal understanding and international reconciliation, consolidating or refashioning identities, and re-connecting the 'now' generation with the everyday heroism and routine endurance of its ancestors.

Most papers in this volume are careful to stress that, as yet, it is impossible to guarantee the delivery of what is currently demanded of history education. In part this is because some practices effective in experimental situations prove impractical or unsuccessful when transferred to the full range of classes taught in mainstream schools. More serious are significant gaps in our understanding of how students can be taught to make personal sense and valid use of what they know about the past. Some gaps can be plugged with as yet untested hypotheses, but others are unlikely to be filled without fundamental research into discipline-specific aspects of teaching and learning. A third problem, albeit one difficult to quantify, is that what history education is able to deliver may be limited by more culturally powerful representations of a past variously preserved in folk traditions and memorials, perpetuated by the heritage lobby, or invented by the media and entertainment

industries. Somewhat paradoxically, culturally embedded beliefs and collective memories may do worse than supplant valid and evidence-based accounts with fictive and groundless ones; they may pre-empt awareness of entire periods and aspects of history. For instance, for many students and citizens in the west, consciousness of German and Russian history prior to the early twentieth century has all but been erased by the relentless repetition of a few potent images, messages and moral judgements. It is as though the character and contributions of these nations is instantiated in Nazism and Stalinism throughout the whole of time past, present and to come. Much the same might be said about perceptions of British and French history in some, though not all, post-colonial states.

Impoverished species of historical consciousness and dubious representations of the past immanent within collective culture are significant impediments to the success of academically sound history education programmes in schools. Even more damaging, however, is the impact of such consciousness and representations on history education agendas, on the learning outcomes that school history is expected to deliver and on the 'pictures of the past' it is thought essential for future citizens to possess. At its most crude, this impact may be perceived in history curricula that represent national, class or ethnic pasts in epic or heroic terms, exaggerate the contributions made by 'elect' groups to human history, or foster a sense of entitlement or victimhood in 'loser' groups. Equally insidious is the impact of collective culture on the selection and organisation of historical content. Topics chosen for presumed relevance to particular groups of pupils can insinuate, however unintentionally, a sense of identity and affiliation with 'peoples' whose essential qualities are reified from the actions of exceptional individuals at discrete points in the past. Such reified qualities are invariably assumed to obtain for the group as a whole, if only as latent potentialities, and to remain constant across the flux and flow of time. Damaging in less predictable ways are history curricula constructed on the 'edited highlights' principle, whether highlights are selected with respect to interest or significance, which reinforce consciousness of the past as a temporal zone containing freestanding narratives specific to period and place but lacking a narrative as a whole.

Possibly more potent than its influence on the structure and content of school history curricula is the impact of collective memory on the ways in which students and citizens evaluate whatever they know, or think they know, about the past. Recognising that individual memories may prove unreliable, or even false, unless confirmed by the memories of others, we tend to trust collective

memories even when these amount to little more than interpretations of or judgement about the past supported by de-contextualized and un-sourced anecdotes. Ronald Reagan liked to tell a story about the heroic self-sacrifice of a B24 bomber crew during World War II, usually ending with the question, "Where do we get such young men?" Reagan's memory of the incident was accurate and consistent with that of others. He had, however, misremembered its source. The incident occurred in a film not in reality. Once they have taken root, less trivial *factoids* are difficult to dislodge from collective memory. It may even be deemed offensive or insensitive to challenge *factoids* possessing totemic status - myths of origin and achievement, of heroism and suffering, taken to define the identity or distinctiveness and illustrate the greatness or destiny of a people. Why presume to ask, 'How do you know?' about what 'everybody knows'?

The status and ubiquity of collective memory creates obvious dilemmas for history education. Should it defer to or should it attempt to challenge culturally significant perceptions and interpretations of the past? Both options demand sacrifices and pose risks. To endorse, or even tolerate, *factoids* and invalid interpretations of the past on the grounds that beliefs merit respect proportionate to their putative cultural significance is tantamount either to abandoning the Enlightenment Project or, as some post-modern theorists appear to suggest, to repudiating the claims of academic history to be part of it. If academic history tells 'just another story' neither more nor less (true or) valid than the stories told by the fireside or on the street, in the press or on film, why should we care? And if the stories told by historians are less important to people than those they hear in church or at political rallies, and less entertaining than those read in comics and seen on television, why should we even bother to listen to them? Voltaire criticised eighteenth century historiography as a joke told by the living against the dead. Permitting collective memory to censor or prescribe history education in schools might allow the past to repay the joke with interest.

A more practical issue pertains to inter- and intra-state conflicts, to unfriendly neighbours and divided communities. Collective memory might indicate reconciliation with the 'other' to be impossible and/or undesirable. It might, in excess of fantasy, dream of liberation for East Jerusalem, the re-conquest of Byzantium or redress for the sack of Rome whilst acceding to the pragmatism of peaceful if resentful co-existence. The reconciliation of communities within states is more problematic still. The recent histories of Yugoslav successor states testify to the resilience of collective

memories within socially mixed and economically integrated communities. In this connection, contrary versions and interpretations of Yugoslav unification and the catastrophe of 1941-45 are less surprising than the persistence of fault lines originating with the Great Schism of 954 and reinforced by policies of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires towards subject peoples. Of course, there is far more to group identities and cultural differences than contrary memories of the past, but the question remains as to whether history education should attempt to reconcile or share such memories when, in the light of academic history, they – and the interpretations and judgements sustained thereby – are demonstrably false or without foundation. Whatever answer is given, how effectively collective memories may be shared, corrected and debunked in the classroom remains a moot point. Like adults, students are more disposed to accept things they would like to be true and to forget or distort information and arguments inconsistent with existing ideas and beliefs. Perhaps, as is suggested in several of the following papers, the answer lies in developing students' 'historical literacy', their grasp of the nature and logic of history as a 'form of knowledge' to the point where they take an informed and critical stance to all representations and interpretations of the past, and understand that – although neither complete nor absolute – academic history is epistemologically superior to 'folk memory' and fiction precisely because it makes it very difficult for us to engage in wishful thinking about the past and forces us to confront possibilities and actualities that we'd sooner evade.

Questions remain as to what schools and teachers can and should attempt to do, and how to go about doing it? Papers in this volume explore theoretical and technical problems and potentialities immanent within and arising from the dilemmas of history education. These are addressed under two headings:

1. The Purpose and Potential of History Education: *what history education should and can be for.*
2. What is Possible in Schools and Classrooms: *recent advances and next steps in history education.*

In the first group of six papers the position and role of history education in a globalized and post-modern world is evaluated. The lead paper by **Giorgos Kokkinos** analyses the role that school history could and should play within a culture in which remembrance of things past is deeply and inextricably embedded. He explores the tensions arising in cultures that alienate people from the past but, at the same time, fetishize past traumas; and argues that the pseudo-dialectic emerging from this tension

transforms "a haunting past" into "an eternal present". The complexity and subtlety of Kokkinos' dialectical arguments cannot be conveyed in fewer words than he uses but, insofar as summary is possible, he contends that the present generation of students memorialize the pain and indignity of past events but know little of how and why such events occurred, or of the ways in which life was understood at the time and differed from contemporary perspectives. Even less do twenty-first century students understand how 'the-altogether-more-comfortable present' could emerge from a past which, though frequently cruel and stupid, was much more besides.

According to Kokkinos, history education should neither ignore nor confront and oppose the 'collective memories' and historical consciousness prevalent in contemporary culture, but instead seek to harness, modify and add something different thereto. Following Roger Simon (2005), Kokkinos suggests that extensive use of primary sources can mitigate the temporal deracination of an entire generation once students become attuned to hearing predecessors speak in their own voices, and come to understand how they saw their own present.

He also supports developing the 'historical literacy' of students – what he terms induction into "consensual disciplinary traditions" – not so much to inoculate young minds against *factoids* and invalid interpretations of the past, but rather to ensure that discipline-based perspectives are considered alongside those perpetuated and generated by other cultural agencies. Kokkinos is optimistic about the outcomes of teaching history from multiple perspectives, arguing that if students are able to view the past in this way "then the present necessarily remains open to alternative possibilities and hope for a better future is also kept alive."

Denis Shemilt echoes Kokkinos' emphasis on the potency of collective memories, and accepts that teachers must take account of students' prior conceptions about 'the past-present' and assumptions about how and why things happen in human affairs. History education, he argues, is likely to have little long term impact unless students, first, learn to appraise the claims to knowledge on which competing representations of the past – commercial, traditional and disciplinary – are based; second, are equipped to update, extend and evaluate their knowledge of the past in the light of new information and experience of unfolding events; and third, understand how to apply historical knowledge to collective decision-making in valid and productive ways.

The major weakness of current history education practice, according to Shemilt, is lack of consensus about what it is for. This is not a criticism of course objectives which, of necessity, must answer to the needs and capabilities of diverse groups of students as well as operate within expectations and constraints particular to their the social and educational contexts. Criticism is directed at confusion as to what distinct categories of purpose entail for the sorts of history that must (and must not) be taught if such purposes are to be met. Two distinctions are deemed critical. The first is between purposes that can only be fulfilled if students possess specified content and disciplinary knowledge and purposes for which knowledge of the past and of the discipline are irrelevant or incidental. Purposes that demand basic and study skills outcomes, or focus on fashionable aspects of citizenship formation, fall into the latter category. Shemilt argues that unless purposes demand the active retention and application of historical knowledge in later life, 'historical literacy' is irrelevant and selection of content fails to signify.

A second distinction is made between history education for 'social engineering' and for 'social education' purposes. 'Social engineering' purposes require students to use knowledge of the past to define group identities, to validate socially desirable attitudes and to predispose them towards socially productive patterns of behaviour. It may also be necessary for teachers to directly teach what the lessons of the past imply for identities, attitudes and behaviours, lest students fail to make the desired connections. Purposes of this kind demand levels of 'historical literacy' sufficient for students to esteem the lessons of the classroom above alternative messages given by popular and commercial culture, but insufficient to criticise, or even evaluate, what they are taught. 'Social education' purposes, on the other hand, aim to equip students to evaluate and update their own knowledge of the past, and to use what they have learned to inform their own readings of the present and decisions about the future. As argued by Shemilt, such purposes can only be fulfilled if learning outcomes combine higher levels of 'historical literacy' than currently obtain with a workable grasp of human history as a whole, with what has come to be called 'big history'. Unfortunately, it has yet to be shown that either outcome is achievable with normal range students in real-world classrooms.

While Shemilt acknowledges the need for 'historical literacy' as a prophylactic against invention and 'false memory', to update students' knowledge and understanding during adult life and to

enable valid and productive use to be made of what they know and understand about the past, **Peter Lee** goes further. For him, mastery of such second-order concepts as 'change', 'continuity' and 'development' has the potential to be "transformative", to make students think about the past, present and future in entirely new ways. Instead of anatomizing sorts and elements of transformative experience, Lee offers illustrations and anecdotes, e.g. about a group of science students whose understanding of their specialist subject was transformed by a history lesson. Understanding how and why science had 'developed' over time – not, as they had previously assumed, through the slow accumulation of discoveries – transformed their grasp of the nature and logic of the subject. Critical to this transformation was not the learning of new facts about past scientific experiments and discoveries, but a deeper understanding of the second-order concept of historical 'development'.

Lee argues that understanding of the past and mastery of disciplinary procedures are interlocked. The latter are meaningless in isolation from the substantive problems they have been developed to address and resolve; and confidence, meaning and significance cannot be attributed to the content of the past without the disciplinary tools designed for these purposes. Equipping students to discriminate between admissible and inadmissible representations and interpretations of the past is but the first major watershed in an historical education. Beyond this, students must come to understand how it is possible for different stories to be told about the same period or the same events without any story necessarily being 'false', i.e. it is rarely, if ever, the case that there is only one admissible account of an historical topic. Unless and until their 'historical literacy' is sufficiently developed, students solve the problem of 'alternative stories' either by refusing to take historical accounts very seriously on the grounds that 'no one really knows about the past so you can offer any interpretation you wish' or by assuming that, like differences in religious belief, multiple perspectives in history must be respected because every perspective is integral to someone's cultural heritage. The implications of Lee's thesis is that the past can only be known and understood when students grasp that accounts offering different perspectives on the same periods and aspects of the past may:

- All be *admissible* (in that conclusions are neither groundless nor invalid) but *unequal* in the strength of the evidence cited and quality of the arguments they advance.
- Collectively define and explore the scope for *epistemological uncertainty* that exists in some corner of the past with respect to what happened, how and why things occurred

and/or the nature and significance of connections with the past-present as a whole.

- Attempt to answer *different questions* and, thereby, contribute to a multi-faceted apprehension of a reality articulated by the curiosity and puzzlement of succeeding generations as well as by the lived experiences of people at the time.

The general case for 'historical literacy' made by Lee, is further developed by the next three contributors with particular reference to key second-order concepts. These papers also flesh out Lee's claim that more is known about the teaching and learning of such concepts than about how to remedy the fragmentation of students' historical knowledge or to develop and assess historical consciousness. **Arthur Chapman** focuses upon the concepts of 'accounts' and 'evidence' and, through a review of the related literature in the philosophy of history and research in history education, attempts to identify ways of thinking about the concepts that students need to develop and to analyse the challenges posed by learning to think historically. Chapman claims that history education should aim to question students' preconceptions about the past instead of confirming them. Although he acknowledges the importance of giving the opportunity to students to explore multiple perspectives, he distinguishes this from knowing how claims about the past are constructed. He argues that the latter has the potential to help students to develop their understanding of historical perspectives. This kind of disciplined understanding is counter-intuitive and differs from our everyday conception of 'knowing'. Students' experience of their present world is, according to Chapman, one of the main reasons for the phenomenon of 'presentism', the use of contemporary ideas and conventions when they think about representations of the past. He also identifies the assumption of a 'fixed' past as a common misconception that prevents students from thinking about history as multiple and overlapping reconstructions of a past which, in the nature of the case, eludes definitive apprehension on an individual let alone an inter-subjecive basis.

Discussing the concept of 'historical evidence', Chapman, emphasises the fact that the discipline of history abides by certain 'rules of engagement' which allow the assessment of historical arguments without disallowing differences in substantive beliefs. He also discusses the nature of 'historical accounts', focusing on the variety of kinds of accounts and the influence that historians' interpretative frameworks have on their construction. In his review of research on students' ideas of historical evidence and historical accounts, Chapman, drawing on research from a variety of educational

contexts, discusses and exemplifies their key characteristics. He argues that students can develop powerful ideas about 'historical evidence' and 'accounts', that specific misconceptions are common in students thinking and that the only way for students to progress is to challenge these misconceptions. As an aid to so doing, Chapman presents two research-based progression models of students' ideas about the second-order concepts of 'historical evidence' and 'accounts'.

Although his paper does not aim to provide specific pedagogic suggestions, Chapman identifies a few key objectives that must be met if students' historical understanding is to be developed in ways that enable them to discriminate between more and less valid representations of the past. In the case of 'historical evidence', he suggests that an important misconception to be challenged is students' tendency to think of evidence in terms of the sort of testimonies that might be offered in courts of law. In the case of historical accounts, Chapman claims that a key understanding pertains to the nature and role of criteria in the construction and evaluation of 'historical accounts'. In terms of teachers' practice, Chapman's key message is that, although second-order concepts are complicated and developing them is difficult, research indicates, first, that it can be done; and second, that it must be done in order to challenge students' everyday ideas about what happened in and how we know about the past.

Lukas Perikleous analyses what is and is not involved in 'empathetic understanding and explanation', and reviews the significance thereof for the development of students' ideas abouthow we make sense of people in the past. He emphasizes the importance of taking into consideration students' preconceptions when teaching history and also that concepts of history are counter-intuitive, which implies that students are unlikely to develop their understanding of history unless teaching explicitly aims to develop historical thinking. He argues that the second-order concept of 'historical empathy' rest upon a number of assumptions, namely that perspectives of the past are usually different from contemporary ones, that we share of a common humanity with people in the past, that our way of life is genetically connected to those of our predecessors and that people in the past behaved rationally with reference to their own beliefs and the ways they perceived their situations. Perikleous claims that empathetic explanations demand deep contextual knowledge and a dispositional, rather than an affective, engagement with the past and its people.

In his review of the research literature on on students' ideas of 'historical empathy', Perikleous identifies two major features: first, their tendency to interpret the past using ideas and beliefs about the present world; and second, lack of attention to the historical contexts in which actions, institutions and practices are situated. With reference to his own research, Perikleous emphasizes the importance of challenging students' misconceptions about the ideas and behavior of predecessors and, above all, about why ideas and behaviours that would be deemed foolish and unacceptable today could be thought sensible and reasonable in the past. He also stresses the importance of teaching approaches which encourage children to express their ideas in ways that expose their preconceptions and taken-for-granted assumptions to analysis and evaluation by teachers.

Discussing the fact that many students in his and other studies tended to think about the past in terms of deficits, Perikleous argues that teachers should pre-empt invidious comparisons between past and present that highlight what 'they' didn't have or know but which 'we' have and know in abundance. Of course, this is not to suggest that teachers should censor what students know about the past or minimize differences between 'then' and 'now'. They should, however, strive to disconfirm the misconception that our predecessors were in any way inferior in intellect and sensibility because they knew and had less, thought and felt differently than people today. Disconfirmation strategies can be positive as well as negative. When asked to undertake tasks in the conditions and using the technology available to predecessors, students often marvel at the skill and ingenuity used to solve problems that leave feeling them baffled and helpless. Finally, Perikleous claims that sophisticated ideas expressed by some young children are, as in the case of many other studies, an indication that students in primary education can develop ideas of historical empathy and that teaching should aim to help them to do this. Closing his paper, Perikleous, reminds us that developing students ideas of 'historical empathy', as in the case of other second order concepts, is not an easy task and, despite the fact that students are not expected to become mini- historians, helping them to make sense of people in the past is a worthwhile aim.

The paper by **Carla Peck**, **Stuart Poyntz** and **Peter Seixas** reports the results and considers the implications of a small scale investigation into students' conceptions of *agency* in Canadian history. The authors are careful to note the limits of their research: the number of cases is small; no allowance is made for experimental effects; and no information bearing upon students' understanding of 'truth'

in history or of the impact of their knowledge upon everyday attitudes and behaviour was collected. In addition, the operational definition of *agency* was narrow: "actors have intentions... [they perform] actions, and the consequences of their actions... [are both] intended and unintended". Students' ideas and assumptions about the salience and causes of unintended outcomes, and about the material and symbolic contexts within which intentions emerge and means-to-ends are selected, are not explored.

Research limitations notwithstanding, results are encouraging but, at the same time, reveal the scale of the challenges facing classroom pedagogy. The three principal findings are that students:

- Wove *agency* into their narratives. Agents were identified and, in some cases, seen to bring about long-term and significant change; they were something more than actors in an antiquarian soap opera. Although *historical agency* was convincingly identified, Peck, Poyntz and Seixas are careful to qualify this finding, noting that students' narratives tended to be neutral with respect to *agency*, i.e. students usually wrote as though things just happened.
- Identified only one 'Great Man' as an agent in Canadian history. It is difficult to know whether to be encouraged or disappointed by this finding. The realization that, however important their roles, significant individuals cannot make history in their own image would have been grounds for celebration, but is nomination of a single Man of Destiny better than that of five, or of twenty?
- Identified several 'collective agencies' - principally "Canadians, Canada, Britain, the British, immigrants" - in Canadian history. It is possible, however, that these are impersonal rather than collective agencies, i.e. groups, nations and countries are treated "as if [their constituent populations] acted collectively with uniform intentions". If this is so, it points to a major challenge facing history education. When writing historical narratives, students appear unaware of what may be termed 'the traffic jam perplex': for a given free agent, we can use goal-oriented and means-ends reasoning to explain why s/he is at a particular place on a given occasion. But we cannot so explain why this free agent is in a traffic jam! Nor can we explain the traffic jam by summing the unique intentions of all free agents trapped therein even though it is their summed presence

that constitutes the jam.

Peck, Poyntz and Seixas identify a proper understanding of *collective agency* as critical to 'narrative competence' in history. Unless and until students master this concept they are unable to grasp the role of ordinary people in effecting change and still less appreciate "the limitations imposed by conditions inherited from the past". Without such understanding they are condemned to be spectators in their own futures. This is a challenge for everyone involved in history education, theorists and course developers as well as researchers and classroom practitioners.

The second group of papers takes up this challenge and analyses routes and impediments to innovation in history education from three perspectives: those of students, teachers and curriculum developers. The findings and implications of research and experience are reviewed with reference to primary and secondary schools in Cyprus and elsewhere. The first two papers focus on students and why a mismatch sometimes obtains between what we teach and what they succeed in learning.

Bodo von Borries draws on over thirty years' experience of qualitative and quantitative, mono-cultural and intercultural research to present a conspectus of variables and factors that impact on students' historical consciousness and orientation.

Almost without exception, von Borries notes, perceptions of European students about classroom practice differ from those of their teachers. As a rule, teachers report higher incidences of primary source usage and greater emphasis on "nationalistic traditions" than do their students. Of course, teachers are likely to have a personal interest in stressing their own conformity with professionally and politically approved practices, but it is also likely that discrepancies in perception reflect differences in knowledge and understanding. Students will not perceive that a primary source is being used unless they understand what a primary source is. For many students, a primary source is a text they find difficult to understand, perhaps because it contains unfamiliar words. For others, pictorial sources may not be seen as 'sources', primary or otherwise, but rather as illustrations. In like manner, artefacts and sites may be thought of as 'things' and 'places', not as 'sources'! Equally, students are unlikely to recognise "nationalistic traditions" in history if these are the only traditions to which they have been exposed. For them, a nationalistic perspective on European or world history

is the same as 'telling it like it was'.

In some ways more surprising are the findings von Borries' reports with respect to age and sex main and interaction effects on students' historical learning. "Alienation from history in history lessons" turns out to be age-related, increasing with age, as might be expected, but then making a partial reversal in late adolescence. But the impact of this variable is far from identical for boys and girls. As von Borries acidly observes, boys appear to have greater need for in-school entertainment. More profound in its implications for curriculum strategies as well as classroom practices, is the finding that girls score more highly than boys on *altruism* (moral judgement and commitment) but lower on *historical empathy* (understanding of past actions and perspectives on their own terms). If, as the editors suppose may be the case, it were to be discovered that girls score more highly than boys on (some measures of) *everyday empathy*, i.e. that girls empathise more effectively with their contemporaries, this would suggest that the affective and dispositional aspects of *everyday empathy* hinder mastery of the cognitive concepts on which *historical empathy* depends.

The most disconcerting of von Borries' findings is the high incidence of impoverished historical consciousness and orientation amongst secondary school students, higher education students and teachers. The connection between mastery of the nature and logic of the discipline and understanding of the past, argued by Lee on theoretical grounds, is reiterated by von Borries on empirical ones. Many students, and even teachers, commit the sin of "moral presentism" when making judgements about the past. A failure to fully understand the disciplinary logic and foundations of the subject may also contribute to the difficulties some students and teachers have in distinguishing between historical and fictional accounts of the past, and certainly accounts for von Borries' finding that, in some European countries, students trust in TV documentaries, and even in historical fiction, is greater than that in school text-books.

Although only too aware of the threat posed by "dangerous and even pathological" accounts of the past circulating in popular culture, von Borries remains optimistic that, with further research and experimentation, progress will continue to be made. Indeed, evidence that this is so may be found in case study investigations undertaken with primary school pupils, an age-group about whom von

Borries has little to say.

In her paper, **Hilary Cooper** focuses upon the primary age-phase and relates social constructivist theories of learning to the processes of enquiry in history. She claims that it is crucial to help students develop their abilities of historical enquiry and expresses concern that focusing on learning single national narratives can be dangerous. Discussing the processes of historical enquiry, Cooper identifies the potential and limitations of source interpretation exercises, and notes the relationship between interpreting evidence and interpreting the thoughts and feelings of historical agents. Drawing on Piaget's, Bruner's and Vygotsky's work, Cooper claims that young children progress in their ability to draw inferences from sources provided that they are properly inducted into processes of enquiry and required to interact with peers and teachers.

Combining theory with practice, Cooper, presents a series of case studies in which students develop arguments, use concepts (often at an abstract level), suggest multiple reasons for people's actions based on sources and create accounts from multiple perspectives. In her conclusion, Cooper also refers to the case of Cyprus, suggesting that the variety of cultures represented in the island's history has generated a rich and diverse body of resources for teaching processes of historical enquiry. Finally, she opines that sources from antiquity can be particularly useful in this kind of teaching because they allow more hypotheses to be formulated, and also because their status and meaning is likely to be less contested across the communal divide.

The focus of the papers in this secion now moves from students to teachers. As an old classroom adage has it: knowing what you're doing is more important than doing any particular thing. The limits to what is possible in history education – even in the best of all possible schools replete with the best of all possible text-books – are set by the historical knowledge and understanding, creativity and commitment of teachers. Official policies and regulations are doomed to fail unless teachers know how and wish to make them succeed. The paper by **Charis Psaltis**, **Eleni Lytras**, **Stefania Costache** and **Charlotte Fischer** reports results from a socio-cultural investigation into the substance and determinants of Cypriot teachers' ideas and beliefs about the epistemological foundations of history and the purposes and practices of history education.

Psaltis et al are concerned to check-out a number of theoretically informed expectations, but explicit hypotheses are neither advanced nor tested. Nonetheless, some expectations recur, almost as leitmotifs, throughout the paper, accumulating meaning and significance as they develop. It was, for example, expected that teachers' commitment to a 'reconciliation curriculum' would correlate with the quantity and quality of contacts they had with fellow teachers across the communal divide. This expectation is confirmed in general but more clearly for Turkish Cypriot than for Greek Cypriot teachers. Indeed, the latter reported higher levels of colleague disapproval for their involvement in such contacts. Whether this accounts for the lower levels of contact reported by Greek Cypriot teachers, or whether this is an artefact of the disparity in the size of the two populations, has yet to be determined.

Investigators also expected the epistemological stance taken by teachers – whether their ideas about the 'truth' of historical accounts approximated more closely to *realist* or *relativist* or constructivist positions – to influence their attitudes and commitment to the development of students''historical thinking'. Again, questionnaire responses tend to support this expectation, but the evidence also suggests that most teachers perceive considerable overlap between *constructivist* and *relativist* epistemologies, or at least regard them as compatible. This hints at a possible misconstruction of *multi-perspectivity* as a 'reconciliation curriculum' strategy which may, with the best of intentions, lead to *multi-perspectivity* in history education being taught as relativistic recognition of accounts and interpretations of the past espoused by the 'other', i.e. on the principle that because no one can be one-hundred per cent certain what or why things happened in the past, it's important to know 'their' as well as 'our' beliefs about it. At best, this would lead to toleration of 'difference' rather than to a meeting of minds to determine what we are and are not entitled to say about a shared past. The arbiter of history would become group identity not evidence and logic.

The implications of other findings are more obscure. Questionnaire data indicate that Turkish Cypriot teachers are more willing than their Greek Cypriot colleagues to accept multi-perspectivity and abandon ethnocentric curricula. These differences may follow from deep-seated cultural factors, or perhaps reflect socio-political fears and concerns ephemeral in nature. But it is also possible that ethnic differences in questionnaire response are epiphenomenal. A cursory inspection of sampling statistics reveals secondary teachers to constitute 45% of the Turkish Cypriot sample against 29%

for the Greek. More significant still, 41% of teachers in the TC sample had a degree in history compared with 15% of teachers in the GC sample. It is possible that differences in questionnaire response co-vary with differences in educational and/or occupational profiles rather than with ethnic identity. This suggests a need for caution until closer analysis of existing or acquisition of follow-up data resolves the issue.

One unequivocal implication of the Psaltis et al investigation is the importance of on-going staff development. Teachers need to digest and appraise research findings and to debate their own practice. As the following paper makes clear, staff development can take forms other than, or additional to, traditional courses and qualifications.

Jon Nichol illustrates the potential of a strategy for teacher development that exploits the creativity and expertise of those teachers who are already prepared to embrace new ideas and innovative methods in the classroom. As an example of this, he presents *Primary History*, the Historical Association of Great Britain's professional journal for teaching history to 5- 11 year olds. In his paper he explores four thematic dimensions that reflect the journal's principles and underpin teachers' craft knowledge of history. These principles pertain to teachers' understanding of history as an academic discipline and a public form of discourse, to the development of students' historical thinking, to the opportunities and constraints posed by the primary curriculum, and to expert pedagogy with respect to ways of stimulating effective teaching and learning. He refers to and exemplifies seven thematic areas - forms of historical knowledge; the use of evidence; expert teaching / pedagogy; curricular developments; substantive concepts; second order concepts; narrative content - around which contributions to the journal are organized, and explains that each issue addresses one or two themes and is equivalent to a free standing chapter of a book. He also describes and exemplifies the structure of the journal with references to a specific issue of the journal, one which explores the teaching of local history.

Nichol's emphasis on the systemic and ongoing efforts made to refine, adapt and improve the journal implies that its importance might continue to increase in consequence of changes to regulations governing the content and structure of the English primary curriculum which progressively degrade the historical knowledge and expertise of serving teachers. The marginalization of history as a

primary subject since 1997 is creating a new generation of primary teachers with little or no training in teaching history. Gaps in knowledge and expertise can only be filled by continuing professional development of various kinds. Closing his paper, Nichol suggests that the journal, Primary History, can be a cost-effective contribution to the much needed professional development of teachers trained and employed since 1997.

The role of the curriculum developer in Cyprus and elsewhere is investigated via analyses of officially approved textbooks. **Falk Pingel** provides a sober, scholarly and wide-ranging review of textbook development over the last half-century. Pingel describes the period between the end of the First World War and the start of the Second World War as an era during which international organizations managed, through systematic academic research and collective work, to produce high quality teaching materials that avoided one-sided views and negative portrayals of the 'other'. He also describes how this trend re-emerged after the end of Second World War and how it was influenced by political changes globally and locally. He then focuses on Europe and claims that the opening of borders and the work of the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO allowed the dissemination of new approaches throughout the continent. In this new environment, textbooks, in many educational systems, moved from conveying nation-centered authoritative narratives to providing less substantive knowledge and encouraging the development of historical thinking. This, according to Pingel, also changed the role of the history teacher.

Discussing the case of Cyprus, Pingel describes history teaching and official textbooks as following a traditional approach that transmits an official narrative with very little room for teaching sensitive issues in a way that allow debate. He points out, though, that innovative approaches in history teaching have been proposed in Cyprus, mainly by NGO's, albeit only adopted by very few teachers and with no support from political authorities. He also claims that Cyprus' integration into the EU and the removal of travel restrictions on the island has thus far failed to shift history teaching away from represention of the 'other' community as an enemy with its own history rather than as a group with which a common past is shared. This failure, according to Pingel, follows from the fact that political divisions remain and authorities are unwilling to support bi-communal activities in education and refuse to contemplate the possibility of a unified education system.

Pingel contends that since debate is a key feature of the discipline of history it should be central to history education. In terms of historical understanding, he claims that controversies may arise in relation to historical facts, interpretations of events and the emotions attached to historical events and persons. In teaching practice, he suggests that, in the case of the first two, the methods of the discipline can be used to think critically about facts and interpretations; while in the case of emotions he suggests the establishment of rules of communication which eventually can lead to the development of positive feelings towards the other. He also suggests that in situations such as obtain in Cyprus, history education should aim for mutual understanding, not in the sense of establishing a balanced conclusion but understanding and recognizing other points of view.

Returning to the issue of textbooks, Pingel identifies, exemplifies and discusses two approaches regarding the issue of discursive truth. On one hand there are textbooks that provide a narrative commonly agreed by all interested parties while, on the other hand, there is the example of a group of Israeli and Palestinian scholars and teachers who produced teaching materials which presented the conflicting narratives of the two groups in ways intended to develop students' ability to understand the perspective of the other.

Pingel concludes his paper with a very interesting observation regarding the role of innovative textbooks, claiming that, although in most of cases materials fail to influence teaching practices in areas with conflict or division, they nonetheless prepare the ground for future change through the creation of networks of people working on their production. According to Pingel, these people will be ready and equipped to employ innovative approaches as soon as peace is secured and political decisions for a peace education are taken.

Pingel's paper is complemented by the review of recent textbook development in the Turkish Cypriot educational system by **Hakan Karahasan** and **Dilek Latif** who compare two series of history textbooks for upper secondary education (in 2004 and 2009) which succeeded each other as a result of changes in political administration. Based on the textual and visual elements of the textbooks, their study focuses on the degree to which the two textbook series succeed in developing the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to promote peace and consequently to prevent conflict. Describing the political context in which the publications of the two series took place, they

imply that these were the result of efforts by two different political administrations to promote their opposing views of the history of Cyprus and hence of previous, current and potential relationships between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. Karahasan and Latif identify differences in the amount and the kind of substantive knowledge offered by the textbooks and also in the teaching approaches they promote. The major difference between the two series is, according to the authors, the fact that while the 2004 textbooks provide a Cyprus-centred narrative which emphasizes the common past of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, the 2009 ones are ethnocentric and stress the hardships Turkish Cypriots have suffered at the hands of Greek Cypriots. Although not explicitly mentioned in the paper, the comparison of the two textbooks series is an example of the use of history to serve political and ideological ends.

In common with some other contributors to this volume, **Chara Makriyianni** distinguishes between representations of the past grounded in disciplinary traditions and in collective consciousness. Following David Lowenthal, she terms the former 'history' and the latter 'heritage'. Makriyianni argues that, wittingly and/or unwittingly, such public institutions as schools and museums can transmit and reinforce 'heritage' representations as well as, or in opposition to, those of 'history'. This is especially so for one manifestation of 'heritage' consciousness: a sense of group identity rooted in selective, partial and sometimes mythical conceptions of a national or ethnic, religious or social past.

With reference to SRT (Social Representation Theory), Makriyianni suggests that collective memory can provide an ethnic (or other) group with a remembered past analogous to that of an individual. Just as an individual recollects a personal past with pride and regret, guilt and resentment, so may a group recall (sic) its ancestral past. And just as personal memories may be eroded by the infirmities of old-age and distorted by self-regarding rationalization after the event, so may the collective memories of a group be winnowed to separate wheat worth remembering from chaff best forgotten, as well as be subject to constant reinterpretation to ensure relevance to the needs of successive generations. The problem is that critical differences between individuals and groups are usually ignored: first, personal memories are recalled but collective memories of the distant past are learned; and second, an individual recalling past experience is, albeit older, the same person whose experiences are recalled whereas, excepting isolated and slowly changing communities, the biological distinctiveness and continuity of group members erodes over centuries and millennia. Unlike personal

identity, that of national, ethnic and social groups is a cultural construct in need of more-or-less continuous reconstruction and re-affirmation.
This latter role, Makriyianni implies, may be effected by schools, museums and other guardians of the collective past. In post-conflict societies, she fears, the 'heritage' past may be propagated through myths of origin and continuity in ways based on "social relationships of constraint" (rather than of "co-operation") that discourage questioning and criticism. Her discussion and recommendations focus on museums, not because they are more important or culpable than schools, but because their organisational and procedural characteristics are more easily described and analysed.

Although Makriyianni offers suggestions about how museums, in particular, may be reformed, she is principally concerned to argue a case for further research and, above all, for research informed by an epistemological paradigm that, as far as possible, is uncontaminated by the identity forming processes and products which it seeks to investigate. Her message is one that no teacher or researcher should ignore: "As researchers, we are as much a product of society as the phenomena being studied. Our interest should not only be practised in Habermassian terms but also emancipatory; understanding the ways national identities are constructed in their complexity through the interaction of micro- and macro-social structures leaves open possibilities for reconstructions with a critical edge based on self-reflection and ideological criticism."

Chara Makriyianni's paper argues the need to move slowly, to ensure that we fully understand what is going on before moving beyond research and experimental practice. As Mark Twain observed, "The trouble with the world is not that people know too little, but that they know so many things that ain't so." Makriyianni's paper provides a fitting end to a volume of papers with more questions than answers.

History Education in Relation to the Controversial Past and Trauma

Giorgos Kokkinos

Abstract

This paper discusses the issue of how history education can address controversial past and traumas. Through a review of literature in historiography and history education, the paper attempts to suggest ways in which history education can help students to deal with this kind of past and make sense of its people in terms of how they viewed their world and also how the development of disciplinary understanding can help students see the past through multiple perspectives.

To the question about history's pathology as a perpetual reconstruction and re-signification of the past, the pessimistic answer is that history can take one or more of three forms: first, a rationalization, justification and legitimization of the present, that is, of the *status quo*: second, a frequently nostalgic and emotional but invariably selective regard and reminiscence of a past idealized as a golden era or epitome of national tradition very different from the 'decadent' present; and finally, an escape to a utopian past signaling complete renunciation of the dystopian present. All these cases involve the shaping of historical consciousness in ways contrary to scientific historical discourse.[1] Reminiscence of an idealized past in particular is the fundamental enemy of historical understanding because it distorts parts of the past while at the same time ignoring others (selectivity), although it must be pointed out that radical nostalgia may provisionally become - for instance, in Walter Benjamin's romantic anti-capitalistic viewpoint - a strong form of protest against the alienation of the present.[2]

Sure enough, it is much easier, under conditions of crisis, uncertainty or transition, to de-legitimize a superannuated or solidified view of the past by creating and solidifying a new one. Let us not forget that in societies plagued by civil conflicts and religious or political controversies, like Northern Ireland, the school subject of history and, more generally, history within both public and private spheres, is used not to explain or assuage conflicts, but rather to give them force and to perpetuate them.[3] Revisionist histories can lead to divisions between generations: older generations adhere to memories and experiences tied to historical facts that give meaning to their lives, whether glorious or tragic. Indeed, many feel the meaning and purpose of their lives to be diminished or denied when posterior facts or the indifference and hostility of younger generations negate their contributions and sacrifices. On the other hand, the younger generation, by condemning *en masse* the past or certain historical

periods of the past, sometimes 'relativize' and degrade critical historical facts. A typical instance of the latter is Russian youth's indifference for the national anniversary of May 9th 1945 (capitulation of Nazi Germany, the victory of the Allies, recognition of Soviet Union people's sacrifices) as an expression of absolute hostility towards the communist past.[4]

French historian Benjamin Stora[5] describes historiography's transition into a painful phase of imperative 'judicial inspection and revision' of the controversial and traumatic historical past (*judiciarisation de l' histoire*).[6] According to many scholars, this may be the most 'sensitive' aspect of a general process of confrontation with the past (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*) which, in its turn, signals the articulation of contrary political approaches to history and memory, collective identity and historical consciousness, in ways that strive for cultural and ideological hegemony.[7]

This revision derives legitimacy from the hegemonic, normative and universalizing discourse of human rights and finds authenticity in oral testimonies relating to controversial historical facts of the 20th century, in particular to the traumatic experiences of certain groups-victims ('pedagogy of pain').[8] On the one hand, it concerns the accountability of states, or their officials, for atrocities against certain groups (ethnic cleansings, genocides, the Holocaust, coercion to prostitution), that is, for crimes against humanity not subject to statute limitations.[9] On the other hand, it concerns the recognition of ills suffered - during the 'short' and particularly criminal 20th century - by both individuals and social, political, ethnic, cultural or religious groups through the politicization of monstrous dystopian demands for ethnic and national purity and homogeneity (National Socialism), as well as through ideologically opposed demands for total equality (Stalinism).[10] The subsequent de-legitimization and, in part, demonization of these two structural political-ideological postulates of modernism has led to their transformation into unhistorical moral categories and abstract ideological identities. In turn, these categories and identities have been used to construct historical analogies, for example the equation of totalitarianisms with contemporary terrorism and other manifestations of fundamentalism. They have also given rise to a moralistic politics of memory intended for the historical instruction of the masses and fashioned like a chain of linear, exemplary and condemnable forms of collective violence (Armenian genocide, Pearl Harbor, Auschwitz, Gulag, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Apartheid, Bosnia, Rwanda). Hidden in the moralistic core of contemporary

politics is a synthetic fear of threats posed by such demonized 'opponents of democracy' as 'nostalgics' for totalitarianisms, minorities, immigrants, metropolitan outcasts and carriers of epidemics. This fear serves to incite moral panic concerning a supposedly imminent and ultimate danger facing western civilization, its constituent states and the national idea.[11]

The ideological signification of 20th-century history, in combination with prognostications of future crises and the domination of 'presentist' and status quo historicity in the western world, shrinks the horizon of expectations and undermines the historical creativity of peoples. It leads, for example, the institutions of the European Union to 'judicialize' memories, not just of 'totalitarianism' but also of the multiple forms of the Left's critique of the dominant model of bourgeois society. The radical and ideological representation of 20th-century history and the self-complacent 'presentism' of western postmodern societies are thus the two decisive factors that have paved the way for the continuous, exemplary and corrective role played by the controversial and, most importantly, the traumatic past in the present day. This is especially true with respect to the emergence and persistent reinforcement of the obsession - of the intelligentsia, as well as of the political establishment and public opinion - with traumatic memory. This memory, instead of assuaging or healing, rather revives historical traumas, conflicts and disunities. It leads to 'memory crises', essentially to crises of ideological hegemony where the self-understanding of a nation, or of conflicting political parties is usually at stake, along with the relation of identity-difference that can only have an organic relevance concerning ways of dealing with 'dark pages' of the past and therefore with the canon of official history.[12] Contemporary society's existential confrontation with the past is straightforwardly reflected in the unprecedented manifestation of interest in the goals, the content and the didactic methodology of school history. This determines to a great extent the sense of belonging, the historical culture and consciousness, as well as the political socialization of young people.[13] Furthermore, the isolation and fixation of victimized groups on traumatic memories, in an attempt to shape ties among their members and define their public image through recognition of their individuality and consolidation of their social equality, is increasingly concealing the tendency of the history curriculum in western nations to overcompensate for or actually deny states of inequality and frustrate rightful expectations of social, political and cultural integration.[14]

Claims for the recognition of sufferings in a world increasingly shaped by meta-national and meta-socialistic forces leads, as already mentioned, to the construction of a state as well as a supranational and, in a way, a universal politics of memory. The UNESCO, the UN, the Council of Europe and the European Union play an increasingly greater part in the formation and announcement of this politics of memory, forcing states to adjust to a unified management of the past.[15] The politics of memory - a critical dimension of identity politics - is fed by the inflation of memory, thereby bringing about the shrinking or even full substitution of the historical treatment of the past through testimonies and records of traumatic experiences.[16] Fundamental features of memory politics, which also refer by definition to the politics of historical oblivion, include the multiplying establishment of new historical anniversaries, the construction of monuments, the institution of new museums and scientific foundations, as well as the provocation and advantageous management of symbolic conflicts about history within the public sphere and through the mass media. Politics and wars of memory - an indication of structural crisis in the conventional view of national identity, nation self-understanding and its relation to its past - aim at a retrospective historical justice through integrating historical contributions of victim groups into the official narrative of national, European and world history. The realization of this project amounts to a revision of nation-state official collective memory. Moreover, the planning of memory politics also functions as a mechanism of intra- and inter-state negotiation.[17]

However, even if the EU continues to progress towards further unification of the European sub-continent's constituent states, constructing common ground and seeking shared visions as it does so, critical memories of the recent past, and especially of WW II, remain asymmetric, divisive, traumatic and controversial. Horizontal and vertical gaps in the collective memories of existing and prospective EU member-states call into question all sense of a common culture and dilute popular political will towards greater European unity.[18]

The dominant trend of the controversial and traumatic past's revision, as well as the democratization of national narratives is, according to Stora, the result of the extraordinary dynamics of memory in the contemporary postmodern world of post-materialistic values, globalization and the 'normativity' of human rights discourse. Above all, it is a consequence of uncertainty about the future following

the collapse of master ideological traditions and of emancipation claims which create very narrow or empty horizons of expectations (*vide du projet collectif*). Among these traditions, Stora judges communism and anti-colonialism to be the most important, while several historians suggest anti-fascism should be included in this category - at least in the very distinctive case of postwar France - since its organic component is the historical myth of universal and unitary national resistance against German occupation forces and the collaboration of only a small part of the political establishment, the intelligentsia, the army and the police force.

The collapse of master ideological traditions, bearing the qualities of a radical disenchantment and value crisis conducive to the political-ideological 'retirement' of the masses, is deepened by economic crisis and the disruption of social ties.[19] Crises and disruptions have driven both large and small social groups to internalize a self-image of 'negative uniqueness', that is, to seek the warmth and the security offered by the obsession with roots, with 'communitarianism' and with tribal but invented identities and traditions (religious, political, national and sexual) centred on memories of sufferings and/or of singularity.[20] A field of victim-centred, antagonistic, superseding anti-memories is thus created, conflicting with the official state memory as well as with each other, and while such anti-memories expand the range of readings and conceptualizations of the past, they simultaneously fragment, 'relativize' and 'instrumentalize' historical meanings into a set of competitive 'victimologies'.

History textbooks are an increasingly conspicuous field in which these socio-political and cultural conflicts are played out. For example, with respect to history education in France over the past decade, research reveals what is at stake with respect to collective memory and controversies arising from the incompatible historical memories of victimizers and victims or just of victims.[21] The desperate attempts of curriculum planners and book writers to mitigate oppositional memories and ideological overtones whilst rejecting mechanistic and compensatory juxtapositions justifying the particularistic-communitarian readings of victimized groups has led to epistemological and value relativism.[22] A similar expulsion is taking place at the level of international politics, where contrary memories or mutual recognitions of genocides - or even attempts to assign to controversial historical facts the status of ethnic cleansing or genocide - are being negotiated.

For all the increasing 'judicialization' of divergent representations of the past and the institution of strict mnemonic law at nation-state or supranational levels, we should not aim for anything other than the final reconciliation of conflicting memories, however utopian or unrealistic this may appear to be. Reconciliation is a pre-condition for creative coexistence, not in the name of tolerance, but in the name of historical truth, mutual understanding and, less critically, of historical justice. This reconciliation cannot be fulfilled unless historical traumas and controversial issues are systematically and collectively worked through with a triple aim: recognition of the complexity of historical phenomena, understanding of difference and other viewpoints and, ultimately, historical self-understanding.

By giving too much emphasis to the linguistic or cultural, fictional and therefore relativist character of every historiographic representation of the past, extreme versions of historiographic postmodernism (e.g. Hayden White, Frank Ankersmit, Keith Jenkins) unintentionally reveal their own pathology. This is because in this way they undermine the epistemological and methodological conditions and cancel the criteria of validity of historical knowledge which allow historical representations and interpretation of the past. This pathology of historical reasoning, which can be treated only by historicizing the historians' interpretational practice and abandoning the models of positivist experientialism and radical constructivism[23], allowed the opposing groups in modern multicultural societies which construct political identities based on history (minorities, racial, religious and ethno- cultural groups, memory communities, pressure groups, sexual orientation groups etc.) to deconstruct the dominant historical narratives and also valid historiographic approaches which are not in agreement with their own particularistic reading of the past. These groups replaced the official national narratives and also academic approaches which opposed their interests with aggressive and conflicting victim memories which are dominated by: a) an essentialist approach of identity the same way nations are conceptualized by nationalistic ideology; b) a demand for the recognition of their suffering; c) a demand for compensation for their unfair treatment; and d) a nonflexible view of the past strictly through the perspective of the duty of memory.

An example of the above was Patrick Karam's (president of the Collective of French Antillas, Guynaiss and Réunionnais) lawsuit against the French academic historian Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau, based on the accusation that his book *Les traites négrieres*. *Essai d'histoire globale* (Gallimard, Paris 2004)

and also an interview of his in *Le Journal du Dimanche* (French newspaper) violated the Taubira law (recognition of slavery and slave trade as crimes against humanity). Despite the commotion caused among French public opinion and intelligentsia, the lawsuit was withdrawn in 2006 due to a coordinated reaction by the historians and a substantial part of the politicians.

It is obvious that if the condition of critical and reflective intersubjectivity on which modern historiography is established is lifted, if public history minimizes the social influence of professional historians on public sphere and, finally, if 'history as memory' occupies the discipline of history, the pluralism which characterizes modern historiography during the last few decades will become a Trojan horse for its annihilation. In addition the field of historical communication and consequently the field of school history will be occupied by parallel, self-referencing and incompatible narratives which will cause a radical turn to symbolic wars about school history, memory and anniversaries. This will also cause a feeling of radical cognitive uncertainty and the loss of every binding historical meaning which in turn will pave the way to the rupture of social cohesion.

Recently, Peter Seixas[24], a leading figure at the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness and notable for his empirical research on mechanisms of identity formation and the distinctive qualities of culture, consciousness and historical thought, emphatically argued that, history education can only have meaning for our hard times:

1. Through multi-perspective comparisons of historical sources, of competing methodological approaches and hermeneutical analyses, and of diverse social and ideological-political uses of the past. In other words, students must understand the epistemological contexts, the historiographic determinants, the methodological and conceptual tools, and the social functions underpinning reconstructions and re-significations of the past before they can form reasonable, substantiated, responsible and personal views about historical facts and thereby commit to co-responsibility for the present and the future.
2. Through effective contact with the rich and diverse tradition of New History and with holistic and multi-perspective conceptions of the past[25]. Such contacts may enable students to transform conventional readings of history (normative ethnocentric narratives which 'immaterialize'

controversies and over-emphasize political/military history and leadership roles) into ones that examine the social dynamics of confrontational networks and other forces contributing to the course of human history.[26]

According to Seixas, there is some prospect that the two aforementioned conditions could be fulfilled in the current period of historically unprecedented and rapid change, uncertainty and structural instability. The postmodern condition could undermine the self-complacency of student indifference about the past - mainly about the controversial past - resulting from their inability to understand the ontological dimension of multiple and often contrary readings thereof. It could also undermine the tendency of engaged but misguided students to elect for a postmodern-like and often 'politically correct' equalization of all views about the traumatic past and, thereby, to fall into an easy and radical, but still naive, epistemological and value relativism that either values nihilism and loss of historical meaning or adopts simplifying, 'essentialized' and one-dimensional research schemes (naive positivism/realism). Epistemologically naïve students alternate between positions that obscure and exalt the complexities of historical reality, embrace dominant ideologies and the interests of sovereign ethnic-cultural population groups, and espouse the intellectual and ideological practices of strategic essentialism.[27]

In agreement with Seixas, I find both conditions, the implementation of which entail projection of historical thought onto history education, realizable through a sustained, systematic and 'multi-perspectual', scientifically and pedagogically credible treatment of traumatic[28] and controversial historical facts related to national myths about defeats and civil wars, mass slaughters and genocides, dictatorship and totalitarianism, slavery and imperialism.[29] The facts at issue sit uncomfortably with national myths and, in consequence, are those which nation-states often wish to erase from collective memory.[30] Suppression of uncomfortable and inconvenient facts is rarely permanent. They either re-emerge into the spotlight of collective memory or historical consciousness becomes fixated on a haunting past that becomes an 'eternal present'. Re-emergent and ghostly facts cause serious distortions in conceptions of the past.[31] A similar pathogenesis results from those historical facts or processes that societies disguise as taboos, i.e. historical facts that collective memory, dominant ideologies and normative national narratives push into oblivion through the explicit or implicit practice of historical amnesia.[32] In general,

we are referring to the suppression of historical facts judged to be unfitting for political morality and the historical education of the young.[33] Such facts are considered unfitting when they are controversial, produce conflicting readings of the past and constitute 'divided memories', and condense antithetical volitional aims and experiences of antagonistic collective subjects (winners and losers, victimizers and victims), of local societies and even of individual actors[34]. The painful, but necessary, recovery of tragic and/or repulsive historical facts from the 'hospitable' depths of an oblivion typically imposed by winners or victimizers and, above all, the 'multi-perspectual' examination of causes and conditional imputation of liabilities in the context of a critical historiography are fundamental to both reflexive historical practice and democratic political education. Moreover, if a traumatic or controversial historical fact is expressed, described, analysed and 'narrativized', then a person or group wavering between total identification with the traumatic past and the necessity for critical detachment from and contextualization thereof, gradually becomes more able to control the obsessive intrusion of the past into the present, mentally and psychically begins to process the dark pages or 'black holes' of personal history. That is, the construction of a will to process the historical trauma functions as a formative conductor of a consciousness flow that critically and historically integrates the past with the present.[35]

Generally speaking, recollection of sufferings by victim groups, their official recognition and repentance on the part of either state authorities or individual victimizers, the inclusion of negative facts within the canon of official history, the construction of monuments, museums and memorial sites, and the institution of relevant ceremonies and anniversaries are - in today's context - the forms that symbolic atonements for historical injustice are expected to take.[36] At the same time and under certain conditions, this insertion of traumatic events into the historical canon can also represent a collective commitment, on the one hand, to combat current instances of domination and intolerance and, on the other hand, to deter them in the future. Such commitment suggests that the politics of memory for the victims of history would lack both significance and potency unless inspired by a 'morality of memory' that confers experiential immediacy and broadens the horizons of social expectation.

LaCapra has pointed out that there are two possible dangers lurking in historiographic and didactic approaches to controversial and traumatic historical facts like the Holocaust. The first danger concerns the essentialist illusion of positivistic representation on the basis of 'fetishized' and unchallengeable

'proof' that the reality of the past has been fully and accurately captured by some normative account. The essentialist illusion denies the existence of multiple filters interjected between the historical fact and its narrative reconstruction. Positivist epistemologies can objectify variously mediated historical realities by denying the nature and ignoring the limits of primary and secondary materials used to reconstruct past realities. LaCapra considers Raul Hilberg's significant book *The Destruction of the European Jews* (First Edition 1961) as a typical example of Holocaust objectification. In this case, objectification results from the writer's methodological choice not to use the testimonies of victims and survivors but rather to draw on historical sources representing victimizer viewpoints, thereby transforming the industrially and bureaucratically organized genocidal psychosis of German national socialism into an incontestable historical reality.[37]

LaCapra sees the counterpoint to Hilberg's manner of objectifying the past in Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*.[38] On the one hand, Goldhagen's extreme, absolute and unmediated identification with Holocaust victims follows from a methodological commitment to passive or blind historical empathy.[39] On the other hand, he adopts a prefabricated and Manichaean explanatory scheme unresponsive to the full range of available sources.[40] LaCapra notes that, even if Goldhagen aims at a 'thick description' of the victims' world, in reality he often lapses into the reconstruction of their experiences as he himself imagines them and as he imagines them to have perceived their victimizers[41]. The second form of objectification, much trickier than the first, is, according to LaCapra, especially thorny when based on visual material (pictures and newsreels of the Holocaust) which create, because of the immediacy of recorded images, an illusion of unmediated immersion in a hard core of historical fact. This activates a further danger: visual impressions of unprecedented cruelty can lead to a derivative traumatic and victimized historical consciousness in the viewer akin to moral and emotional breakdown.[42] Evidently, comparative and counterpointed access to incompatible and sometimes intersecting viewpoints of victims and victimizers ensures, at least at the level of methodological principle, the most comprehensive possible reconstruction of multiple or even oppositional aspects of historical reality. This comes close to idealization of a complex and multifaceted historical reality by reconciling antithetical and mutually exclusive experiences and viewpoints and/or by overemphasizing isolated facts that are presumed to be indicative cases. An example of this kind of approach is Steven Spielberg's film *Schindler's List*.[43]

The inclusion of controversial and traumatic material into the canon of school history does not mean that we aim to generate divisive historical hypermnesia. We obviously accept Ernest Renan's argument (in 'What is a Nation?') that the long-term existence of nation-states entails not just the constitution of bonds and common references, like collective memory, but also the will and ability to transcend differences. Without selective amnesia and repentance, socio-political divisions in times of conflict and crisis would preclude the possibility of a fundamental and consensual context for approaching the past.[44] We also accept the validity of Nietzsche's warning that it is impossible to extend the horizon of the past into the present and future without obscuring information about the past that has the potential to paralyze societies and stunt their historical creativity.[45] The aforementioned arguments support the position taken by the French anthropologist Marc Augé that, outside of a dialectical relationship with the task of oblivion, the task of memory is socially pathological.[46]

According to recent and influential research studies, many students are able to deal with controversial information about the past. Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby have shown that, when confronted with diverging, contrary or mutually excluding historical sources and testimonies about the past, students between the ages 7 and 14 understand that differences in the representation and interpretation of historical reality are related (1) in the case of primary sources, to the position, the relevance, the ideological orientation and the conscious or unconscious choices of their authors; and (2) in the case of secondary sources, to the interpretative contexts in which they are inscribed, as well as to the epistemological, methodological and ideological assumptions of their authors. The skills needed to understand and explain the multiplicity and diversity of historical sources may correlate with student ages, intellectual levels and social/cultural backgrounds but, according to Lee and Ashby, variations in the consistency and coherence of teaching procedures and learning activities offered to students are also crucial in the development of this kind of thinking.[47] The importance of education in developing historical thinking is also evident in the findings of Denis Shemilts' evaluation of School Council History Project where students of the same age, sex and general academic performance had more powerful ideas of concepts of history when taught in a way that explicitly aimed to develop second order/ disciplinary understanding.[48]

Bruce VanSledright's findings are similar.[49] VanSledright found that when confronted with controversial historical facts of a past interpreted in diverse or contradictory ways, students aged 10-11 attempt, at least initially, a 'heroic escape' from the onerous 'problematization' of the historical past. More specifically, they choose to overcome their perplexity by adopting whatever view is dictated by the dominant ideology and normative national narrative. This escape is further sanctioned by reference to the authoritative epistemological assumptions of a naive positivism which equates historical reality with historical interpretation (referential illusion). Those students who repudiate essentialist illusions resort instead to interpretative strategies associated with radical cognitive relativism and deny the very possibility of historical knowledge. These strategies lead to indeterminacy of historical meanings, to varieties of nihilism, and to devaluation of the past in relation to the present. However, according to VanSledright, the gradual initiation of students into epistemological questions about the nature and status of statements about the past, into research methods and ways of decoding, comparing and critically analyzing historical sources, can lead to radical changes in students' strategies for engaging with questions and propositions about the past. Indeed, initial states of ostentatious indifference, stress and irritation when presented with tasks that demand complex historical understanding and interpretation can serve as foundations for the structuring of substantiated, reasonable, responsible and independent historical ideas.[50]

On the basis of recent research findings, we suggest that in order to manage students' reactions to controversial and traumatic or taboo historical facts it is necessary to overcome the following six obstacles: a) acceptance of collective guilt and collective liability; b) the Manichaean oversimplification of historical facts; c) bipolar, racist, moralistic and quantitative interpretations (whites against blacks, bad guys against good guys, few against many, victimizers against victims, winners against losers); d) apologetic interpretations offered by collective victimizers; e) self-vindicating interpretations on the part of victims; and f) imprecise and disproportionate historical comparisons that mask political-ideological expediencies or function as vehicles for cultural diplomacy, for example Holocaust = genocides = ethnic cleansings = slave trade, etc. Generally speaking, we must avoid and deconstruct the two main forms of therapeutically 'instrumentalized' historical discourse: its exculpatory form which vindicates winners and victimizers, justifies their choices and legitimizes the status quo; and its compensatory form which, sometimes despite its

own historical truth, reverses the idealizing strategy of the victimizer into the moral superiority of the victim, with the specific aim of empowering the self-image of an oppressed, persecuted and victimized group.[51]

Roger I. Simon's Approach (2005)

Roger Simon[52] proposes a didactic approach within a referential context shaped by the ideas of Walter Benjamin, Emmanuel Levinas, Jacques Derrida, Homi Bhabba and Henri A. Giroux. His original and radical pedagogy of memory, which conceptualizes historical knowledge as a social right and collective good, has its roots in French critical theory, although the influence of cultural and post-colonial studies is also strong.[53]

Contesting not so much the definition but rather the ontogenetic typology of historical consciousness proposed by a German theorist of history Jörn Rüsen, Simon defines historical consciousness as a dynamic relation of past, present and future. For Simon, historical consciousness is a form of moral awareness leading us to seek meaning in the past (significations practice) and encouraging us to recover traces and signs of the past in our present (texts, material residues, artifacts, pictures, oral testimonies, etc.). These signs and traces arrive 'demanding something of us', asking to be decoded so that their hidden meanings can emerge without reduction to broader conceptual frameworks.[54]

Simon believes that primary historical sources are not just organized or fragmentary constellations of historical data. On the contrary, despite multiple mediations latent in historical communication at every level, primary sources embody life worlds and constitute webs of manifold meanings and experiences.[55] By crossing these webs, we are penetrating temporal-spatial borders and merging with the experience of people in the past: we are listening to their plural but often suppressed voices, giving them space within our own intellectual and psychological systems, historical cultures and consciousnesses.[56]

Following Walter Benjamin, who pointed out 20th-century people's increasing inability to experience the (hi)stories of others (considering this as a symptom of late modernity's pathology),[57] and Sam

Wineburg, who suggests that history is an antidote to our existential inability to understand the alien-ness of the past and is thereby a means for cultivating our sensibilities about and awareness of methodological impediments to making sense of the past as experienced and understood by our predecessors,[58] Simon advocates approaches to history education rejected by conventional school history. He advocates a critical pedagogy of memory, a poetic fusion of horizons, an intimacy of contact with the past's complexity and multi-layered nature. Without excluding the supplementary use of secondary sources, this would be based mainly on primary historical material.[59] It is not just any past, but rather the 'sensitive', painful, traumatic and controversial past exorcised by dominant ideologies and official national narratives with which Simon wishes students to engage. Immersion in collective memory and engagement with the historical canon can reveal the multiple and alternative possibilities inhering in history as experience as well as interpretation. Such revelations can deactivate collective myths, contest commonplaces and preconceptions, historicize various mediations and 'de-essentialize' normative interpretations of the past.

According to Simon,[60] the disciplinary nature of history rests on a systematic moral as well as intellectual apparatus that facilitates familiarization with forms of historical diversity, not just in the sense of their integration into more comprehensive and democratic historical narratives, but also in the sense of ensuring continuous communication with 'difference', either in relation to 'Others' or with regard to multiple layers and internal contradictions of the collective self.

Simon[61] suggests that escape from the closed horizons of present-centred history, access to the universality of historical experience, and affirmation of the mutual intelligibility of cultural systems, is possible. Under this scope, he defines historical awareness not as an intellectual state but rather as a social praxis, as a totality of historically determined practices. That is, his approach is 'praxiological'.[62]

This exploratory and necessarily empathetic involvement in the clarification of 'dark' historical facts and hidden aspects of historical reality (Simon mentions the examples of slave trade, racial persecution of Afro-Americans, annihilation of native Americans, Armenian genocide, Nanking Massacre, Holocaust, apartheid in South Africa, genocide in Cambodia by Pol Pot, ethnic cleansing

in former Yugoslavia, annihilation of native people in Guatemala, annihilation of the Tutsi by the Hutu in Rwanda)[63] sunders spatial-temporal constraints, counters indifference about the past, opposes intentional oblivion, and fosters awareness of sufferings and their causes. It enables resistance to ideological manipulation by resurrecting the stories of the forgotten, the beaten and the powerless. Though not aiming for retrospective justice nor seeking to dramatize pain, it rather attempts to create awareness of a categorical imperative, namely of the need to break the vicious circle of a perpetual recurrence of the 'victim-victimizer' relation and to effect reconciliation with suppressed aspects of the past, thereby subjugating longstanding antagonisms in the quest for a better future.[64]

Such an approach makes history a new area of socio-political responsibility and public morality that, while processing the past in historical as well as in moral terms, transforms the bitter taste of the past into a means for understanding inequalities, conflicts and antinomies, on the one hand, and a creative force for shaping a better future, on the other hand. In this sense, the past as an 'absent presence'[65] ceases to haunt the present, but rather reconciles us with its ghosts and ever multiplying diversity. It also makes us aware of the gaps and the blind spots in our own identities and readings of history. Ultimately, the ability to question, to acknowledge and to narrate the multiple diversities of the past and, in consequence thereof, our own suppressed or unconscious differences, undermines 'self-referentiality' in ways critical to the idea and experience of democracy.[66] If, as Simon argues, ignorance - and ignorance of the fact of our ignorance - is not just an ideologically, socially and culturally determined condition but also one of unconscious resistance to knowledge,[67] then history education can contribute to the reformation of public memory, shaping sounder forms of historical consciousness and forming less inflexible identities.[68]

Because convinced that its horizon is not the past or the fluid and transitional present but rather the future, Simon pays special attention to memory and its social reproduction. He does not approach social memory as a set of one-dimensional rituals, images, emotions and narrative practices that shape and internalize collective identity whilst minimizing diversity in the public sphere. For Simon the most important constituents of social memory are the consensual disciplinary traditions which enable democratic coexistence, mutual understanding and deliberation. Of course, disciplinary

traditions only function in this way when values of justice and solidarity are held in common, when awareness of the interdependence of individuals, social classes, nation-states and cultures is shared, and when there is a will to co-exist with people of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Given these ethical preconditions, consensual disciplinary traditions presuppose and, at the same time, promote historical understanding from both the inside and the outside, awareness of the universality of the human condition and, in consequence, the elimination of partial perspectives on past, present and future.[69]

Supersession of a painful or haunted past that divides and feeds intolerance is obviously not an issue to be taken lightly and one that does not require us to forget the past in the interests of a peaceful present. On the contrary, it requires memories of the past to be reconstituted in different and multidimensional terms. This involves more than recognition of responsibility, a willingness to repent and commitment to restitution; it involves the shaping of a 'historical imaginary' allowing reflection on established structures and practices of violence, injustice, inequality, domination, exploitation and negation of group and individual differences within and outside nation-states. In sum, memories of the past must be reconstituted in ways that familiarize us with the multiple diversities of the historical world, on the one hand, and alienate us from closed horizons of identity and prisons of partiality, on the other hand.[70]

Simon[71] attempts to give an answer to the question, *'How can we reconstitute a lively relationship with the past?'* The past, he argues, must remain alive so that people's historical creativity does not exhaust itself. We have a duty to listen to the plural voices of the past and to reflect on such unrealized possibilities as the moral superiority of the forgotten, the disappeared and the defeated. If the past is kept alive and multidimensional, then the present necessarily remains open to alternative possibilities and hope for a better future is also kept alive, albeit not in the sense of a progress-centered rationality nor in that of an eschatological and salvation-promising future.[72] Access to hidden aspects of the past is obtained through study of primary historical material, not just for epistemological and methodological reasons, but also because of our responsibility to those people in the past whose unwitting silence sustains a false and artificially homogenous and coherent image of their world that 'essentializes' and legitimizes the present whilst restricting or shrinking the

horizons of its expectations. Every re-inscription of historical sources and testimonies into the present, every revelation of significant details, creates new possibilities for understanding and interpreting both past and present that enables us to contest established interpretations, to reflect on the conditions and limits of the past's representation and to seek new links between the past, the present and the future.[73]

Simon and his research team transform this theoretical claim into a specific approach to inquiry and instruction. Their principal aim is not historical understanding in general, but rather the induction of the knowing subject into the unknown and singular experience of the 'other' through an imaginary re-living of actual and particular historical conditions, thereby shaping a learning environment for students appropriate to the challenge of 'simulations' that are not passive but bound to emotional and moral reactions in the past. This aim does not presuppose literal identification with people in the past. On the contrary, it is predicated on awareness that exposure to primary experiences of the 'other' is practically impossible, even if desirable. Nevertheless, inclusion of primary historical testimony into appropriately designed and organized school environments should not be either mechanical or casual but should demand respect for methodological principles, rules and practices established by the disciplinary community. It should also demand the cognitive and moral commitment of contemporaries willing to render retrospective historical justice to predecessors, to accept responsibility for injustice in the present, and to commit to the vision of a changing world.[74]

Simon's methodological approach attempts to cognitively, emotionally and morally startle the students in order to distance them from the limited horizons of their spatial-temporal references and initiate them into strategically chosen aspects of the past in order to activate their understanding of diversity and, more particularly, of traumatic and controversial historical realities as experienced by different individuals and groups. The simultaneous distancing of students from the present and their contact with various aspects of the traumatic and controversial past can be effected by the juxtaposition of chosen testimonies with different kinds of historical sources, e.g. with objects relevant to testimonies. Such juxtapositions can leave memory traces, or memory-images, that discourage oblivion by being easily recalled whilst encapsulating structural elements of the historical era or facts under study. Memory traces do not register passive interaction or empathy with the past.

They are dynamic in nature and motivate intellectual, moral and political commitment and action towards discovery of unexploited possibilities hidden in the past and the present. In this way, critical study of the past, particularly of the controversial and traumatic past as experienced by different individuals and groups, is transformed into a means of decoding the meaning of the present and creating a vision of the future.[75] The multi-perspective study of derivative historical trauma that students may experience through their contact with the dark world of primary source trauma may become the starting point for individual regeneration that remedies the past's pathology by transforming its heavy burden into creative and redemptive historical self-awareness.[76]

Conclusions

As Elizabeth A. Cole notes, at the turn of the first decade of the 21st century, we are finally equipped with the appropriate moral, theoretical, conceptual and cognitive capital – along with the legal prerequisites – to mange traumatic memory and to cross social dividing lines created by past tortures, mass rapes, civil wars, losses of national sovereignty, ethnic cleansings, genocides and the Holocaust.[77] Even if violence is accepted as an existential condition for humanity, only the struggle to overcome it or restrict it and thereby heal collective traumas and the dominance of a dialogue culture can ensure unity, coexistence and peace. A post-conflict historical consciousness can only exist in organic relation to the concept of reconciliation.[78] In reality, as Hannah Arendt argued in 1968, reconciliation 'seeks not to restore an imagined moral order that has been violated, but to initiate new relations between members of a polity'[79] or between states, peoples, races, religions, languages and regimes either involved in existential struggles of life or death, or locked into endless cycles of blood with reciprocally attributed roles of victim and victimizer. Reconciliation need not depend upon commonality of world views or even-handed compromise between of mutually exclusive interests. Nor does it imply total amnesia about the past or require the humiliation of victimizers and 'essentialization' of their role. It could, however, require from victimizers, on one or both sides of a divide, recognition of and apologies for injustice, actual and avowed repentance, symbolic and/or material compensation, and restoration of justice. From victims it is likely to require forgiveness, tolerance of difference and diversity, historical awareness, and commitment to coexistence within a binding context of principles, values and practices. Reconciliation does not imply an ideal situation of harmony at the intrastate or international levels.

It entails a condition of creative forgetfulness distinct from the radical annulment of - or genuine amnesia about - singular historical experiences in its use thereof as signifying compasses for the present and the future. Reconciliation, then, must be considered as a long, painful and mutually binding process of collective self-understanding framed by measures of public recognition and vindication of victims.[80] Two characteristic and correlative cases prove the soundness of this approach: Israel disputed the possibility of 'reconciliation' with Germany on the grounds that the unprecedented traumatic experience of the Holocaust precluded any such attempt. For this reason, and in order to enable development of mutually useful relations of trust with the German state, it favoured the neutral and transitory terms of 'rapprochement' and 'cooperation'.[81] On the other hand, Lily Gardner Feldman's empirical researches show that educational projects implemented on the initiative of post-war Germany to promote reconciliation with formerly conquered peoples, with neighbouring states, and particularly with Israel and the Jewish Diaspora, started to show results when the goals of a final settlement of differences, of 'mutual love' and of 'reconcilement' were abandoned in favour of functional channels of communication, mutual understanding and recognition of differences.[82]

Nevertheless, if we except post-war West Germany and the attempt to smooth tensions caused by National Socialism and the Holocaust, too little has been done to heal divisions caused by traumatic memories of the past in the rest of the world. In particular, there are significant gaps in the design, implementation and evaluation of educational policies and pedagogical interventions intended to alleviate or heal traumas left by borderline conflicts and violence in the historical consciousness of the new generations of students.[83] It does not, however, follow that moving beyond the traumatic and controversial past depends exclusively on the revision of curricula and history school books since public history and informal mechanisms of socialization nowadays claim the lion's share in shaping the historical culture and consciousness of young people. Therefore, new tools for decoding and explaining informal representations and accounts of the past are as necessary as more traditional educational interventions.

In the latter connection, the inclusion of ideologically, politically or experientially controversial facts within the curriculum may be futile, if not dangerous, unless teachers are aware of and know how to handle the sensibilities of particular student groups. Above and beyond conditions particular to individual schools and classrooms, the curriculum must be responsive to collective deliberations at the

level of 'middle democracy', in the terminology of Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson. This phrase describes the dynamics of 'everyday politics' involving civil society as a whole and including lobbies, memory communities and social actors within the public sphere. In other words, the school, with respect to the teaching of history in particular, cannot be allowed to function as an independent agent for the reconstruction of historical consciousness. If a society is not ready to look at its reflection in the mirror, if it still considers historical education to be an instrument of historical and ideological correction that instils uncontested and value-free truths, then the educational project cannot proceed.[84]

I am not a man who uses 'allegories and parables' as the poet George Seferis would have said. Paradoxically, tough, I will finish this paper using these exact rhetorical techniques.

In his book *Comparer l'incomparable,*[85] Marcel Detiene, a social anthropologist, gives us a well-aimed example of a dual/ combinational approach which, in my point of view, is useful when it comes to dealing with traumatic and contested historical events.

Using the example of Poseidon and Athena, who were also called *Ἵππιος* and *Ιππία*[86] respectively by the Ancient Athenians, Detienne points out that there is a connecting notional link between these two related but also opposing worships. This link was the concept of horse *(ίππος)* which is related both to the blind, uncontainable, brutal force (the power, the roughness, the passion and the explosive character of the God of the Sea) and to the nature's compliance, the quiet force, education and work (the world of Athena). Of course, we should not forget that even household animals do not dismiss their wild nature which remains hidden.

If we transfer this dual but also complex concept in our situation, in the first case we can refer to memory populated by διχοστασία and trauma or the duty of memory (nailing in a past which is always present). In the second case we would refer to the painful process of memory which partly (at least) can offer relief, though. In this sense we cannot allow blind memory and opposing emotional charges about the past to guide the collective imagination and the public reasoning, since this would lead (in its extreme) to the rupture of the connective ties of a society. On the other hand we also cannot fantasize (against the delicate handling we are complied to do when we have to deal with collective

trauma, taboo or divisive experiences) that it is possible to become completely free from history's curse and burden. What we need to retrieve from the darkness of collective soul and transform it to a field of collective observation and self- knowledge, will never become a harmless object in museums' showcases, regardless how much we would like this to happen. It will preserve its 'wild nature' and our obligation is to control it as much as we can.

Obviously, I disagree with those who believe that public discussion about the sub judice past and more importantly the political will, both in national and international (or supranational) level, can by definition disarm the explosive load of trauma and conflict.

Using another allegory through the words of Jules Michelet (as Michel de Certeau transcribed them) I claim that 'when the aristocracy of the great Olympian gods collapsed at the end of Antiquity, it did not take down with it 'the mass of indigenous gods, the populace of gods that still possessed the immensity of fields, forests, woods, mountains, springs, intimately associated with the life of the country. These gods lived in the hearts of oaks, in the swift, deep water, and could not been driven out of them... Where are they? In the desert, on the heath, in the forest? Yes, but also end especially at home. They live on in the most intimate domestic habits"[87] In other words, the violence and nightmares of history tend to hide in lived experience and the haunted memory of blood, the closed world of the elementary social cells, especially when they are declared excommunicated from institutions and macrostructures. The spell can be broken only when most of the links of this negative heritage which is diffused in everyday practices are fractured, when hatred stops circulating in the breath of the people, when the survivors of a catastrophe biologically extinct and their heirs did not experienced their ancestors' experience as a secondary trauma developing political identities which ask for justice and revenge.

In this sense, enlightened historians, social scientists, educators, artists and politicians can only prepare the terms for this inevitable succession in memory's relay. They are also responsible for the creation of new connecting bonds of the welding web which will replace the decayed essence of our old collective self.

Notes

1 Foner, Eric (2003), p. 87.

2 op. cit., p. 85.

3 Kitson, Alison (2007), p. 123.

4 Foner, op.cit., pp. 84-85.

5 Professor of Contemporary History at the Institut de Langues et Civilisations Orientales (Inalco) and writer of numerous books on the history of colonialism, the Algerian War and Algerian immigration to France.

6 See the special issue of the International Society for History Didactics (2009). Most interesting were the contributions of Winfried Schulze (2009) and Luigi Cajani (2009). Essential documents on the attempt to penalize historical memory can be found at the Network of Concerned Historians -Resources (2009).

7 Burke, Peter (2008), p. 67; Greek translation and preface by Spyros Sifakakis, p. 35). Burke explains that the strong interest in historical memories is a reaction to threats posed by the acceleration of social and cultural change. History theorists, like Hayden White, seem to gloat over this anomic situation of an almost radical loss of provisionally binding historical meaning based on academic historiography. As Eleni Andriakena (2009) writes: 'every social group can legitimately derive its own perception of the past, its own understanding, in order to serve its political goals. Historiography, according to White, is not able to arbitrate interpretations promoted by historical subjects, that is, different groups struggling for hegemony within the public sphere. This happens because the foundations of historiographic practice are not objective, but poetic, which means historians' interpretations are just as invented [according to White] and constructed as the past's interpretations by different social groups vindicating their rights' (p. 217).

8 Tzvetan Todorov (2009) points out that collective memory has undergone a transformation, since victims and not heroes become the principal center of attention, and injustices become more important than achievements (p. 110).

9 The juridical concept of 'crimes against humanity' first appeared in 1915 concerning the Turkish state's attempted genocide against Armenians.

10 Stora (2008). Also see Cajani (2009), Weitz (2003), Maier (2000), Mazower (2009).

11 Judt (2009), pp. 18-19.

12 Stora, Benjamin (2008a), pp. 8, 12. Also see Suleiman, Susan Rubin (2008), pp. 1, 5. According to Pierre Nora (2002), the 'era of memory' was cumulatively established in four successive stages associated with the following historical facts: 1. the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of real socialism; 2. the fall of dictatorships in Latin America; 3. the overthrow of Apartheid in South Africa; and 4. the very arrival of the 21st century. Alexandros Teneketzis describes a very vivid image of polyphony and interdisciplinarity marking the field of memory studies, in Teneketzis (2009), wherein he offers comments about the International Convention on this topic, held at the Catholic University of Portugal, December 2-3, 2008.

13 Torpey, John (2004), pp. 247, 250-251.

14 Vergés, Françoise (2008), p. 160.

15 The EU Council of Ministers established (April 19-21, 2007) is a framework designed, amongst other things, to combat racism, xenophobia and, in particular, actions undermining democratic legitimacy. It holds member-states responsible for penalizing actions that '[p]ublicly incit[e citizens] to violence or hatred , even by dissemination or distribution of tracts, pictures or other material, directed against a group of persons or a member of such a group'. In the name of discrediting the negation of Holocaust, this text indirectly attacks, according to several European historians, historical research and the freedom of speech. See Réunion du Conseil Justice et Affaires Interiéres... (2007). The text is available at the site of Network of Concerned Historians, Resources, op.cit.

16 Richard Evans, among others, is radically opposed to history's replacement by memory. See Evans (2008), p. 26.

17 For example, Turkey's refusal to recognize the Armenian genocide undermines its integration into the European Union's institutions (see Akçam, Taner (2004). About contemporary wars of memory, see Fleischer, Hagen (2008) and also Blanchard, Pascal, Ferro, Marc and Veyrat-Masson, Isabelle. (eds). (2008).. About the representations of memory wars in school textbooks, see Procacci, Giuliano (2003). About the moral dimension of memory from a philosophical point of vies, see Blustein, Jeffrey (2008). Finally, a remarkable interdisciplinary panorama of memory studies is: Erll, Astrid and Nünning, Ansgar ... (2008).

18 Judt (2009), p. 826.

19 In France, contemporary fixation on the negative memory of Vichy and the Holocaust is evidently related, among other things, to the prolonged crisis of French society because of the country's serious financial problems and the legitimization crisis of its political system due to the unsatisfactory management of cultural difference and social justice issues pushing large masses of mainly young people of the Parisian suburbs to the margin. See Golsan, Richard J. (2006), p. 76. Also see Suleiman (2008), op.cit., where the first four parts are about postwar France and Fette, Julie (2009).

20 Benjamin Stora, op.cit., pp. 40-43, 53, 65.

21 Chaumont, Jean-Michel. (1997): *La concurrence des victims: génocide, identité, reconnaissance.* The book's title is almost prophetic in describing the pathological fragmentation of a nation-state's historical memory, once unified and normative albeit selective to start with.

22 Falaise, Benoit and Lantheaume, Françoise (2008), pp. 185-186.

23 LaCapra (2001), pp. 1-7.

24 Seixas, op.cit.

25 The term refers to the paradigm of historiography which became dominant during the second half of the 20th century. Its main characteristics are the following: the departure from naive positivism; the shift from history as a linear narrative of events to history as a problem; the turn to holistic, pluralistic and interdisciplinary approaches; the abandonment of the regulative and fixed framework of nation- state and an attempt to functionally connect local, national, regional, European and world history; the shift of historiography's interest from social and military history to social and cultural history; the revealing of the social web's polymorph and the investigation of the various tensions which penetrate the nation- state; and finally the prioritisation of historical analysis over historical narrative. In relation to the above see Burke, Peter (1991).

26 Lamont, William (1998), p. viii.

27 Lévesque, Stéphane (2008).

28 In his Freudian approach, Dominick LaCapra defines trauma as an experience of disembodiment leading to an existential angst that is hard to control and heal (LaCapra [2001]), pp. 41, 81-82). Michel de Certau's analysis is very close to LaCapra's (De Certeau [2002]).

29 Blanchard, Pascal et al., op.cit.

30 Judt, Tony(2005), p. 6.

31 Writing about the purgatories of Makronissos in the mid-1990's, Philippos Iliou (Iliou (1994)), found it almost self-evident –though with a vivid irony– that controversial and traumatic historical facts should be banished from the official historical narration and the collective memory of parties, since no group wishes to reexamine 'painful and dark aspects that, in the course of time, make nobody feel comfortable or proud'. He also considered the negation of excavation of historical facts out of the depths of forced or instrumental oblivion as self-evident.

32 About taboos, see Ferro, Marc (2004).

33 For the theoretical context of this issue, see Ricœur, Paul (2000); also LaCapra, Dominick (2001).

34 The case of the autobiographical book of a recently deceased important musician, Giannis Zouganelis, in which individual experiences of military occupation and the Greek Civil War are described, is most interesting.(Zouganelis, Giannis (2004)). Also see Karagatsi, Marina (2008). Although in the case of the two previous books the personal experience of history has a dominant position, there is a series of others where the personal adventures of the characters observe and gain meaning through collective historical events and multiple interpretations. The following novels are examples of this approach: Gouroyiannis, Vasilis (2009), which refers to the escalation of the Cyprus Problem and the complexity and divisiveness of the Turkish invasions' traumatic memory; Nikolaidou, Sophia (2010) and Douka, Maro (2010), which refer to treason in the Greek context and its management at a collective and individual level; Houzouri, Elena (2009), which refers to Greek communists who became political refugees after they lost the civil war in Greece; the sui generis novel by Greek- Australian Christos Tsiolkas, Dead Europe (2005), Kourtovik, Demosthenes (2008), and finally Themelis, Nikos (2010).

35 LaCapra, op.cit., p. 90.

36 Blustein, Jeffrey (2008), p. 166.

37 LaCapra (2001), op.cit., pp. 99-100.

38 Goldhagen, Daniel (1996).

39 LaCapra (2001), op.cit., p. 120.

40 LaCapra (2001), op.cit., p. 100.

41 LaCapra, op.cit., p. 120. The writer attempts to explain the array of understandings formed by common readers and intellectuals concerning Goldhagen's book. For example, S. Schama and J. Habermas praised it, mainly because it kept this grave case open, but their assessment fails to take into account research deficits or Goldhagen's narrow viewpoint.

42 LaCapra, op.cit., pp. 101-102.

43 La Capra, op.cit., p. 99 and footnote no. 12).

44 Judt, op.cit., p. 5.

45 Blustein, op.cit., pp. 5-15.

46 Suleiman, op.cit., pp. 216, 224.

47 Lee, Peter and Ashby, Rosalyn (2000); Lee, Peter (2006); Ashby, Rosalyn (2006).

48 Shelmit, D. (1980).

49 VanSledright, Bruce (2002).

50 VanSledright, op.cit.; Lévesque, op.cit., p. 130.

51 Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr. (1998), pp. 54-58.

52 Simon (2005).

53 Den Heyer, Kent (2004), p. 202.

54 Den Heyer, op.cit., p. 203.

55 Simon (2004), p. 189.

56 Simon, op.cit., p. 189.

57 op.cit., p. 189.

58 Den Heyer, op.cit., p. 207. For more regarding the pedagogical management of divisive issues both in terms of history education and democratic citizenship education in a world of accelerating democratic egalitarianism, multiplicity and fragmentation see Hess, Diana (2008).

59 According to Claudia Eppert, a member of Simon's research group (Eppert (2005), p. 50), immediate testimony and secondary historical sources allow, in Simon's theory, access to the experiential core of controversial and traumatic facts, and a moral claim to historical understanding of the transgressions of past pathologies.

60 Simon (2005), op.cit., p. 189.

61 op.cit., p. 190.

62 op.cit., p. 190.

63 Simon (2004), op.cit., pp. 185-186.

64 op.cit., pp. 186, 190.

65 op.cit., p. 187.

66 op.cit. pp. 191-197.

67 Simon, op.cit., p. 196.

68 op.cit., pp. 197-199.

69 Simon (2005), pp. 2-3, 5, 8.

70 op.cit., p. 9.

71 op.cit., p. 114.

72 op.cit., p. 112.

73 op.cit., pp. 106, 113-114.

74 Eppert, op.cit., pp. 53-54.

75 Simon, Roger I. et al. (2005)., in: Simon (2005), op.cit., pp. 104-131.

76 Eppert, op.cit., pp. 51-52, 54-55.

77 Cole, Elizabeth A. (2007), p. 10.

78 op.cit., p. 1.

79 cited by Cole, op.cit., p. 5.

80 op.cit., p. 4.

81 op.cit., p. 6.

82 op.cit., p. 11.

83 op. cit., p. 2.

84 op.cit., pp. 16 and 18.

85 Detienne, Marcel. (2008).

86 From the Greek word Ἵππος which means horse.

87 de Certeau, Michel (1988).

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The Gods of the Copybook Headings: Why Don't We Learn from the Past?

Denis Shemilt

The Gods of the Copybook Headings: Why Don't We Learn from the Past?

Abstract

This paper examines reasons for our failure to learn needful lessons from the past. Significant weaknesses in mainstream pedagogy include failure to allow for the fact that (a) many of the ideas and assumptions which students bring to history lessons pre-empt and distort their understanding of what is taught; (b) students have difficulty in organizing information into coherent and meaningful wholes, with much content fragmenting into disconnected topics and stories; (c) students need to be taught how to learn *from* the past as well as to learn *about* it; and, above all, (d) clear answers can only be given to questions about what students should learn about and from the past (and about the discipline of history) once we have determined how they should use this knowledge and why society is likely to benefit thereby.

Suggestions as to what advanced and liberal societies need students to learn from the past are evaluated with reference to three models of history education:

- The Trojan Horse model in which history is used as a vehicle for teaching transferable skills and socially necessary knowledge.
- The social engineering model in which specific lessons from the past are taught with the intention of shaping students' attitudes and behaviours in the lived present.
- The social education model in which students are taught both *about* and *how* to learn (and not learn) *from* the past without prescription of or limitation on *what* lessons are learned.

The theoretical and practical strengths and weaknesses of approaches to history education based on these three models are compared and contrasted. Approaches based on the Trojan Horse model pose fewest pedagogical challenges but, insofar as there is no compelling reason to suppose teaching about the past to be the sole or optimum means to instrumentally valued ends, theoretical justifications for the inclusion of history in the school curriculum reduce to arguments from convenience. While the practicality and potency of social engineering approaches in authoritarian societies is well attested, it is questionable whether they could or should be made to work in liberal

democracies - the ethical and theoretical prices to be paid for pedagogic success might prove unacceptable. For a variety of reasons, the most theoretically robust approaches - those based on the social education model - are the most difficult to implement in practice. In particular, some attempts to provide students with the conceptual apparatus necessary to learn *from* the past have been misguided and, positive results from small scale projects notwithstanding, it is far from certain that what students need to know can be taught and learned in ways that render it *usable*. In sum, for students to learn *from* the past, we must choose between pedagogies with theoretical *penalties* and ones posing risks in practice, between those that compromise the integrity of the subject and those that remain unproven with normal range students in mainstream schools.

> As it will be in the future, it was at the birth of Man,
> There are only four things certain since Social Progress began:
> That the Dog returns to his Vomit and the Sow returns to her Mire,
> And the burnt Fool's bandaged finger goes wabbling back to the Fire;
>
> And that after this is accomplished, and the brave new world begins
> When all men are paid for existing and no man must pay for his sins,
> As surely as Water will wet us, as surely as Fire will burn,
> The Gods of the Copybook Headings with terror and slaughter return!
>
> - Rudyard Kipling, from 'The Gods of the Copybook Headings', 1919[1]

Introduction

Written in the wake of one of the more devastating of Europe's civil wars, Kipling's bitter and pessimistic poem laments our failure to learn from the past and suggests that, repeatedly seduced into wishful thinking by *'the Gods of the Market Place,'* we are locked into never-ending cycles of cruelty and stupidity. Whatever truth may be found in Kipling's baleful vision, it is not for want of effort to teach children something about the past. Indeed, on occasions our failure to learn from the past has owed much to the successful transmission of false or mythical histories in schools run by authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. The fact that dissident intelligentsias usually recognized

propaganda when they saw it and, as in the old Soviet Union, scorned history as a 'party subject', did little to diminish its impact on people in general. Nor have false and mythical histories been entirely eradicated from the classrooms of post-conflict countries, Soviet and Yugoslavian successor states and such divided communities as Palestine and Cyprus, even when the governments thereof aspire to recognition as liberal democracies.[2]

The identification and slaughter of such dragons is, in all likelihood, a never-ending quest but one which, as several papers in this volume attest, has enjoyed some success in recent decades. Such successes notwithstanding, there is no evidence to suggest that the quality of what students, and citizens in general, learn about and from the past has risen in line with the increasing honesty and objectivity of the history taught in schools.[3] This paper attempts to examine why, despite our best efforts to improve history education, students fail to learn *from* the past and, in consequence, why the social benefits accruing from whatever they do learn fail to match expectations.

Why don't students learn from the past?

Various answers have been suggested, for example that students find it difficult to learn from the past because they know too little about it. In a recent polemic, Sean Lang (2010) concedes that there was never a 'golden age' of history teaching in which students learned more than they now do, but contends nonetheless that the emphasis currently afforded to *historical thinking* in British schools is wasteful and displaces *'the accumulation and assimilation of historical knowledge'*.[4] It is reasonable to suppose there to be a quantitative threshold below which historical knowledge, however carefully selected and well-organized, has no utility - a point below which a little knowledge is no better than none. It is also reasonable to suppose that, all other things being equal, we can learn more *from* the past if we know more *about* it. What is eminently unreasonable, however, is the assumption that students will understand how to make legitimate and effective use of whatever they know (or think they know) without being taught how to organize and generalize, to evaluate and update information about and interpretations of the past. Learning history entails more than the accumulation of data. Indeed, students may learn a great deal about the Great War, or anything else, from lessons that add nothing to their stock of factual knowledge but inspire adventures with ideas.

Somewhat more persuasive is the argument that even when students know a great deal about the past, they fail to structure and organize it in ways that render it *usable*. In the UK, a recent report issued by the Schools Inspectorate (HMI 2007) links the inability of students to make effective use of what they've been taught to the fragmentation of their historical knowledge. It notes that students *'are not good at establishing a chronology, do not make connections between the areas studied and so do not gain an overview, and are not able to answer the 'big questions'.*' Concerns about the fragmentation of students' knowledge, about their inability to stitch discrete facts and topic-sized stories into 'bigger pictures' of what was going on across broad swathes of time and space, is echoed in some research studies. The Usable Historical Pasts (UHP) Project discovered that 14-18 year-old students *'were able to recall some discrete items from their years of school history, but found it difficult to make anything very coherent from it... When the students were asked to say what the story of British history was so far, they found it extremely difficult to answer'* (Lee and Howson 2009). What is less than clear is, first, how historical knowledge needs to be organized in students' heads for worthwhile and valid answers to what the Schools Inspectorate calls 'the big questions' to be sought and delivered; and second, what should be done in history classrooms to remedy knowledge fragmentation and enable learning of usable 'joined-up' history.

The situation is complicated by the fact that the historical consciousness of a community is not entirely formed in history classrooms.[5] Indeed, in liberal democracies, forces outside the classroom may play a greater role in consciousness formation. The impact of folk memory, of state and commercially controlled news media and of the entertainment industry is impossible to quantify but likely to shape collective perceptions and actions in trivial or significant ways and to productive or counterproductive effect. This is problematic because the representations and interpretations of the past transmitted in the popular cultures of liberal democracies can be as invalid and pernicious as those conveyed in the schools and universities of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. At their most potent and malignant, selective, partial and mythical histories transmitted outside the classroom have nursed religious, ethnic and national hatreds, scratched the scabs of victimhood and breathed new life into old grievances.[6] To a certain extent, therefore, the question, 'Why don't students learn from the past?' should be recast as, 'Why do students prefer some of the false and fictional representations of the past current in popular culture over those taught in schools?' With

the proviso that the salience and toxicity of historical myths and fictions varies across cultures, it must be admitted that academic history is usually less dramatic, less accessible and carries a lower emotional charge than historical myths and fictions. Students are also exposed to a lifetime of mythology and fiction, whereas contact with school history is limited to a few years, during most of which students view the world through a haze of hormones. Worse still, school history is often taught as though students arrive with no preconceptions about the past and remain insulated from representations and interpretations thereof once academic studies are complete. In consequence, they are rarely taught why non-academic stories about and interpretations of the past should be regarded with greater scepticism than those offered in school. Indeed, in British schools the emphasis afforded the second-order concepts of 'source' and 'evidence' may, *in the absence of work on the collateral concept of 'accounts'*, render them more suspicious of school history than of a past encountered through print fiction, television, cinema and computer games.[7]

The culturally based *prior conceptions* about the past that they bring into the classroom may also help to explain why students learn things from school history that they have not been taught, why some of their beliefs and conclusions about the past differ from those intended by teachers. In this connection, the author has observed extreme, albeit rare, instances of unintended learning in the UK when trainee teachers have attempted to teach possibly radicalized – but probably disaffected – students of south Asian origin about the Holocaust. To the surprise and dismay of trainees, entire classes have expressed sympathy and support for the Nazi persecution of Jews. Unintended learning was at the opposite pole to that intended and anticipated. Students discovered that they were not alone in identifying Jews as a folk enemy; that Nazi justifications for hatred – for example because of an alleged Jewish world conspiracy – chimed with those heard outside the classroom; and that radical Muslim opposition to Israeli and Zionist foes could appear reasoned and temperate in comparison with that of Christians in the recent past. It must be stressed that the reactions described above were atypical and dealt with appropriately by school and training staff. Nevertheless, they stand as extreme examples of how *prior conceptions* held by students can turn intended learning outcomes on their head.

Similarities and differences between what aberrant and mainstream classes take from Holocaust history lessons may be analysed with reference to four inter-related dimensions of *historical consciousness*:[8]

- The set of descriptive, explanatory and evaluative generalizations that students are able and choose to assert about the past at a given point in time (cf. data-file contents).
- Explicit ideas and tacit assumptions about the ways in which the aforementioned generalizations relate to the contents of a past conceived as an 'event space' detached from or continuous with the present and future (cf. ways in which data-files are organized and cross-referenced).[9]
- Explicit ideas and tacit assumptions used to distinguish admissible from inadmissible statements about the past (cf. arrangements for file security, i.e. for purging data inputs; validating file structures and operations; vetting outputs).[10]
- Explicit ideas and tacit assumptions used to distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate uses of what is (thought to be) known and understood about the past (cf. the legitimacy of operations conducted with data-files).[11]

With respect to Holocaust history, the *historical consciousness* of the students described above is 'false' in all four dimensions. First, the falsity of Nazi slanders and anti-Semitic propaganda was taught, but slanders were learned as though they were true: i.e. truth functions in data files were reversed. Second, students ignored non-Jewish Holocaust victims (Roma, Sinti, Slavs, communists and the mentally handicapped) and tended to shrug off the implications of Nazi racial theories for themselves and their co-religionists: i.e. data-files were organized on a pick-and-mix basis without regard for consistency, coherence or particularities of time and place. Third, superficial correspondences between what students already felt and thought they knew about Israelis and Zionists (and hence about all Jews) was used to corroborate the truth of Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda: i.e. the security of data-files about the past was guaranteed by second-hand experience in the present. Finally, information, both true and false, about Holocaust history was used to reinforce negative interpretations of Zionist and Israeli behaviour in the present and to justify extreme responses to such behaviour. More disturbing still is the suspicion that the horrors of the Holocaust

offered students a sense of absolution for their own passions and polemics: i.e. 'traditional' archetypes and 'exemplary' behaviours were invalidly generalized from history and falsely applied to the present. In sum, the *historical consciousness* of these students was false. To some extent at least, it was false because their *historical literacy* was poor – because they lacked the epistemological and methodological apparatus necessary to question and evaluate 'what everybody knows'.[12]

It would be easy to dismiss the 'false' *historical consciousness* described above on the grounds that it is as exceptional as it is extreme. It is not unusual for adolescents to profess, and even espouse, views and beliefs that are absurd, bizarre and unpleasant. It may also be expected that, on occasions, exponents of such views and beliefs will attain a critical mass in a history classroom, particularly when a trainee or novice teacher is in charge. What cannot be dismissed, however, is the fact that the *historical consciousness* of many mainstream UK students is also 'false' and 'impoverished', albeit to lesser degrees and in different respects. Although almost invariably horrified and outraged by Holocaust history, the ways in which the generality of students edit and organize historical information tends to simplify the past and sterilize the present.[13] For instance, non-Jewish victims often drop out of the mental data-files of mainstream students; the Holocaust is frequently construed as an exclusively German rather than widespread European phenomenon (and one in which the role of the UK may be open to censure both before and during World War II); the timeline of Holocaust policies and practices is usually described as a series of steps in a pre-determined plan, not as something that mutated and emerged over time (e.g. concentration camps are often equated with death camps); and links are rarely made between the Holocaust and a 'bigger picture' of the past (e.g. students typically assume the Holocaust to have ended with the surrender of Nazi Germany, perhaps because its continuation in 'liberated' territories complicates and confuses simple narratives and moral judgements). Impoverishment of *historical consciousness*, attributable to the ways in which discrete bits of 'true' information are organized and accessed, entails a still more serious sterilization of the ways in which mainstream students apply knowledge of Holocaust history. The Holocaust is usually assumed to be an exceptional phenomenon that 'could never have happened here', 'could never happen again' and 'could only be perpetrated by monstrous, not by normal people'. In short, the 'present' is not part of history and 'we' are different from people in the past. In part, these reactions follow from the potency of the material involved. The more that Holocaust history

turns stomachs the closer it feels to a *Resident Evil* movie than to real life. More generally, however, student alienation from the history they are taught follows from their failure to connect past and present, and from their organization of historical data into discrete topics that lack connection with each other let alone with the lived here-and-now.

The Holocaust offers extreme examples because it is extreme history. The impact of *prior conceptions* on classroom learning is rarely as dramatic or disturbing as illustrated and, as a rule, passes unobserved. It usually skews and distorts rather than displaces the learning intended and anticipated by teachers, and thereby compounds benign ideas and beliefs with ones that are variously potent and malignant, anodyne and innocuous. For instance, when we teach national history in the hope of promoting patriotism and strengthening social solidarity, positive learning outcomes may be contaminated by negative assumptions that 'we' are somehow 'special' and superior to foreigners living abroad or to minorities in our midst. Likewise, the *prior conception* that history is made by and in the image of the rich and the powerful, by celebrities and people who live in Washington DC, may be reinforced rather than countered by the attention teachers and textbooks give to conspicuous 'movers and shakers' in human affairs.[14] Ordinary people, when they figure at all in British students' accounts of the past, usually do so as victims of foreign or domestic oppression, as people who suffer and endure the history that is done unto them but which they have little part in shaping. Even rebellions and revolutions are attributed to the agency of famous leaders, not of their anonymous followers. In this case, the 'anomie' of everyday life leads students to infer the insignificance of the masses from what is not, rather than what is, taught.[15] Even when teachers focus upon the contributions made by people of humble origins, these people are still 'famous' because everybody knows their names. Few English-language textbooks mention Carlyle's '*nameless churl*' who made the plough and, in so making, made history on the grandest of scales.[16]

If the *prior conceptions* discussed above appear prosaic and inconsequential it is because, in the main, they are not about the past at all. They are *prior conceptions* about the present which students project upon the past in order to make sense of it.[17] This is one reason why students struggle to learn much that is valid and worthwhile *from* the past even when they know a great deal about it. They construe the past as akin to a series of *alternative presents*, differing from the real present in terms of deficits

(stuff they didn't have then) and surface characteristics (bad haircuts and weird fashions), but similar with respect to meanings, structures and essences. Ironically, because many – and perhaps most – British students construe the past as containing inferior and, in some ways, 'failed presents' disconnected from the lived present, they struggle to explain why knowledge of the past is important, let alone what use can be made of it. Some students deem such knowledge to be useless because '*the past is dead and gone*'. Others think that it can only be important in a few exceptional cases '*when it repeats itself 'cos then you'll know what's going to happen next*'. Even when students are persuaded that the past is a source of useful 'legacies', like sewers and sextants, it is hard for them to explain why they need to know about such things. One 11-12 year-old student suggests that ignorance of the past might lead us to repeat past mistakes and, as a result, suffer past consequences: '*Without Magna Carta we wouldn't have any laws... It's important to know how it came because King John tore it up and if we called a new king 'John' he might go and tear it up again and people could go round killing you for nothing*'.[18] Statements like this suggest possession of an extreme – or pure – form of what Jörn Rüsen (2006) calls the 'exemplary' mode of *historical consciousness*. It is as though correspondences between past and present, even correspondences as trivial as naming a new king 'John', are to be avoided lest history repeat itself with consequences as dire (or possibly as happy) as in the past. In this sense, the past is at once an alternative present and a distant mirror showing 'what happens if... '

An equally significant indicator of impoverished historical consciousness is the privileged position afforded by many British students to the 'present' relative to that of the past or future. Few 12 year-old students, including some who happily concede the present to be the product of a past that could have been different than it was, are willing to admit that the present they know and love could, in any significant respect, have been other than it is. This logical intransitivity derives from two deeply buried but strongly held *prior conceptions*, or assumptions, about *reality* and *possibility*. With respect to both past and present *realities*, most students accept the mutability of events. They also understand that many things *change* for the better or worse, most often for the better. Things thought to *change* – technology and material goods, leisure and freedom – usually lie within their direct experience. For example, students readily accept that people in the past fought for and won more money, rights and freedoms because they have themselves struggled for these things with parents, teachers and

adult society in general. Changes in systems and structures, values and meanings are, however, more difficult to grasp and, as a rule, are assumed to be immutable *constants* for the simple reason that students rarely think about them at all. The realities of life's scripts are known to be variable, but the stage on which they are played is a constant they take for granted. Students can readily conceive of storylines in which pestilence, famine and death are real events but only within the fabric of material and social realities little different from those in the everyday present. It is as though they can imagine team games in which dramatic, strange and bizarre events occur on field whilst deeming spherical balls, goals and the offside rule to be everlasting givens.

A similar *prior conception* pertains to tacit (and occasionally explicit) distinctions between *imaginary*, *logical* and *causal* possibilities. When asked in one-to-one interviews whether the present would be the same, better or worse had Magna Carta not been written or signed in 1215, many 12 year-old students happily explain why the present would be worse. However, follow-up questions reveal that some students of this opinion responded to the question on a 'let's imagine' basis, very like, 'Let's imagine you had super-hero powers, what is the first thing you'd do?' and most others answered as though the question were hypothetical, about something that, while logically possible, could not happen in practice, e.g. 'Just suppose you'd got to play for the Manchester United first team last Saturday, how many goals do you think you'd have scored?' It should be noted that the ability to switch between the sub-modes of *imaginary*, *logical* and *causal* possibility is a significant intellectual achievement, and one not attained by every 11-12 year old. For those who do, limitations are twofold. First, sub-mode distinctions tend to be tacit: students are rarely conscious of slipping from one into another. Second, assumptions about what is and is not causally possible are usually anchored to aspects of the present deemed to be unchanging and which, in consequence, are taken-for-granted. For most UK students in this age phase, the unchanging present serves as bedrock for the real and touchstone for the *causally possible*. It follows that even when they construe the present as connected with and formed by the past, it is the reality and necessity of the present which guarantees that of the past not the other way around.

Assumptions about the relationship of 'past' and 'present' impact on students' ideas about the 'future' in ways that can be hard to understand. In the course of a single conversation, students can oscillate

between determinacy and indeterminacy. At one point, a student might argue the future to be fixed yet unknowable: '*It's like the past only back to front... but we can't say what it is because sources haven't been written yet*'. Minutes later the same student can assert that, in the future, '*anything could happen*'. Unless specifically cued so to do, few students use their knowledge of the past when considering possible futures and, when they do, arguments are frequently unhistorical. For instance, in arguing that, '*If it did in the past it means it might do again*', one student appears to suggest that if something has already occurred there is empirical proof that this something can happen and whatever can happen will happen at some time in the future. In sum, when contemplating the future the *historical consciousness* of 12 year-old students appears to be impoverished.[19] There is little evidence to suggest that learning about the past helps them to think in more productive and disciplined ways about the future. Of course, learning outcomes may be more positive for students of 14, 16 or 18 years of age.

If ideas about the relationship of 'past' and 'future' range from the confused to the quixotic, assumptions about the super-ordinate reality of the present cast longer and more sharply defined shadows. 12 year-old students who contemplate a future of infinite possibilities, arguing that because, '*It [the future] hasn't happened yet so can be anything*', usually assume the persistence of many taken-for-granted features of the present. An infinite variety of new and wonderful gadgets, reality TV shows and leisure opportunities is anticipated but few 11-12 year old students entertain possible futures in which the light doesn't switch on, food is scarce, water is foul and there is an outside chance of being eaten whenever they step outside the front door. Worse still, students also assume that whatever future comes to pass does so of its own accord without reference to anything that they, their friends and families, might do or not do. Whatever is normal and unchanging in the present tends to be projected into the future as a taken-for-granted background against which 'anything can happen'. As previously noted, students learn from everyday experience what changes and what doesn't; this knowledge defines what is constant and variable in imagined futures. Knowledge of the past has the potential to correct misconceptions about the constants and continuities in human existence but, on the basis of data obtained thus far, rarely does so for 11-12 year olds.

The question answered: Why students don't learn from the past

Four answers have been offered:

(1) Students don't learn *from* the past because much of what they believe *about* it is false or distorted, and because whatever they actually do know is organized in ways that make it difficult to use. False and unjustifiable beliefs about the past derive, in the main, from traditional and popular culture and, to a lesser extent, from sins of omission and commission by teachers and textbook writers. Understanding of worthwhile knowledge of the past is also distorted by students' *prior conceptions*, sometimes about the past, but more often about the present which are then invoked in order to make sense of what they hear or read about the past. These *conceptions*, consciously held ideas or tacit assumptions, can be limited in impact, as with a British fifteen year-old who, equating 'Junker' with 'junkie', thought that Prince Bismarck was on drugs when he doctored the Ems telegram. Somewhat more significant are the *prior conceptions* of a seventeen year-old assisting at an archaeological investigation who asked, 'Why did the Romans want to live two metres underground?'

(2) More damaging than the above is the difficulty students have in organizing data into large-scale narratives, and in structuring such narratives to facilitate updating in the light of new information and flexibility in response to new questions. Whatever the quality and integrity of students' knowledge about the past, it is hard to draw worthwhile conclusions *from* disconnected stories and discrete fragments of information.

(3) Even when what students know *about* the past is worth using and is organized in ways that render it usable, students have difficulty in taking much of value from their knowledge unless they understand how it should and should not be used. All too often, what Peter Lee (2011) calls their 'historical literacy' is insufficiently developed.[20] Weaknesses in 'historical literacy' impair students' ability to discriminate between fictional and factual, admissible and inadmissible statements about the past; to arbitrate between more and less valid interpretations, explanations and judgements; to update knowledge in the light of new information and perspectives; to form and test substantive, developmental and causal generalizations; to re-structure information and narratives in response to new questions and hypotheses about the past; and to use

knowledge *about* the past to inform analyses of present actualities and future possibilities. In sum, weaknesses in 'historical literacy' disable students' ability to learn from the past even when they possess a great deal of accurate knowledge *about* it.

(4) The fourth answer underpins the second and third. The *historical consciousness* of many students is impoverished because they construe the past as disconnected from, and therefore of little or no relevance to, the present and future. When the past is thought to be 'dead and gone' it is difficult for students to explain why knowing about it can be more than interesting or entertaining. In the words of one disaffected and less than entertained fourteen year-old, '*As far as I can see, history was full of f---wits. So what's the point?*'[21] Even when students do perceive connections between past and present, links are often construed as common elements and relationships that remain constant across time and hold true in despite of the intervening history. The past is assumed to contain 'mirror presents' in which it is possible to see the true qualities of entities that have (or are given) the same names. Thus, in the cultural achievements of Pericles' Athenians and the martial triumphs of Alexander's Macedonians, an intellectual and heroic essence unique to the Greeks may be clearly seen for all time. The distinctiveness of this essence jars with experience of a present in which these exceptional qualities are strangely occluded and it can be difficult to distinguish Greeks from non-Greeks. (Of course, the 'mirror past' occasionally reflects features of a recognizable present. Closely observed British football supporters and late-night revellers seem to have much in common with their barbarian ancestors.) Qualities seen as constants within the bloodlines and/or cultures of one's own national identities are rarely attributed, in kind or degree, to the identities of significant 'others'. Indeed, the 'mirror past' can usually be relied upon to reflect less flattering but just as constant essences in 'other' cultures and bloodlines. Scarcely less damaging and equally unhistorical, is the use of the 'mirror past' to reflect constants of relationship and consequence particular to superficially similar (or like-named) situations and policies deemed to have recurred in the present. The old puritan saying, 'The devil can quote scripture for his own purposes', might almost be said of history, excepting that, in the latter case, the corruption is of the mind not the soul, and derives from a species of *historical consciousness* that is as flawed as it is impoverished.

Limitations in the empirical support for the above answers should be noted. Some evidence continues to be analysed and has yet to be published or formally reported, and most of what is in the public domain pertains to the UK. It is to be expected that differences in degree and accent will apply to other cultures and educational systems, as indeed they do between schools and regions within the UK. Multivariate analysis and quantification of effect strengths lies beyond the visible horizon and, in consequence, while a strong case can be made for all four of the 'answers' given, there is no good reason to suppose that these sum to a *full* answer – or even to the greater part of a *full* answer – to the question posed. It follows that more simple, obvious and pessimistic answers to the question, 'Why don't students learn *from* the past?' cannot be discounted. It is, for instance, obvious that a critical mass of knowledge about the past is a precondition for its useful application, for students to learn anything of value *from* it. It is equally obvious that this critical point cannot be independent of what we wish students to learn from the past and, as previously noted, that it will be conditional upon the ways in which historical data are structured and degree to which they are organized as well as upon their number. Smaller numbers of data tightly organized within nested structures may prove more usable than larger numbers of discrete or list-form data.

There are also questions about what is to count as 'knowing more' *about* the past. Do singular particulars, items of information that cannot be reduced to more elementary constituents, weigh as much as generalizations based on large numbers of such particulars? For example, is it reasonable to suggest that students able to offer half-a-dozen valid generalizations about developments in the powers and functions of Holy Roman emperors 962-1806, necessarily know less than those who can recall ten times that number of irreducible facts about the emperors themselves? That we immediately wish to know what 'generalizations' and 'irreducible facts' are at issue indicates the problem to be more complex still. As well as the number and level of data, their selection signifies. Some periods, areas and aspects of the past attract more attention than others; and even when writing about such obsessively scrutinized topics as the Third Reich, historians select and use no more than a fraction of available data. Curriculum designers, text-book writers and teachers must be even more ruthless when selecting and discarding information. So the question arises as to whether students might learn more *from* the past if they knew different things *about* it. For instance, would students gain more from knowing about the trans-national past or about their own national

pasts; from the study of socio-political or of economic & technological history; from in-depth knowledge of the twentieth century or from a conspectus of the entire human past? Questions can also be asked about how the balance between factual knowledge of the past and understanding of how to organize, evaluate and use such knowledge may be optimized.

Unconditional answers cannot be given to the above questions. Answers are conditional on the sorts of things we wish students to learn *from* the past and how we anticipate such learning to impact upon their attitudes and behaviour. This leads to a second key question: 'What is the point of history education? What do we wish students to get out of it?'

What should students learn *from* the past?

This question is predicated on the assumption that inclusion of history in the school curriculum is justifiable. Since the size of the school curriculum is finite and justifications for the inclusion of history must be weighed against those for other courses and subjects, the assumption is too wide-ranging to be examined in this paper. Other unexamined assumptions follow. First, justifications for history as an academic discipline cannot, in and of themselves, justify its inclusion as either a compulsory or an elective component of the school curriculum.[22] Second, school history cannot be justified with reference to the immanent importance of its content, to what it is about without reference to what it is for, to the need for people to know about the past without regard for the uses to which this knowledge should be put.[23] Third, justifications for school history as a compulsory rather than elective subject necessarily pertain to its social utility not its value to the individual. Knowledge of the past and understanding of the nature and logic of history may or may not improve employment prospects and enhance enjoyment of certain leisure activities, but personal outcomes could only be central to a case for compulsory history teaching were we able to guarantee that the majority of people would be wealthier or healthier or happier for having studied it as opposed to some other subject. It is unlikely that such a case could ever be made.

A final unexamined assumption is close to self-evident. It is that school history should neutralize false and socially damaging beliefs derived from past-referencing fiction and folklore about who

and what people are (both 'us' and the 'other'), about how and why things happen in human affairs, and about what can and cannot be done to anticipate, influence and prepare for possible futures.[24] Although the neutralization of false and dangerous beliefs embedded in tradition and everyday culture may not be sufficient to justify the retention of school history against the competing claims of, say, logic or macro-economics, it is difficult to argue that a history education which failed to do these things could ever be justifiable. This conclusion also holds if what is taught is seriously distorted by students' *prior conceptions*, or sterilized by their impoverished *historical consciousness*, or rendered unusable by an inability to organize, update and evaluate what has been taught.

While getting us no closer to answering the question, 'What should students learn *from* the past?' these four assumptions suggest three criteria against which competing answers may be evaluated:

(1) By learning how to question, deconstruct and evaluate all statements and interpretations of fact, including those proper to academic history, students should be inoculated against false beliefs about and invalid interpretations of the past.

(2) With reference to new information about and experiences of the 'emergent past' obtained during half-century or more of adult life, students should be equipped to update what they learn at school.

(3) Students should be taught how to use their knowledge to make sense of a fast-changing world replete with challenges and possibilities unimagined by their teachers.

A theoretical evaluation of the efficacy of three broad approaches to history education will be undertaken against the above criteria. These approaches are outlined in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Approaches to History Education

Categories of Approach	Implications for Content & Objectives
1. 'Trojan Horse' Approaches: history is used as a vehicle for 1.1 Developing generic skills, e.g. communication and data-handling. 1.2 Transmitting socially useful knowledge, e.g. citizenship rights & duties.	*Historical content is a means to an end. Its purpose is to add colour and interest to otherwise dry skills or citizenship material.* *Objectives relate to the mastery of instructional media and generic learning activities. Recall and understanding of historical content is of secondary or no importance.*
2. Social Engineering Approaches: history is used to form identities, attitudes and beliefs useful for 2.1 Resisting or reversing cultural assimilation. 2.2 Effecting cultural homogenization and nation-building. 2.3 Reconciling divided communities. 2.4 Maintaining, regenerating or reforming social structures and belief-systems. 2.5 Consciousness-raising re global problems and responsibilities.	*Content is selected and interpreted in ways that exemplify and validate pre-specified identities, attitudes and beliefs, e.g. that students of whatever ethnic origin are Americans first and foremost; that failure to vote is a betrayal of the self-sacrifice of previous generations; that conflict and poverty in some parts of the world are an ongoing legacy of European imperialism.* *Mastery of the nature and logic of history as an academic discipline is ignored or tokenistic. On occasions, students may be taught how to detect bias and propaganda inimical to intended learning outcomes. As a rule, historical sources are used as repositories of 'information' not as 'evidence'.*

Categories of Approach	Implications for Content & Objectives
3. Social Education Approaches: history provides knowledge and tools necessary to engineer collective solutions to unforeseen challenges by 3.1 Developing knowledge and understanding of the human past as a whole (rather than of selected topics in the past). 3.2 Developing understanding of how and why things happen in human affairs. 3.3 Showing how knowledge of the past connects with and illuminates the present. 3.4 Developing understanding of the criteria used to distinguish between what we are and are not entitled to say about the past, and to determine the several degrees of confidence attaching to admissible statements of varying kinds. 3.5 Enabling students to discriminate between legitimate and illegitimate ways of using knowledge about the past.	*Content is selected with reference to enduring characteristics, major determinants and long term trends in human history.* *Mastery of the nature and logic of history as an academic discipline is emphasized. Students are equipped to evaluate both academic and popular interpretations of the past, and to work out what can and cannot be validly inferred from these interpretations about present realities and future possibilities.* *The valid application of historical knowledge is as important as the validity of the knowledge claimed.*

In recent years, 'Trojan Horse' approaches to history education have been advocated and implemented in the UK. They focus on 'spin-off' benefits incidental to the content and concepts particular to history as an academic subject. Justifying history education in this way is akin to justifying the NASA moon-landing programme of the 1960s with reference to Teflon and other technologies that could have been perfected for a fraction of the price of a Saturn V rocket.[25] This is not to deny that students can and should hone language, IT and data-handling skills in history lessons. Indeed, systematic study of the past demands proficiency in these areas. These skills are not particular to history, however, and there is no evidence to suggest that history is especially suited to serve as a vehicle for their development. A marginally stronger case can be made for history as a vehicle for citizenship knowledge and values. It may, for example, be useful for students to know where systems of national and local government, criminal and civil law, social welfare and environmental infrastructures come from, to understand that these were neither designed by computer nor written on the back of an envelope but evolved over time by slow changes and increments to very different arrangements for communal life. This notwithstanding, description and analysis of current systems and procedures may command the lions' share of teaching time and, in consequence, historical content is likely to be simplified to the point where its inclusion pre-empts more debate than it generates.[26]

'Trojan Horse' approaches might condemn school history to the role of a slowly fading servant, but have the virtue of sidestepping a number of otherwise tricky decisions. Content selection, for instance, ceases to be problematic since any content can serve as a medium for developing basic skills and, for citizenship purposes, a history of the recent national past may be used to illustrate the development of current laws, systems and social provisions. Better still, since historical material is no more than a means to non-historical ends, issues of its *usability* in adult life do not arise. Whatever knowledge of the past students may happen to retain, there is no requirement for them to evaluate it, to augment and modify it in the light of new information, or to invoke it when debating the wisdom of options for collective action. In sum, insofar as neither knowledge of the past nor *historical literacy* are deemed to signify, Trojan Horse approaches to history education do not so much fail all three of our criteria for inclusion in the school curriculum as render them otiose. A real horse is sacrificed on the altar of whatever happens to be inside a wooden one. The name but not the reality of 'history' remains on the school curriculum.

Social engineering approaches to history education aspire to influence how future adults feel and behave, think and define themselves. In this connection, much has and continues to be written about the role of history education in forming a sense of national identity and, via recognition of shared identities, in enhancing fellow-feeling and social solidarity. For post-colonial nations in Asia and Africa, for new countries, like Ireland and Montenegro emerging from the twentieth-century collapse of European empires and federations, and for states containing minorities threatened by cultural homogenization, myths of origin, bondage and liberation are important totems of difference.[27] As argued by Ernest Gellner, national identities are usually synthetic and may be manufactured with either centripetal or centrifugal intent, may aim to fuse peoples of disparate origins into new and homogenous identities or to magnify small differences into nation-defining ones. Arguably the most successful 'identity creation' project in modern times has taken place in the USA. Stories of the Founding Fathers, of heroic struggles for liberation from a corrupt but powerful oppressor, and of the covenant between government and people enshrined in a noble and enlightened constitution, have attained mythic status by subtly echoing Old Testament accounts of God's covenant with the Patriarchs, of the Exodus from Egypt and the gift of Mosaic Law. The creation of a new nation from a multitude of ethnically and linguistically disparate peoples is at once a triumph of Enlightenment rationalism and humanism and a retelling of biblical myth, a gathering and fusing of people united by constitution and manifest destiny.[28]

Less successful have been attempts to reverse the role played by school history in sustaining divisions between ethnic and religious communities. According to Makriyianni and Psaltis (2007), in Cyprus 'the role of education was instrumental in nurturing the widening of this gap' [between Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities]. Indeed, in situations where communal differences obtain, the use of history education to reinforce and validate national identities 'has a negative impact on the cultivation of democratic citizens. In the name of patriotism, national unity and conformity, debate, critique and plurality of perspectives are perceived as threats and are pushed aside'. Unfortunate precedents notwithstanding, Makriyianni and Psaltis remain optimistic that school history can help to heal wounds it has gouged or deepened. Grounded in developmental psychology, their paper is too subtle and multi-layered to summarize here but advocates the development of 'multi-perspective' approaches to inter-communal history which enable students 'to understand that [divisions]... often

arise, persist and are shaped by conflicts of interpretation where each party to the dispute assigns motives and intentions to each other's actions which are not founded on any specific evidence, but reflect long-established assumptions, preconceptions, prejudices and stereotypes'. As Makriyianni and Psaltis acknowledge, there are several degrees and stages of cognitive 'decentration', and recognition of 'multiple perspectives' does not automatically lead to shifts in positions or values. Indeed, the ability to see the world through the eyes of the 'other' can intensify rather than dilute enmities. However many contrary perspectives are known and understood, we all need a firm place to stand when passing judgements and, if where we stand is dictated by a national, ethnic or sectarian identity, the perspective of the 'other' cannot be valid for us even when we recognize its validity for them. At the height of 'the Troubles' in Northern Ireland, the author was on good terms with an SDLP politician. This man loathed and despised the IRA which he regarded as little better than a criminal organization commanding allegiance through fear and intimidation. Nonetheless, he admitted that, if forced to take sides, he would line up alongside the IRA because, as Prospero said of Caliban, 'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine'.

Reinforcement and manufacture of identities excepted, social engineering uses of history have focussed on the regeneration and manipulation of ideas and behaviour. This is something that even academic historians have endorsed on occasions. In 1950, Conyers Read argued that historians, like physicists, must do their bit to help the USA win the Cold War.[29] On a smaller scale, in an effort to combat the rise of political extremism amongst the young, the Czech government has recently advised secondary schools to expose the horrors of totalitarian government between 1939-45 and 1948-89 (Sedlák 2010).

Although social engineering approaches value information about the past as means to such ends as the enhancement of social solidarity and 'fellow feeling', preservation of group distinctiveness, commitment to market economics and so on, these ends are sometimes obscured from critical scrutiny by polemical assertions of content *relevance*. Historical periods and topics may be deemed relevant or irrelevant to the identities they are intended to reinforce or form. The implication is that students already possess identities of which, until they learn the *relevant* history, they are imperfectly aware or cannot fully understand. More defensible is the selection of historical content deemed relevant to the present in which students are growing-up. The Civil Rights Movement in the USA became a popular topic in the UK at the point when, as a result of mass immigration, students began

to live in a multi-ethnic and multicultural society very different from that in which their parents and grandparents were raised and educated. In this, and some other, cases the argument for 'practical past' teaching is persuasive. To the extent that learning about the fight for civil rights in America exposed the evils of racism and alerted students to the dangers of divided communities, history education can reasonably claim to have made the post war UK a more tolerant and civilized place than might otherwise have been the case. Of course, no such claim can be substantiated. The UK might have been no less tolerant and civilized had teachers neglected American history and explored the private life of Edward VIII with a view to exposing the evils of divorce but, at the least, the educational aim was virtuous, the social outcome satisfactory and the congruence of aim and outcome gives grounds for optimism.

This notwithstanding, even when intentions are ethical and learning outcomes socially beneficial, such uses of history are not without cost. Because the ends, the messages that they are intended to take from history lessons, are important students cannot be allowed to ignore '*So what?*' questions and even less can they be permitted to draw the wrong conclusions from their studies. This is obvious for such topics as civil rights and the Holocaust, but also holds for those, like the Jewish Diaspora, that bear on the historical roots of identity or, like strategic bombing during World War II, that raise questions about legitimate and illegitimate uses of force. The more sensitive the material, the more high-stakes the reasons for teaching students about past events, the greater is the imperative to prescribe historical interpretations and specify implications for behaviours and policies in the present. In order to introduce students to contrary interpretations of the past, we might contrast the views of David Irving with those of Daniel Goldhagen, but few if any teachers would permit students to take seriously the arguments of Irving while those of Goldhagen are likely to be given a much easier ride. More serious problems can arise when students are required to interpret the past in different ways, to accept and balance multiple perspectives. Teachers may find that facts and arguments need to be weighted in ways that compensate for biases in the selection of information and weaknesses in the logic of arguments if students are to be dissuaded from dismissing one or other 'perspective' out of hand. In sum, it is only possible to answer for the beliefs and attitudes, identities and commitments that students take from history lessons to the extent that we are prepared to engineer what they understand the past to signify for the present and, to this end, we must also be prepared to trim and fillet what they consume from the past in order to prove and exemplify whatever interpretations are

necessary for socially desirable outcomes to be fulfilled. Given the impossibility of teaching all that is known about the past, careful selection of material in the interests of socially useful outcomes becomes as defensible or indefensible as the outcomes served thereby.

More problematic is the fact that, if genuinely committed to social engineering, we would not wish students to extend and deepen their knowledge of history in ways that compromise commitment to whatever identity, social and political messages are to be conveyed. Still less would we wish students to deconstruct and evaluate what they have been taught about the past and its implications for the present. It follows that understanding of the nature and logic of history as an academic discipline is of limited relevance to social engineering approaches. Of course, students need to use concepts of *change and development, cause and consequence* in order for prescribed interpretations of the past and implications for the present to make sense and carry conviction, but objectives are more easily achieved when students misconstrue *changes* and *causes* as elusive species of 'fact'. Although harder to pin down and name than people and events, dates and places, ersatz facts about 'causes' and 'changes' are taught as though they have comparable epistemological status. This stunted grasp of second-order concepts is relatively easy to achieve. When first introduced to them, students usually assume that, like hard facts, *changes and causes* are inferred from, or even to be found in, sources of evidence. Only with time and difficulty, do students realize that even the most unproblematic statements about *change* and *cause* are as contingent on the questions we ask about the past and the rules we use to distinguish between more valid and less valid answers to those questions as they are on the ontology of a past that exists independently of all questions and answers. At this juncture students begin to deconstruct and evaluate prescribed interpretations of the past and to pose questions demanding wider and more detailed study. Commendable in an academic historian, such capabilities and dispositions are inimical to all but the most sophisticated of social engineering enterprises. Thus, while social engineering objectives are furthered when students believe prescribed interpretations of the past to be proven by analysis of sources, too deep an understanding of evidential and inferential logic can erode acceptance of officially sanctioned interpretations. As many histories of religion attest, the generality of people are more willing to commit to simple than to complicated truths. Convoluted theologies may lead to reasoned scepticism more often than to fire-hardened faith, and are best kept away from common folk with real lives to lead!

A second and equally unfortunate implication of social engineering approaches for history education is that, in order to maximize realization of objectives, we are obliged to 'cherry-pick' bits of the past to support conclusions that would appear less clear cut, or even unsustainable, were the past viewed as a whole. It is all too obvious that identity formation is most easily achieved when origins, triumphs, sufferings and misfortunes are considered out of context. It is also true, however, that most historical accounts lose perspective and fidelity of line when abstracted from their broader temporal and geographical contexts. A case in point is the history of the North Atlantic slave trade as taught in UK secondary schools. The motives for teaching this topic, and for teaching it how it is usually done, cannot be impugned. The impact on student attitudes and behaviour, though difficult to quantify, may be positive overall. But an exclusive or disproportionate emphasis on British participation in the North Atlantic slave trade leads some students to believe slavery to have been a British invention while others suppose that only the British were instrumental in its abolition. Worse still, many students take the message that all slaves were black, all slavers white and suppose slavery to have been an exceptional and temporally localized phenomenon rather than one typical of post-Neolithic cultures until recent times. Such erroneous generalizations may be supposed a price worth paying to ensure popular support for overseas aid, the purchase of expensive fair-trade produce and guilt about exploitation of cheap immigrant labour 'to do the jobs that we won't do', but there is also evidence of unintended and counter-productive consequences. Kay Traille (2007) notes that because many Afro-Caribbean students identify with the slaves traded across the Atlantic, history lessons can become a personally humiliating experience. In the words of one student, 'They made me feel bad about being black when we did the slave trade... They made me feel ashamed'. Students of European origin can, in their turn, experience equally unreasonable feelings of personal guilt and responsibility. Such unintended learning outcomes follow, first, from failure to take students' prior conceptions into account, namely their tacit 'presentism' and unhistorical assumptions about the constancy of group identities; and second, from the isolation of the North Atlantic slave trade from its historical context.

In sum, social engineering approaches to school history fail against all three criteria for the inclusion of history within the school curriculum. By definition, these approaches strive to counter beliefs about the past deemed to be socially harmful with the truth, validity or reasonableness thereof being secondary considerations that may, if necessary, be ignored or even compromised in the interests of

what is perceived to be the greater good.[30] Teaching students how to update their knowledge and understanding of the past in the light of new information and 'lived experience', also runs counter to the logic of social engineering approaches because updating lies outside the control of teachers and its impact is unpredictable. The social engineering strategy requires that students are taught what they should learn *from* the past not *how* to learn from it. It follows that students need know no more about the past than the facts, interpretations and implications necessary to prove and exemplify the messages about personal and collective attitudes, policies and behaviours that need to be engineered. Additional knowledge is at best irrelevant and at worst dangerous. It also follows that students' *historical literacy* needs to be developed far enough for them to understand and assimilate the arguments of their teachers but short of the point at which they can argue for themselves, update and process new information.

Social education approaches to school history face more severe problems of content selection, of justifying the inclusion of some and exclusion of other material, than do social engineering approaches able to 'cherry-pick' topics and sources, facts and interpretations to support prescribed judgements and conclusions. Indeed, within limits, it is likely that social education objectives could be met by means of a wider range of historical content than could conceivably be taught to school-age students and that, in consequence, much material is interchangeable. This allows scope for personal choice on the part of students, teachers and – alas – of apparatchiks. As indicated, however, limits must be set on content choice. First, not any content will do: for students to form views about the 'shape' of the past and, thereby, of its relationship with the present, course content must enable exploration of key turning points and developments in human history. Some developments could be addressed using material drawn from national histories (liberally defined) over the last one or two millennia, but others demand reference to supra-national and pre-national histories over a wider geographical range and longer temporal span. Second, content must be selected and presented in ways that facilitate progression in students' *historical understanding* of the nature of historical accounts, of what we can and cannot claim to know, of the ways in which human-scale stories can be articulated into grander change-based cross-generational narratives and of how we can best explain beliefs and actions, point-like events and long-span developments. Third, for students to use knowledge *of* the past to inform decisions in and about the present-future – as opposed to drawing upon disconnected shards and

packets of information ripped *from* the past – what they know must form a coherent and meaningful whole, must fit into a 'big picture' of 'what happened in human history'. This 'big picture' need not have uniform resolution: some parts, taught as in-depth topics or detailed themes, may be 'seen' in higher resolution than the whole, but the whole must make sense as an account (or picture) in its own right and as one to which numerous little stories (foreground figures and background objects) are seen to contribute. This argues for teaching a conspectus of the entire human past in ways that establish its scale relative to student lifetimes, fix its point of origins against that of the ever-moving present, define the aspects of life with which history is concerned, locate and describe significant transformations in forms of life from itinerant and foraging kinship groups to our synthetic and globalized world-order. If learned as a flexible and dynamic means of evaluating new data and answering new questions, 'big pictures' of the human past-present would also serve as organizational frameworks for locating and assimilating material acquired in adult life, for the ongoing updating and reinterpretation of school history in the light of new information and directly experienced events. The content used to teach a conspectus of the past would take account of student learning characteristics and significant features of educational environments and systems but, by definition, these would be no more than variations on a theme. Although the ways in which 'big picture' themes were played (or taught) would, like all accounts of the past whether long or short, broad or narrow, reflect ongoing debates as well as consensus about the nature and significance of the human past, the fact that a conspectus needs to be taught for social education objectives to be met goes a long way towards solving 'the content problem' in history education.[31]

The provision of a 'big history' overview of the human past sufficiently well structured to contextualize 'little history' topics and themes and accommodate whatever history is learned during adult life, is not officially sanctioned in the UK. This notwithstanding, some heads of history departments operating below the radar have successfully experimented with 'big history' teaching.[32] Although formal research has yet to be undertaken in this connection, experience suggests that the temporal contextualization of themes and topics within 'big history' overviews can serve to structure and qualify past-present comparisons and contrasts by locating them as strands and episodes within longer diachronic frameworks.[33] It must be admitted that it takes years of study before even able students begin to contextualize topics and events in this way, let alone understand what it means to do so. They can,

however, grasp that historical relationships and lines of development signify as much as, and often more than, point-like comparisons and contrasts across time. Such understanding marks the genesis of a consciousness that is genuinely historical, that works with changes, continuities and processes in preference to comparisons, constants and essences. This is not to suggest that the comparative method lacks value or validity, only that it needs to be applied within a longer and broader context of knowledge, even one as skeletal as a conspectus of the entire human past. For example, since 1950 the world has endured numerous humanitarian crises, many resulting in major loss of life and incalculable suffering. It is, however, noteworthy that, in comparison with catastrophes in the more distant past, recovery has invariably been swift with little or no impact on population levels, let alone population growth, being registered. That this is so may justly be regarded a triumph of international co-operation and the emergence of a (more-or-less) liberal world order. Analysis of demographic crises over the past five hundred years, however, suggests this triumph to be part of a long-term trend not a recent turning point, and to be driven by the progressive integration of self-sufficient and isolated communities into inter-dependent and joined-up ones to a greater extent than by the spread of democratic processes, the proliferation of human rights legislation or funding for international agencies. Consideration of population collapses and extinctions within a 'big history' perspective is more sobering still. Population collapses and extinctions have been declining in frequency but increasing in severity over time and, in the future, one may occur on a hitherto unprecedented scale. We may soon reach, or already have reached, the point at which the Earth becomes a single, large overcrowded lifeboat.[34]

As well as qualifying comparative analyses of past and present cases, the teaching of 'big history' contexts has value in and of itself in at least four respects. First, it raises questions about the time-scales over which consequences should be considered. As the fiscal and economic reforms of Diocletian and other 'wise rulers' attest, measures that solve the problems of one generation can exacerbate those encountered by succeeding generations. Second, 'big history' contexts connect past with present and thereby enable students to construe the present as the leading edge of a continually created past. This enables historically informed speculation about how the past-present might continue to unfold, where it could be headed and what might be done to adjust its direction and momentum. Third, analysis of 'big history' contexts challenges students' assumptions about 'normality' in human affairs.

De-contextualized comparisons between past and present can reinforce existing assumptions because points of similarity are sought between 'now' and 'then' whereas, when forced to regard the past-present in its entirety, much of what is taken-for-granted in the lived present is exposed as atypical of the human condition. Fourth and last, by complementing the short-term analysis of events within open or recursive systems of interacting constants and variables, knowledge of 'big history' contexts enables distinctions to be made between transient and enduring, contingent and structural elements and processes in the historical timescape.

These distinctions are akin to those between *moves* in a game, the *strategies* instantiated in sequences of moves and the rules that constrain and inform both. At every point in a game of chess, *moves*, strategies and *rules* must be invoked to describe and explain what is 'going on'. As eloquently argued by Fernand Braudel (1972), the longer the view taken of history the less episodic and contingent, the more coherent and consequential it appears. Considered in isolation, events in history, like *moves* in chess, can appear rational but no more so than numerous events that could have occurred but did not, much like the *moves* in a chess game that could have been made but weren't. Over the course of time, however, and much like the set of moves that constitute an entire chess game, a sequence of events suggests patterns and connections that cannot be captured by summing the descriptions of their constituent events. Like *strategies* in chess, something is 'going on' above and beyond *moves* being made or events 'just happening' in time. Most significant of all, just as observation of chess game after chess game after chess game allows an observer to see beyond differences in and developments of strategy to the *rules* within which all *strategies* must work, so analysis of the human past in its entirety allows exploration of the degree to which the human condition resists historical determination. Changes over time (as well as limits to diversity at given points in time) reveal the extent to which human nature and capabilities have been forged, tempered and honed by history.

There must, of necessity, be limits to the mutability of our humanity, a point at which the brute facts of biology refuse to yield to the furnaces, hammers and anvils of history. What Richard Dawkins calls 'the extended phenotype' can only extend so far without degrading or wittingly recoding the genotype. Other limits are, of course, set by environmental realities that we can neither transcend nor defy and, in addition, by certain ineluctable properties of culture and social organization. From the study of history in the round we can estimate what our shared humanity has to be and what it might choose

to become.[35] Once students gain an inkling of this idea, once they become aware of the profundity of the journey taken by a remarkably homogeneous species and realize that this journey will extend into an as yet undetermined (though far from open) future, they may wonder what can be learned from the journey thus far and what futures are worth working and fighting for. But first students must realize that they are on a journey with no guaranteed destination.

The second diacritical feature of social education models is the priority afforded to historical literacy. Emphasis is placed on maximizing students' understanding of the nature and logic of history, on teaching second-order concepts associated with evidence and accounts, change and development, causal and empathetic explanation to equip them, first, with a range of working models of how and why things happen in human affairs, and second, with the conceptual apparatus necessary to determine what can and cannot be said about the past and how knowledge thereof may legitimately inform analyses of present realities and evaluation of future possibilities.

The development of *historical literacy* is central to social education approaches, first, because students need the competence to evaluate the integrity of whatever fictional, political and journalistic 'arguments from the past' they may encounter in later life; second, because they require the technical apparatus necessary to update their knowledge and interpretations of the past after leaving school; and third, because they need to know how to use and not to misuse historical knowledge for purposes and in situations about which their teachers can only guess. In sum, students must be equipped to derive new meanings and draw new implications from the past as well as to make sense of and evaluate meanings and implications explored in school. This contrasts with social engineering uses of history to effect specific adaptations in attitudes and behaviour relevant to the here-and-now. Social education models aim to enhance students' adaptability to situations and challenges as yet unknown.

Although not particular to social education approaches, a case for *historical literacy* can also be made on technical and general educational grounds. As previously noted, to a considerable extent unintended learning is shaped by students' *prior conceptions* about what happened in the past, about how and why things happen in human affairs and about ways of distinguishing true from false statements. *Prior conceptions* are known to erode and degrade 'intended learning' by selectively reinforcing and filtering whatever data, interpretations and explanations are taught. Of arguably

greater significance is the role played by *prior conceptions* in the formation and substance of *schemas* – articulations of old and new, true and false learning – that impart meaning to what is believed about the past and influence the ways in which beliefs are used (Bransford et al 1999).[36] Training in *historical literacy* serves both to enhance students' meta-cognitive awareness, their ability to expose and evaluate their own tacit assumptions, and to equip them with the methodological and conceptual apparatus necessary to construct and deconstruct propositions about the past.

Over and above justifications for *historical literacy* on technical grounds, it sits well with traditional notions of *liberal education*. These have been derided as elitist and out-of-touch with the utilitarian needs of a harsh and competitive world, but belief in the inherent strength of cultures that level up rather than down, that citizens of social democracies can never know too much or understand things too deeply, should not be dismissed out of hand. In the UK, such beliefs informed the Schools History Project (SHP) philosophy of teaching the subject as a *form of knowledge*, as a distinct way of making sense of experience, that enables students to distinguish between different kinds of knowledge claims – hermeneutic, logical, empirical and so on – and recognize that statements about proof, evidence, development and causation in history are conceptually distinct from linguistically similar statements made by mathematicians, lawyers, biologists and physicists (Shemilt 1980). *Form of knowledge* approaches to school history extend beyond attempts to pre-empt conceptual confusions, to deepen understanding and even to maximize student ownership of what they learn by equipping them with the tools necessary to evaluate and construct knowledge.[37] Happily, if fortuitously, the *form of knowledge* model for curriculum construction also offers a persuasive justification for the inclusion of history within the compulsory curriculum. History represents one extreme of the large family of empirical subjects (or forms) with physics representing the other extreme. Taken together, these two subjects may be said to define the most systematic ways of working out what can and cannot be said about realities beyond direct experience. As such, both history and physics may claim inclusion as components of a liberal education even before the value of the statements students are able to make about the human past or the mechanics of the material world are considered. In addition, there is a shared conviction that education should transcend the provision of narrowly utilitarian knowledge and skills by seeking to produce citizens with the understanding necessary to access cultural resources and act collectively to exploit unforeseen opportunities and withstand shocks of the new.

The weakness of the social education model is its reliance on faith in despite of experience. It demands faith in human reason and good intentions, in the extent to which the masses can be taught subtle and difficult things and, if successfully taught, in the courage and honesty with which they will apply the fruits of learning to hard cases. Experience suggests that wishful thinking will always prevail, that advice offered by 'gods of the marketplace' will always seem more reasonable than lessons taught by those of 'the copybook headings'. In comparison with the robust realism of social engineering approaches to history education, the social education model appears anodyne and limp-wristed – suitable for Eloi in a land of Morlocks. Teaching students *what* to believe about the past, and using these beliefs to influence (and if possible shape) their attitudes and ideas about things deemed to matter in the here-and-now, may be more realistic than the provision of potentially useful knowledge about the past in the hope that students will use it to inform responses to whatever challenges and opportunities emerge during future adulthood. This critique should be taken seriously. As attested by experience in authoritarian and totalitarian societies, when vigorously pursued, social engineering and propagandist models of history education are known to work. The same cannot be said for social education models which, as yet, have only been implemented in hybrid forms or experimental situations.[38] The problem is compounded by the fact that social education models promise jam tomorrow not today: aim to equip students with knowledge and understanding that will make a qualitative difference to analysis and decision-making when they are mature citizens of thirty and fifty. But to invest in this approach to history education, we should have reasonable grounds today for believing that students will be so equipped tomorrow. Faith must rest on something more substantial than a promise, however theoretically persuasive this may be. Hard evidence of impact on the ways in which 14 or 16 year-olds use knowledge of the past to make sense of the world is necessary to justify faith in the viability of social education approaches to history education. Evidence of *historical literacy* and of 'joined up' knowledge of the past, although important, is not sufficient. Evidence of a transformation in the collective *historical consciousness* of students is required.

So what sort of sea-changes in the *historical consciousness* of 12-14 year olds might be seen were social education models made to work? It has already been noted that, because most 12 year-olds confuse *constants* with *continuities* in history and everyday life, they dramatically over-estimate the incidence of the former and under-estimate that of the latter. When comparing past and present,

students usually oppose the present they know and love against some fixed and equally static slice of the past and proceed to identify points of similarity and difference. This is not a sin of commission: it is a useful exercise as far as it goes. The sin of omission is that it rarely goes further than this. Few students learn to connect observable features of the present with continuities in an ever-changing past, or to work out *how* rabbits happily running around in the present got into and came out of the magician's hat of the past, and still less to speculate on what might happen to rabbits in the future. As a rule, 12 year-old students see the magic – rabbits and other things appear from nowhere – but rarely think about the trick.

To this oversight we can append two corollaries. First, students note what does and does not change in their own lives and fail to perceive patterns of continuity. Second, everything that, in their limited experience, appears to stay the same – or *constant* – is taken-for-granted as being 'normal', how things ought and have to be. Thus, when contemplating the future, most12 year-olds contemplate changes against a backdrop of assumed constants derived from the present: the bulk of what is vital to material and social existence is rolled forward without a thought that it could be other than it is. Of course, they know that, in the past, people starved and froze and slaughtered each other, but that was then and things are different now. In failing to understand the continuities between past and present or to realize how the numerous topic-based pasts they encounter in history lessons connect with each other, students take benchmarks of what is 'real' and 'normal' from the present. And these benchmarks are static and unchanging.

A few students draw very different conclusions about links between present and future on the basis of the same, or very similar, assumptions about constants and continuities in history. Evidence (as yet unreported) exists that a minority of more-able 11-12 year old students can be shaken, at least in the short term, by fictional and dystopian visions of the future offered by such films as '*The Road*' and '*The Day After Tomorrow*'. Instead of projecting taken-for-granted features of the present into the future, these students contemplate a secular apocalypse in which all things end because the present, as we know it, cannot carry on. Like that of the complacent majority, this vision also rests on the perceived dissociation of 'present' from 'past', the failure to understand that while the 'present' always comes to an end – sometimes dramatically and sometimes imperceptibly, sometimes with the gnashing of teeth and sometimes with the ringing of bells – the 'past-present' that is history rolls ever onward.[39]

If the social education model is viable in practice, by the time they complete a compulsory course in history education students should be able to use their knowledge of the past to anticipate how and why things might go badly wrong, to appreciate the possible consequences of collectively screwing things up, whilst knowing sufficient about the human past to understand that both collapse and recovery are par for the course, that this is how it has always been and may continue to be. History is a story of fatalistic sleepwalking into avoidable catastrophe and of improbable triumph in the teeth of overwhelming odds. Students should have learned enough about how and why things happen in human affairs to analyse the present in the context of this story. The past teaches us that the present is never 'normal', that no state of affairs can be taken for granted as the default position for how things have or ought to be. History does not do 'normal' and nothing is either preserved or improved without collective effort and sacrifice to make it so.

So what sort of big lessons should the generality of 12-14 year-old recipients of a social education history course learn about human rights in the past-present and potential future? Reciprocal barbarisms of divided communities and civil wars notwithstanding, the recent European past-present is, in some respects, a 'golden age' in which unprecedented numbers and proportions of people have enjoyed health and leisure, prosperity and security to an extent rarely seen in the more distant past. Students should understand that while politicians and advertisers might assure them that these things are theirs by entitlement (because they're worth it!), human rights have conspicuously failed to guarantee them for the majority of our predecessors throughout most of the human past. So rights, freedoms and the necessities of life are not existential entitlements; they are constructs and products created in by people in the past which, unless recreated by people in the present, will be lost to people in the future. If the social education model of history education can be made to work, the generality of students should be able to work these things out.

Other big lessons, for instance those pertaining to 'identity', are more contentious. The previous British prime minister suggested that school history should 'help students to understand what it means to be British'. Given that, in the UK, the most potent and certainly most enthusiastically celebrated identities are those associated with support for football clubs it is easy to sympathize with Gordon Brown's desire to foster more inclusive manifestations of fellow-feeling and social solidarity. It is also important that students understand something about how communities of strangers are able to form

and sustain structures and networks imbued with apparent commonalities of purpose that are more than the sums of individual purposes and which, indeed, might be disowned by or defy the comprehension of individuals. A sense of shared identity has played its part in binding peoples together despite periodic divergences of interests and transformations of structures, networks and purposes over centuries and millennia. Without ideas and sentiments attaching to our sense of identity with and obligations to people we have never seen and whose names we will never know it is unlikely that large scale structures and networks could have formed and evolved over long spans of time. In this sense, concepts and feelings of 'identity' underlie and, in part, account for at least some of the mysterious *continuities* in human history. To the extent that effective ways of teaching these things can be found, it is difficult to argue against it being done. The social education model requires students to look at 'identities' from the outside and to understand them as constructs that can arise from the grassroots or be manufactured and imposed from above, that can persist through millennia or prove as evanescent as celebrity.

In short, to understand their role in history, in the past-present, students must realize that national and social, religious and ideological identities are not natural categories comparable to breeds of dogs. Unfortunately, this is what the *prior conceptions* held by many students predispose them to assume and that social engineering models usually aim to reinforce. Straightforward though it sounds, this aim can lead to historical confusion about the origins of national identities. In UK schools, 'Britishness' tends to be projected back before 1707, the date at which Great Britain (= 'greater Britain', the largest of the British Isles) became a unified nation state for no other reason than because this rather important date is fixed in the consciousness of very few people. More disturbing still, even graduate history students occasionally trace 'Britishness' back to the so-called 'Ancient Britons', pre-Roman descendants of several waves of Celtic migrants. This is disturbing not so much because the point of origin is arbitrarily selected (why deny 'Britishness' to pre-Indo-European inhabitants of the island?) but because 'identity' is construed as a simple essentialist and timeless *constant* not as a complex and shifting set of historical phenomena. This implies, first, that certain groups of people in the past were 'British' whether they knew it or not; and second that, even when people who owned themselves 'British' are known to have defined and explained their 'Britishness' in different ways at different times, they are nonetheless united by a uniform and constant essence super-ordinate to their diverse ideas and sentiments.[40]

Conceptualization of 'identities' as *constants* with which school history must deal may be convenient in that students, politicians and the media already think in these terms. It may also be commonsensical since, in the lived present, identities once formed often persist and may be defended with surprising stubbornness: in everyday life identities are experienced as *constants* more often than as *variables*. Some well-off professionals (and still better-off spivs) continue to claim working-class identities; and changes of religious affiliation often entail a measure of 'identity-crisis'. However convenient and comfortable it may be, to approach identities in this way is nonetheless unhistorical and dangerous. It is unhistorical with respect to what is suggested and to what is omitted. Identities have usually been multiple not singular and tied to whatever roles and statuses, structures and networks, belief systems and forms of life were essential for the maintenance and functioning of the more-or-less complex societies of which they were part. When individual relationships with the wider world were uncomplicated, identities were correspondingly simple. Orlando Figes (2002) notes that, 'if one could travel back in time and ask the inhabitants of a nineteenth-century Russian village who they thought they were, the most likely answer would be: 'We are Orthodox, and we are from here.''[41] Identity was defined by affiliations to church and village. Barely a century later re-manufactured identities would be defined by affiliations to the Russian state and the Communist Party, usually but not always in that order.

The systematic manufacture of synthetic identities is condemned in most liberal and social democracies, but use of the past to manipulate and inflate students' understanding of 'what it means' to be European or American, British or English, Greek or Turkish and/or Cypriot can be just as unhistorical and dangerous. History teaching should enable students 'to understand what it means' to be British, or Korean or whatever, in the sense that 'what it means' changes as a people's relations with each other and with the rest of the world shift and develop over time. What it meant to be French was turned inside-out during the social, political and ideological turmoil of 1789-92, but it also changed radically as French supplanted the numerous local languages spoken in the south and in its border provinces, with the rise and fall of empire and the secularization of education. Of course, the continuity of identities is as significant as that of any other historical phenomenon but, as aforesaid, it is important that *continuities* in the historical development of identities are not confused with constants in essences, properties or characters. Even at a given point in time, generalizations about 'national character' are questionable and rapidly decay into satiric or hyperbolic stereotypes. Grasping

the 'national character' of any group over generations and centuries is akin to catching smoke in a butterfly net. Domestic observers have habitually reported on the 'character' of foreign guests and hosts but, when descriptions of traditions, habits and ways of doing things are discounted, the 'character' of any nationality invariably reduces to a description of God's plenty.

Were students to genuinely learn *from* the past rather than use it to reinforce congenial myths and misunderstandings, they would learn much about the importance of social solidarity and unity of purpose, about the role of shared identities and about how and why identities of varying kinds have emerged, developed and dissolved over time. They would also learn about the dark-side of group identities, how they leave people vulnerable to manipulation and define by exclusion as much as by fellowship, by clarifying what you aren't and where you don't belong as much as what you are and who is just like you. Strong national and ethnic, social and religious identities have contributed to endemic divisions in Europe, to civil wars and divided communities, to the fracture of seemingly secure nation states, and to periodic reversions to barbarism and ethnic cleansing. With an eye to possible futures, 14-16 year-old students might infer that new identities could eventually emerge, and be *freely willed* to emerge, from structures and initiatives currently in place. Romantically inclined students might even conclude that, in the long run of history to come, the emergence of a new Cypriot or a pan-European identity is no more improbable and no less natural than the emergence of familiar and deeply felt national identities in the long run of history past. However naive they may appear, such conclusions would suggest social education models to be viable in practice as well as in theory.

In sum, social education approaches to history teaching can be justified against all three of the proposed criteria for subject inclusion in the school curriculum.[42] The development of *historical literacy* serves to inoculate students against false representations of the past transmitted by tradition and popular culture (Criterion 1). Social education models of history education seek to provide students with knowledge and understanding of the past that will remain useful throughout adult life when the puzzles and problems of the present and near future have become history, and when new opportunities and challenges will need to be addressed from technical and value positions that cannot be predicted (Criterion 2). Social education approaches also aim to equip students to make disciplined and valid use of historical knowledge when analysing and evaluating present realities and future possibilities (Criterion 3).[43]

As previously stated, whether all three criteria can be met in practice remains an open question. Social education approaches as rigorous as those described above have yet to be attempted in the UK. Experiments undertaken by a few teachers indicate that a minority of 11-12 year olds can be taught to grasp ideas and concepts that tax the majority of 17-18 year-olds; and that when taught in certain ways, the historical understanding of many17-18 year-olds surpasses that of most graduate historians accepted for teacher training. It is equally clear, however, that the methods used to achieve these outcomes are unlikely to work in non-experimental situations. And as yet, experimental teaching has only addressed isolated aspects of the social education package. The full package has yet to be implemented over an entire key stage, let alone throughout the whole secondary curriculum. It follows that there are significant gaps in our knowledge of what is achievable as well as about how best to achieve it. There are grounds for optimism but there are things we need to learn and much remains unproven.

How can students be taught to learn from the past?

Even in the best of all possible worlds, success in teaching students how to learn *from* the past is unlikely to be immaculate. Individual students will always bring unanticipated *prior conceptions* into the classroom and take unintended and unpleasant convictions out of it. Of more practical concern is whether it is possible (a) to prevent the mass of school leavers from believing the *same* falsehoods; and (b) to enable a sufficient proportion of future citizens to learn enough that is valid and useful *from* the past for this to impact on the collective intelligence of groups and communities. In this connection, the collective intelligence of decision-making elites signifies perhaps less than that of the generality of citizens. In a social democracy, the education of the masses is all; and educational programmes must succeed sufficiently well with a sufficient proportion of the student population for differences to be made, and be seen to be made, in social attitudes and behaviour.

The answer to the first question – whether it is possible to inoculate students against false information and invalid inference – is, 'Yes, provided that education policy and practice is informed by research and experience!' For instance, data summarized by Bransford, Brown and Cocking (1999) and Donovan and Bransford (2005) indicates learning to be more effective, in science and mathematics as well as in history, when teachers identify and accommodate students' *prior conceptions* as opposed to simply

teaching 'what's right'. This strategy entails training in history-specific diagnostic procedures and in the formative uses of assessment data. Even more important, because of life-long value, is the promotion of *meta-cognitive awareness*. This disposes students to identify and evaluate their own assumptions and reasoning processes, and equips them with the conceptual and methodological apparatus so to do. The development of students' *historical literacy* and, in particular, mastery of second-order concepts attaching to ideas about *evidence* and *accounts*, *change* and *development*, *causation* and *empathy* is critical in this connection. Of concern, therefore, is the fact that despite its head-start in teaching for *historical literacy* the overall quality of student learning in the UK is disappointing and, in the arguably biased opinion of the writer, has fallen some way below the high points achieved with SHP in the early 1980s and CHP in the early 1990s.[44]

Whatever verdict is delivered on the course of history education in the UK over the last four decades, it is clear that the development of students' *historical literacy* cannot be guaranteed by fiat, by simply deciding that it should be done. In the UK, the enterprise has been degraded by the confusion of second-order concepts with 'skills', the teaching of algorithmic procedures and the repetition of exercises and drills intended to maximize public examination grades. A second, and all-too-frequent, failure stems from disregard of the extent to which students' understanding of the past is distorted and diminished by *prior conceptions* about information, about how we know and prove things, about why things happen and so on. In treating second-order concepts – of *sources*, *evidence*, *change*, *cause* etc – as 'skills' transferable to other subjects and real-life situations but, paradoxically, with little bearing on students' understanding and use of information about the past, we have failed to make them as historically literate as they could have been. In this connection, a collateral failure follows from the assumption that concepts of *evidence*, *change*, *cause* and so on, can be taught in discrete and discontinuous sessions as opportunity arises. Teaching and learning of second-order concepts has rarely been systematic or planned over the long term. Models of progression have been used (and misused) for assessment purposes but not to inform the planning and delivery of *historical literacy*. In sum, this catalogue of errors gives perspective to the disappointing levels of *historical literacy* achieved in the UK.[45] Were these errors avoided, it is likely that more would be achieved.

The answer to the second question – whether, for the majority of students, sufficient can be learned from study of the past for a real and positive difference to be made to collective decision-making in

the present – is, 'Maybe!' Other things being equal, and assuming that the *historical literacy* of normal-range students taught in mainstream schools can be developed sufficiently for them to update and learn from knowledge of the past, social education objectives may prove little more difficult to achieve than social engineering ones. But all other things are not equal. In particular, what has come to be called *the content problem in history education* is less tractable if we are concerned to educate rather than to engineer, to teach students *how* to learn *from* the past as opposed to inculcate beliefs and attitudes that predispose students to think and behave in pre-specified ways. Starkly stated, the *content problem* arises from the fact that, however much curriculum time is reserved for history, we cannot teach everything we'd like students to know about the past. However much is included, far more must be omitted. By treating content as no more than a means to socially justifiable ends, social engineering approaches can solve the content problem by selecting content with particular students and specific outcomes in mind. Social engineering models may also demand flexibility in the interpretation and presentation of material lest scruples about admissibility or validity diminish its effectiveness for teaching purposes. It should be noted that this sort of flexibility has its academic advocates. Rosenstone (1994) defends historical film as 'a new kind of history', first, on the familiar postmodernist grounds that, for all its pretensions to the contrary, 'history [= academic history?] is never a mirror but a construction, congeries of data pulled together or 'constituted' by some larger project or vision or theory that may not be articulated but is nonetheless embedded in the particular way history is practised'; and second, because historical film, in actuality if not in necessity, is able to offer something new to the discipline: the invention of truth.[46]

In contrast, social education approaches to the content problem are constrained by their commitment to rational scepticism, the principle that students should master ways of determining what is worth believing and what is not. Over and above this, they are precluded from selecting content for its relevance to narrow and predetermined ends. If students are to learn *from* the human past in its entirety not just from carefully selected and presented fillets sliced from its corpse, the content problem takes on new and challenging aspects. The first of these pertains to the avoidance of what may be termed 'the edited highlights phenomenon'. The natural and necessary focus on major events and turning points in world history, especially when these afford opportunities for teaching regional or national histories, can lead to distorted perceptions of the past if students know insufficient about

the less glamorous past to understand the nature and significance of key events and turning points, to work out how 'gee whizz' paragraphs and chapters fit into the prosaic narrative lines of the whole story. For instance, in the UK the history of the First Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850, is frequently taught to 14-16 year-old students. This is eminently justifiable given that industrialization is a turning point in world history comparable in importance with the cultural (or symbolic) revolution in the early Palaeolithic, the Neolithic revolutions in food production and the completion of global networking in the mid-twentieth century. What is neither justifiable nor effective is consideration of the first (or first phase of) Industrial Revolution in temporal and geographic isolation. Concentration on a hundred years of British history obscures the nature of what was 'going on' at this point in space and time and robs it of most, if not all, significance. Students usually take away a false and lopsided picture of the role played by inhabitants of our wet little islands in the history of western civilization let alone of the world.

An extreme example may be used to reinforce this point. When involved with the Schools History Project (SHP), the author remembers working with a local school on a 'History Around Us' fieldwork project, '*The Industrial Revolution Comes to Horsforth*'. (Horsforth is a district of Leeds.) For most students, this was their initial encounter with the First Industrial Revolution and some, usually the more thoughtful, 15 year-olds were somewhat puzzled about where all the factories, the railway stations and the strange artefacts preserved in the local museum came from. One boy, who happened to live in Rawdon (a contiguous district of Leeds), ventured to ask, '*But why didn't any of this happen in Rawdon?*'[47] His sense of disinherited inferiority is not the issue. What matters is his distorted sense of what was 'going on' due to his inability to contextualize local events. On a larger scale such distortions occur when the First Industrial Revolution is taught to British students as though it were a national phenomenon the conditions for and consequences of which were particular to Britain. This is not to deny the need to teach Britain-specific information when dealing with the two (and arguably three) phases of industrial revolution, but its roots spread widely and deeply and leaves were shed across the world. The causes, consequences and significance of this world-changing turning point cannot be understood if all that students know relates to Europe let alone to Britain or to Horsforth 1750-1850.

The *content problem* cannot be solved by identifying and teaching the most important 'bits' of world history. Even were selection to be consensual and historically sound, the fact that students lack knowledge of what makes selected 'bits' important – lack the knowledge that informs our selection – would vitiate the value of what could be learned from an 'edited highlights' history education. A cognate issue pertains to the sequence in which such highlights would be taught over, say, a period of five years. Were students to learn history from the Palaeolithic to the first cities and empires from 11-12 years of age and slowly advance through time to the present by 16+, how many would patch it all together? And if they did, would an effective synthesis emerge from content coverage that takes no account of students' progressive maturation and understanding? This problem is serious given that the historical meaning and significance of any phenomenon is determined by its relationship to the whole. (Of course, we are also concerned with meanings in time, in part for their own sake and because of our need to understand, but ultimately because these meanings are themselves symbolic and experiential events woven into the fabric of the whole. It is this that distinguishes history from antiquarian sociology.) The problem is also a special case of a more general one identified independently by researchers (Lee and Howson 2009) and the schools inspectorate (HMI 2007): the tendency of students to fragment what they're taught into discrete topics and shards of information. Meta-analysis of previous research together with recent exercises in experimental teaching suggest that, while the *content problem* is soluble, the quest for joined-up 'bigger pictures' of the past will prove long, hard and stony.[48]

The biggest question mark hangs over the construct of *historical consciousness*. Theoretical work in this area by Rüsen (2004) is as profound as it is compelling. Numerous manifestations of *historical consciousness* litter empirical studies by Angvik and von Borries (1997) and others. The problem remains that attempts to scale this construct (Blow et al 2009) have, as yet, met with no success. It is as though incriminating finger and footprints are found all over students' ideas and assumptions but the beast presumed to have made them is as elusive, or perhaps as mythical, as the Yeti. Without this missing piece of jigsaw we cannot be sure that students who are historically literate and in possession of joined-up knowledge of 'big history' will be disposed to learn from the past in their dealings with present and future. They might be equipped to do so without seeing the point of so doing. A former British prime minister, known to have consulted historians on the odd occasion, is alleged to have

said, '*There is no such thing as society... only individuals and their families.*'[49] After reading this article, she might have gone on to say, '*There is no such thing as the future – only my retirement package!*'

The leap from knowing about the past to learning *from* it is dispositional as well as intellectual. Not only must we be able to analyse where we are and could be going with reference to where we've been and how we got to be where we are, we must care about posterity as much as about contemporaries (and predecessors). Of course, we must also be disposed to define 'we' in terms of 'us and ours' rather than 'me and mine'. In a sense, this amounts to a claim that 'fellow feeling' – the affective foundation of social solidarity – can and should have a temporal dimension, should extend beyond the 'now' of personal memories and insurance premiums as well as beyond the 'here' of friends and families.[50] The problem is that while different sorts of *historical consciousness* – assumptions about why knowledge of the past is or is not important and how it should or should not be used – have been identified, we have not, as yet, succeeded in defining and scaling this construct sufficiently well to establish connections with what students know and how they think about history. In consequence, arguments about the putative social utility of history education, let alone about the prospective benefits of different approaches thereto, rest upon assumptions about the ways in which *historical consciousness* emerges, relates to what is known and understood about the past, can be shaped by teaching, and impacts upon decision-making and behaviour in everyday life. The hunt continues for what is beginning to resemble the Higgs boson of the history education world.

Conclusion

In many countries history education is not under threat and what students should be taught about the past is deemed self-evident. In a few countries the subject's position in the school curriculum is precarious. Although uncomfortable, it may be healthier to live under threat than in unexamined security. In part, this is because the time devoted to history education could be reallocated to teaching and learning subjects like logic and ethics, for which cogent cases can be made. In addition, it is because if learning about the past is important it is important for a reason, and that reason can only be because it makes a difference to the health or wealth, happiness or collective wisdom of society. And if, because of its nature, the difference school history makes is not directly detectable we must still have good reason to believe that it exists. Above all, it is so because knowledge of the past *ought*

to make a difference to our collective future. To paraphrase Cicero, knowledge of the past ought to shake and horrify us into growing-up, to abandoning what Freud termed 'the fetish of small differences' and the delusions of unenlightened self-interest. In an over-populated and increasingly interdependent world we sink or swim together to a greater extent than ever before. Kipling's Gods of the Copybook Headings may be girding their loins in anticipation of recurrent folly.

In the UK, recent threats to history education have stimulated re-examination of what it is and has to offer. Trojan Horse offerings, in which history lessons serve as vehicles for sundry skills and fashionable frivolities, sell the pass. Thus traduced, history education does not deserve to survive. Social engineering offerings are altogether more problematic. To some extent, their beauty or beastliness lies in the eye – or rather in the social philosophy – of the beholder, and such reactions tend to skew cold-eyed appraisal of the thing in itself. The virtues, or temptations, of social engineering approaches to history education are manifold. If pursued with vigour and without compromise, they promise to mitigate serious social ills ranging from the slow decay of shared identities and 'fellow feeling' to communities riven by mutually exclusive identities, from the entitlement culture of the idle poor to the possessive individualism of the idle rich. It is, of course, fanciful to suppose that history education, however hard-line and cold-eyed, is the panacea for any and all social ills, but there are good reasons to suppose it can contribute to their solution, and do so to a measurable extent. Best of all, despite the mess, confusion and frequent switches between walking in clockwise and anti-clockwise circles that pass for policy reviews in the UK, there is every prospect that intelligently designed and consistently pursued social engineering approaches to history education could be made to work if pursued with clarity of purpose and dash of ruthlessness. We (think we) know and understand sufficient to ensure that history education delivers the goods. So what's not to like?

An obvious objection is the lack of consensus about the nature of the social ills to be addressed and mitigated by history education. In the UK, the pros and cons of identity formation define one fault-line. Some people argue that social solidarity should be fostered by strengthening identity affiliations. Others argue for enhancing solidarity by eroding tribal and other divisions. While advocacy of identity formation is in the ascendant at present, there are deep splits in this camp as to which identities are at issue, national or regional, those of ethnic or faith communities. Curriculum reform in the UK has historically adjusted the balance of an ongoing compromise without ever upsetting it. In offering a

little of everything and too much of nothing, the history curriculum is at once a diplomatic masterpiece and an educational eunuch doomed to impotence whilst minimizing offence. This is not, however, a weakness in the social engineering model. Nor is weakness to be found in the democratic process: open debate and disputation are strengths and virtues of liberal and social democracies. The weakness lies in the culture and traditions of a people who fail to take the curriculum seriously, seeing it as something to be fixed rather than fit for purpose. In a more tough-minded social democracy, arguments about the social engineering goals for history education would be resolved without compromising the viability or potential of the enterprise.

Social engineering models are nonetheless limited in that selection and organization of content to exemplify and argue specific messages makes it difficult for students to learn anything else *from* what they know *about* the past. This limitation is compounded by the fact that, in the nature of the case, history is selected and used to teach one generation how to remedy social ills as they are perceived and defined by a previous generation. If social ills mutate and differentiate, or if the ways in which they are defined and evaluated changes, the inflexible and non-reflexive lessons learned by students may prove unequal to the task facing them. Of course we cannot know when socially engineered attitudes and behaviours will become obsolescent and possibly counter-productive. The question is whether it is wiser to assume they will remain relevant over one or two generations or to equip students with knowledge and understanding sufficient to respond intelligently to whatever contingencies arise?

The most serious objections to social engineering approaches are, ironically, the easiest to dismiss as self indulgent nit-picking. Ethical penalties must be paid for whatever successes are achieved and, as a rule, the greater the successes the higher the penalties. As previously argued, the efficacy of social engineering approaches is diminished if students doubt or reject the meanings and implications imposed upon the past by their teachers, however valid their grounds for doing so. Teachers must seek to disconfirm or neutralize the *prior conceptions* held by students whenever these threaten reception of the intended message but, as aforesaid, they need to do so without equipping students to be independent and critical thinkers (although it is desirable for students to operate under this illusion). High levels of *historical literacy* threaten all social engineering projects with disintegration. A price is also paid when, through careful selection and interpretation, we distort the past. Even when

the temptation to invent or falsify the past in a good cause is resisted, it is all too easy to convey false impressions and infirm understanding. For example, in the service of good intentions it can be tempting to distort history by suppressing or rebranding what may be termed the *inconvenient past*, to gloss over tragic episodes wherein the popular will was selfish and liberal thinking wishful, or in which the meek inherited the grave and the wages of sin turned out to be fame and fortune. History selected and interpreted in ways that serve apple-pie agendas can be as 'false' as history dedicated to nationalist, sectarian or totalitarian ones. In sum, it is only possible to answer for the conclusions students draw from school history to the extent that we are willing to sacrifice the quality and integrity of what they are taught.[51]

The case for social education approaches has been made by damning the competition. Ethically irreproachable, this approach instantiates as well as serves the values of civil, open and democratic societies. It is socially useful to the extent that it equips future citizens to learn *from* the past and, thereby, to confront whatever challenges lie ahead. The refusal to dictate lessons abstracted from convenient bits of the past entails an act of faith in the sanity and decency of people at large but, given that this act of faith underlies the theory and practice of democracy, it is perhaps a risk worth taking. More dubious are the risks attaching to the practicability of the social education project. Some gaps in our knowledge remain to be filled. Some theoretically and empirically well-grounded hypotheses remain to be tested. And classroom experience of 'big history' planning, teaching and assessment needs to be obtained. In sum, we need to implement and evaluate one or more pilot projects over the next decade before seeking to reform history education in the UK or elsewhere. It is to be hoped that Kipling's Gods of the Copybook Headings will bide their time.

> *Then the Gods of the Market tumbled, and their smooth-tongued wizards withdrew,*
>
> *And the hearts of the meanest were humbled and began to believe it was true*
>
> *That All is not Gold that Glitters, and Two and Two make Four –*
>
> *And the Gods of the Copybook Headings limped up to explain it once more.*

Notes

1. Copybook Headings were simple truths and morally 'improving' maxims that Victorian children copied in order to improve calligraphy and reinforce 'right-thinking'.

2. An implicit distinction is made between *false/mythical* and *academic/objective* histories. It is conceded that, sooner or later, the latter are invariably contested on grounds of accuracy, interpretation or perspective but, unlike *false* and *mythical* histories, academic accounts of the past are written neither to manipulate people for socio-political ends nor to validate the wishful thinking of groups or peoples about their own antecedents and situations, worth and entitlements. It is also conceded that the history taught in the schools of few, if any, nation states is entirely free from falsehood and mythology. For instance, the victors of 1945 find it difficult to acknowledge 'uncomfortable' facts about the 'terror bombing' of German and Japanese civilians or the horrors that 'liberators' occasionally inflicted upon the 'liberated'.

3. Nor is there evidence of any qualitative or quantitative change in students' knowledge and understanding of the past or of its relevance to the present. Over the past century there have been seismic shifts in history curricula and teaching methods, but efforts to register, let alone measure the impact thereof have been compromised by equally radical changes in assessment criteria and procedures. It is as difficult to measure generational changes in what students know, and in the use they make of their knowledge, as it is to measure changes in the velocity of a moving object against a moving background. What does appear to be constant is political and media criticism about the quantity and quality of students' historical knowledge. Sam Wineburg's (2000) pungent and trenchant comments in this respect are essential reading.

4. It should be noted that Lang equates time devoted to *historical thinking* with that spent teaching students how to answer the trite and mechanical questions frequently set by public examination boards.

5. As used here, 'historical consciousness' is a polysemic concept that embraces tacit assumptions as well as explicit ideas about the nature and structure, content and significance of the human past. This usage is indebted to Jörn Rüsen's (2006) exploration of the relationship between academic history and collective memory, and his examination of the ways in which constructions of the past inform moral orientations to the present. A debt is also owed to Angvik and von Borries (1997) who masterminded the only large-scale empirical survey and analysis of the historical consciousness of European adolescents.

6. Chara Makriyianni and Charis Psaltis (2007) offer a powerful analysis of the ways in which the historical consciousness of Greek and Turkish Cypriots has impacted on communal and political relationships in Cyprus over the past 50 years. Partial and distorted interpretations of history have served as instruments of political propaganda and social manipulation. More disturbing, because less corrigible, are the heritage-centred assumptions that motivate such interpretations. If, for instance, three thousand years of Hellenic civilization were deemed to be the inheritance and sacred trust of a single community, if the preservation of this heritage were thought to require and justify systems and policies coextensive with rights and privileges exclusive to this community, and if other communities were also to construe a shared history in possessively heritage terms, then a shared future would prove difficult to negotiate. See also Elliott (2010) who demonstrates how consciousness of such iconic events as the Penal Laws of 1695 & 1756 and the massacre of Ulster Protestants in 1641 is distorted by the sense of victimhood and grievance it sustains.

7. In this connection, reference should be made to Arthur Chapman's article in this volume on the second-order concept of 'accounts'.

8. These four dimensions of historical consciousness are provisional constructs used by the author and his colleagues during ongoing investigations into relationships obtaining between students' historical consciousness, their formation of 'bigger pictures' of the past and their mastery of second-order concepts pertaining to 'accounts', 'causation' and 'change and development'.

9. 'Event space' has been defined by Shemilt (2000) as the set of *'rules and parameters presumed to govern the contents of the past. For example, actions, events and states-of-affairs may be construed as thing-like entities with precise boundaries in time and space. Generalizations may be construed as 'big things', as 'complex wholes with many parts' or as 'categories of action or outcome'. The contents of the past may be presumed to exhibit various sorts of order – temporal and spatial, causal and contingent, natural and necessary – or no order at all. Models of action may be individual, institutional, collective or all of these.'*

10. Students' methodological and epistemological assumptions about history have been exhaustively explored by Peter Lee and Ros Ashby. A powerful yet accessible summary of their research findings is contained in Lee (2005).

11. Jörn Rüsen's (2006) distinctions between 'traditional', 'exemplary', 'critical' and 'genetic' modes of relating and applying knowledge of the past to present circumstances are well known. Their power and utility has been demonstrated in the work of Angvik and von Borries (1997).

12. It should be emphasized, first, that lessons in which 14-16 year-old students vocally condemn all Jews and support the SS have only rarely been observed or reported in the UK; and second, that evidence of such occurrences is anecdotal, not research-based. It follows that many data about such events and their antecedents have not been captured; that some or most of what was observed could have been synthetic as students exploited opportunities to shock and disconcert serving and trainee teachers; and that the incidence of aberrant beliefs and feelings about Holocaust history cannot be estimated.

13. Of course, historians 'simplify' the past as well; history could not be written were this not the case. But students tend to simplify in counterproductive ways. Generalizations, e.g. that the Holocaust was a German-Jewish phenomenon, are often treated as though they were singular particulars or, if recognized as plural and general, as phenomena with the hard-edged perfection of simple mathematical sets. Students have difficulty in recognizing that, while exceptions prove (in the sense of 'test') the rule (= the generalization), exceptions do not always disconfirm a generalization. They sometimes fail to signify at all; and as often as not, exceptions qualify rather than invalidate a generalization. Because we rarely teach them how to form, evaluate and use historical generalizations, students tend to edit exceptions out of the record or – less often – over-react to their occurrence.

14. See Shemilt (1980). During the SHP evaluation, one student was asked under what circumstances people like him might participate in events of interest to future historians. He thought long and hard and replied, *'If we did something stupid... or if I fell off a wall on top of somebody famous'.* Another boy, when asked if he might witness anything likely to be recorded in future history books quickly dismissed the suggestion as fanciful: *'Oh no! Not in Castleford... Maybe if I lived down South'.* This sense of social alienation may antedate his study of history but, if so, it appears to have been reinforced rather than dispelled by such study. More to the point, unpublished History 13-16 Project research demonstrates statistically significant differences in the impact of content and concept-oriented history programmes on adolescent perceptions of (a) the personal relevance of history lessons and (b) the extent to which ordinary people shape the course of history. See Shemilt, D.J., (1978). History 13-16: *Final Evaluation Report*, submitted to the Schools Council and held by the CET.

15. As used here, 'anomie' is closer to the concept described by R.K. Merton (1949) than that of Durkheim. It refers to the sense of powerlessness felt by many individuals with respect to 'the system' as it impinges on their own lives and, by extension, to their inability to impact, individually or collectively, on the future course of events.

16. Of course, there were many ingenious 'churls' inventing, reinventing and refining ploughs across time and in many lands.

17. 'Presentism' is a term coined by Sam Wineburg (2001) to denote the illicit viewing of *'the past through the lens of the present'*. It should, however, be noted that this projection appears to be prospective as well as retrospective: to darken perceptions of the future as well as of the past.

18. Unless otherwise stated, these and other examples are taken from the first and second phases of an experimental teaching and research project (FWG1 and FWG2) into the formation of 'usable pictures of the past'. Supported by QCA funding, the FWG was established at the London Institute of Education and Leeds Trinity under the leadership of Jonathan Howson and Frances Blow. Partnership with secondary schools and teachers – Benton Park and Rick Rogers, Raines School and David Wilkinson – in Leeds and London was a key feature of the FWG from its inception. The Project aimed *'to bring together experienced teachers, academics and researchers to develop and trial teaching materials, resources and assessment models that are informed by ideas about historical frames of reference that aid in the development of usable big pictures of the past. This means understanding what preconceptions children are working with, what understandings of history as a discipline they have, what big picture of the past they have and finally, how they situate their own histories into both their own national context and that of the world.'* Howson, J. (2007). *Framework Working Group*. Unpublished document submitted to an FWG meeting of secondary and higher education teachers on 15 October 2007. For findings of FWG Phase 1 see Blow et al (2009). Analysis of FWG2 data is ongoing.

19. Judgements about *historical consciousness*, whether 'impoverished' or not, are impressionistic. At the point of writing, the author and his colleagues have not succeeded in scaling presumed manifestations of this construct. It follows that, having failed all quantitative tests to which they have been subjected, interpretations of individual items of test and interview data should be treated with more than usual caution. See Blow et al (2009).

20. 'Historical literacy' is sometimes referred to as 'historical thinking' or as 'understanding of the nature and logic of history'.

21. This is part of an exchange between a trainee teacher and a student who refused to engage with an in-class task. It was noted by the author during a lesson observation.

22. Universities serve, first, to extend the frontiers of knowledge deemed important for its own sake; and second, to maintain in existence communities of experts capable of fulfilling this function. Mass education serves to ensure that the population at large possesses the minimum levels of knowledge, understanding and competence necessary for efficient day-to-day functioning and responsiveness to future challenges. Since no more than a small minority of the academic subjects taught and researched at university level qualify for inclusion in the school curriculum, the mere fact that history is well established in universities cannot justify its being taught to all or any children of school age. There is no prima facie reason why history should be taught in schools when anthropology, astronomy and other respectable university subjects are not.

23. Claims may and have been made to the effect that children need to know who they are and where they come from, but it is less than clear why informal processes of socialization cannot perform this function and why answers to these questions should not extend beyond the conventional boundaries set by academic history. Indeed, it may be argued that the question, *'Who am I?'* only signifies once a satisfactory answer has been given to a series of logically prior questions beginning with, *'What am I?'* And why should the quest for origins and identity extend no further than the emergence of homo sapiens? Indeed, David Christian (2004) and other exponents of 'big history' cross traditional subject boundaries to consider human evolution, the emergence of life on earth and cosmic origins. See also Brown (2007).

24. Although this assumption remains unexamined, evidence and arguments pertaining to it are offered by other contributors to the volume. The question remains as to whether specious beliefs about the past are sufficiently dangerous to justify the inclusion of history in the school curriculum as a remedy for and prophylactic against falsehood.

25. This is an urban myth. In reality, Teflon was developed prior to and independently of the US Moon Programme.

26. For a more extensive analysis and critique see Lee and Shemilt (2007).

27. Nationalist history teaching often sits uneasily with Enlightenment values. Writing about history education in Canada, Desmond Morton (2000) notes that 'many Canadians believed history to be 'scientific', full of objective, officially sanctioned truths. The federal Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the 1960s was shocked to find that sharply different versions of history were being taught to English and French-speaking students.' Problems multiplied when demands for multiple histories serving the needs of immigrant and 'first nation' communities and tribes intensified in the 1970s.

28. The contribution of school history to American myth-making and identity formation is caustically reviewed by Loewen (1995).

29. 'Total war, whether it be hot or cold, enlists everyone and calls upon everyone to assume his part. The historian is no freer from this obligation than the physicist.' Quoted by Dukes (1996).

30. The distinction between 'true' and 'false' beliefs and assumptions about the past is crude shorthand for more complex distinctions. The key distinction is between propositions about the past that are 'admissible' and 'inadmissible'. Propositions can be inadmissible because they are unsupported or insufficiently supported by evidence, are contrary to evidence, are against all reason (= informal fallacies) or are internally contradictory (= formal fallacies). Likewise, propositions about the past can be admissible but less acceptable than an alternative proposition. They may, for example, be less persuasive, or assert things of less consequence or explanatory power, or rest upon inherently less probable or on a greater number of unverifiable assumptions.

31. It is important to distinguish between a 'big picture' conspectus and a 'grand narrative'. The former is a structure that links and contextualizes more detailed topics and themes, that connects these with the present and future, and that enables continuous updating, reconstruction and evaluation of what is known. The latter is a prescribed narrative and interpretation of the past which students are required to learn and accept. It is an essentially static and inert body of knowledge. See Shemilt (2009).

32. Experiments undertaken by Rick Rogers in Benton Park School are more radical and of longer duration than others known to the author.

33. Comparisons between past and present situations, problems and policies are frequently invoked by journalists and politicians to warn against appeasement of foreign dictators or an imminent 'clash of civilizations', to advocate return to Victorian values or Keynesian economics, and so on. Valuable though it can be, the comparative use of history is weakened by the historically illiterate tendency to use past cases as though they were taken from 'mirror presents', to identify points of similarity and difference in situations and perceptions, policies and outcomes which are then treated as constants and variables to which values can be assigned.

34. The 'overcrowded lifeboat' metaphor was coined by Jared Diamond (2005).

35. Illustrations could be given but little can be said about the realities of and possibilities for 'human nature' as a construct applicable to each and every *individual*, actual and potential. What is at issue here is 'human nature' held in common and manifest in collective behaviour and culture. This is a gross oversimplification, in that distinctions between *shared* and *collective* properties of 'human nature' are important, but their elucidation would require more space than is justifiable for present purposes.

36. For a characteristically powerful and persuasive analysis of the impact of prior conceptions about the nature and logic of History on the ways in which students make sense of the past, see Lee (2005).

37. Form of *knowledge* theories of history education were neither particular to nor originated with the Schools History Project. In this connection see Lee, P. (1984). The most powerful analysis of the practical implications of form of *knowledge* theories is offered by Lee, P. (2005).

38. Non-experimental courses exhibiting some, but far from all, of the characteristics of the social education model have been approved and taught in the UK. Arguably, the most advanced of these in terms of its commitment to *historical literacy*, was the Cambridge A Level History Project.

39. Of course, on occasions particular communities and even entire cultures and civilizations have encountered 'End of Days' futures. See Diamond (2005). On the grand scale of human history, however, the continuity of the 'past-present' remains unbroken. It does not follow that past-present continuities can be guaranteed in perpetuity, however. It has been argued that our tendency to grow populations to 'thresholds of vulnerability' in the context of the near total interdependence of all regions of a globalized world will ensure that the next great 'collapse' event is global not regional in scale. See Fagan (2004).

40. The writer was once taught by a Welshman who, when angry with the class, would refer to his English students as 'Saxon swine'. We found this amusing, but failed to realize that the teacher was denying, or diminishing, our 'Britishness' whilst asserting the authenticity of his own.

41. Figes asserts that a peasant's national identity would be secondary '(if at all)'.

42. Social education approaches to history education may be justified on grounds not argued here, namely the ethics of teaching history in ways that, first, ensure ownership and maximizes control of whatever students learn; and second, preserves the integrity of the subject as a body and form of knowledge. Ethical lines of argument are not advanced, in part because space does not permit, but principally because this paper is concerned with two other issues: whether history education is justifiable in terms of its proven or potential social utility and, in the case of the latter, whether or not potential utility can be realized in practice.

43. As previously noted, meeting the three criteria does not in itself justify the inclusion of history within the school curriculum. It merely demonstrates that history is eligible for inclusion. Full justification is, of necessity, competitive: the case for history must be considered alongside cases for other subjects.

44. The writer has no grounds other than personal observation and impression on which to base these assertions. It should also be noted that, since he was closely involved with both SHP and CHP, impressions may not be dispassionate.

45. For a more rigorous analysis of the skills-concepts perplex see Peter Lee's paper in this volume. For examples of research-based models of progression pertaining to concepts of *evidence*, *accounts* and *empathy*, see the papers of Arthur Chapman and Lukas Perikleous in this volume.

46. In discussing a film about the American Civil War, Rosenstone (1994) defends the invention of a significant and emotive episode by claiming that, 'This incident is an invention of something that could well have happened; it is the invention of a truth'.

47. This question was reported to the author by Dick Whitfield, Head of Department at Horsforth School.

48. A review of problems and possibilities associated with 'joined-up' and 'big history' may be found in Shemilt (2009). See Blow et al. (2009) for evidence relating to the outcomes of recent experimental teaching.

49. The prime minister in question is Margaret Thatcher.

50. This point is close relation to Rüsen's (2006) arguments re the ethical bases of *historical consciousness*.

51. In 1992 Peter Lee first postulated a species of uncertainty principle governing the relationship between the sorts of history that may be taught and the purposes that teaching may serve. Lee claimed that while history teaching is capable of transforming students' apprehension of human and social possibilities, the certainty with which the nature of such transformations can be specified – in terms of the social, political and economic values and beliefs that students espouse – is inversely related to the objectivity and methodological integrity of the teaching programme. The less partial and selective is coverage of the past and the more effectively students are taught to evaluate, form and use historical generalizations, the lower is the confidence with which the strength and direction of changes to and reinforcement of students' existing ideas can be predicted. Following a balanced, rigorous and methodologically sophisticated study of constitutional history, students may be either more or less critical of democratic institutions, more or less persuaded of the relevance of electoral processes. All that we can guarantee about the outcomes of history education courses that teach students to evaluate what pass for 'facts' and 'self-evident' truths, and to deconstruct alternative accounts and interpretations of the past, is that students' values and beliefs are likely to be more rational, justifiable and (just maybe) socially useful than if they had been taught persuasive and comfortable stories about the past. A necessary corollary of Lee's position is that use of history teaching to inculcate pre-specified beliefs and values about market economics, multiculturalism, nation-state patriotism, liberal democracy or whatever, may be more effective if teachers are willing to sacrifice the intellectual and moral integrity of the subject. Lee is careful not to claim that history subordinated to liberal or nationalist purposes is necessarily corrupt. It is just that its purity cannot be guaranteed. We can answer for the integrity of the history or for the desirability of the conclusions draw from it, but not for both – hence the uncertainty. See Lee, P.J. (1990), 'History in schools: aims, purposes and approaches: A reply to John White' in Lee, P., Slater, J., Walsh, P. and White, J. *The Aims of School History: The National Curriculum and Beyond.* London: Tufnell Press.

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Historical Literacy and Transformative History

Peter Lee

Abstract

History education, like history itself, is a precarious achievement; it is vulnerable to political and educational agendas seeking to merge it with other parts of the curriculum, or to reduce it to a vehicle for citizenship or patriotic common values. If we hope to engage in serious discussion of history education in the face of these challenges, we must eschew polar slogans like 'traditional *versus* progressive', 'child centred *versus* subject centred' and 'skills *versus* content' which have produced so much confusion in the literature. In particular we should avoid skills talk, with its unfortunate licensing of convenient generic curriculum fudges.

History is a public form of knowledge and a developing metacognitive tradition, with its own standards and criteria. There is evidence to suggest that history is counter intuitive, and that understanding it involves changing or even abandoning everyday ideas that make knowledge of the past impossible. Hence history education involves the development of a second-order conceptual apparatus that allows history to go on, rather than bringing it to a halt, and in so doing opens up the prospect of changing an everyday view of the nature and status of knowledge of the past into a historical one. This allows us to give an account of what it means to know some history – a provisional concept of historical literacy – as learning a disciplinary understanding of history, as the acquisition of the dispositions that derive from and drive that historical understanding, and as developing a picture of the past that allows students to orientate themselves in time. Research exists to inform debate on the first component, but little is available on the second. There is considerable current interest in the third component, but debate has focused on the perennial issue of children's 'ignorance', instead of recognizing that the problem is to find ways of enabling students to acquire usable historical pasts that are not fixed stories.

The achievement of historical literacy potentially transforms children's (and adults') view of the world and allows possibilities for action hitherto – literally – inconceivable for them. Understanding the importance of this for history education means abandoning habits of thinking based on an instantaneous present in which a form of temporal apartheid cuts the past off from present and future. It also means unpacking the ways in which history can transform how we see the world. Such transformations can be dramatic in scope, or more localized and specific. They can change how we see political or social opportunities and constraints, our own or others' identity, our sense of the wounds and burdens we inherit, and the adequacy of explanations of major features of our world. They can suggest compelling revisions of our understanding and expectations of how the human

world works. And they can help us know better what not to say. Historical literacy involves treating the past as an interconnected temporal ecology capable of supporting an indefinite range of stories, not merely something which we use to tell the story that best suits our immediate goals and desires. Like other public forms of knowledge, history is a metacognitive tradition that people have fought long and hard to develop and be able to practise. It is a precarious achievement, to be treated with respect and care in schools.

Introduction: History as a Precarious Achievement

History education, like freedom of speech, can never safely be taken for granted. In some European countries it is under threat at present from citizenship or civics agendas on the one hand, and 'conflationist' agendas on the other.[1] The urge to use history as a prop for social cohesion or even national resurgence seems to thrive in an age of migration, uncertainty about the consequences of multi-culturalism and a search for some legitimate basis for asserting 'common' values. Meanwhile, as competition from China and India increases, policy makers look for new ways of streamlining the curriculum in an effort to ensure that the skills required by business can find space in schools. Despite talk of a 'knowledge economy', the pressure on the curriculum appears to be for schools to train an effective workforce.

The first of these developments leads to calls for history education to teach 'shared values' through some sort of common, usually national story. History is given an important role, but only as a vehicle for citizenship goals. The paradox here is that if history is subordinated to citizenship, it is likely to cease to deliver precisely the kind of independent thinking about the past that makes history a crucial part of a democratic, open society.[2] (Taken seriously, such a subordination would mean that if history failed to deliver the views required by citizenship, the stories history told would have to be changed to ensure that they succeeded.)

The second development offers to make space in the curriculum by 'integrating' history in humanities and social science courses. Justification for this is generally made by appeal to 'efficiency' in a competitive world, but can also evoke condescension about what students can cope with or may 'need' for autonomy and personal flourishing. The latter arguments sometimes evince hostility to school 'subjects'.[3]

History is a precarious achievement, and history education (when it attempts to be historical) may be even more precarious. The questions raised by current pressures on history education demand

much more space than is available in a brief paper, mainly because the arguments upon which they rest are merely the tip of an iceberg of deeper assumptions about history, learning and personal and social development, let alone about the relation of education to political and social goals. In consequence, much of what is said here can only hint at some of what is at stake. Nevertheless, we have to start somewhere, and perhaps this contribution will be justified if it can identify some key considerations. But first we need to try to clean up the terms of debate.

Some Misplaced Slogans and Polarities

If history education is to retain a foothold in schools the rejection of some old slogans is urgent. Specifically, there are three polarities which have long outlived any usefulness they may once have had. As applied to history, the juxtaposition of *traditional* versus *progressive*, *child centred* versus *subject centred*, and *skills* versus *content* makes productive discussion difficult, and allows commentators to avoid serious thinking.

A Convenient Myth: 'Traditional' versus 'Progressive'

In the UK the notion of 'traditional' history teaching has become linked with what David Sylvester, founder of the influential and successful Schools Council History Project 13-16, called 'the great tradition'. This version of history teaching, which is conceived as being a kind of 'steady state' prior to the changes in the late sixties to the mid seventies, is exemplified in (for example) Board of Education publications from the beginning of the Twentieth Century, and is portrayed as having treated history as a source of moral examples in a national story dominated by 'great men' (Sylvester, 1996 cited in Dickinson, 2000, pp. 87- 8). There is unquestionably some truth in this characterization, but it nevertheless offers too simple a version of what was going on, drawing, as so often in the history of education, on public pronouncements and official statements, and conflating a range of different issues.

The goals of history teachers are generally more complex and nuanced than those laid down from above. So, while it may have been true that many teachers did think history was a valuable source of moral examples, and did believe that pupils should learn their 'national' history, they would not necessarily have agreed about what these aims meant, let alone have believed that they were exhaustive. (The idea of 'national' history in Britain and Northern Ireland has always been fraught with difficulty, since the UK is not in any simple sense a nation-state, as is evident from notions like

that of the 'Celtic fringe'.) The 'great tradition' is even less illuminating when it is made to include teaching approaches. The stereotype of the 'active' teacher who handed on 'the facts' to the 'passive' pupil is just that, a stereotype, and ignores the wide range of attempts made by 'traditional' history teaching to help pupils think about their history. (The ill effects of this kind of stereotypical thinking can be seen in recent claims that until 'interpretation' appeared in the National Curriculum in 2000, issues of interpretation were not taught in school history.[4] Such claims are simply erroneous.[5])

The juxtaposition of 'traditional' history against 'progressive' history allowed 'progressive' to become simply an abusive shorthand, used to attack anything that seemed to threaten the demand for a national story of (usually English) heroes. This kind of terminology also offered a way to posit a golden age when everyone knew their history of England (rarely of Britain). Moreover, 'progressive' was almost always used to characterize something called 'methods'. Changes in the conception of what history education was trying to achieve were described as 'new' or 'progressive' *methods*, conflating methods with aims and treating the former as though they existed as independent, self-justifying practices with deep roots in the wisdom of the past. This in turn led to another polar pair of slogans that could only appear helpful or even intelligible if the complexities of educational aims were ignored.

Two Outworn Slogans: 'Child centred' versus 'Subject centred'

The introduction of the Schools Council Project History 13-16 (later the Schools History Project, or SHP), and especially its development in the mid seventies, made nonsense of slogans like 'subject centred' and 'child centred' education in history. Research prior to SHP and the more substantial and sophisticated SHP Evaluation Study focused on children's understanding of key second-order (disciplinary) concepts.[6] This allowed people willing to use simplistic polarities to assume that changes in UK history education were 'child-centred'. However, the purpose of paying attention to children's ideas was to enable them to think *historically*: it was not just any ideas that were at stake, but concepts central to the discipline. Hence SHP was, if any sense could be given to such slogans, more 'subject-centred' than 'child-centred'. But in reality the polarity was foolish and the attempt to categorize changes in history education in this way obfuscatory.

Inappropriate Language: 'Skills' versus 'Content'

The polarity of 'skills' and 'content' is disastrous in two ways. First, it assumes that it is 'skills' that are at stake in history, and second, it sets knowledge of the past as offered by history against understanding of the nature of claims about the past, as if it made sense to talk of teaching one without the other. It really is time to abandon loose talk about 'skills', which still indefensibly and damagingly appears in much of the literature.[7] 'Skills' talk allows people to think in terms of generic abilities like 'analysis' or 'communication'. Why should we use children's time to learn analysis in history if it can be done equally well in any other subject? But of course analysis in history is very different from analysis in (for example) chemistry, whether in its goals, its methods or its criteria of success.

History claims to meet intellectual standards, demands reflection, and has complex criteria for 'success'. School history may have to meet additional criteria not applicable to 'academic' history, but if it does not teach students anything of the standards and criteria that are built into history as a public form of knowledge, it cannot be justified as history at all.[8] In teaching history, as in teaching any 'subject' that involves cognitive reorientation to the world, we are not concerned with single-track skills that can be improved simply by practice and where what counts as success is uncontroversial. Instead we are trying to develop complex multi-track abilities that rest on the development of new conceptual understanding. Of course such understanding allows students to make new intellectual (historical) moves – that is to *do* things differently – but if we want to talk of (for example) 'evidence skills' we have to say what 'evidence' means, and what counts as understanding evidence in history. The conceptual understanding is central, and underpins new abilities.

Part of the problem may be that people still think of education at school as simply learning bodies of information. More enlightened versions of such a view admit the importance of understanding, but do not see this as being related to specific disciplinary concepts. This allows politicians, school managers and even some educators to argue that school 'subjects' are arbitrary constructs and can be safely jettisoned for more time-saving 'integrated' structures like humanities or social studies. In the name of developing children's 'well-being' and 'autonomy' the aim of cognitive expansion and the possibility of reorientation disappears, because the differentiated conceptual apparatus available to different disciplines is hidden from view (even if not abandoned outright). It is as if the most powerful tools available to children are to be concealed or withheld from them, and the very basis of 'autonomy' obscured.

The fact that both school 'subjects' and academic 'disciplines' are social and historical constructs and not philosophically 'watertight' does not mean that they have no basis or can simply be ignored. Indeed, such an assumption makes precisely the mistake that a historical understanding helps caution us against: we cannot make the future from scratch. Moreover, at the empirical level there is evidence from more than 30 years of research on learning that differences between disciplines must be taken seriously. This has been summarized by the US *How People Learn* project, and bears on both learning and teaching (Bransford, Brown and Cocking, 1999). The specific concepts that provide a structure organizing a discipline, and the kinds of preconceptions that students bring to different disciplines together play an essential part in giving substance to the principles of learning identified by *How People Learn* (Donovan, Bransford and Pellegrino, 1999, p.10- 5). They are also central to teaching: *How People Learn* makes it clear that teaching demands an interaction between disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical knowledge, where understanding of the conceptual barriers for students, which 'differ from discipline to discipline', is crucial (Bransford, Brown and Cocking, 1999, p. 144).

> An emphasis on interactions between disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical knowledge directly contradicts common misconceptions about what teachers need to know in order to design effective learning environments for their students. The misconceptions are that teaching consists only of a set of general methods, that a good teacher can teach any subject, or that content knowledge alone is sufficient.
>
> (loc. cit.)

Research also suggests that there are important differences between the way (for example) young natural scientists and historians think about their respective problems (Boix-Mansilla, 2001).[9] And there is some (but by no means conclusive) evidence suggesting that where history is not recognizable in the curriculum, progression suffers.[10]

Understanding History as a Way of Seeing the World

If we think of learning history as a form of cognitive reorientation, in which children learn to see the world in new and more complex ways, the achievement of learning history becomes something that transforms their vision and allows possibilities for action that had hitherto been – literally – inconceivable for them. The polarity of 'skills' and content then becomes irrelevant, because one of the poles is misconceived. Instead we can focus on the ways in which a developing understanding of history drives increasing knowledge of the past.

Historical Thinking may be Counter-intuitive

Why think in terms of cognitive reorientation? Research over nearly four decades in the UK, and more recently in North America and Europe, suggests that history is not a 'common-sense' activity, but, on the contrary, may be counter-intuitive.[11] Indeed Sam Wineburg (2001) has called history an 'unnatural act' on the basis of research evidence about children's (and adults') 'presentism'. Earlier UK research on explanation of past actions and social practices, and on understanding of past beliefs and values (usually called 'empathy' and occasionally 'rational understanding') provided considerable evidence for the incidence of 'presentism' (Dickinson and Lee, 1978; Ashby and Lee, 1987; Shemilt, 1984).[12] While historians believe people in the past were as smart as us, but had different ideas, many students, in contrast, believe that people in the past had the same beliefs and values we do, but were more stupid (Ashby and Lee, 1987; Lee and Ashby, 2001, Shemilt, 1984). If students think like this, history becomes a catalogue of foolish actions for which alternatives were clearly available, but inexplicably ignored (Dickinson and Lee, 1978).[13] Parts of history degenerate into tales of unintelligible mistakes made by mental defectives. It is only as children abandon the assumption that people in the past saw the world as we do that meaningful history becomes possible for them. Hence they must substitute counter-intuitive ideas for their common-sense everyday life understandings.

The UK research suggests that the counter-intuitive nature of historical thinking goes further, and extends to issues like the possibility of historical knowledge and the nature of change. If children assume that we can only know what we can directly witness, and that history reports a fixed past (it only happened once, after all) then history is impossible (Lee and Howson, 2009). History stories, or even singular factual statements, cannot be held up against the past to see if they report it correctly, so history is doomed to failure. This view is perhaps connected with the way in which children learn to 'tell the truth'. When faced with parental questions like 'How did the window get broken?' they can say what really happened, or they can lie. The past happened the way it did, and they know it (and somehow their parents often seem to know as well). The criteria of what counts as 'the truth' are shared (or at least fixed by authority) so the past can seem to be the touchstone of truth. But of course what we say about the past in history is a construction on the basis of evidence – there is no fixed past available as a check on what we say about it. And because historical accounts are not copies of the past, but share some of the characteristics of both metaphors and theories, there can be more than one account of 'the same thing' without one necessarily being false or distorted (Lee and Ashby, 2000).

Change in history can also be problematic for children, because they tend to assume that changes are simply events. This means that anything that happens is a change, and that changes are likely to be shrunk in duration and scope. Similarly, unintended long-term processes can be read as deliberate choices made at a specific moment in time by someone wanting to bring about a change (Barton, 1996; Shemilt, 1983).

Note that this gap between everyday common sense and history occurs at the level of the second-order, disciplinary or structural concepts of history. These terms are used to distinguish between the concepts which mark out the shape of historians' activity in working within the discipline (for instance, *evidence*, *change*, *significance*, *account*) and the concepts they use in their substantive accounts of the past (for example, *peasant*, *entrepreneur*, *bishop*, *army*, *gender*). There are, of course, also gaps between historians' understanding of the substantive concepts they employ and the ideas that students may have. These derive not just from students' youth and immature thinking, but from the fact that the meaning of substantive concepts changes over time. A bishop now is not quite the same as a bishop in the late middle ages. But there is not space to pursue this here, and in what follows it is the disjunction between everyday common-sense and history at the level of second-order concepts with which we will be concerned.

Progression in Historical Understanding

If we accept the counter-intuitive character of history, there are consequences for how we construe a history education. It becomes possible to ask how children move from their everyday ideas about, for example, whether we can know the past, to more powerful ideas. We can use a term like 'powerful' here because new ideas open up the possibility of historical knowledge which had been closed down by the old ones (see Figure 1).

Much effort has been expended in the UK, both by researchers and by examiners, to produce valid and usable models of progression in children's ideas about history – that is, second-order or disciplinary ideas that give structure to the discipline of history. Research began in London in the very early 1970s on adolescents' understanding of explanation of action, and expanded to investigate the assumptions underlying children's and adolescents' explanations of social practices (Dickinson and Lee, 1978). Very shortly after this, completely independently, similar work began in Leeds as part of the development and evaluation of the Schools Council History Project History 13-16.[14] By the beginning of the 1980s London and Leeds researchers had become aware of each

Figure 1. Progression from ideas that make history *impossible* to ideas that make it *possible*.

History is **given** in books	= History is possible
We were not there so we can't know	= History *impossible*
We can find **testimony** (people left reports)	= History possible again
But they might have been biased or lying	= History *impossible*
We can use traces as **evidence** to ask questions no-one meant to tell us the answers for	= History possible again
But even with the same evidence there are competing stories	= History *impossible*
Accounts are constructed round themes and timescales to answer different questions	= History possible again

other's work, and found a high degree of agreement in the models of progression they had constructed.

In the early 1980s the Leeds work helped to drive major changes in history teaching as the SCHP became increasingly popular in schools, and the publication of the Denis Shemilt's *Evaluation Study* in 1980 was the most important landmark in both research and curriculum development in history education in the UK in the second half of the twentieth century. Meanwhile, on a smaller scale, the London research expanded to consider children's ideas about evidence and the possibility of historical knowledge, and developed techniques of exploring children's ideas in classroom based research using video recordings.

By this time research and public examinations for SCHP were closely linked, and new post-hoc assessment schemes were being developed by examiners. Hence SCHP provided both the impetus and an opportunity for the development of sophisticated assessment techniques providing additional large scale evidence about children's ideas and historical thinking.[15]

In the late 1980s a follow-on project from the Schools Council History Project (which had by then become simply SHP) was undertaken in Leeds. and London. Known as the Cambridge History Project, it developed a syllabus for 16-19 year-olds explicitly based on progression of second-order understanding of evidence, explanation and historical accounts. While this was being piloted, the London team, which had been carrying out intensive school-based research for several years, began a research project (Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches, or CHATA) exploring the ideas of 320 children aged between 7 and 14 on historical *evidence*, *accounts*, *cause* and *empathy*. The data provided further evidence of the development of children's and adolescents' ideas, which in turn played a part in producing more secure progression models for key concepts.[16]

Progression in history, then, can be thought of as the development of a second-order conceptual apparatus that allows history to go on, rather than bringing it to a halt, and in so doing changes an everyday view of the nature and status of knowledge of the past into a historical one. History is therefore a cognitively transformative part of education: it only succeeds if it enables children to see the world historically.

Historical Literacy: What does it Mean to 'Know (some) History'?

If the argument so far is accepted, the world should look different when we think historically. We cannot give a neat set of sufficient conditions to be met before we can say someone 'knows (some) history', but perhaps it is permissible to attempt the more modest goal of suggesting some necessary conditions. These must include understanding what a historical way of looking at the world involves, and a willingness and ability to employ such understanding along with substantive knowledge of the past for the purpose of orientation in time (see Figure 2 below).[17]

The first group of achievements in Figure 2 has already been touched on in disposing of some of the slogans that tend to bedevil discussion of history education. Of course, these achievements involve complications beyond the three bullet points listed. They are not, for example, all-or-nothing matters. Because children can understand to a greater or lesser degree, it is misguided to complain that school pupils cannot be expected to understand the nature of historical evidence. Most people would think it a mistake to try to rule out school history because adolescents cannot fully understand Magna Carta, the concept of 'providence', or the Enlightenment. In a somewhat similar way it would be equally silly to claim that teaching school science was a waste of time because most professional historians cannot give a full account of quantum mechanics. The fact that school learning involves

Figure 2: Knowing some history

Knowing some history means:

1. **Understanding history as a way of seeing the world.** This involves an understanding of the *discipline* of history, that is, of the key ideas that make knowledge of the past possible, and of the different kinds of claims made by history, including knowledge of how we infer and test statements, explain events and processes, and give accounts of the past.
2. **Acquiring dispositions that derive from and drive that historical understanding, including:**
    a. A disposition to produce the best possible arguments for whatever stories we tell *relative to our questions and presuppositions*, appealing to the *validity* of the stories, and the *truth* of singular factual statements. Acquiring respect for evidence is as important as acquiring a concept of historical evidence.
    b. Acceptance that we may be obliged to tell different stories from the ones we would prefer to tell (even to the point of questioning our own presuppositions).
    c. Recognition of the importance of according people in the past the same respect as we would want for ourselves as human beings.

    Together these imply that we should not plunder the past to produce convenient stories for present ends.
3. **Developing a picture of the past that allows students to orientate themselves in time.** This involves coherent *substantive* knowledge (sometimes called historical content) organized in the form of a *usable* historical past, on different scales. It means helping students abandon a view of the present as something separated from the past by a kind of temporal apartheid, enabling them instead to locate themselves in time and see the past as both constraining and opening up possibilities for the future.

imperfect – although perhaps improving – understanding of both complicated subject matter and complex ways of thinking is not a reason for abandoning either of these aspects of education.

Nor should understanding and subscribing to historical principles be taken to entail that school children ought to be able to give philosophical accounts of *evidence* or *change* in history. These are

historical goals, not philosophical ones, and they mean that (for example) when students encounter accounts of the past they ask appropriate questions and know how to answer them.[18] Does this story explain all the relevant evidence? How well does it explain? What does it fail to account for? How does it compare in these respects with competing accounts? The ability to recall accounts without any understanding of the problems involved in constructing them or the criteria involved in evaluating them has nothing historical about it. Without an understanding of what makes an account historical, there is nothing to distinguish the ability to recall accounts of the past from the ability to recite sagas, legends, myths, or the works of J.R.R. Tolkien.[19] Indeed for some students all these will simply be 'stories'. Much the same goes for historical explanations.[20]

In the UK there is some agreement (even enshrined in the National Curriculum) that the first group of achievements set out in Figure 2 above is a central part of knowing some history, although there is little emphasis on the dispositions in the second group.[21] Almost all UK teachers would also stress the importance of knowing some substantive history, but this may not be equivalent to saying that they would subscribe to the third group of achievements in Figure 2. There has been a tendency to treat the past as a treasure chest of interesting stories and even moral tales, selection from which is determined by a complex interaction between what is required by the National Curriculum and teachers' own instincts and knowledge. For some teachers this has been driven by the sense that getting children to work with evidence, or to think about 'distance' and develop empathy, is already enough. On this view, concentration on disciplinary goals justifies unfettered choices of substantive content, and only pedagogical criteria or personal preference need be invoked in explaining such choices. Such ideas may still be accompanied by the invocation of the 'skills' versus 'content' dichotomy, despite growing recognition of its weaknesses. Knowing substantive history then means knowing selected but not always related items from the treasure chest.

The same 'skills-content' dichotomy is also invoked by those who wish to re-establish a conception of school history in which 'the' story of British history is learned by all children. As migration and multi-culturalism grow in political importance, so does the demand for social cohesion, and history is conceived as a central means of strengthening national values and perhaps also certain kinds of liberal democratic nationalism. Hence the provision of something like a master-narrative of British history is again a respectable conception of history education among politicians and some historians and teachers. It is unfortunate that some historians seem able only to defend their subject in these terms, and appear to lack the imagination to understand what history might do for children beyond this, or even to recognize that the goal of handing on a single narrative may itself be unhistorical.[22]

The most extreme and rhetorical manifestations of this position suggest that perverse 'child-centred methods' have undermined the provision of a common story, and are the consequence of an obsession with 'skills'.[23]

In fact, of course, many UK teachers have been aware for a long time that students are not acquiring a 'big picture' of the past from their school history. While there is clearly a problem, we must take care not to assume that we know exactly what it is. In particular, we should avoid the assumption that it is a failure of 'new methods' or a result of multi-cultural relativism. Such assumptions fail Sam Wineburg's test, in which readers are asked to identify the source and date of the following quotation: *Surely a grade of 33 in 100 on the simplest and most obvious facts of US history is not a record on which any high school can take pride.* Wineburg (2000) offers his readers reports and comments on US history education from 1987 back to 1942 to choose from, but then discloses that the quotation in fact appeared in 1917 in an article from the *Journal of Educational Psychology* reporting a test of 668 Texas high school students. As he comments, 'the stability of students' ignorance is puzzling. The whole world has been turned upside down over the past eighty years but one thing has seemingly remained the same: Kids don't know history.' (p. 307). Despite enormous changes in society and in daily life, not to mention in educational goals and practices, school students' 'ignorance' appears to have remained constant over nearly a century. It is possible to find similar examples in England, including this one published by Engels in 1845:

> Several [of the children] had never heard the name of the Queen nor other names, such as Nelson, Wellington, Bonaparte; but it was noteworthy that those who had never heard even of St. Paul, Moses, or Solomon, were very well instructed as to the life, deeds, and character of Dick Turpin, and especially of Jack Sheppard [the robber and prison breaker].[24]

We have no compelling evidence about how well school students, let alone the wider population, remembered 'the facts' 50 or 100 years ago. For this reason, among others, we should also be cautious about claims that 'everyone' knew a common story of British history until sometime in the 1960s.[25] It is arguable that something like a 'narrative template' of the kind suggested by Wertsch (2004, p. 54) might have existed, but this is not equivalent to a historical narrative organizing factual knowledge. However, there is evidence that students do not currently know some of the things we would like them to know, and this evidence suggests that the deficit, if this is an appropriate term, is not the result of abandoning something which we once knew how to do but are now failing to manage (Lee and Howson, 2009). The missing achievement is a framework of the past that allows

students to acquire a big picture of the past into which the present and new encounters with the past can fit. This is a problem that is only recently beginning to be properly formulated, let alone addressed.

What must such a framework be like? It must be revisable, because what happens next changes what we can legitimately say about the past. (Noone could validly announce at any stage in the fifteenth century that they were taking part in the beginnings of European world hegemony, but we might now want to argue that this was what was going on.) It must also allow revisions based on the new understanding of passages of the past that students acquire as they grow older. But above all it cannot, if it is not to become something unhistorical, be 'the' story, let alone something close to what the Russians called 'Party history', a standard state-approved account of the past. A framework must be an open framework of change, not a narrative in itself, but one that can support a range of narratives answering to different questions and adapting to new presuppositions. As such it rules out some narratives, and makes some more defensible than others. Openness does not mean that 'anything goes'.

There is already a much touted example of a framework for English history: the list of kings and queens. Such a list exhibits some genuine characteristics of a framework: it is not a narrative, or even a chronicle. It has no plot, leads nowhere, and yet helps those who have it to organize and make sense of the past. However, a king list is a poor framework, scarcely beginning to allow the present to be treated as the moving face of the past. In contrast, a framework that identifies changes in material life, social and political organization, and a variety of other themes offers a potentially powerful tool to allow genuine orientation in time. Such a framework of change enables teachers to explore markers or criteria of change with students. How important is the 'Neolithic Revolution'? Students can suggest questions for assessing change, by looking at states of affairs before and after it. What length of time was required for finding food to feed a family? What were the dangers of starvation? What variety of food was available? Teachers can encourage students to consider what social arrangements were necessary before and after the Neolithic Revolution, and what difference a surplus made. They can ask somewhat similar questions of the 'Industrial Revolution' and the advent of information processing. And as they keep returning to the framework in the context of depth studies, they can ask how far these 'landmarks' are useful ways of thinking about different themes, and how far they are misleading.

Second-order ideas are at the heart of understanding here. Distinguishing generalizations from singular factual statements, and recognizing the central importance of scale in history, are two examples of conceptual development that are likely to underlie effective use of frameworks. If students do not understand that generalizations may admit of exceptions, and that a generalization that is valid at one scale may not be valid at another, they will not be able to work with frameworks. Ideas of change are also important. Students who treat any event as a change, or think changes have the same logical status as events, are likely to shrink the scale of the past and to see it as the consequence of deliberate choices and individual action (Barton, 1996). They may also be inclined to think of any framework as fixed, something 'discovered' in much the same way as historians might be said to have discovered that the Vikings reached Labrador.

Progression in second-order or disciplinary understanding is essential if big pictures are to be understood as grounded and subject to criteria, and if students are not to fall into the trap of imagining that any story will do. Research suggests that most UK adolescents up to 14 years old at least are likely to think that historical accounts differ because historians make mistakes or are unable to find the evidence, or, even more commonly, because historians have ulterior motives for distorting their stories. However, some 14 year-olds, perhaps as many as 20 percent, appear to have some understanding that it is in the nature of historical accounts to differ: they know that accounts may answer different questions and thereby set different boundaries and criteria of relevance (Lee and Ashby, 2000).[26] It might therefore be reasonable to hope that we can teach students to ask whether competing accounts have equal scope and explanatory power, or are equally plausible in the light of the evidence available and the wider context of – currently – accepted knowledge.

Effective teaching of frameworks will depend on a better research picture of students' prior conceptions, the ontological assumptions with which they operate, their understanding of change, and their conception of historical accounts. We have evidence for some of these ideas, but little of the research has been carried out in the context of trying to develop frameworks and big pictures of the past.[27]

A framework (whether focusing on material life, social organization, or culture) must be taught very rapidly, perhaps initially in a single session (Shemilt, 2009). It is something to be developed over time, as teacher and students return to it at regular intervals, improving its resolution, explicitly employing it to make sense of depth studies, and at the same time testing it to see how far it requires qualification and caution. Depth studies can then follow one another chronologically if required, but the point is that instead of hoping that they will somehow lay down a sedimentary picture of the past, teaching

is directed to producing a metamorphic structure, made possible by treating the knowledge gained from depth studies as nesting in the framework knowledge. The aim is to use the framework continuously, modifying it and giving students the space to develop big pictures of the past. The non-narrative nature of the framework allows it to spawn alternative (narrative) big pictures. These are anchored to framework and depth knowledge, but are not fixed 'official' or 'party' histories.

As students' ideas about scale, generalization, change and accounts develop, they will be increasingly able to use frameworks of change to produce big pictures of the past. In principle this should enable them to organize their substantive knowledge in historically valid ways to think about the relation of the present to the past and the future. Whether they choose to do so may depend on matters beyond the direct control of the teacher. However, we can be sure that if history education in school does not provide students with the means to think historically, noone else is likely to do it for us. There will be plenty of ready-made, not necessarily historically defensible, stories to learn in the wider world, but it is probably naïve and certainly optimistic to think that they will come with warnings attached. History education will have done its job if students have the means and a broad disposition to try to orientate themselves in time historically. It cannot promise always to compete successfully with pressing cultural, collective or group identities, and the pressure they bring to subscribe to less well grounded versions of the past than we might claim for history. Success is not guaranteed.

Transformative History

What does all this mean that history does for students? What are students more likely to be able to do – if we can learn how to teach history properly – that they cannot do before they study history? How will the world be different for them, and does it matter if it is?

The discussion so far suggests some answers to these questions. The development of second-order concepts that provide the basis for disciplinary understanding makes possible wide ranging new ways of seeing the world. Changes, for example, cease to be confined to individual actions and events, and include long run gradual developments too, some of which were intended by noone. Acceptance of the likelihood of unexpected consequences of action overturns a simplistic picture of political and social behaviour: good intentions do not guarantee happy outcomes, and not everything that causes human misery is the product of wickedness. The beliefs and values of people in the past are understood as not necessarily the same as ours, and even as passing strange, but they are still recognized as intelligible and defensible in their own terms, and as helping make sense of present beliefs and values.

However, transformations of this kind can only take place through and in the presence of substantive historical knowledge in which past and present are not cut off from one another. The past is not dead, and it has certainly not gone. Although people often talk as if they had undergone some form of *parelthontectomy* – being, or having been, cut off from what came before – the fixed border between the past and the present is illusory: much of our thinking about the present and future unconsciously draws on the past.[29] If we understand what has been going on in the past, then the present, far from being cut off from what preceded it, is joined to it by, for example, trends, traditions and policies. This is not to deny the reversal of trends, breaks in tradition or the overturning of policies, but to recognize that talking this way only makes sense if there is something conceived as extending through time to be reversed, to collapse, or to be overturned.[30] Moreover, our idea of what any particular nation, political party, or economic arrangements are and might become, draws directly on our knowledge of what they have been. If we want to understand the Labour or Conservative Parties in Britain, for instance, we cannot confine ourselves to inspection of their current programmes, but will want to know how their philosophies have worked out in practical action in the past. Similarly, understanding capitalism means more than citing definitions: it means tracing how capitalist economic life has developed, and understanding what it has enabled and prevented. Even our everyday concepts carry temporal luggage: mother, wound, and compensation all make claims upon past occurrences (Lee, 1984). Time-worms are central to our lives.

Noone lives in an instantaneous present, and the depth of the past we call upon partly depends on what we are thinking about. We know that 'contemporary art', or 'politics nowadays', or 'current thinking about capitalism' are nothing to do with an instantaneous present. The 'present' seems to be longer or shorter, depending on what we are thinking of. Indeed some questions about the present can only be given backwards referencing answers. Why do Americans, Canadians and Australians speak English when they are thousands of miles away, and our immediate neighbours (even in parts of the British Isles) speak completely different languages? Why do we realistically have to choose between two or three political parties to form a government?[31] Intelligible answers to these questions must reflect (even when not exhausted by) historical contingency.

The claim that history is transformative, then, must draw on both disciplinary and substantive historical knowledge and negate the apartheid dividing past and present. There is not space here to develop this claim thoroughly, but a sketch of some components that might be expected to appear in a proper discussion can be offered. But first we should perhaps ask why there is any need to talk in this way.

It is important to stress the transformative nature of history because without any argued case that history changes how we see the present and future, knowledge of the past is taken to be the accumulation of facts or stories that are necessarily confined to that past, and therefore irrelevant to anything present. In these circumstances much current promotion of history in education falls back on the short-term instrumental claims discussed earlier: history can do whatever politicians currently declare to be essential for the economy or the coherence of the nation state. This kind of 'me-too' justification of history's place in the curriculum – it can 'do' citizenship, numeracy, literacy or whatever is demanded – encourages head teachers and politicians to believe that arguments for history are weak. When such justifications are combined with 'skills' talk, history becomes just one of many ways of producing desired generic outcomes, and fares ill in the struggle for time in a crowded curriculum. They also prevent us thinking clearly about what should be included in a history curriculum, and allow aims to become muddled or simply handed over to governments.

Why is the case for a transformative history so seldom made? One answer to this question is that any case must be cautious, qualified, and rest on rather general assertions, because in order to specify what kind of transformation might be made, we have to know both what people's initial ideas are, and what questions are at stake. People's prior conceptions of the human past are immensely various in character and scope, and their interest in the past (in both senses of 'interest') can be equally diverse. Such prior conceptions are all the more central if we are concerned with education, particularly with children and adolescents. The transformation of the world for school students can be radical, because initial knowledge and understanding is unlikely to be rich or deep. (Of course it can be both these, but this is unusual and likely to be narrow in scope.)[32]

Different initial ideas and different interests mean that the consequences of changing the way people see any particular event or passage of the past are likely to differ considerably. It is difficult to give concrete examples unless we can pin down the initial conceptions at stake in a specific case.[33] Nevertheless, history is transformative. It is almost a commonplace that governments trade on this.[34] Students are assumed to have little knowledge of the past (few prior conceptions), and politicians and others wishing to shape their view of the present and future attempt to hand on an appropriate account of the past – one that will make students more patriotic, or more religious, or better communists or liberal democrats, or more loyal to a dynasty or party. Whether governments' efforts are likely to succeed or fail will depend (among other things) on what students' initial ideas about the past happen to be, and research suggests that the assumption that such ideas are simply lacking is a dangerous one (Epstein, 2001; Wertsch and Rozin, 1998). Nonetheless, even if the approaches

they adopt are simplistic and misguided, governments are not mistaken in recognizing that history can change how people see their world.

It should be clear from what has already been said that this is not an argument for condoning approaches to the past that treat history education as a form of social engineering by plundering the past to meet present preferences. The argument which follows is intended precisely to substitute a transformational view, unpacking some elements of the transformation which *historical* knowledge and understanding can produce. Perhaps a digression appealing to a – partial – analogy might help here.

When a game-keeper or a bird-lover in the UK notices a magpie, he or she is apt to make disapproving noises: 'They're horrible birds', 'They prey on the song-birds', 'I prefer to see them dead and strung up on a wire in rows', and so on.[35] From the point of view of a gamekeeper whose job is to preserve game-birds for destruction by other means (men with guns), or of a bird-lover who takes pleasure in watching and listening to song-birds, these are perfectly reasonable comments. They organize the natural world according to present wants and needs. A scientist, however, is likely to regard magpies as simply another species of bird with its own environmental niche. They are part of a wider ecology, not something to be judged by human desires. Science attempts to stand back from our immediate wishes, and asks questions that often cannot even be posed in the language of everyday goals. Understanding magpies involves setting them into many other 'stories' besides the one in which they may or may not cause 'damage' to other species. And interestingly, our chances of pursuing even our immediate practical ends often turn out to improve if we have stood back from them. (The contested policy of eradicating badgers in an attempt to prevent bovine tuberculosis raises just this possibility.)

There is a workable, if incomplete, analogy here with stances towards the past. Our everyday instinct is to organize the past in ways that reflect our immediate wants and preferences. We praise and condemn what we find there, and draw lessons based on our approval or dismay. But history (understood as a developing public form of knowledge), aspires to a kind of *temporal ecology*. It has tried to stand back from seeing the world entirely in terms of our practical interests and desires, attempting to see the human past in all its complex interrelatedness. This means understanding what we are interested in (for whatever reasons) in the context of many different stories, just as with magpies or badgers.[36] Of course historians may at any moment adopt the gamekeeper stance or the bird-lover stance, and organize the past to pick out desirable or undesirable actions, events or processes. But history, as a public and reflexive cognitive tradition, recognizes that the past takes the forms it does whatever we may wish it to have been, and that if we do indeed want to order it

for practical daily use, we had better make sure we first understand it as a working temporal ecology. Anything less can be seriously misleading, perhaps analogously to the way the farmer stance led to the disaster in which rabbits ate Porto Santo in the early fifteenth century (Crosby, 1986, p. 75).

One kind of transformation history can make (and one that is often conspicuously absent from government history programmes) is to encourage a degree of caution, making us aware of what *not* to say. History can transform the simplicities of a world categorized in polarities, or organized in law-like generalizations, many of which have their origin in 'memories' of the past, but not history. Crude claims like 'appeasement now leads to wars later' choose to make past and present similar in relevant ways, and historical knowledge (as well as evidence as to what can sensibly be asserted about the present) is required to test their validity in any given case. Analogies between migration and its consequences in the Western Roman Empire and migration into some EU countries, for example, or between the financial crisis of 2007 and previous recessions or the Great Depression, openly beg questions about the past as well as the present, demanding considerable historical knowledge. Without such knowledge they are likely to be incomprehensible or dangerously misleading; with it, they can enable us to see our present world in new and less simplistic ways. Caution and awareness of uncertainty, of course, although notable achievements, are not sufficient, and might even be paralyzing. Jerry, aged 17, who had studied no history since he was 14, asked in early 2002 about what kind of event he thought 9/11 amounted to, replied 'We are knee-deep in the unknown.'[37] A transformative history must have more positive ambitions.

The way in which history transforms how we see the world can be dramatic. Knowledge of the classical past, acquired during the Renaissance, changed Europeans' ideas of what and who they were, and their view of the possibilities for the future. The developing awareness of 'deep time' in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century radically altered people's ideas as to the kind of world they were living in and the animals that inhabited it. In so doing it eventually altered conceptions of humanity itself. Once again the ways in which people's sense of their world changed in these examples depended on their prior ideas, and the strength of some people's resistance to the new story of the Earth and of life itself is an indication of how profound such changes could be (Toulmin and Goodfield, 1965).

Equally, the transformations wrought by history can be much more modest in scope, if perhaps more immediate in their implications. For example, some students in a class of fifteen year-olds engaged in the SHP 'Development Study' of medicine, while considering the significance of Pasteur, were

introduced to Kuhn's (1992) ideas about scientific paradigms, revolutions and puzzle solving.[38] Many of the students were primarily studying science subjects for their 16+ examinations, and they approached the teachers at the end of the lesson in considerable excitement, because they had always assumed that natural science was a structure built of largely unchanging knowledge, and that their lives as future scientists would at best consist in making minor additions to the edifice. Their conception of science had been overturned: they suddenly saw, as one of them put it, that 'We might even be able to make a big difference'. This was a radical transformation, although it still cried out for a more nuanced and deeper understanding.

Even at the level of the individual and at the fine scale of detailed political action history can change the way students see their world. Students who know Winston Churchill as a heroic and successful war leader can find it difficult to understand why he was rejected by the British electorate in 1945, but as their picture of political and social aspirations at that moment is contextualized in the previous few decades, so their conception both of politics and society changes, and with it (for some students) comes a more nuanced understanding of the kinds of possibilities and constraints for political and social action in the present and future.

History, then, can transform the way we see things at very different scales and in very different ways. It can overturn explanations, or suggest better ones, as in Jared Diamond's (1997) *Guns, Germs and Steel*, which shows how explanations of European hegemony in terms of cultural superiority, let alone race, are inadequate. Shifts in explanations can – as in this case – have implications for our understanding of our identity, and even for our assessment of the wounds we carry from the past, as well as more generally for our ideas of how things happen. Black students who assume (unfortunately often because well-meaning teachers reinforce such beliefs) that only black people were made slaves, can change their whole sense of who they are when they understand that slavery was a normal feature of low-energy societies, and that Europeans and Asians were also enslaved in large numbers.[39] Equally, white students who imagine that the problems of African countries are somehow entirely self-inflicted may see the world very differently if they have to consider the evidence that slavery played an important role in creating and maintaining those problems (Nunn, 2010). Historical knowledge of the past can also shift identity in much simpler ways. The producers of a recent Channel Four TV account of the battle of Trafalgar were evidently aware of this when they stressed the role of 'foreigners' in the battle and in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century Royal Navy, clearly thinking that notions of 'Britishness' would be expanded.[40]

Changes of this kind in how we see the world can amount to radical revisions of our assumptions as to who we are and how the world works. A large scale example is the McNeills' (2003) treatment of the development of tribute taking societies – military aristocracies or elites (and portable religions) – as forms of parasitism. An example of a revision on a more typical historical scale might be N.A.M. Rodger's (1997 and 2004) insistence that the Royal Navy cannot simply be understood as a 'glorious' battle fighting machine, or even a defensive bulwark or a means of colonial and imperial expansion, but as a pioneer of large scale logistics and an economic engine in its own right, an institution of a kind not hitherto matched in Europe. Moreover, transformations can be more specific than the abandonment of implicit or tacit assumptions, and more like a shift in perspective. Our conception of the United States alters if we think of the American Revolution as not just a quest for freedom, but as an opportunity for local elites to enhance their political and economic power.

The transformations wrought by historical knowledge are often complex and nuanced because they frequently involve reciprocal relationships between past and present. Our present ideas of what humans are and can be informs our view of, for example, the nineteenth century idea of progress, or Nazism and the Holocaust, or the development of the Welfare State in the UK after 1945, and our understanding of these in turn both changes and enriches our understanding of who and what we are and can be. Once again this points to the importance, for any consideration of the transformative power of history, of our prior conceptions. If different people have different notions of how human beings behave as individuals or in organized societies of various kinds, the impact on them of the same new historical knowledge will differ. This applies to memories too, whether actual recollections of events or states of affairs, or memories in the looser sense in which received common beliefs about a passage of the past are sometimes called 'memory'.[41]

The memories of (for example) my father's generation of the German role in World War II coloured the way it saw Germany: that is, its ideas as to what Germans were like or were capable of; as to what expectations we should have of the Germans for the future; and as to what degree of trust was appropriate. All this had potential consequences for foreign policy. But there were important differences within that generation, depending on how much history people knew, and what that history was. Those, for example, who were aware of the scientific, philosophical and cultural impact of Germany before the Nazis saw a very different country and people from those who simply had memories of the war and its immediate origins.

Similar differences can be seen in the way Europe and the European Union are conceived by those

with and without knowledge of the history of European music, literature and culture. If, for example, the past of the European Union is conceived as just a matter of shifts in the financial balance sheet which produce losses or gains for the UK, then much of what it does in the present and future will be incomprehensible. Assumptions about identity, and understanding of traditions and policies, will all be compromised. Some understanding of European history, and of the beginnings of the EU after the Second World War, transforms it from an unintelligibly purposeless bureaucratic institution into a complex representation of fears and hopes arising from the experience of Europe over decades, if not centuries. Financial gains and losses for members take their place in a set of wider functions and goals, and the EU (like the magpies) can begin to fit into many possible stories.[42]

The scope of the ideas that history may transform can extend beyond any specific content to much more generalized conceptions that underlie the way we conceive of our world. This is especially so where children's and adolescents' conceptions are concerned. Without historical knowledge, people's ideas of what is normal in human affairs tend to be limited to the here and now. In some areas of human life (religion or law, for example) adult ideas about what is *normal* claim to reach back into the distant past, but very often normalcy is simply the way we do things at present.[43]

The consequences of a localized notion of normalcy can appear in unexpected ways. Consider, for example, the impact of the internet and new technologies on reading habits. Debate about this often takes the form of worries about the loss of abilities or skills, understood as representing a disruption of the 'normal' achievements of young people. These worries do not simply vanish with historical knowledge, but once normalcy is considered in a historical context the whole picture changes. Even if we leave aside the point that for long periods of the past very few people could read, historical knowledge sets matters in a different light. The invention of writing, for example, led to the loss or downgrading of important human achievements and abilities in the memorization of origin myths and epic narratives central to the handing on of cultures. If new technology is killing literacy, the technologies of writing killed oral memory first.

For students in school the view that the present is normal tends to be even more pronounced. When students see their present world as defining what is normal for human life, it is hardly surprisingly that they expect little to change in their future lives. Technological change figures large in their thinking, but for some students even this may be coming to an end, or at least losing its impact on 'ordinary' life. For the following 16-17 year-olds, for example, all the big inventions have already been made.

Lynne: I don't think that we will ever have as big changes, though, technology-wise, as in the past forty years. Because it's like, they are always making advances on things but they are never inventing anything really new, like the television and that. There was nothing before that, or the phones, there was nothing before that.

Sasha: And these inventions are just developed on.

Interviewer: So you are saying that those changes are not likely to be as big as the ones in the past?

Lynne: It'll be just like improvements on things that are already here.[44]

There are interesting paradoxes here. The idea that the present defines what is normal (which means that, in general, changes will be marginal and life will go on in many ways much as it has always done) seems often to run in parallel, and uneasily, with the conviction that the past has no bearing on the present because everything changes: change renders history useless. Danny, aged 14, attending a grammar school in SE England, when asked whether history can help in deciding how to deal with problems in race-relations, replied 'No – Because, as I have already said, times change and people change.' He answered in almost the same form of words to questions about political and economic decisions. Kate, a 15 year-old London comprehensive school student declared, 'History is really useless because if things change as time goes on then there's really no need to learn about the past.'[46]

More generally, it is difficult for school students to understand that current states of affairs (economic, social or political) in the world are temporary, and represent a point in a continuous process of change. The idea that a world existed in which living by hunting and gathering was normal is strange to them, and this makes it difficult to understand the enormity of the changes that allowed the generation of economic surpluses, and with it the possibility of urban cultures. The possibility that future changes may not follow the trajectory to which we have become accustomed, let alone that the direction may reverse, is even more difficult for students to entertain. Hence, where they consider such reverses at all, there is some evidence that it is likely to be in the context of sudden natural catastrophes, or possibly wars, rather than, for example, a more gradual consequence of the exhaustion of, or increased demand for, resources, or of changes in beliefs and values.[47]

When historical knowledge begins to undermine assumptions about normalcy, it encourages more nuanced expectations about the future. Geoff, for example, an A level student responding to another student's claim that, in general, life is likely to stay the same in the next forty years, drew attention to the skewed expectations of change in the 1950s.

> It's very difficult to work out what the revolutionary changes are going to be when you can say there's going to be an evolution in technology. If you look at, like, the 1950s view of how the year 2000 is going to be, you had all these images of gleaming, futuristic homes, with still the woman at home doing the cooking, with the help of all these wonderful fantastic devices. They never anticipated the social changes that would change the role of women in society.[48]

In addition to his warning that it is harder to predict revolutionary changes than to extrapolate trends, Geoff's point here is that existing patterns of social life were assumed to be normal, and expectations of technological change were grafted onto them.

Conclusion

History has a place in education because it develops students' historical consciousness, locating them in the world in a manner that encourages them to think about temporal relationships.[49] These relationships, one way or another, with or without students' awareness, create the constraints and opportunities (set the context) in which their thoughts and actions can operate in the present and future. And history does this in a particular way, a way that, for most students, is unlikely to be offered to them outside school or formal education. If our students learn to approach the past historically, they will have available the possibility, not merely of clinging to or abandoning their loyalties, traditions and social or political allegiances, but of seeing them in a different light. History education fails if it merely confirms ways of thinking that students already have: it must develop and expand their conceptual apparatus, help them see the importance of standards of argument and knowledge, and enable them to decide on the importance of dispositions that make those standards active. It must develop a particular kind of historical consciousness – a form of historical literacy – which allows students to see different ways of approaching the past (including history) as themselves subject to historical investigation. History can be understood, like other public forms of knowledge, as a metacognitive tradition, one that people have fought long and hard to develop and be able to practise. Like natural or social science, it is a precarious achievement. It must be handled with respect and care in schools.

Notes

1. 'Conflationist' agendas seek to merge history with a variety of other curriculum 'subjects', from religious instruction or geography to social science.

2. See the debate between White and Lee, together with the introduction by Shemilt, in Lee et al. (1992).

3. Note that the argument urged in this paper is *not* that history cannot work with other disciplines, in or beyond school; nor is it that interdisciplinary studies are to be somehow ruled out. Instead, the claim is that students should acquire an understanding of history (and other public forms of knowledge) before interdisciplinary studies can take place. There is something deeply condescending in the insistence that students do not 'need' school 'subjects', invariably made by people who learned them at school themselves and continue to operate within them. But here again, a caution is required: it is not intended to sanctify existing school 'subjects' as they appear in any particular curriculum. The disciplines that can or should be distinguished as school 'subjects' are up for debate. It will be obvious, however, that this paper would include history among them.

4. This was, for a time, asserted by several commentators. The most recent occurrence I have noticed was by a UK contributor to the *Beyond the Canon* conference in Rotterdam in 2005, but it did not appear in the subsequent published proceedings.

5. They remain erroneous even if the Schools History Project and the Cambridge History Project are ignored, although prior to those projects explicit discussion of interpretation may have been more common for 16 to 18 year olds than for younger pupils.

6. See, for example, Lee (1978); Dickinson and Lee (1978); and Shemilt (1980). There is no universally agreed term for the concepts referred to here, but in the UK and elsewhere they are frequently referred to as 'second-order' because they are the higher level organizing concepts of the discipline of history. (There are linguistic pitfalls at every turn: talk of 'the discipline' of history risks appearing to subscribe to the idea that history is uncontested and straightforwardly defined. I do not take such a view, but am inclined to think that at any given moment there is sufficient agreement to assume the existence of a core activity and some common – if broad – methodological and explanatory goals.) These may of course change over time: compare the attempts to characterize history in Walsh (1967) and Megill (2007).

7. Because the habit is so extraordinarily widespread, it would be invidious to cite particular examples. In their defence, writers might claim that it has become an accepted shorthand for changes in thinking about history. Unfortunately, this is precisely what makes it so damaging.

8. Gunning (1978, pp. 13- 14) argued that there was no need for a connection between 'academic' and 'school' history. But his argument seemed to turn on history having to be 'useful' to students, and he conceded almost immediately that 'most of the time there is a lot of overlap' between academic history and what is useful for students.

9. For a shorter discussion, see Boix-Mansilla (2005).

10. Unpublished findings from Project Chata. Part of the study involved exploration of progression in second-order (disciplinary or procedural) concepts in three primary and six secondary schools during a school year. Progression was weaker in the two schools (one primary, one secondary) where history was not clearly demarcated in the timetable or the library and was taught in a 'topic' method approach, or merged in a humanities department.

11. A brief discussion of this research and some implications for teaching is to be found in Lee (2005. For examples of research see Ashby (2005); Barca (2005); Barton (1996); Boix-Mansilla (2005); Cercadillo (2001); Lee and Ashby (2000); Nakou (2001); Hsiao, Y. (2005); Seixas (1993; Wineburg (2001).

12. 'Empathy' matters are not confined to understanding human action and social practices; the connections with concepts of historical evidence run deep, because any reading of evidence is in part dependent on seeing it as fitting into the social mores and practices in which a given 'trace' was produced. Was it a cup or a cult object, a history or a religious exhortation?

13. See also in Wineburg (2001, pp. 22- 4) the discussion of Primo Levi's experiences in talking to children.

14. The Leeds team used the term 'empathy' for the area of understanding action and social practices, whereas in London the more cumbersome 'rational understanding' was employed. Both labels could easily be misunderstood, but since the Leeds research was connected to SCHP, and therefore directly impacted on teachers' thinking, the London researchers adopted 'empathy' too.

15. Key figures here were Henry Macintosh and John Hamer; see Macintosh (1987). Hamer joined the Inspectorate and was therefore precluded from publishing, but his examination papers and reports for the Southern Regional Examinations Board in the early 1980s remain exemplary and unsurpassed as innovative and helpful guides for teachers.

16. Because these have never been thought of as finished or final models, they have never been published as a set. For examples of current versions dealing with evidence, historical accounts, and causal explanation, see Lee and Shemilt (2003); Lee and Shemilt (2004); Lee and Shemilt (2009).

17. Jörn Rüsen's matrix is suggestive here, in – at least implicitly – relating historical understanding of the discipline to orientation in the life-world. See his 'Paradigm shift and theoretical reflection in Western German historical studies' which is included in Duvenage (1993). Everything in this collection is worth attention, even for those who would not accept all aspects of Rüsen's account of history. See in particular 'Historical narration: foundation, types, reason' (pp.3-14), 'What is theory in history?' (pp.15-47), 'The development of narrative competence in historical learning: an ontogenetical hypothesis concerning moral consciousness' (pp.63-84) and 'Experience, interpretation, orientation: three dimensions of historical learning' (pp.85-93). For a simple (and no doubt simplistic) summary of some of Rüsen's views, see also Lee (2004). See also Megill (1994) for a more penetrating discussion.

18. The point is to improve students' ability to understand history. But insistence on this should not be read as undermining the importance of students' metacognitive awareness, nor of denying the importance for teachers of the explicit conceptual sophistication to be found in philosophy of history.

19. On students' ideas about historical accounts see Boix-Mansilla (2005); Lee and Ashby (2000); Gago (2005); Hsiao (2005); Seixas (1993).

20. On students' ideas about historical explanation, see Ashby and Lee (1987); Barca (2005), Dickinson and Lee (1978); Lee, Ashby and Dickinson (1997); Lee, Dickinson and Ashby (1996); Lee and Ashby (2001); Lee, Dickinson and Ashby (2001); Shemilt (1984); Voss, Ciarrochi and Carretero (1998); Voss, Carretero, Kennet and Silfies (1994).

21. Perhaps elsewhere in the world there is also increasing emphasis on the first group. The 'Benchmarks' project for the reform of history education in Canada seems to be following a similar direction, and teachers and history educators in (for example) Portugal, Brazil and Taiwan have argued for moves towards a more explicit concern with understanding the discipline of history.

22. A common complaint from history graduates undertaking Post Graduate Certificate in Education courses is that their university history courses failed to provide them with any apparatus for thinking clearly about what is involved in doing history, and seemed to carry no conception of why history should figure in an education, even at undergraduate level.

23. See the Introduction in Davies (1999, pp.25- 6), which illustrates the somewhat limited conceptual apparatus brought by some (but by no means all) historians to their assertions about history education, and makes confused and ungrounded claims about recent history education in the UK.

24. I owe this example to Arthur Chapman. Quotation from the Children's Employment Commission's Report, in Engels (1845).

25. Davies (1999, pp. 25- 6) makes assumptions about what 'all children' knew.

26. See also Chapman (2001 and 2009).

27. But important steps have very recently been taken by F. Blow, R. Rogers and D. Shemilt. See Shemilt (2009).

28. The De Rooy commission in the Netherlands has attempted to give students a periodization of the past, but then to allow students to demonstrate their knowledge in any relevant way, thus avoiding the specification of any particular privileged items of factual knowledge. This is an impressive initiative, but an 'official' periodization may be a step too far towards a fixed story. See Wilschut (2009). We also need to understand more about how students see 'periods', which are subtle and complicated ways of organizing the past, and may prove a more difficult basis for teaching than might be expected. See also Halldén (1994, p.187) for a comment on periodization in history education.

29. This is a neologism, but perhaps there is a case for a word to cover the operation of cutting off the past. It is as if the state of mind that assumes a complete disconnection between past and present is the result of a procedure in which the past has been radically excised. (The responsibility for burdening discourse with a clumsy creation is entirely mine, but I owe any sense made by the Greek to Irene Nakou.)

30. The point here, of course, is not that the past can or should be given any single direction, but that we construe the world as being in time, and that temporal 'boundary' crossing notions like trend, tradition and policy signal and manifest this.

31. See Borries (2009) for examples of questions of this kind.

32. As always with statements of this kind, caution is required. There is evidence, for example, that some 14 year-olds have more sophisticated ideas about historical accounts than those which seem to underlie much press and political comment about the past, where the presence of conflicting stories is seen either as the sign of a departure from a fixed and finished true story, or as an indication of the advocacy of an opinion serving ulterior motives. But here we are dealing with possible transformation of second-order conceptions.

33. If there were suitable research evidence about clusters of substantive conceptions held in general by groups, we might be able to make statements at the group level about the likely transformative outcomes of historical knowledge, but we are far from being able to do this at present. The transformative possibilities of second-order or disciplinary knowledge are rather better documented, as earlier discussion in this paper perhaps indicates.

34. There is a vast literature on the politics – in the widest sense – of history textbooks and curricula. For recent examples from around the world, see Foster and Crawford (2006). For an example of a more localised discussion, see Koulouri (2002).

35. Bird-lovers and gamekeepers are both common species in the UK, but perhaps less often observed elsewhere. Magpies are also common, being striking black and white, medium-sized birds that live by scavenging, but eat, amongst other things, the eggs of other birds.

36. Failure to understand this leads to mistakes like the attempt to classify events as historically significant independently of stories or timescales. Historical significance is not a fixed property of events, even if some degree of agreement about what is humanly important may confuse us into thinking that way.

37. Pilot study of historical consciousness, 2002. See Lee (2004).

38. The lesson in question was part of a programme of classroom research preceding and leading up to Project Chata, carried out in an Essex comprehensive school. Note that, despite some curious attempts to rewrite history in recent professional literature, 'significance' was actively addressed by history teachers long before its appearance in the official National Curriculum.

39. Traille (2006) provides empirical evidence of the effects of certain kinds of teaching, and the misconceptions it produces. This is not to deny the very important differences between the Atlantic slave trade and other examples of slavery.

40. Channel Four programme broadcast in the UK 28/6/2010

41. What we believe – as *true* – about the past outside our own experience or time-frame is not memory, but if we consider its impact on the picture of the world that we work with, it might just as well be. Even so, there may be reasons for not eliding individual memory claims with those of 'memory' in the looser sense. If shown to be false, the former simply cease to be memories, whereas those who use the term in the latter sense are inclined to be less strict. In the case of social 'memories' in the loose sense, relativism may be defensible in ways that it is not with memory in the tighter sense.

42. This is not to say that fair financial distribution or bureaucracy are unimportant matters, but to recognize in order to deal with them effectively they must be set in a range of opportunities and constraints for action indicated by an understanding of the past.

43. Religious and legal approaches to the past are often (although perhaps not always) attempts to organize the past so that it conveniently serves present practical desires or hopes.

44. Interview in a small-scale pilot study of historical consciousness, carried out by the author in 2002 at an Essex comprehensive school. Lynne had studied history to age 16, Sasha to age 14. See Lee (2004).

45. Example from written data collected in the pilot study of historical consciousness, 2002. This boy, attending a grammar school in SE England, repeated this form of words three times in answer to different questions about whether history can help decide how to deal with problems in politics, economics or race-relations. More than half of the 60 responses (all from boys in Year 7 and Year 9) took a similar view.

46. Example from the *Usable Historical Past* project, 2006-8, funded by ESRC.

47. The evidence is at best suggestive: much more work is required in this area. On the large scale there is some evidence from the Youth and History Project suggesting that English and Welsh students expect future changes to be more the result of material and impersonal forces than was the case in the past; see Lee, Dickinson, May and Shemilt (1997). On the small scale, in the 2002 pilot study of historical consciousness, interview data from a small group of students in two Essex schools suggests expectations that if anything can produce major deleterious change in what is conceived of as 'normal' life in the present, it will be ecological disasters or wars.

48. Response from the pilot study of historical consciousness, 2002. Few of the students in the sample responded with such sophistication.

49. Rüsen gives an illuminating account of historical consciousness, and makes space in it for history as a form of knowledge. But historical consciousness is wider than the kind of history literacy that should be offered by a history education, and not all forms of historical consciousness meet the standards of history.

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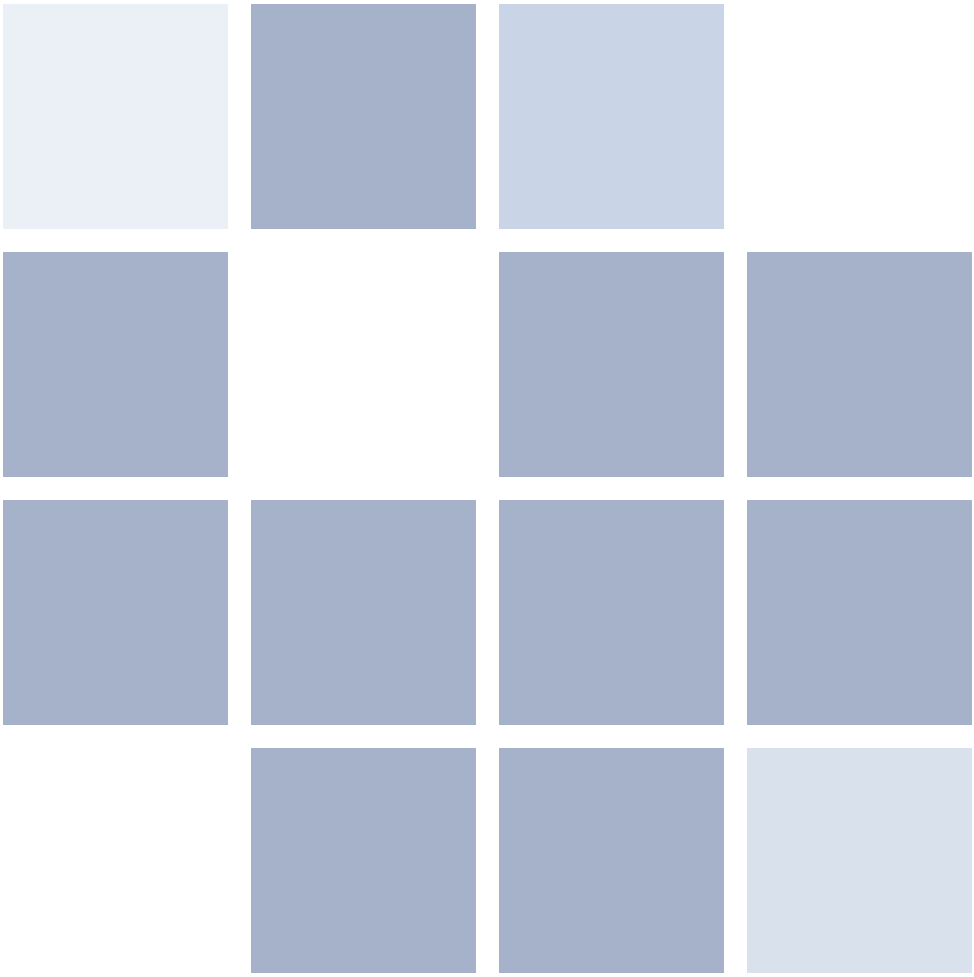
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Understanding Historical Knowing: Evidence and Accounts

Arthur Chapman



Abstract

How can we best develop students' understandings of competing historical accounts and interpretations? This paper reviews literature in the philosophy of history and history education research dealing with the nature of historical thinking in relation to historical evidence and historical interpretations and accounts, in order to identify the conceptual understandings that students need to develop to master these aspects of historical learning and to identify the challenges that learning to think historically can pose for students.

The Necessity of Disciplined Historical Education

Like everybody else, school and college students live in a world shaped by multiple and often competing representations of the past - personal, family and community stories, 'official' narratives in textbooks and public monumental architecture, internet accounts, computer game scenarios, Hollywood tableaux, and so on. Such representations of the past can serve many purposes - they can set out to entertain and divert, to celebrate or to negate, and so on. Whatever their motivations, these representations of the past matter in so far as they contribute to the shaping of collective and individual identities in the present and thus to the shaping of action and inaction in the present and the future (Lowenthal, 1998; Wertsch, 2002).

Whether their teachers consciously attend to it or not, all children receive an education about the past - in the sense that they come to understandings of their own about temporal dimensions of their world grounded, amongst other things, in past-referencing narratives and representations that they encounter in their present. To know stories about the past and to be historically educated are, however, different things. A central purpose of education is to enable students to cope mindfully with the world so that they can act responsibly in it; and it is clear that the capacity to think critically and reflectively about competing representations of the past is essential in our multi-storied and multiply-historicized present.

Like poetry, at least according to the Russian Formalists (Jameson, 1971), and like an education in all disciplines that involve genuine enquiry, an historical education should serve to *de-familiarize* and

problematicise our assumptions. In other words, and in the context of history, education should aim to raise questions about what we think we know about the past rather than seek to confirm our preconceptions (Wineburg, 2007). De-familiarization and problematicisation can be achieved in many ways, of course, and it is often argued that engaging students with 'multiple perspectives' on the past, in the hope that they will learn to 'see the past' from 'points of view' other than their own, is a powerful pedagogic strategy that we should pursue (Stradling, 2003).[1] Seeing the past from multiple points of view is, however, not the same thing as understanding how *warranted knowledge claims* about the past can be grounded: it is possible, for example, that all the perspectives encountered in a multi-perspectival historical education may turn out to be equally questionable. In history, it is *argument* rather than perspective that gives claims to know and understand the past what warrant and credibility they possess, and a history education that focuses on *how* claims to knowledge about the past can legitimately be made and defended is likely to have the greatest potency in developing a critical understanding of the historical perspectives that are offered for adoption and consumption in the present (Megill, 2007).[2]

Learning to think in a disciplined way about the past and about representations of the past is a complex matter and not something that 'comes naturally': indeed, there are good grounds to conclude that disciplined historical thinking is in many ways counter-intuitive and in conflict with many of our everyday default positions on knowing (Lee, 2001, 2002 and 2005b; Lee and Howson, 2009; Wineburg, 2001 and 2007).

This paper explores theoretical and research literature on the nature of historical knowing, on the forms of thinking that students typically bring to the understanding of the past and on progression in students' understandings of history. The review of theoretical and research literatures presented here is by no means comprehensive.[3] The intention is principally to sketch some of the challenges involved in developing key aspects of disciplined historical thinking relevant to the understanding of historical evidence and historical accounts.[4]

The Historicity and Identity of the Past

Central to an historical understanding of the past is an awareness of its historicity, which entails understanding a number of propositions about the past and the present.

Firstly, it entails the understanding that, at least where matters concerning culture and meaning are concerned, the past and the present are distinct and different: things that are in the present, or that were in the past, exist or existed contingently, and therefore variably, rather than necessarily and universally.[5]

Secondly, an historical understanding of the past entails awareness of the fact that the past exists (in so far as it can be understood as existing at all) only in the present and in the form of:

1. fragmentary traces of the past (in the form of relics and reports);[6] and
2. contemporary constructions of the past shaped by present concerns and purposes.

Two further understandings follow: an understanding that accounts of the past are inherently plural, and an understanding of how the past can and cannot be known.

Constructions of the past are never fixed: they change continually as the present changes and are a product of interaction between present conceptions and concerns, which are contingent rather than necessary and therefore inherently variable, and relics and reports, which are always contingent, partial and fragmentary survivals of the past in the present.

Since the real past does not exist, knowledge of the past is inevitably knowledge of an absent object beyond direct experience (Collingwood, 1994; Goldstein, 1976 and 1996). Historical knowledge is structurally aporetic and not autopic: there is no experiential bridge (or '*poros*') back to the past and autopsy (or 'seeing for yourself') is not possible (Mukherjee, 2007, pp. 98-99 and 117).[7] Historians aim to advance knowledge claims about the past but, perforce, they must do so indirectly and inferentially by *constructing* claims and *creating* models that 'explain the evidence' that remains in the present (Goldstein, 1976 and 1996).[8] An historical representation of the past is always a 'shaky

inferential construction' (Megill, 2007, p. 13) therefore, and never a representation of experiential knowledge by acquaintance.[9] As a result, historical knowledge is "counter-intuitive" and constructed in ways that conflict with everyday epistemological assumptions or "default positions" (Lee, 2005b). Even if it were possible to experience the past directly, experiential modes of knowing would not help us: history is replete, and inconceivable without, a host of entities (such as the 'Neolithic Revolution' or the 'Thirty Years War') that we posit to make sense of the past but that were beyond the experience of contemporaries as such (Barca, 2002; Lee and Howson, 2009).[10]

An historical understanding of the past also entails an awareness of the necessary role that constructing the past plays in all human projects and an awareness that all histories are human documents. To be human involves living in time, and all living in time, apart, perhaps, from in the immediate moment, entails narrative consciousness of past/present/future.[11] Constructing the past is, therefore, a highly 'serious business' and personally, collectively and inter-collectively essential, consequential and contestable; and there are as many pasts as there are identity projects in the present (Friese (Ed.), 2002; Lowenthal, 1998).

No historical understandings are easily bought, and an awareness of historicity is difficult for adults to achieve as much as it is for history students (Wineburg, 2001 and 2007).[12] Research into student thinking about history suggests that students often have preconceptions about the historical past or about how it is possible to know it, grounded in everyday experiential epistemologies, that impede historical understanding and that need to be challenged if understanding is to be progressed.[13]

As Lowenthal notes (2000, p. 66), 'presentism' is an important barrier to historical understanding and consists, in essence, in eliding the difference between past and present. 'Presentism' takes many forms, including a disposition to use the present as a yardstick to evaluate the past in terms of our "politically correct shibboleths" (Wineburg, 2007, p. 8) and a tendency to confuse current conventions with authenticity in representation (Seixas, 1993).

Two forms of 'presentism' as continuity thinking are foregrounded in the literature: a positive form, in which past and present are thought of as essentially identical (Rüsen, 2005, pp. 11-12 and 28-30)

and in which the past becomes normative and a model for the present/future (Barton and Levstick, 2004, pp. 54-65; Seixas, 2005, p. 145);[14] and a negative form, or "deficit" model of the past (Lee, 2005a, p. 45), in which people in the past who did not act as 'we' do are assumed to be essentially like us but lacking in resource or intelligence (Barton and Levstick, 2004, pp. 212-213).

More consequential than 'presentism' for understanding student thinking about historical accounts is the suggestion that students treat the meaning of the past as "fixed" (Lee, 1997; Lee, 2005a, p. 59-62; Lee and Shemilt, 2003 and 2004). Students are wrong to conceptualise the past in this way: nothing is ever fixed 'in the end' and all meanings, as matters of convention, are inherently contingent; in addition, even elementary facts are "meaningless unless... situated within larger frameworks" that give them "meaning," and these "frameworks are partially rooted in... the historian's present" (Megill, 2007, p. 27), which continually changes. Furthermore, many apparently simple descriptions are in fact evaluations and relative to evaluative frameworks:

> [in] the historiographic context, facts are... conditioned by judgement... whether Louis XVI was murdered, executed, or even punished is a historical question; but the "fact" that a guillotine of a given weight separated his head from his body is not. (Koselleck, 2004, p. 149)

Without frameworks, concepts, criteria of meaning, and so on, there can be no history and all histories are, therefore, to be understood relative to the frameworks operative in their construction.

As Lee and Shemilt argue, the notion that the past has fixed meaning is an example of an assumption that makes sense in everyday interpersonal contexts, where frameworks are often givens: such assumptions are potential barriers to historical learning, however, and need to be anticipated and addressed.

> A window is broken or clothes are torn, so mum wants to know what happened. The question for the child (and mum too) is simply whether or not she tells it like it was. From the child's point of view the past is known: it is given and fixed. Because mother and child are working with shared assumptions about what matters in the past, the past can become a touchstone for telling the truth; once it has happened, it cannot be changed, and there can only be one true account of it. (Lee and Shemilt, 2003, p. 14)

How do historians go about constructing warranted representations of the past and how do historians endeavour to avoid 'presentism' in their work such that their accounts are accounts of the past rather than reflections of preconception in the present?

Information, Inference and Evidence

Historical Evidence

Disciplinary history asks questions (Lévesque, 2008, p. 117; Ricoeur, 2004, p. 117) about the *meanings* of materials surviving from the past, which is, by definition, beyond direct experience (Jenkins, 1991, p. 6-9), and it constructs accounts in answer to these questions.[15]

> History is... a problem-solving discipline. A historian is someone... who asks an open-ended question about past events and answers it with selected facts which are arranged in the form of an explanatory paradigm... The resultant explanatory paradigm may take many different forms: a statistical generalization, or a narrative, or a causal model, or a motivational model, or a collectivised group-composition model, or maybe an analogy. Most commonly it consists not in any one of these components but in a combination of them. Always it is articulated in the form of a reasoned argument. (Fisher, 1970, p. xv)

There is no limit to the questions that an historian might ask, which is, of course, one reason why what can be said about the past is inherently variable. There are, however, unanswerable questions: questions need to be delimited and the "impossible object is a quest for the whole truth" (Fisher, 1970, p. 5); and archives set limits to the questions that can be answered.[16]

There are no limits to the forms that historians' answers might take either, although historical answers have necessary features: accounts become historical, in the disciplinary sense, precisely by being structured around an 'infrastructure' of citation and argument, running alongside and supporting a 'superstructure' of substantive claims and narration (Goldstein, 1976, pp. 140-143; Grafton, 2003, pp. 231-233). As Evans observes:

> You have to be prepared to back all your ideas, and also you have to provide other historians with the means of disproving what you say. You have to have footnotes, which will allow your critics to... check out what you are saying, and say, 'Look this is not a legitimate interpretation'. (Evans, quoted in Kustow, 2000, p. 28)

It is history's infrastructure that makes history a discipline and that enables objectivity: it is perfectly possible, and indeed the norm in a diverse historical community of practice, to combine adherence to 'a broader historical framework, purpose and theory' (Leinhardt and Young, 1996, p. 441) with a commitment to procedural objectivity (Fulbrook, 2002) and, as Bevir has argued, it is possible to specify norms of practice in the form of 'rules of thumb' that are procedural and formal rather than substantive and which can, therefore, be equally applicable to approaches with different substantive or paradigmatic commitments (Bevir, 1999, pp. 100-103).[17]

Disciplinary historical practice has traditionally been conceived as a method, originating in nineteenth century philology (Evans, 1997). Lorenz summarizes this historical method as consisting of:

(a) ...techniques... to locate... relevant sources;

(b) source criticism... by which the temporal and spatial origins of ... sources are established as well as their authenticity; and

(c) interpretation, by which... information... from... sources is put together. (Lorenz, 2001, p. 6871)[18]

Studies of professional historians' readings of documents confirm the centrality of particular practices of reading to disciplinary historical thinking, and, in many respects, mirror this model (Wineburg 1991, 1994, 2001, 2005 and 2007; Leinhardt and Young, 1996). Wineburg and Leinhardt and Young confirm the importance of active questioning and particular heuristics or schema of contextualisation, sourcing, corroboration and classification to historians' reading strategies (Leinhardt and Young, 1996, p. 447; van Drie and van Boxtel, 2008, pp. 92-5) and characterize historical reading as an iterative, recursive and intertextual process through which historians read and re-read documents, making interconnections between them, positing and revising meanings and contexts, and so on (Leinhardt and Young, 1996, p. 445; Wineburg, 1991, pp. 509-10). This process of recursive interaction between text and preconception instantiates the "hermeneutic circle" (Bernstein, 1983, pp. 131-9; Megill, 2007, pp. 86-

88) central to the construction of meaning (Gardner, 2010; Ricoeur, 2004; Stanford, 1986 and 1997). As Wineburg notes, historical reading is typically far removed from literal reading and aims to construct meanings that archival texts were often not designed to convey. Wineburg describes this reading as reading for "subtext" and as taking two forms (1991, p. 498): reading for the *rhetoric of the text* or, in other words, reading texts as acts that sought to impact their past context of utterance, and reading *texts as human documents*, or as evidence of assumptions and beliefs that texts express but that may have been "unknown unknowns" to their authors.*19* In historical readings, 'what is going on' is more important than 'what is happening' and the literal is secondary to the inferential.[20] Historical reading entails active questioning, creative thinking, model-building and knowledge claim construction.

Collingwood drew a contrast between what he called "scientific history"[21] and two further variants of history, when modelling the development of the discipline of history over time. Figure 1 summarizes Collingwood's analysis.

Collingwood's model reprises and anticipates many of the considerations discussed above. It is also mirrored in research studies of progression in student thinking and is worth exploring in full. For Collingwood, questions define historical practice.[22] Historians resolve problems that they set themselves and these questions are never primarily about literal meaning.

> Confronted with a ready-made statement... the scientific historian never asks himself: 'Is this statement true or false?', in other words 'Shall I incorporate it in my history of that subject or not?' The question he asks himself is: 'What does this statement mean?' And this is not equivalent to the question 'What did the person who made it mean by it?'... It is equivalent, rather, to the question 'What light is thrown on the subject in which I am interested by the fact that this person made this statement, meaning by it what he did mean?' This might be expressed by saying that the scientific historian does not treat statements as statements but as evidence. (Collingwood, 1994, p. 275)

Figure 1 Collingwood's typology of forms of history
(Based on Collingwood 1994, pp. 249-282)

Type of history	Raw materials	Processes
1. Scissors-and-paste history	**Reports** The *content* of past reports consisting of statements about the past.	Literal reading of past reports. Selection and combination / presentation of the content of past reports in accounts.
2. Critical history	As above and inferred propositions about the credibility of the authors of past reports.	As above except that some content is excluded on the grounds that the reports in which it originates are not 'credible'.
3. Scientific history	**Relics** from the past - e.g. archaeological remains. **Reports** The existence of past reports is data as much as the content of the reports (i.e. testimony is no longer privileged).	Formulating questions about the past Reading reports and relics inferentially, as well as literally, in relation to questions. Constructing arguments using these materials in order to answer questions in accounts.

Progression in the Understanding of Historical Evidence

There is substantial evidence, from small and large scale research studies in a number of countries, suggesting that students in both primary and secondary stages of education can learn to think historically and inferentially about the past and also, crucially, that students often have misconceptions about historical knowing that can impede the development of historical understanding.[23]

Lee and Shemilt propose a progression model of the development of student thinking about historical evidence that draws on a substantial research base and in particular, findings from the Schools Council History Project (SCHP) evaluation study (Shemilt, 1980) and the Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches research project (Project CHATA). This model is outlined in Figure 2 below.[24]

Figure 2. Progression in ideas about evidence: outline
(Based on Lee and Shemilt, 2003, p. 114)

1	Pictures of the past
2	Information
3	Testimony
4	Scissors and Paste
5	Evidence in isolation
6	Evidence in context

Underlying this progression model are two important oppositions that the literature confirms are key in the development of historical understanding and that mark a shift from everyday experiential notions of knowing to historical notions of knowing: the opposition between experiential and inferential knowledge and the opposition between information and evidence (Lee, 2001). As Lee and Shemilt note in their discussion (2003, pp. 19-20), progression involves conceptual shifts. Firstly, from information to testimony: as far as the first two levels in the model are concerned history is about

information. The second shift, between the fourth and the fifth levels, marks a transition from testimonial to evidential conceptions of historical sources. As far as level 3 and 4 thinkers are concerned, historians collate 'truths' and at level 4 these 'truths' are 'credible' claims excerpted from testimony; whereas at level 3 the 'truths' are 'credible' testimonies themselves. In neither case do historians generate their own propositions, other than about credibility. The third shift occurs at the last two levels. Here history becomes creative: rather than generating claims by copying and collating elements of the archive, historians are understood as *constructing their own claims* by interrogating archives and drawing inferences and conclusions. Before level 5, students model historians as *depicting* the past in *story-like* collages of *pre-existing* truths and after it, histories become more like theories than stories and theories that propose solutions to delimited problems that historians pose (Lee and Shemilt, 2004, p. 27).

A wide range of studies confirms the dependence of student thinking on the ideas that this model proposes. As Kölbl and Straub put it, in their discussion group study of 13-14 year old German students' historical consciousness, "the topos 'to-see-something-with-one's-own-eyes'" is crucial for many students (2001) and Barca, reporting parallel Portuguese studies of samples of 11-19 year old school students and of student teachers, suggests that this 'direct observation paradigm' (Atkinson, 1978 cited in Barca, 2002) underlies many history novices' conceptualisations of historical accounts: when asked to choose the best author to give an account of a past situation the school students expressed a clear preference for witnesses or agents, whereas the trainee teachers, with greater exposure to historical study, expressed a clear preference for recent authors, indicating an understanding of the 'mediated' nature of historical knowledge (Barca, 2002). Barton's interview- and observation-based study of American elementary school students' understandings showed that these students overwhelmingly modelled history as based on handed-down experience and transcriptions of experiential knowledge (2008, pp. 211-213), a form of thinking also apparent in the SCHP data (Shemilt, 1987, p. 42). Boix Mansilla's study of sixteen exceptional 14-17 year old American students' ideas about standards of acceptability in history (Boix Mansilla, 2001 and 2005) provides further support for the proposition that many students think of historians as simply transcribing credible claims found in the archive (Boix Mansilla, 2005, p. 106).

The examples that follow exemplify the kinds of ideas that students operating at the higher end of the progression model deploy.

The following response is from a CHATA interview with a 13-14 year old student.

> *Is there anything you have to be careful about when you're using sources to find out what's happened?*
> You have to think about how reliable they're going to be... either if they're a long time after the event... there's going to be more passed on either by reading something or having a story told to you, which if its told you it's less likely to be accurate... and also if it's a particularly biased piece of evidence [we] might have to look at it and compare it to another piece of evidence, and it might not be much good on its own to get information, just opinion —it would only be good if you wanted an opinion of how people saw the event.
>
> *Right*.
> So you have to look at what context you're looking at the evidence in and what you want to find out from it. (Lee, 2005a, p. 56-57)

As Lee notes, this student demonstrates three forms of sophistication: awareness of the need to ask questions of sources, and that the value of a source is question-relative, and "signs of recognizing that we can ask questions... that... sources... were not meant to answer" (Lee, 2005a, p. 57).

Shemilt cites the following as an example that may be understood, with due caution, as instantiating a highly sophisticated approach to evidence (Shemilt, 1987, p. 57).

> *How would you try to find out what those motivations were?...*
> I'd think about the realistic possibilities – for example, for an invasion there's differences in ideas, natural resources... land...
>
> *How would you come to a decision when you seem to have a lot of 'realistic possibilities'?*
> I'd study the backgrounds of the countries and you'd trace over previous disputes and find out what they were in need of... (Shemilt, 1987, p. 57)

It looks as if this student models historians as *creating* claims by asking questions rather than as transcribing testimonial 'truths' and it looks as if this student models historians as interrogating claims (rather than witnesses) and developing situation models that enable questions to be answered (Wineburg, 1994, pp. 88-9).

Boix Mansilla (2005) provides a number of examples, such as the following, of students modelling historians as thinking evidentially rather than informatically or testimonially.

> Another good example is the American Revolution. Here you had these... mobs who were looting... And it appears that there is an implicit group... who were instigating the revolution... they do not come up but they seem to be there because there were... bonfires and drinking parties... that were sponsored by somebody... So then you have to look for them. You start identifying groups. (2005, p. 107).

This student clearly models historical knowing as the active and inferential process that Leinhardt and Young and Wineburg describe: enigmatic 'facts' (bonfires, looting) lead to a hypothesis (the "implicit group") and to purposive questioning.

Qualifications are necessary and some studies report ambivalent findings (VanSledright and Frankes 2000); nevertheless, it seems clear that curriculum and pedagogy can make a difference to student understandings of evidence. Shemilt reported "dramatic" differences between SCHP and non-SCHP students' conceptions of "how historical knowledge is based and founded" (1980, pp. 36-7 and 39); Boix Mansilla found "a strong association" between students' epistemological 'stances' and their backgrounds in science and in history respectively (2005, pp. 112-3); and Barton (2001) reported dramatic differences in the models of historical evidence held by American and Northern Irish elementary school students observing that

> settings in the US tend to constrict children's understanding of historical sources and their use as evidence, while in Northern Ireland they help to expand that understanding. (Barton, 2001)

Understanding Historical Accounts

Types of Claim and Types of Account

As a number of authors have argued, disciplined historical discourse is a matter of making, sustaining and challenging claims about the past (Coffin, 2006 and 2007; Grafton, 2003; Megill, 2007): understanding the value of historical source material entails understanding the kinds of claim that it can be used to support (Ashby 2005b; Lee, 2005a); understanding historical accounts entails understanding that accounts are of different kinds and have a logic, and that different types of account work in different ways (Lee, 2001 and 2004).

Accounts can be compared at a formal level in terms of generic 'tasks' that they aim to accomplish (Megill, 2007). Megill argues that all historical writing involves four tasks that are, at least in principle, analytically distinct (Megill, 2007, pp. 97-98) and that will have differing importance in accounts of different types. These tasks are summarized in Figure 3.

Figure 3 The four tasks of historical writing
(Based on Megill, 2007, pp. 96-98 and adapted from Chapman, 2009a, p. 35)

Task	Explanation
1. Description	Describing an aspect of historical reality – telling what was the case
2. Explanation	Explaining why a past event or phenomenon came to be
3. Evaluation	Attributing meaning and significance to aspects of the past
4. Argument / justification	Justifying descriptive or explanatory claims by supplying arguments to support them

Megill argues that these "tasks" correspond to distinct questions about the past – "*What* was the case?", "*Why* was it the case?", "What does all of this *mean* for us *now*?" and "How far can answers to these questions be evidentially *sustained*?"[25]

This typology no doubt has its limitations.[26] However, it does three important things:

- it draws attention to the fact that historians make claims of different kinds and thus raises questions about the role that kinds of claim play in different accounts;
- by distinguishing between tasks, the typology raises the question 'How are these different types of claim sustained?' and 'Are they sustained in the same way?'; and
- by categorising tasks into claims (tasks 1-3) and support for claims (task 4) the analysis focuses attention on questions such as 'What is claimed?' and 'How far are claims sustained?'

These points are highly consequential for thinking about student understandings. As Lee (2001) has shown, many students assume that historical accounts are made up of factual statements only and that assessing accounts amounts to assessing the facticity of their component statements. Accounts, however, *organize* factual statements in relation to questions and do so using concepts and criteria; furthermore, accounts organize their materials in different ways depending on the tasks that they are performing: all historical tasks involve concepts but concepts do different work in descriptions, explanations and evaluations (Cercadillo, 2001 and 2006; Lee 2001; McCullagh, 1984 and 2003).

To describe something is to deploy conceptual categories: thus, to describe an event as a 'battle', for example, is to deploy a concept, to define it in particular ways and to use this concept to organise factual propositions about the event; to explain why an event took place is to invoke and deploy theories about how the world works, about the entities that exist in it; and so on. The same observation applies to justification: to support a claim is also to reveal assumptions about how historical claims can be supported. Furthermore, to ask a question is to reveal assumptions about the kinds of question that historians should set out to ask.[27]

Paradigms and Paradigmatic Assumptions

What an account is, then, is relative to what it does. What it does, however, is also relative to the criteria and conceptualisations that an account deploys or presupposes.

The impossibility of simply passively mirroring some or all of the past without presuppositions has long been understood:

> Even the ordinary, the 'impartial' historiographer, who believes... that he maintains a simply receptive attitude; surrendering himself only to the data supplied... is by no means passive as regards the exercise of his thinking powers. He brings his categories with him, and sees... phenomena... exclusively through those media. (Hegel, 1956, p. 11)

Hegel overstates the case – historical knowing is a recursive and reflexive process and the encounter with the record can change 'categories' (Megill, 2007, pp. 86-88; Stanford, 1986 and 1997; Wineburg, 1991, p. 509) – the point stands, however, and is well made: there can be no perception without presupposition.

> No empirical activity is possible without a theory, or at least elaborate presuppositions behind it, even if these remain implicit... All historians have ideas already in their minds when they study primary materials – models of human behaviour, established chronologies, assumptions about responsibility, notions of identity and so on. Of course, some are convinced that they are simply gathering facts, looking at sources with a totally open mind and only recording what is there, yet they are simply wrong to believe this. (Jordanova, 2000, p. 63)

Historians' interpretive frameworks are frequently discussed in historiographic and history education literature[28] and have been systematically analysed by Fulbrook (2002, pp. 31-50) as "paradigms" and Leinhardt and Young's study of historians' readings of texts shows that readings are shaped as much by the "interpretive stance assumed" as by the use of source reading schemata (1996, p. 449).

Fulbrook defines a paradigm as "a world view" entailing " a particular set of assumptions about the nature of the world, a corresponding set of analytical concepts for describing the world, and a number of hypotheses purporting to explain how the world" works (Fulbrook, 2002, p. 31).

Fulbrook distinguishes between "theoretical" and "meta-theoretical" presuppositions: the former shape the logic of enquiry and answers to questions like: 'What questions are worth asking, about what data and at what level of analysis?' and 'What analytical tools should be used?'; the latter are commitments of a philosophical anthropological nature and reveal presuppositions about the nature of humanity and about knowledge (Fulbrook, 2002, pp. 34-5).

As Jordanova's comment indicates, everyone has a paradigm: there is no alternative. Explaining what people did, at Glastonbury or Agincourt, entails an ontology that answers questions like 'What is a person?', 'What motivations do persons typically have and is there a hierarchy amongst these?', 'What constitutes and preserves collectivities of people?', 'Do collectivities have emergent properties?' and so on.[29] Answers to such questions have consequences and illustrate the nexus between methods, methodologies and paradigms. If, for example, collectivities are thought of as prior to and determining the actions of individuals and if, let us say, language is held to have primacy, then language will have priority in the attempt to understand collective behaviour and accepting this view will have consequences for archive selection, data collection, analysis and interpretation.

The importance of paradigmatic frameworks in historical study cannot be overstated and is apparent in every sub-field of the discipline (Burke, 2001; Cannadine, (Ed.) 2002) from the history of ideas (Bevir, 1999; Tully, 1992) to the history of imperialism (Cain and Hopkins, 2001; Colley, 2002). Awareness of these issues is also necessary for understanding historiography at an advanced level: thus, for example, understanding the historiography of Nazism raises theoretical and metatheoretical questions about the merits of social scientific and high political approaches to the past in the form of the structuralist / intentionalist debate (Bauer, 2002; Kershaw, 1993; Layton, 2000) and understanding the historiography of Chartism means engaging with Marxist historiography and historiography influenced by the "linguistic turn" (Brown, 1998; Stedman Jones, 1984).[30]

Two points are worth stressing, given the fact that students often model differences in interpretation in terms of subjective distortion. Firstly, a paradigm is not an avoidable bias: there can be no interpretations without categories and assumptions. Secondly, theoretical and metatheoretcial questions can be rationally debated and historical controversies often turn on these issues as much as on substantive matters: conceptualisations of historical data are not simply subjective impositions but proposals that are interpersonally tested through disciplinary conversation.

Theoretical questions – such as the relative merits of 'microhistorical' and 'cliometric' approaches to the study of slavery – can be readily made accessible for students, as a recent report of teaching strategies adopted with 13-14 year old students suggests (Hammond, 2007). Metatheoretical debates, for example about the relative priority of material interests in shaping human action, raise questions that arise in students' everyday experience, about which they are likely to hold views and which they can be encouraged to debate.

Progression in the Understanding of Historical Accounts

Again, there is substantial evidence, drawn from studies in a number of countries, that suggests that history students can develop sophisticated understandings of historical accounts, that particular misconceptions are common in student thinking and that these misconceptions need to be challenged if students are to progress (Lee, 2001 and 2004).

Thinking about historical accounts is clearly closely related to thinking about evidence, since historical accounts are constructed using evidence and since

> research suggests that at the root of students' ideas about both concepts are some everyday preconceptions applicable (albeit in different ways) to both concepts (Lee and Shemilt, 2004, p. 26).

Lee and Shemilt propose a progression model of the development of student thinking about historical accounts and this model is outlined in Figure 4 below.[31]

Figure 4. Progression in ideas about accounts: outline
(Based on Lee and Shemilt, 2004, p. 30)

1	Accounts are just (given) stories
2	Accounts fail to be copies of a past we cannot witness
3	Accounts are accurate copies of the past, except for mistakes or gaps
4	Accounts may be distorted for ulterior motives
5	Accounts are organized from a personal viewpoint
6	Accounts must answer questions and fit criteria

The broad pattern of progression in the CHATA accounts data has been summarized as follows: over time, "a broad shift" is apparent

> in students' views of historians. From seeing historians as more or less passive story tellers, handing on ready-made stories or compiling and collating information, they move to thinking of historians as actively producing their stories, whether by distorting them for their own ends or legitimately selecting in response to a choice of theme (Lee, 1998, p. 31).

Underlying the model are the same oppositions that were key in the case of historical evidence in section 3.2 above: between experiential and inferential knowledge and between information and evidence (Lee, 2001; Lee and Shemilt, 2004; Shemilt, 1987); however, a further distinction, highlighted in the discussion of evidence but that is particularly consequential for the understanding of accounts, is the opposition between accounts as copies of the past that should be assessed in terms of adequacy of representation and accounts as theory like structures that should be assessed relative to their purposes, the questions they ask and the criteria and concepts that they presuppose.

Again, progression involves conceptual shifts (Lee and Shemilt, 2004, pp. 26-31). Firstly, a shift occurs between levels 2 and 3: students at level 2 think of accounts as varying because the touchstone of sound knowledge is experience and we cannot experience the past: at levels 1 and 2, therefore,

accounts are simply stories or guesses/matters of opinion without epistemological status. Secondly, a shift occurs between level 4 and 5: at levels 3 and 4 students think of the past as fixed, that the past only happened in one way and the 'evidence' (where it is available) ought, in principle, to allow us to identify this 'one way' which accounts should in principle be able to depict, even if, in practice, archival gaps or biases prevent 'the true picture' from emerging. At levels 5 and 6, by contrast, and just as was the case with evidence, students start to see that accounts vary as the questions that are asked about the past vary: at level 5 this is simply a subjective matter (people just happen to ask different questions, see different things as important and so on) whereas at level 6 account variation is a matter of necessity rather than subjective contingency and an expression of facts about accounts *per se*. In summary, for level 5 and 6 thinkers, histories are more like theories than stories.

The scale of variation in the sophistication of students' ideas can be scoped by contrasting the following two interview excerpts, the first from an SCHP evaluation interview, exploring general ideas about historical methodology and the second from a CHATA interview, exploring why there might be different accounts of when the Roman Empire ended.

> You can't do an experiment... You just has to guess....
> *How would you distinguish between two guesses...*
> You pick which one you like best... which is most interesting – or the one... for your (social) class. (Shemilt, 1987, p. 47)

> *Why are there different dates?*
> Because there is no definite way of telling when it ended. Some think it is when its city was captured or when it was first invaded or some other time.
>
> *How could you decide when the Empire ended?*
> By setting a fixed thing what happened for example when its capitals were taken, or when it was totally annihilated or something and then finding the date.
>
> *Could there be other possible times when the Empire ended?*
> Yes, because it depends on what you think ended it, whether it was the taking of Rome or Constantinople or when it was first invaded or some other time. (Lee, 2005, p39)

It is apparent in the first excerpt that this student operates at level 2 and thinks of history less as a form of knowledge than an expression of subjectivity. In the second extract, on the other hand, we have a clear example of level 6 criterial thinking and a perspective from which account variation is perfectly natural and follows from the very nature of accounts: there can be no date for the end of the Roman Empire without criteria to operationalise the concepts 'Roman', 'Empire' and 'end' and it very much looks as if this student perceives this question as at least in part a theoretical question – the kind of question you resolve by debating concepts rather than by counting 'truths'.

There is a significant research literature on accounts, much of it inspired by and methodologically close to the CHATA research. This literature is discussed below, in relation to students' ideas about explaining why different accounts may exist.[32] The literature provides support for the CHATA progression models across a range of age groups and contexts.

VanSledright and Afflerbach (2005) report a small scale and exploratory study involving eight 8 to 9 year old American elementary school students. The students were given a collection of documents relating to the same topic, two of which were accounts, and asked to come to a view on the causes of a rebellion. VanSledright and Afflerbach report that their findings were "generally consistent" with the CHATA models (2005, p. 15) and that these students were operating at a level that corresponded to level 4 on Figure 4.

Gago (2005) reports a study of 10- to13-year-old students in one Portuguese school: fifty-two students took part in pencil and paper assessments and a sample of ten students were interviewed. The students were asked to examine two parallel accounts with differing theme, tone and scale and to explain how there could "be different accounts in history" (2005, p. 86). Gago's findings are consistent with the CHATA progression model, with the majority of students reported as moving over time towards explanations for account variation that allow for legitimate activity by historians in shaping accounts, in the form of the expressions of opinion or historians' decisions (Gago, 2005, 92-4).

Hsiao (2005) reports a study of 13- to15-year-old Taiwanese students' preconceptions about accounts, in a context where a prescribed textbook "plays a fundamental role" (p. 54). As part of Hsiao's study,

ninety-four students, across the 13-15 age range, were asked to read variant textbook accounts of the same issue from different countries and to explain why the accounts differed. Overall, Hsiao found some support for CHATA models and some awareness of "basic notions regarding the procedures behind historical accounts" (p. 63): the largest category of explanation in the data set was "Author perspective", a category including both author "opinions and biases" and the selection of information (p. 60).

Barca (2005) reports a large-scale study conducted in two Portuguese schools, one strand of which involved one hundred and nineteen students across the 12-17 age range completing a pencil and paper task that involved competing accounts of reasons for the establishment of the Portuguese Maritime empire and in which students were asked to adjudicate between the accounts and justify their choices. Barca reports

> Some evidence of patterns running from an information-based mode... to a perspectival view... with intermediate levels of ideas tied to a naïve realism or skepticism, factorial aggregation... or a positivist... quest for consensus.... (p. 74)

Barca notes that "more complex ideas" emerged "at earlier ages in Britain than in Portugal" and points to differences in history curricula to account for this (Barca, 2005).

Cercadillo (2001 and 2006) reports a large-scale comparative study of understandings of significance in England and Spain: seventy two students in each country, in the 12 to 17 age range and from a range of schools, completed two pencil-and-paper tasks, each of which contained competing assessments of the significance of the same topic. Students were asked, amongst other things, to explain why these differing assessments might arise. A sample of students was also interviewed.

As Cercadillo notes, significance raises accounts issues with great clarity because judgments of significance are always relative to criteria of significance and a frame of reference (Cercadillo 2001, p. 120) and, as Lee et al. observe, judgments of significance vary across types of significance, by the subject with reference to whom the judgment is made, by theme and time scale and by question

(Lee et al. 2001, p. 201). Cercadillo proposes a grounded progression model that supports CHATA conclusions about accounts. A key issue in progression was student awareness that judgments of significance are relative to frames of reference and that criteria of significance are multiple and relative to different types of significance, such as causal and contemporary significance (2001, p. 140). Younger students tended to assess significance in contemporary terms (in other words, as fixed by the experience of people who experienced events). Cercadillo found differences by country with English students "reaching a higher order of ideas... at earlier ages" (2001, p. 140) although this gap narrowed for 16-17 year old students.

Boix Mansilla's study has already been described above in section 3.2. The students taking part in the study were provided with two accounts of aspects of the Holocaust covering variant time periods, focused on different actors and offering differing causal explanations. As has been noted, Boix Mansilla identified two broad stances amongst respondents: on the one hand a stance that is characterized as historically "objectivist" and on the other, a stance that might be characterized as 'contemporary constructivist'. Boix Mansilla's findings are consistent with CHATA models – the latter position is characterized, by a recognition that delimited questions entail selection, for example (2005, pp. 107-8). The "strong association" between students' 'stances' and their educational backgrounds has been noted above.

Chapman (2001) reported a case study of twelve 16-19 year old history students in one institution in which the students were asked to complete pencil and paper tasks relating to two competing accounts and, amongst other things, to explain why differing historical accounts were possible on the same issue. My findings were consistent with the CHATA progression model for accounts: a spectrum of explanations for variation was identified, ranging from explanation in terms of distortion and bias to explanation in terms of legitimate variation resulting from historians' assumptions. "Assumptions explanations" were more common in second-year responses (2001, pp. 45-55 and 68-69) and, in this case, all students studied historiography as part of their course. Chapman (2009c) reported a case study of twenty-four 16-19 year old history students in one institution in which the students were asked to complete three pencil-and-paper tasks over the course of an academic year relating, in each case, to two competing accounts and in which half the students were interviewed. Both the pencil-

and-paper and the interview tasks asked the students, amongst other things, to explain why differing historical accounts were possible. My findings were again consistent with the CHATA findings and it was apparent, in particular, that student responses could be differentiated in terms of the extent to which students understood accounts to be constructed on the basis of the questioning of evidence or in terms of the transcription of evidence, on a scissors and paste basis.

Barca (2001) reports a study of eighteen undergraduate Portuguese trainee history teachers in which the student teachers were provided with two historical accounts relating to the same incident and a report that both accounts drew upon. Students were asked to identify differences between the two accounts and to rank all three documents in terms of their validity as explanations. Barca reports findings consistent with the CHATA model: students drew on a range of ideas from an "information category", corresponding to the lower levels of the CHATA model where students treat differences as apparent only and as a function of how stories have been told, through to an "historical ground category" that Barca suggests "might approximate to the 'nature of accounts' level" (Barca, 2001). At this level students accepted different accounts as expressions of different perspectives and thus, perhaps, as constructed in the light of different criteria.

McDiarmid (1994) reports a small-scale interview based study of American trainee teachers before and after their completion of an historiography course. Sixteen students completed the course. The purpose of the study was to evaluate the impact of the course on students' understandings of history and history teaching. At the start of the course, when asked to account for variations in a set of accounts of the reconstruction, almost all students drew on the

> assumption that historians bring predetermined positions to the writing of... accounts...Bias can be traced back to the personal circumstances... of the historian" (McDiarmid, 1994, p. 170)

By the end of the course, McDiarmid reports that "at least three" students had moved away from this position (pp. 172-3).

Conclusions

This paper set out to model the conceptions that understanding historical accounts entails. It is clear that understanding historical accounts is a complex matter and one that depends upon developing a concept of evidence and an awareness that claims about the past depend upon questions, concepts and criteria as much as 'facts' or 'sources'.

Developing these understandings is no easy task and one that involves challenging everyday epistemological ideas. It has been suggested that it is critical in particular to develop understandings of both evidence and accounts that move students away from the notion that historians are simply storytellers telling it 'like it was' in a comprehensive way. Understanding both evidence and accounts involves understanding that meaning can only be made by asking questions and that historians offer reasoned answers to questions delimited by the focus that they have chosen to take and also by the concepts and criteria that frame their questions.

Consideration of history education research on student understandings of evidence and accounts provides support for two linked progression models and suggests key indicators of progression in the understanding of these two metahistorical concepts.[33] These models can be used, with some confidence, to provide a basis for practitioner thinking about the ideas that students bring to the task of understanding multiple historical accounts in the history classroom and to provide a basis for thinking about ways in which we might seek to challenge and develop students' historical understanding.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to develop practical pedagogic suggestions in detail, but it is appropriate to point to some ways in which students might be challenged and progression in understanding promoted.

As has been noted above, a key watershed in student progression in ideas about historical evidence relates to 'testimonial' notions about evidence – to the idea that we can best know the past by direct experience and that, where this is not available, historians must rely on witnesses to 'tell it like it was'

as they seek to reconstruct the past. It is apparent, for example, that the following 17-year-old student's explanation for variation in historians' accounts depends upon a 'testimonial' understanding of how historian's use evidence:

> Historians... weren't around at the time... and they are basing what they do know on sources that have been written by past people who were around at the time and it is very debatable... how reliable they are and whether it is totally true or not and a historian can easily misinterpret something that is false to be true... while the historian who... has the right view does not have the evidence because these people aren't around anymore (Chapman, 2009c, p. 174).

It is plausible to suggest that students who think in this way could be moved on in their thinking if asked to think about ways in which historians might construct warranted claims about the past on the basis of *non-testimonial* archival materials, or, to say the same thing in another way, on the basis of relics rather than reports (Chapman, 2006; Chapman 2007). Archaeological remains and the artefacts of material culture simply are and cannot themselves hold intentions to 'tell the truth' or 'to deceive'. When thinking about the conclusions that can and cannot be drawn on the basis of 'relics', therefore, students are likely to have to think about archives non-testimonially and, in Collingwood's terms, may be drawn to consider what a 'relic' might *mean* in relation to the questions that they are trying to answer.

As has been noted also, a key watershed in progression in student understanding about accounts relates to understanding the role that criteria play in the construction of historical accounts. In the example cited in section 4.3 above it is apparent that the student was aware that historians' conceptualisations of 'empire' (and of notions such as the 'end' of an empire) were highly consequential for the claims that they might advance about the past. A key pedagogic task, when teaching about accounts, is the development of students' awareness of criterial considerations of this nature and of the importance that conceptualisation plays in interpretation. Pedagogic approaches that get students to understand the role of concepts and to debate the definition of concepts are likely to have value in promoting such understandings. For example, in the case of debates on the relative roles played by 'terror' and 'consent' in Nazi Germany, a key question is clearly the definitions of terror and consent

and the identification of kinds of behaviour that we can count as examples of action motivated by fear or by consent. The following comments, from online discussions amongst English 17-19 year old students engaging with the interpretation of the behaviour of German citizens under Nazism clearly suggests that these students are aware that history is about argument and that there is a debate to be had about how 'facts' about the past can be conceptualised and understood.

> It is clear that the Nazis did exercise terror, although evidence would suggest that it was applied only where absolutely necessary with the consent of the people as it would not have been structurally possible without their approval... in some areas of Germany there were as few as 32,000 Gestapo to a population of millions; therefore without the denunciations from ordinary Germans around 80% of arrests by the Gestapo would not have been made ...
> (Chapman and Hibbert, 2009, p. 141)

> It is clear that the Nazi state operated under a system of terror, implemented from the start by Hitler... The oppressive nature of the police force within the Nazi state also led to a climate of fear ... While it could be argued that denunciations are an example of consent for the Nazi state, this is highly unlikely. Denunciations are clearly an example of the German people hiding from the Nazi authorities, it is likely that the average German person believed that by telling on neighbours around them, they themselves would be cleared of any suspicion and would not be arrested and sent to the concentration camps.
> (Chapman and Hibbert, 2009, p. 141)

There are good examples of pedagogic strategies that aim to focus students on concepts and on criteria in the literature, in particular in literature on developing students' understandings of historical significance (for example, Phillips, 2002 and Counsell, 2004). Strategies that aim to focus students on the logic of historians' arguments and on the assumptions that historians make are reported in Chapman (2006 and 2010).

Notes

1 For reservations about the appropriateness of the notion of 'perspective' in history education see Chapman (2010).

2 It is, perhaps, facile to talk of critical engagement with the past, in countries, such as England, where the past is generally speaking merely controversial rather than 'deadly serious'. The point stands, however, for all contexts: knowing history, rather than merely reciting 'stories about the past' always entails critically understanding representations of the past rather than learning, recalling or celebrating stories about the past. An illustration of the ways in which British history stories are controversial in England is a recent debate in the House of Commons (Hansard, 2009). There are, of course, parts of the United Kingdom in which British history has been deadly serious, rather than merely controversial, in the recent past (Kitson, 2007; Kitson and McCully, 2006) and arguments for a refunctioning of history as national-identity-story have frequently been expressed, for example, in the aftermath of recent acts of terrorism in the UK (Straw, 2007).

3 Important work that is not discussed here includes Maggioni, Alexander, and VanSledright (2004) and Maggioni and VanSledright (2009).

4 The arguments outlined here are developed further in Chapman (2011) and discussed in relation to case study data about 16-19 year old English students' understandings of historical evidence and accounts in Chapman (2001, 2009b and 2009c).

5 This point is well captured in L. P. Hartley's observation that "The past is a foreign country" (cited in Lowenthal, 1996, p.206). The cultural restriction of this observation acknowledges the possibility of anthropological universals (Mithen, 2008).

6 'Relics' and 'reports' (Bevir, 1999, pp.31-32; Shemilt, 1987) or 'sources' and 'traces' (Megill, 2007, p.25) refer to surviving fragments of the past "not made with the intention of revealing the past to us" and fragments "intended... to stand as an account of events" respectively (Megill, 2007, p.25). The distinction overlaps, but is not equivalent to, the distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' sources (Burrow, 2007, p.463).

7 Hopkins (1999) uses the conceit of time travel to demonstrate "the limitations of autopsy": even if it were possible to 'go back' one could only witness the witnessable and, in any case, one would do so anachronistically (p.43). Lowenthal (1996) makes the latter point in relation to contemporary attempts to reconstruct the past 'authentically' (p.210).

8 As both Bevir and Goldstein argue, it is possible to evaluate the respective merits of competing historical accounts in terms of the degree to which they succeed in explaining the evidence (Bevir, 1999; Goldstein, 1976 and 1996).

9 Knowledge-claims constructed indirectly and inferentially are not unique to history: as Harré shows, many forms of knowledge involve claims about entities that are posited to explain evidence that we can experience but that are themselves beyond direct experience: "molecules and their behaviour are works of the human imagination, representing, one hopes, real productive processes" (Harré, 2002, p.2).

10 Such entities are often only conceivable after the fact (Danto, 1985) and many are beyond direct experienceable as such - a point well made in Tolstoy's representations of battle in War and Peace (White, 2007).

11 Koselleck (2004); Ricoeur (1984, 1985, 1988, 2004 and 2006); Rüsen (2001 and 2005).

12 Awareness of historicity itself is a contingent historical development associated with nineteenth century European historicism (Iggers, 1997; Rossi, 2001). The extent to which it has a universal cultural application or is an expression "of the development of occidental cultures and societies" (Kölbl and Straub, 2001) is much debated (Guha, 2003; Lal, 2003; Rüsen, 2001; Rüsen (Ed.) 2000).

13 The importance of engaging with learners' preconceptions is well understood (Donovan et al. (Eds.) 1999 and Gardner, 2000, pp.253-60) and an approach to historical learning that builds on understanding preconceptions is developed in, for example, Lee (2005a).

14 This form of thinking is as much as an adult educational strategy as a form of student thinking (Barton and Levstick, 2004, pp.58-59) and Seixas and Clark found no examples of 'traditional' thinking in their study of Canadian students historical consciousness (2004), however, Kitson and McCully (2006, p.32) and Barton and Levstick (2004, p.51-4) report examples that demonstrate identity thinking in which students use "we" and other linguistic markers to assert past/present continuity.

15 As Lorenz notes, the relative importance accorded to processes of documentary interrogation and to processes of text composition has varied over time (Lorenz, 2001, p.6871 and p.6875). Innovative approaches to historical representation are discussed in Ferguson (2006), Fogu (2009), Harlan, (2007), Hopkins (1999), Kansteiner (2009) and Rejack (2007).

16 Even if one compiled 'everything' about 'everything' one would be very far from knowing everything about it: the consequences of the past continue to unfold in the present and the future changes the meaning of the past (Danto, 1985). Kennedy provides a useful discussion of ways in which the archive delimits questions that can be asked (2007, pp.12-30).

17 The extent to which a community of practice actually enables or constrains diversity and debate is, of course, open to debate (Jenkins, 1991, pp.24-31; Daddow, 2004).

18 Source criticism, as Lorenz also notes, is further distinguished into "internal" and "external" criticism – the former focusing on features of the text itself and the latter focused on relationships between the text in question and other materials (Lorenz, 2001, p.6871). There is more to be said than can be said here about this model of historical method (Iggers, 1997; Evans 1997). Von Ranke's conception of historical method also required comprehensiveness in reference to relevant documents and objectivity, for example. These requirements are complex and problematic in many ways (Novick, 1988) but can be coherently stated in post-positivist terms (Bevir, 1999). This characterization of 'method' also says little about composition, which White (1973) argues involves processes such as 'prefiguration' and 'emplotment'.

19 Discussed in "What we know about 'unknown unknowns'" (2007).

20 The distinction between 'what happened' and 'what was going on' is Shemilt's and is adapted to a new context here (Shemilt, 2000, p.95; Kelly, 2004, p.3).

21 Collingwood understands 'science' in the German sense here and expresses a commitment to "Wissenschaft" rather than to positivism (Evans, 1997, pp.73-74).

22 In Collingwood's "logic of question and answer" (Collingwood, 1939, pp.29-43; Gadamer, 2004, pp.363-371) the "meaning" and the "truth" of a proposition "must be relative to the question it answers" (Collingwood, 1939, p.33).

23 Ashby (2005a and 2005b), Barca (2002), Barton (2001 and 2008), Boix Mansilla (2001 and 2005), Kölbl and Straub (2001), Lee (2005a and 2005b), Lee and Shemilt (2003 and 2004), Limón (2002), Shemilt (1980 and 1987), van Drie and van Boxtel (2008) and VanSledright and Frankes (2000) exemplify or discuss this research.

24 Data collection for SCHP evaluation took place in 1973-76 (Shemilt, 1980, p.10). During the interview phase 167 15-year-old students were interviewed to explore their conceptions of historical method. Half the interviewees were and half were not project students (Shemilt, 1987, p.40). Project CHATA was funded by the ESRC and ran between 1991-1996 and focused on 7-14 year old students' metahistorical or second order ideas (for example about evidence, cause and accounts). A sample of 320 students across the age range completed a series of three pencil and paper tests focused on explanation and enquiry involving paired stories differing in theme, tone and time scale and 122 students were interviewed (Lee, 1997, pp. 25-6).

25 The first two questions are Megill's and third and fourth are my constructions based on interpretation of Megill's text. I have also adapted Megill's descriptions of the four tasks: what Megill calls 'interpretation' is described as 'evaluation' here (this change reflects the fact that 'interpretation' is used to denote the process of historical knowledge construction throughout this paper).

26 It is of course difficult to distinguish between these 'tasks' in practice: the distinctions are analytical and are offered as such (Megill, 2007, p.97-99). Similar distinctions have been advanced by Runciman (1983, pp.71-85) and by Coffin (2006).

27 These issues are the staple of historical debate as three recent reviews, in a generalist journal, show: Hobsbawm's (2009) review of a work by Overy turns on questioning of the kind of question that Overy asks; Duffy's (2009) review of a work by Thomas turns on objections to the conceptualisation of religion organizing the book's claims; and Siegelbaum's review of a work by Figes turns on objections to Figes' substantive and methodological presuppositions (Siegelbaum, 2008).

28 For example, Burke (2001, pp.2-8); Callinicos (1988 and 1995); Hexter (1972, pp.65-109); Limon (2002) and Yilmaz (2007).

29 Questions of this kind are addressed in Giddens (1984, pp.41-64) and Anderson (1980).

30 These topics mentioned here are typical of topics studied by 17-19 year old history students in England. A number of history education researchers have stressed the importance of a focus on methodological and historiographic dimensions of history in history education (for example, Limon, 2002 and Yilmaz, 2007), as has recent practitioner literature (Howells, 2005 and Hammond, 2007).

31 This model draws in particular on CHATA research on accounts reported in Lee (1997, 1998, 2001 and 2004) and Lee and Ashby (2000). The progression model reproduced here is substantially the same as that reported in Lee (2004). Although the SCHP evaluation did not focus on accounts as such, data on student ideas about "evidence and methodology" in history was collected and analysed (Shemilt, 1987).

32 Barca (2001 and 2005); Boix Mansilla (2005); Cercadillo (2001 and 2006); Chapman (2001); Gago (2005); Hsiao (2005); McDiarmid (1994); and VanSledright and Afflerbach (2005) exemplify or discuss this research. Other work (such as Seixas, 1993), that is not directly focused on explaining variations in written accounts, is not discussed here.

33 Although it is true that, with the exception of the CHATA and SHP research studies, much of the research discussed above is small scale in nature, consistency of findings across countries and contexts has been noted, giving some warrant to the conclusion that enduring general features of history novices' thinking about historical knowing are captured by these models.

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Why did They Treat Their Children Like This?: A Case Study of 9-12 year-old Greek Cypriot Students' Ideas of Historical Empathy

Lukas Perikleous

Why did They Treat Their Children Like This?: A Case Study of 9-12 year-old Greek Cypriot Students' Ideas of Historical Empathy

Abstract

This paper describes a case study exploration of Greek Cypriot primary students' ideas of historical empathy, which aimed to contribute to the existing understanding of students' ideas of the concept and also to explore, for the first time, an aspect of students' second-order understanding in history in the Greek Cypriot context.

Thirty-two students from a primary school in Cyprus completed two pencil-and-paper tasks which asked questions about two practices in the past: child labour in early 20th-century Cyprus and boys' education in ancient Sparta.

In general, data analysis suggests that the students in this study hold similar ideas of historical empathy to those identified by international research. There is, however, evidence which, while it does not overturn the findings of previous studies, suggests possible new ways of understanding students' ideas of historical empathy.

Based on the study's findings, this paper suggests possible ways in which students' preconceptions can be identified and addressed, in order for them to move to more powerful ideas which will help them in their attempts to make sense of people in the past.

Introduction

> Learning history is learning about particular passages of the past, but it is also acquiring historical ways of making sense of what is learned. Students have ideas about how the world works, including the past world, and teachers must know what kinds of ideas their students are working with, if they are to have any chance of changing them
>
> (Lee and Ashby, 2001: 47)

As in any other school subject, students come to history classes carrying their own ideas about the world and human behaviour (Lee, 2005). These ideas develop from a very young age (through their experiences inside and outside the classroom) and have a powerful effect on the integration of new

concepts and understandings (Bransford et al. 2000). Students' preconceptions 'can be helpful to history teachers but they can also create problems, because ideas that work well in the everyday world are not always applicable in the study of history' (Lee, 2005: 31). In the case of historical empathy the concept is obviously against students' everyday experience of the world, since they have to deal with people who lived in a different temporal and sometimes spatial context and had very different ideas, beliefs and aspirations. The idea that historical concepts are counter-intuitive led many authors (Lee, 2005; Lee and Shemilt, 2003; Wineburg, 2001) to argue for the importance of emphasizing the development of students' understanding of them. According to Branford et al. (2000) failing to identify and understand students' preconceptions may distort the historical knowledge we offer and students 'may fail to grasp the new concepts and information that are taught, or they may learn them for purposes of a test but revert to their preconceptions outside the classroom' (pp. 14-15). In this sense it is essential to be aware of our students' ideas, in order to be able to either build on them or overturn them so we can help them to move to more powerful ideas.

In the context of Greek Cypriot education, the field of history education is under-researched and students' ideas of historical empathy (and also every other second-order concept) remain unexplored. The limited amount of research conducted in Cyprus is mainly about textbooks and issues of identity formation (Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, 2009; Perikleous, 2010a). The only piece of research, by Skouros (1999), which explores conceptual understanding, is focused on students' knowledge of certain substantive concepts merely in terms of specific fixed content that students should know according to the subject's objectives. This is mainly

> Due to the lack of a committed community of history education experts and researchers and also the prevailing notion of history education as merely a means to convey substantive knowledge and promote ideals
>
> (Perikleous, 2010a: 320)

Having in mind all of the above, research into students' understanding of second-order concepts (in this case the one of historical empathy) is needed in order to inform discussions and consequently educational policy in the area of history education, in the Greek Cypriot educational system. Also, this

kind of research responds to the expressed need for 'more work across different cultures [which] may shed further light on the currency of similar sets of ideas [to those identified by other research projects], and their stability in different educational and social environments (Lee and Ashby, 2001: 45).

The study aimed to explore issues of historical understanding in terms of how Greek Cypriot primary students understand past social practices and institutions. In this sense it attempted to explore the following questions:

1. *What kinds of ideas of historical empathy are held by Greek Cypriot primary students?*
2. *Are there different patterns in Greek Cypriot primary students' ideas of historical empathy in different ages?*
3. *Is there a progression by age in Greek Cypriot primary students' ideas of historical empathy?*

The first question refers to mapping students' ideas when they are attempting to understand practices of the past. The study aimed to explore Greek Cypriot primary students' ideas of historical empathy and identify similarities and differences with regard to the ideas described by international research. The second question refers to the study's intention to investigate the differences in Greek Cypriot students' ideas of historical empathy in different ages. The third refers to the aim of investigating whether there is a progression in Greek Cypriot primary students' ideas of historical empathy by age, taking into consideration the fact that no special attention is given to the development of second-order understanding by the Greek Cypriot educational system.

Historical Empathy: A Highly Contested Concept

> Like any beautiful woman, the theory of 'empathetic reconstructions' excites the devotion of some and the censure of other
>
> (Shemilt, 1984: 39)

When historians attempt to interpret the past, they need to be able to understand its people. What happened in the past is the result of people's actions which were guided by certain ideas and beliefs. In this sense, understanding why people in the past acted the way they did, means that we need to understand their ideas and beliefs, the way they viewed their world and the historical context in which they lived. In the case of history education we cannot claim that we can develop our students' historical thinking without helping them to understand people in the past. Developing students' ideas of how to understand people in the past is a necessary condition in order for them to attempt to explore this 'foreign country' (Lowenthal, 1985).

In the UK this kind of understanding in history education was given the label *historical empathy* mainly due to its adoption by the School Council History 13- 16 Project (Lee and Ashby, 2001). According to Lee and Ashby (2001) the term historical empathy has the advantage of being 'short, and as an imported term, can to some extent be given an English meaning' (p. 21). It also carries the specific meaning of understanding other people which has been widely used in the area of caring professions and psychology (Foster, 2001). The latter does not mean that *empathy's* meaning is fixed and a matter of general consensus. The use of the term is not without misuses and misunderstandings, since people ascribe to it a great variety of meanings in both disciplines (psychology and history). In fact these terminological problems are part of the criticism against teaching the concept in schools.

Although in this paper the term *historical empathy* will be used to describe this kind of understanding, we should bear in mind that what is important is not the term we use but the specific content we assign to it. *Historical empathy* seems to be the most appropriate term available, but it is possible that a new term would be more appropriate. Identifying or introducing such a term, though, is not among the aims of this paper.

Historical empathy was one of the most contested aspects of history education in UK in the 20th century (Philips, 2002). Part of the debate about historical empathy was part of the wider clash between the Great Tradition and the New History approaches in the late 1980s during the discussions over the first National Curriculum in England and Wales (Foster, 1998; Philips, 1998; Dunn, 2000). According to Harris and Foreman- Peck (2004):

> Empathy was targeted for particular attack as being too complex, woolly, and, in Deuchar's phrase, 'generalized sentimentality' (1987, p.15). Teaching approaches such as role play and simulation were attacked for being poor teaching, supposedly allowing pupils' free reign to imagine themselves in the past, based on a spurious notion of making history relevant. As a result of such attacks, empathy disappeared from professional discourse.

In this climate, historical empathy did not make it to the first National Curriculum, although according to Lee and Ashby (2001) its central ideas were smuggled into schools through the *Knowledge and Understanding* attainment target.

Terminological issues are the source of some of the main arguments against the teaching of historical empathy. The first one has to do with the great variety of meaning given to the term 'empathy' which causes a great amount of confusion among educators (Foster, 2001; Knight, 1989; Lee and Ashby, 2001; Low- Beer, 1989). For Knight (1989) this confusion leads to two unwanted teaching approaches. The first is the identification of empathy with sympathy, which leads to teaching the 'exercise of mysterious powers, encouraged by exhortations to "feel" and "imagine"' (ibid.: 7). Low-Beer (1989) also questions the place of historical empathy in education, claiming that the concept 'belongs within the affective rather than the cognitive domain of knowledge' (Low-Beer, 1989: 8) and therefore it is problematic in terms of teaching and assessing. The second undesirable approach, according to Knight (1989), is the use of empathy as a way of producing mere descriptions instead of explanations of the past. For both Low-Beer (1989) and Knight (1989), the fact that empathy means different things to different people is one of the concept's main problems and a reason for not giving it a place in history education.

The above arguments are quite logical as long as someone agrees with the impossibility of providing a specific meaning for historical empathy and as long as they are not willing to depart from the idea

that historical empathy is about sharing feelings and sympathizing with people in the past. In fact there are many examples of teaching practices, textbooks and assessment tasks misusing empathy and transforming it from a way to understand people in the past to a game of imagination, a tool for merely summarizing information which describes a period or event, promoting social goals through the manipulation of students' feelings etc. These, though, are not examples of attempting to develop students understanding of historical empathy, but examples of misusing the concept. If we define the content of the term in a way which focuses on understanding the behaviour of people in the past 'based on the knowledge of their ideas [goals and beliefs] and the historical context in which they lived' (Perikleous, 2010b: 19), then we will be able to identify a concept which is worthwhile and can be taught in history education. The above sentence is obviously not enough to pinpoint the meaning of the term; therefore the content of the term (as it was perceived in the study and this paper) will be discussed in the next section.

A second category of objections against the teaching of historical empathy has to do with students' ability to empathize with people in the past. Harris and Foreman Peck (2004) claim that empathy was removed from the GCSE History syllabuses because of a belief that students' lacked the contextual knowledge, historical evidence and life experience needed to make sense of people in the past, and an associated belief that empathy was too difficult to teach. In fact, even the advocates of historical empathy in history education stress that the concept is a difficult one to be taught and developed, and that students' empathetic explanations will always be limited by the deficiencies mentioned above (Harris and Foreman- Peck, 2004; Lee and Ashby, 2001; Portal, 1983; Shemilt, 1984).

Despite the difficulties for students to exercise historical empathy, we should always bear in mind that teaching in history, as in all other subjects, is not an all-or-nothing situation. Our goal should be to help students develop more powerful ideas, and in this sense the aspiration of developing their understanding, even in the case of difficult concepts such as historical empathy, is a legitimate aim.

Finally, another kind of criticism about historical empathy is the postmodern one according to which there is no way to empathetically understand the people in past since we cannot have valid interpretations of our sources. The latter is, according to Jenkins and Birkley (1989), the effect of the

everlasting process of linguistic change, not just in terms of vocabulary and syntax but also in terms of meaning. Jenkins (1991) takes a more extreme position and claims that since the past is essentially the construct of historians, historical empathy is an effort to understand the historians rather than the people in the past. In other words, the past, according to this postmodern critique, is not empathetically retrievable.

Accepting the above point of view, though, means that one does not recognize history's role as a discipline of understanding the past and its people. We cannot deny, of course, that our present affects the way we see the past, that historians' accounts are affected by their own perspectives and that what we have available are re-constructions of the past and not a true copy of it. However, this does not mean that everything goes and that we cannot have arguments about the past that vary in validity. We can still attempt to understand people in the past, acknowledging that any conclusions are tentative and always subject to new evidence. In other words, while we may not accept the postmodern criticism, it can still be useful when thinking about historical empathy and its limitations.

What is and what is not Historical Empathy

As mentioned in the previous section, the meaning of historical empathy and consequently its place in education, is highly contested. In this sense it is necessary to attempt to define the content of the term, at least in the way this paper perceives it, before commenting on research into students' ideas of historical empathy.

Lee and Ashby (2001) claim that empathy 'requires hard thinking on the basis of evidence, but it is not a special kind of mental process' (p. 24). In this sense, empathy is the result (an achievement) of the effort to 'know what past agents thought, what goals they may have been seeking, and how they saw their situation, and can connect all this with what they did' (ibid.). This effort is not a special empathetic process, but a major feature of historical thinking in general. On the other hand, Yeager and Foster (2001) claim that historical empathy can be both a process and an outcome and quote Portal's claim (1987 cited in Yeager and Foster, 2001) that to exercise historical empathy 'it is necessary to establish what people thought was going on and how they saw their own range of options before any explanation of their motives has a chance of success' (p. 15). Perhaps we should agree at this

point with Yeager and Foster (2001) that the discussion on whether historical empathy is a process or an achievement is not necessary, since the most important thing is to define the process and the desirable outcome when trying to understand people in the past, rather than naming each part.

In order to avoid a great amount of the possible misuses of historical empathy, Foster (2001) suggests that a better understanding of historical empathy 'may be derived from an appreciation of what [it] is not' (p. 169). In this sense, we should make clear that first of all, historical empathy is not in any way 'a special faculty for getting into other people's minds' (Lee, 2005: 47) or identifying with them. After all, such an ability cannot be taught even if we accept its existence. Furthermore identifying with people in the past is in many cases undesirable, since many teachers do not want their students to identify with certain people. In addition, the idea of identification is incompatible with the study of history, since it ignores the notion of hindsight and the principle that historians are interpreting the past from their contemporary point of view (Foster, 2001).

Historical empathy is also not about sharing feelings or sympathizing. It would be unreasonable to try to share the feelings of people in the past, since we do not share their beliefs. We also cannot share their hopes or fears, since we already know if they came true or not (Lee and Ashby, 2001). We can also claim that we cannot even share our own feelings in the past. The claim is quite valid if we think of the countless situations in our life where we cannot feel the way we felt or understand why we felt in a certain way a few years, or even a few hours, before. Sympathizing is obviously undesirable in the case of history, since historical study should depend 'on a process of disciplined reasoning based upon available historical evidence. Unexamined emotional involvement with historical characters potentially endangers these important considerations' (Foster, 2001: 170).

'Imagination' can also be a misleading term when we discuss historical empathy, and its misuse often leads to unsophisticated approaches of asking students to imagine that they are in the place of historical persons, without paying any special attention to the knowledge (both substantive and disciplinary) which is needed to think about the past. As Lee (1984) claims, 'a good historian, it seems, must have imagination, and a mediocre one lacks it. Too much of it, however, and the result is not just a mediocre historian, but a downright bad one' (p. 85). While inference and speculation are parts

of historical empathy as a way to bridge the gaps in what is known, they are both based on our knowledge of historical context, evidence and the outcomes of the situation we study (Rogers, 1990 cited in Yeager and Foster, 2001).

Shemilt (1984) states four theoretical assumptions upon which the exercise of historical empathy rests. The first is that perspectives of the past are likely to be different from contemporary ones. In other words, we cannot expect people in the past to share the same ideas, beliefs and world views with the people today. The second is the sharing of a common humanity with the people in the past. We cannot claim to empathetically understand the past unless we are able to 'entertain purposes and beliefs held by the people in the past without accepting them' (Lee and Ashby, 2001:25). This means that we need to treat the goals, beliefs and values of people in the past as if we believe them. In this way we will start thinking what these people would reasonably do having these beliefs. The third assumption is the fact that our way of life is genetically connected to the way of life of the people in the past. This means that although we cannot experience this past way of life, our contemporary one is developmentally related to it. Hence empathetic explanations are not possible if we only focus on a specific behaviour and its historical context. Instead, an understanding of how this past way of life fits to a broader pattern of ideas, goals and beliefs which begins before the specific case and extends to the present is also essential. The last assumption stated by Shemilt is that people in the past behaved rationally. People in the past behaved rationally as we do today based, though, on their own beliefs and the way they perceived their situation. Thus, empathetic explanations should aim to identify rational and meaningful behaviours based on 'reasonably coherent and cohesive systems [of meaning]' (Shemilt, 1984: 48).

The exercise of historical empathy demands a deep understanding of the historical context, which in turns demands a solid base of substantive historical knowledge. Understanding historical context does not mean to discover it, since the past is not hidden somewhere waiting to be found; but to reconstruct it based on the available historical evidence (Wineburg, 2001) and also to use the benefit of hindsight to arrive at informed conclusions (Foster, 2001). Therefore, disciplinary knowledge (the logic and methods of the discipline of history) is also essential for historical empathy.

Historical empathy is also a disposition. While we should not and cannot share feelings with people in the past, at the same time we should acknowledge that people in the past had feelings and these feelings should be respected. If we 'treat people in the past as less than fully human and do not respond to those people's hopes and fears, ...[we]... have hardly begun to understand what is history about' (Lee, 2005: 47). Historical empathy is also a disposition of accepting that there are limits to our understanding of people in the past and acknowledging the distance between them and us (Wineburg, 2001). This does not mean the acceptance of the postmodern criticism (Jenkins, 1991; Jenkins and Birkley, 1989). It means that we should be aware of these limitations and the fact that any conclusions about people in the past are tentative and, often, not a matter of general agreement. Historians and even our students can disagree on their interpretations. Acceptance that there are different interpretations does not mean that everything goes and all perspectives are equally accepted or equally rejected. Each interpretation has to be assessed on the basis of the validity of its arguments.

Research on Students' Ideas of Historical Empathy

Research in historical empathy is part of a wider approach in history education research which investigates students' ideas of second-order disciplinary concepts such as historical accounts, evidence, causal explanations etc. Denis Shemilt's evaluation study of the School Council History Project 13-16 and the work of Alaric Dickinson, Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby in CHATA (Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches 7-14) project are the two more important pieces of research in the area (mostly due to the fact that they used relatively large samples and provided the most in-depth analyses of students' understandings of history to date). Other small-scale studies by Dickinson and Lee (1978), Dickinson and Lee (1984) and Lee and Ashby (1987) are also still influencing the way we approach research in historical empathy.

Research shows two main features which are present in students' ideas when trying to make sense of actions, institutions and practices in the past. The first is a tendency to interpret the past using their own ideas and beliefs about their present world. Wineburg (2001) claims that this is the natural way of thinking; a way of thinking which requires little effort. He calls this phenomenon 'presentism', which is the idea of a familiar past that is simple and speaks directly to us without the need for any

translation. Obviously, such an assumption underestimates the historicity of culture and the degree to which cultural matters are historically contingent and variable (Chapman, 2010). In this case the past is viewed as culturally homogenous with the present, but inhabited by people who were less smart/ rational or less moral than people today. The idea of a deficit past is present in almost every research study on students' thinking of historical empathy.[1] The deficit past is also evident in studies which investigate other aspects of students' historical thinking (Barton, 1996; Levstik, 2006, Barton, 2006). This flawed past is the result of a combination of students' inability to realize that people in the past saw the world differently (hence the actions of people in the past look strange) and their idea that people in the past did not have what we have in terms of technology, knowledge etc. (Lee and Ashby, 2001; Lee, 2005). According to Lee (2005), students' tendency to think of the past as a deficit one is also the result of how their families introduce them to the differences between the past and the present, and the prevailing ideas about progress. We can expand on this and claim that school in some cases also reinforces these ideas, since there are examples of curricula, textbooks and teaching practices which favour the idea of a present which is better than the past.

Another effect of 'presentism' in students' ideas is the assimilation of past actions, institutions and practices to modern, familiar and recognizable modern ones. Again there is a great amount of research evidence which demonstrates the above.[2] Students, in this case, seem to be unable to realize the difference between the present and the past in terms of beliefs and social conventions, hence they cannot interpret actions, practices and institutions in any other way than using what they already know from their own world. The deficit past is not absent here, since students usually assume that institutions in the past serve 'the same functions as our equivalent institutions, only badly' (Lee and Ashby, 1987: 69).

Finally, students' inability to depart from their own ideas and situation does not allow them to distinguish between the historian's and the historical agent's point of view and knowledge of the particular situation upon which the historical agents were acting (Ashby and Lee, 1987; Dickinson and Lee, 1978; Dulberg, 2001). This is expressed in students' attempts to explain the behaviour of people in the past by employing personal projections and ignoring the intentions of historical agents' and their knowledge of their situation.

The second major feature in students' ideas when trying to make sense of behaviours in the past is the lack of attention to the historical context in which the actions, institutions and practices are situated. Hence, they focus more on reasons of personal preferences and intentions of individuals when trying to give explanations and not their situation.[3] This is quite natural if we think that children's everyday experience of the world is one of personal intentions (e.g. Anna hit Christopher because she was angry about something he did). Students who move beyond individual's intentions, in many cases, use stereotypes to explain why people in the past did what they did.[4] Again, this can be explained by the way students experience the world, where usually additional information about the wider context which could explain people's behaviour beyond stereotypes is not available. What is unfortunate is the fact that in many cases this way of thinking is reinforced by education in general and history education specifically.[5]

We have to bear in mind that the students' ideas presented above are not natural in the sense that human beings are designed to see the past as inferior, or that stereotypes used to explain behaviour in the past are fixed by a natural disposition (e.g. we do not all think of kings as brave and righteous people). What seems to be natural is, according to Wineburg (2001), our tendency to use the easiest way of thinking and in the case of history, the easiest one is to see the past as another version of the present. The fact that this other version is usually a flawed one is, as already mentioned, due to the messages students receive from their experience (inside and outside the classroom). This phenomenon is not restricted in the case of history, since it is likely that students' difficulties in taking into consideration the different ideas and beliefs of other people also apply when they have to deal with the actions, practices and institutions in contemporary cultures with which they are not familiar.

But what happens when students have to deal with actions, institutions and practices which either seem better than ours (e.g. the supposedly harmonious way people in the past coexisted with nature) or belong to people or groups who are highly appreciated for their way of living and/or achievements (e.g. in the case of Greek Cypriot educational system, the education of young males in ancient Sparta)? In other words, is it possible for the deficit past to become the superior past when we ask students to explain situations such as those mentioned above? Lee and Ashby (2001) give us a clue about the issue when they say that fewer students in the CHATA project commented directly on the Romans'

stupidity (in comparison to their comments about the Saxons), and they explain the phenomenon as possibly being due to substantive ideas about Romans. The case of stereotypes is clearer, since they are by definition subjected to cultural context. The latter implies that students coming from different socio-cultural, and even ideological contexts, will interpret behaviours in the past in different ways since they may use different stereotypes.

In general, research shows that students' ideas vary in the degree to which they explain the past using their present ideas and beliefs and the degree to which they take historical context into consideration. The fact that the above is evident in a variety of studies which have been conducted in different educational and cultural contexts, using different research tools and with students of different ages, adds to the validity of claims regarding the existence of these ideas.

Few studies have compared students' ideas at different ages. The most important one is the CHATA project, which investigated the ideas of 412 students aged between 7 and 14 in England. The project's findings suggest a shift with age in students' ideas from everyday present conceptions to ideas which take values and beliefs of the past into consideration. They also showed that at any given age student's ideas differ widely and that some younger students have more sophisticated ideas than older ones. Finally, the least progression was observed in schools in which history was not a clearly identifiable subject in the curriculum.

From the above, it is clear that research suggests that there is a progression in students' ideas of historical empathy by age. According to Lee and Ashby (2000), though, this 'can give the misleading impression that all that needs to be said about progression is that it is age related' (p. 214). They also point out that there are cases of 8 and 10 year-old students who work with very sophisticated ideas and also that the CHATA project does not provide any evidence that students' ideas simply mature by age.

Shemilt's (1980) evaluation study of the School Council History Project 13-16 project showed that students who are taught in ways which explicitly aim to promote historical reasoning express more sophisticated ideas. The importance of teaching is also suggested by the CHATA project (Lee, Dickinson and Ashby, 2001; Lee and Ashby, 2000) and it is evident in studies on other second-order concepts

(Barca, 2005; Cercadillo, 2001; Hsaio, 2005; Barton; 2006). Having the above in mind, it is quite reasonable to claim that teaching also plays an important role in the progression of students' ideas. This also implies that in educational systems where the development of second-order disciplinary understanding is not receiving any special attention, progression might not be evident or as clear as in the CHATA project's findings for English students.[6]

Available information on the historical context also seem to affect students' ability to understand and explain behaviour in the past (Downey, 1995 cited in Yeager and Foster, 2001; Yeager and Doppen, 2001). In addition, Ashby and Lee (1987) point out that students work at higher levels with familiar content. This means that older students who possess more substantive knowledge are likely to respond in ways which suggest higher levels of historical empathy. The issue here is whether these differences between younger and older students will be equally identifiable when the content is equally unfamiliar. For example, will it be significant differences, according to age, when we ask students to explain a practice which is not familiar to them?

At the heart of this lies the question whether students progress by age in terms of historical empathy as a disposition, and the strategies they use to achieve it. In other words, are older students more inclined to look closer at the beliefs, ideas and values of people in the past when they realize that an action, institution or practice seems to be paradoxical and that their already held substantive knowledge cannot provide any assistance? Are older students more able to "entertain purposes and beliefs held by the people in the past without accepting them" (Lee and Ashby, 2001:25)? Are they more aware of the fact that understanding why people in the past acted the way they did, means that we need to also reconstruct the historical context in which these people were situated? Different studies showed that even teachers may claim that 'people in the past thought and behaved in exactly the same way as people today, and that only the setting was different' (Shemilt, 1980: 76), and take actions of agents in the past at face value or explain them using their ideas of their own contemporary world (Wineburg, 2001).

The Study

This was a qualitative exploratory case study of students' ideas of historical empathy, which followed the paradigm of earlier work investigating students' understanding of second-order concepts in history. More specifically, it was mainly influenced by the work on historical empathy undertaken as part of the CHATA project (Lee and Ashby, 2001; Lee, Dickinson and Ashby, 2001; Lee, Dickinson and Ashby, 1997) and also earlier small-scale studies (Ashby and Lee, 1987; Dickinson and Lee, 1978; Dickinson and Lee, 1984) and the evaluation study of School Council History 13- 16 Project (Shemilt, 1980). Other studies (Barca, 2005; Cercadillo, 2001; Chapman, 2009; Hsaio, 2005) and CHATA project's components (Lee, 2006; Lee and Ashby, 2000) on other aspects of students' second-order understanding were also valuable sources.

As in the case of many of the above, this study followed an approach related to grounded theory.[7] Grounded theory was selected because it offers 'general guidelines and rules of thumb to effective analysis' (Strauss, 1987: 1) in qualitative research which have been successfully adopted for more than forty years in a variety of disciplines. In addition, the existence of an already established research tradition of using this approach in the investigation of students' second-order understanding (including historical empathy) provided useful insights and paradigms of its use in this research field.

The Sample

The sample for this case study was drawn from an urban primary school in Nicosia, Cyprus. The students varied in terms of their socioeconomic backgrounds and academic levels. This is the case for most of the Greek Cypriot primary schools due to the country's small size and the system of admissions, which do not favour (in most of the cases) great diversity between schools.[8] In this sense the school was a relatively typical one in the Greek Cypriot primary education system (at least in terms of socioeconomic backgrounds and school performance).

Thirty-two students aged between 9 and 12 participated in the study. The sample consisted of three age groups in order to allow the investigation of the research questions regarding differences and progression in students' ideas according to age.

The selected age range of the sample covers the whole length of students' formal history education in Greek Cypriot primary schools, except Year 3 (8-9).[9] Research design for this study demanded to have a task which would be familiar to all students. Therefore Year 3 was avoided since students are taught about Ancient Sparta (the commonly familiar content) for the first time in Year 4. This was necessary since the content prescribed by the current history curriculum for Year 3 does not include another suitable topic for this specific study (a practice or institution related to the way children were treated in the past).

Data Generation Instruments and Procedure

Two pencil-and-paper tasks were designed for the study. Each student completed one task by answering open-ended questions about certain practices in the past which related to how children were treated either in Ancient Sparta or early 20th-century Cyprus.

Task 1 asked students to provide explanations about boys' education in Ancient Sparta, while Task 2 asked them about child labour in early 20th century Cyprus. Life in Ancient Sparta and Spartan education are very familiar topics for Greek Cypriot students; hence they were expected to posses a significant amount of substantive knowledge about it. On the other hand, although child labour in early 20th-century Cyprus is a topic much closer to students (in terms of both time and space), it is not being taught in history classes in Greek Cypriot primary schools, therefore students were not expected to have any substantial knowledge about it.[10] This contrast aimed to provide data for the investigation of the effect of content's familiarity on students' ideas.

Spartan education was also chosen because, in the Greek Cypriot educational context, the Spartan way of life is considered as a superior one and Ancient Spartans are highly appreciated for their habits and achievements. This was to investigate whether students still think in terms of a deficit past when they comment on people who are considered as 'great' having an exemplary way of life.

The common theme of childhood was chosen in order to provide comparable data which would be used to answer the question of whether there are differences in students' ideas between familiar and unfamiliar content, and whether students refer to a 'deficit' past when they have to deal with people in the past who are considered as admirable.

The tasks presented students with texts of equal length about the practices and their wider historical context. Students completed the tasks in their classrooms during a two-period school session (80 minutes). Questions were administered separately and students would get the next question after they had finished the previous one. This was done so that later questions would not affect students' answers to earlier ones. The written instructions provided with the tasks stressed that:

- the tasks were not testing their historical knowledge
- the questions were about their own ideas and explanations, and therefore the answers could not be found in the texts, as in a reading comprehension exercise
- the texts were very useful and meant to provide them with information about the practices
- they should answer each question as fully as possible and always explain their answer as fully as possible

The instructions were meant to help students feel more comfortable and avoid the creation of an examination climate. A comfortable non-examination environment would also prevent students, at least to a degree, from behaving as in a traditional examination where single definite answers strictly based on the written source are considered as academic excellence. They also aimed to prevent students providing simple descriptions of the practices using the provided texts as sources of explicit answers. Still, the importance of the texts was stressed in order to urge them to read them.

As already mentioned, each student answered only one of the two tasks. In order to achieve comparability between the responses to the two different tasks, students were paired according to age, performance in history, general school performance and reading comprehension ability and written expression ability. A second way to this end (comparability) was the use of common questions in both tasks, which asked about the possibility and the ways of knowing about people's thoughts and beliefs in the past without a reference to a specific context. The use of common questions was intended to help distinguish between differences in responses that were due to the different content, and differences that were due to students' general ideas regarding the ways of understanding the behaviour of people in the past.

Data Analysis

Students' responses were initially coded line-by-line in order to produce 'low-inference descriptive codes' (Chapman, 2009: 32) which represented students' ideas in their simplest forms (they could not be analysed more as combinations of simpler ideas). This was an 'unrestricted coding' (Strauss, 1987) process in which it was important to be open to whatever possibilities, ideas and hunches were deriving from the data and to avoid applying any prior ideas or preconceptions of them. This was necessary in order to allow ideas which had not described before (by earlier investigations) to emerge and not be distorted or ignored due to the researchers' preconceived ideas about students' reasoning.

After the production of initial codes, a 'focused coding' process (Charmaz, 2006) was used in order to produce categories which would be used to explore patterns in students' responses. These categories were produced by grouping initial codes which seemed to have a similar content, in terms of students' ideas of historical empathy. In many cases categories emerged by selecting the most frequent and significant of the initial codes to become categories under which more initial codes would be grouped. The categories produced by focused coding were then used to explore patterns in students' responses in order to answer the study's first research question.

In order to answer the question whether there are different patterns of ideas by age, students' responses in different ages were compared in terms of the categories under which they were coded.

To investigate the issue of progression in students' ideas by age, a 'theoretical coding' (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1978) process was applied in order to explore possible relationships between the categories developed in focus coding. More specifically, the aim here was to identify whether there was a relation of progress from less to more powerful ideas between these categories. Based on this process, a progression model was constructed and students' responses were categorized by level of progression.

Findings

Presentism was apparent in students' ideas on many occasions, re-confirming previous findings which placed emphasis on the fact that many students interpret the past in terms of their present world, failing to realize that people in the past had their own thoughts and beliefs. It seems that in this case too, students used the natural, effortless way of thinking and thought about past practices in the same way they think about their present world. In this sense, they attempted to explain the practices presented in the task texts by connecting them with intentions known from the present, blaming the deficit ideas of people's in the past and judging them negatively against the standards of today.

Many students referred to the situation (early 20th-century Cyprus or Ancient Sparta) when trying to make sense of the practices, albeit in terms of a restricting situation which actually imposed the practice. In the case of early 20th-century Cyprus, most of the students' references to the situation were about the fact that people in the past were poor so children had to work too. In the case of Ancient Sparta, they referred to a situation in which Sparta and the world in general were always at war. Although these references to the situation seemed to be attempts to explain the practices by thinking what life was like in the past, students' explanations were in terms of what it would be reasonable to do in this situation today, without any sign that they took into consideration the possibility that people in the past might have seen the situation differently. Also, the fact that some kind of situation which seemed to explain the practices was obvious and available for the students, might have contributed to the great number of responses referring to the historical context. It is possible that in the case of other practices where some kind of situation is not equally obvious, the same students will refer to it less frequently.

Most of the students did not attribute any agency to people in the past. Only a minority of them referred to the ideas of people in the past (deficit or just different ones) which explained the practices. Also, only a minority described people in the past as making choices within their situation. In most students' responses, people in the past had these practices either because they were forced by the situation, or to achieve goals immediately connected to the practice in terms of what would make sense today (work to earn money or train to get strong). It seems that students did not really attempt

to take the perspective of the historical agents and try to think in ways in which it was likely for these people to think. Instead, they usually explained past practices in a way that did not involve attempting to reconstruct the ideas, goals and beliefs behind practices or the wider historical context in which they took place.

The idea of a deficit past which was evident in almost all previous studies in students' ideas of historical empathy, but also in studies exploring other aspects of students' historical thinking, was also apparent in this study. In this study, though, students' responses referred much more often to the problematic situations and behaviours that would be inappropriate now, and less frequently to deficit ideas (less clever or less moral) held by people in the past. In other words, they made references which revealed a deficit past more in terms of situation (i.e. poverty, military confrontations) and less in terms of ideas. Also, students in the Spartan Education task referred to a deficit past less frequently than students in the Child Labour task. As mentioned earlier during the theoretical discussion, this might be due to the fact that traditionally in the Greek Cypriot educational system, the Ancient Spartans are treated in a positive way and their way of life is considered exemplary. As Lee and Ashby (2001) suggest, students' substantive knowledge of a group of people can affect the way they explain their practices. On the other hand, the Spartan past in students' responses is not explicitly a 'superior' one as was speculated at the beginning of the study. The possibility cannot be ruled out, though, and it would be interesting to explore students' ideas when presented with different practices in which 'negative' issues, such as the hardships of Spartan education, are not prominent.

Between the findings of the two tasks, there were differences in terms of different patterns of expressed ideas. For example, students in the Spartan Education task expressed ideas of intentions directly related to the practice (i.e. they trained them to get strong) more frequently than students in the Child Labour task. On the other hand, students in the Child Labour task expressed ideas in which the practice was explained by the situation which imposed it (people were poor, hence children had to work) much more frequently. This suggests that the content of each practice and students' substantive knowledge of it affected the way they thought about the practice. What seemed to have affected students' ideas was not familiarity, though, as suggested by previous studies, but the specific

substantive knowledge available to them. This does not mean that this study suggests that familiarity is not a factor. It merely means that this study failed to provide tasks with clearly different degree of familiarity; hence any relevant claims cannot be sustained.

The different questions asked also affected patterns of response. Students in some cases were expressing specific ideas with different frequency in each question. In other words, different questions received responses which expressed different ideas. This suggests that different questions possibly provoked the emergence of different ideas.

Differences in patterns of response by age were only evident in the case of the Spartan Education task. This suggests again that the substantive content and students' knowledge affected students' expressed ideas of historical empathy. Older students in the Spartan Education task were more committed than younger ones to specific explanations referring to the Spartans' focus on strengthening their boys and the military threats. This was possibly due to their substantive knowledge of Ancient Spartans as a group of people focused on being strong warriors, and also a general idea of a past full of wars. Both ideas have a prominent place in the content prescribed by the current history curriculum in Greek Cypriot primary education (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1996). In other words, it seems that the longer students stayed within the educational system, the more they expressed ideas which are conveyed by history teaching. On the other hand, in the case of Child Labour, which is absent from the current history curriculum, there were no substantial differences in patterns of response between the different year groups.

Previous studies claimed, or at least suggested, that education has a strong impact on students' ideas of second order concepts. Although this study, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, also suggests that the educational context might have affected students' responses, this seems to be due to the substantive knowledge provided by school, and not a genuine shift in students' second-order understanding. In other words, this study provides no evidence that for these students education was responsible for the development of more powerful ideas of historical empathy. This, of course, does not challenge the findings of previous studies which showed that teaching to develop second-order understanding help students to develop more powerful ideas. It suggests, though, that in the Greek

Cypriot educational system, history education does not develop students' ideas of the second-order concept of historical empathy.[11]

In order to explore the issue of progression in students' ideas, the study suggested a progression model based on the code categories identified during the coding process of students' responses. The hierarchy between the different levels was grounded on the theoretical assumptions regarding historical empathy, which were described earlier in this paper. The proposed model was meant to be used only for this case as a way to explore the issue of progression by age in this specific sample. No claims are being made here about general applicability of this model.

Figure 1. Proposed progression model of ideas of historical empathy regarding practices in the past

Level	Description
1	**Presentist Collective or Personal Intentions** Students explained practices in the past in terms of intentions directly related to similar behaviours (in terms of single actions and not practices) in the present. For example, people work to earn money and people train to get strong.
2	**Deficit Ideas** Students claimed that people in the past had specific practices due to deficit ideas. In this case people had the practices because they were not as clever as we are or had lower moral standards. For example, people did not understand the importance of education or people thought that it is ok to steal or kill. At this level, students attempted to provide an explanation beyond the mere assimilation to a present behaviour.
3	**Comparison to the Present** Students claimed that people in the past had practices which were wrong because they would not be acceptable today. For example, it is wrong to have children working or training for war. In some cases the practices were assimilated to contemporary ones. At this level, although students did not claim that people in the past were less clever or less moral, they still judged the practices in terms of the present.

Level	Description
4	**Restrictions due to the Situation** Students claimed that people in the past had specific practices forced by the situation in which they were. For example, children had to work because they were poor or children had to train because there were wars all the time. At this level, students did not claim that people in the past were deficient or that their practices were wrong. Their situation described, though, was usually a problematic one to which the present is superior.
5	**Choices due to the Situation** Students claimed that people had specific practices due to choices they made which were related to their situations. For example, children did not attend school because there was no law for compulsory education, or children trained because it would give them civil rights. At this level, students attributed agency to people in the past in a positive way for the first time.
6	**Different Ideas** Students claimed that people in the past had specific practices which can be explained with reference to their ideas. This was a breakthrough, since students moved beyond the situation and the comparisons with the present, and thought of people in the past as intelligent agents who had their own ideas which were different but not deficit.

The proposed model has substantial similarities with the progression models proposed by Dickinson and Lee (1978), Shemilt (1984), Ashby and Lee (1987) and Lee, Dickinson and Ashby (2001). It essentially describes a route from explanations for past practices based on present ideas and beliefs without any attention given to the historical context, to explanations for past practices which take into consideration the different perspectives of people in the past.

In the case of the Child Labour task, there was no evidence of progression by age, since the majority of students were using ideas up to the same level regardless of their age (**Restrictions due to the Situation**). In the case of the Spartan Education task, Year 6 students also seemed to reach this level, while younger students were constrained in lower ones. As will be explained below, students' ideas at this level are likely to be due to their substantive knowledge and not to a genuine progression in

their ideas of historical empathy. This is also probably the reason for students of all ages in Child Labour task operating generally at this level, which was higher than in the case of the Year 4 and 5 students in Spartan Education.

The majority of students in the Child Labour task (all age groups) and Year 6 students in Spartan Education frequently expressed ideas at the level of **Restrictions due to the Situation**. We have to point out, though, that this does not suggest that all these students have reached (or are close to) the level of attempting to provide empathetic explanations referring to the situational context. This phenomenon can possibly be explained by students' substantive knowledge which favoured references to certain situations in the past. The connection between poverty and child labour was both a logical and possibly familiar one for students in the Child Labour task, while the idea of a past in a permanent state of war (in the case of the students in Spartan Education task) is promoted through history education in the Greek Cypriot educational system. In other words, there is an issue here of whether these students expressed their ideas up to this level due to a genuine disposition of referring to the situation of people in the past, or due to the fact that the situation was the most obvious or available explanation. The latter seems to be more probable if we take into consideration the findings of the CHATA project (Lee and Ashby, 2001), where few students of these ages reached this level. A second important reason for arguing against students' having relatively advanced ideas of historical empathy is the Greek Cypriot educational system's lack of attention to the development of students' second-order understanding in history (Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, 2009; Perikleous, 2010a).

Conclusion

The first and probably most important issue raised by this study is the fact that students in history classes come with their own ideas about people in the past, and these ideas vary between them. Students' preconceptions are important and can either assist or obstruct the development of their historical understanding. The fact that the students in this study, as in the case of all the previous studies on students' ideas of second-order concepts, seem to hold a variety of misconceptions of historical empathy means that teachers have to find ways to help them to develop more powerful ideas.

Although these kind of studies suggest a range of possible misconceptions held by our students, there is no way to know the ideas of our students in a specific class in advance. It is therefore very important to apply teaching methods which will 'allow children to bring out their misconceptions and false assumptions, without fear of adverse reaction from peers or teachers' (Dickinson and Lee, 1978: 108). A traditional approach, where students are expected to provide definite answers which are based on their ability to remember what they were taught previously, or comprehend written or oral narratives, is not the way to bring their preconceptions out. Students must be given the opportunity to explore the past themselves and asked to express their own point of view about the behaviour of people in the past. When misconceptions are expressed, they should not become a target for correction by the teacher but a topic of discussion, in order to help students to move to more powerful ideas. In addition, this discussion and interaction in general should not be one between the teacher and the class or individual students, but one in which students also argue and interact with each other. Ashby and Lee (1987) claim that 'children often reach higher levels of understanding when arguing a problem among themselves' (p.86), provided, of course, that the teacher is prepared to act as a guide in this process, contributing to the discussion in constructive ways and avoiding early interventions that provide the 'correct' answers. The latter also means that the teacher is aware of the fact that (as shown by this study), the kinds of questions they ask can provoke or inhibit some kinds of ideas. In this sense, teachers' contributions should also be characterized by diversity in the ways that they provide guidance and stimulation to the discussion.

The phenomenon of presentism dominated students' ideas in this study too. History teaching should acknowledge this and help students realize that the past was different and its people were thinking differently. Foster (2001) and Seixas (1993) claim that empathy exercises work well in situations which are unfamiliar (and even seem puzzling or paradoxical) to students. This helps them to distinguish the historical period they study from the present in which they are, and also initiates curiosity (Foster, 2001). In addition, Seixas (1993) suggests that it might be easier for the students to understand historical distance when they encounter situations that do not seem similar to their own. Finally, Wineburg (2001) claims that the unfamiliar past (more distant in thought and social organization and time) allows us to realize our limitations in understanding it. The above claims show the importance of helping students to see the distance between their present and people in the past, not

as an obstacle but as a necessary condition, which should be taken into consideration when trying to make sense of the past. Of course, analogies with the present are always useful to help students understand some aspects of human behaviour in the past, but we should be careful not to end up assimilating actions, institutions and practices in the past to modern ones.

This study also reconfirmed students' tendency to interpret the past in deficit terms. Unfortunately, the idea of a deficit past, as mentioned earlier, is cultivated in many cases by the educational system itself. In this sense it is imperative not only to overturn this misconception through teaching, but also to review the available teaching material in order to remove references which promote this misconception. Lee and Ashby (2001) claim that the most serious mistake in this case is the use of a causal language which conveys the message that people in the past did things because they could not do what we do today. Hence, it is important to help students realize that people did what they did in the past due to what they knew and had, and not due to what they did not know and did not have compared to the present.

Students' substantive knowledge about the groups and their situation had a major impact on their ideas. This, and also the theoretical discussion regarding historical empathy in previous sections, indicate the importance of helping students develop their substantive knowledge in order to work with historical empathy. We should note here, though, that the suggestion is not about increasing students' factual and situational knowledge in a traditional monoperspectival way where situations and groups in the past are presented in simplistic terms. This kind of teaching, as claimed earlier, in some cases pushed students' ideas about Spartan Education towards simplistic explanations in terms of presentist intentions. In other cases, although history teaching moved their ideas to a level where the situation was taken into consideration, it is likely to constrain them at this level in the future. Instead, students should have the opportunity to work with a variety of sources and perspectives, and also be encouraged to search for their own evidence. In this process they must also be encouraged to ask critical questions of sources, and as the inquiry proceeds, to move to more sophisticated questions (Foster, 2001). It is clear here that there is a claim for developing students' disciplinary and substantive knowledge in general, so they are able to understand people in the past and their actions. We should also be cautious not to give too much information which students are not able to handle. The main

aim should be to encourage students to build upon their contextual understanding and be actively engaged in weaving the historical context, always having in mind their maturity, reading age and ability (Foster, 2001).

Primary students in this study expressed ideas which seem sophisticated, even though rarely and not consistently. This, and also similar findings from earlier studies, contribute to the claim that students in primary education can develop powerful ideas of historical empathy and that it is education's duty to pursuit this aim. It is therefore imperative for the Greek Cypriot educational system (in terms of curricula, teaching material and teaching practices) to recognize this, and put an emphasis on developing students' historical understanding in terms of historical empathy, and obviously in terms of other second-order concepts.

Teachers' ideas of historical empathy are also an important aspect of the issue of developing students' ideas. Research suggests that even teachers may have misconceptions of historical empathy (Shemilt, 1980; Wineburg, 2001). This means that the educational system's responsibility goes beyond students' education and includes teacher training too. In the case of the Greek Cypriot educational system this is more urgent, since the majority of primary education teachers do not have any substantial training in either history or history education (Perikleous, 2010b), and it is possible that misconceptions are present in their ideas too.

Case studies rarely make claims for general applications of their findings, and the case of this study is no different. Also, limitations that had to do with restrictions in terms of available time and words obviously set limitations. On the other hand, the fact that the sample of this case study was a typical one for primary Greek Cypriot education means that it is probable that similar ideas are present in other Cypriot students. And Gerring's (2007) claim about in-depth knowledge of one case being potentially more enlightening than lower-resolution knowledge of a larger number of cases is a valid one. Having these factors in mind, we can claim that although this study make no claims for general applicability or definite conclusions in relation to its findings, it can provide useful ideas and suggest possible directions for further research, both in Cyprus and internationally.

In closing, we should emphasize the fact that developing students' understanding of historical empathy is not an easy task. We cannot teach historical empathy (or move to more powerful ideas about it) with only a few classroom discussions and examples. We must return to these ideas again and again when appropriate, and with suitable materials. We must also be aware of the fact that we are not aiming to create mini-historians, and that 'developing students' understanding of history is worthwhile without implying any grandiose claims' (Lee, 2005: 40). Teaching concepts is not an all-or-nothing situation, but a process of continual development of more sophisticated ideas, which will help our students understand the past and its people and be able to use this understanding to make sense of their own world.

Notes

1. See Ashby and Lee (1987); Cooper (2007); Dickinson and Lee (1978); Dickinson and Lee (1984); Kourgiantakis (2005); Lee and Ashby (2001); Lee, Dickinson and Ashby (2001); Ribeiro (2002) cited in Barca (2004); Shemilt (1984).

2. See Ashby and Lee (1987); Cooper (2007); Dickinson and Lee (1978); Dickinson and Lee (1984); Lee and Ashby (2001); Lee, Dickinson and Ashby (2001); Ribeiro (2002) cited in Barca (2004); Shemilt (1984).

3. See Ashby and Lee (1987); Barton (2006); Bermudez and Jaramillo (2001); Dickinson and Lee (1978); Dickinson and Lee (1984); Lee, Dickinson and Ashby (2001); Lee and Ashby (2001); Shemilt (1984).

4. See Ashby and Lee (1987); Barton (2006); Bermudez and Jaramillo (2001); Brophy, VanSledright and Bredin (1992) cited in Barton (2006); Cooper (2007); Dickinson and Lee (1984); Lee, Dickinson and Ashby (2001); Lee and Ashby (2001); Shemilt (1984).

5. The traditional (in the case of the Greek Cypriot system but also in other ones worldwide) focus on historical personalities and their important actions, the presentation of groups as homogenous with no special attention to differences within them, is an example of such a problematic approach in history education.

6. The case of the Greek Cypriot educational system is an example of such a traditional approach, which does not aim towards the development of second-order understanding (Perikleous, 2010a).

7. See Charmaz (2006); Glaser and Strauss (1967); Glasser (1992); Strauss (1987).

8. Generally students in the Greek Cypriot primary education study at public schools. Each student attends a school according to geographical criteria. Most of the urban areas in Cyprus are populated by people from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds.

9. History is not a distinct subject for Year 1 and Year 2 in Greek Cypriot primary schools.

10. Although the 20th century is taught in Year 6, child labour or social history in general is completely absent from the history curriculum for primary education (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1996) and also from textbooks which are officially used for history teaching (Textbook Publishing Organization, 1997). History teaching about the 20th century in the Greek Cypriot educational system is focused mainly on political history.

11. History education in the Greek Cypriot educational system focuses on conveying substantive knowledge, and no attention is given to developing second-order understanding (Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, 2009; Perikleous, 2010a).

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‘Agency’ in Students’ Narratives of Canadian History

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Abstract

This study investigates students' ideas about individual and collective agency in Canadian history. In students''rough and ready' narratives of the national past, who are the actors responsible for historical change? A stratified sample of twenty four students was constructed, with Grade 11 students from five different programs in three demographically distinct schools. Students were asked to write 'the story of Canada from the beginning to the present', and given forty minutes to do so. The study identified four types of historical actors in the writing: individuals, nations, corporations, and other collectivities (such as Chinese immigrants). The narratives rarely expressed explicit intentionality on the part of any actors, with the notable exception of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, who is credited with trying to create Canada – and succeeding. The most frequently mentioned collective agents were generally the dominant groups (Canadians, Europeans, and the British). First Nations people and a wide variety of other more marginal actors appeared generally as those being dispossessed or dominated, and yet occasionally resisting. A number of theoretical and methodological challenges are identified.

> There is an issue that will loom on the horizon of Canada in the twenty-first century: that of the great collective narrative on which the vision of the country will be built – if indeed a vision of this country is thinkable and a narrative possible.
>
> Jocelyn Létourneau (2004, p. 65)

Introduction

Narrative has long been understood as central to the representation of history. Even as Lawrence Stone (1979) argued for 'the revival of narrative', there were those who argued that narrative had never been gone, even under the sway of the Annales school (see Ricoeur, 1984). If narrative is central to historiography, it is perhaps even more so in the study of historical consciousness: how people use the past to frame the present and envision a future. Jörn Rüsen (2004; 2005) has used the term 'narrative competence' to discuss people's ability to orient themselves temporally and morally in relation to the past and future.

Recognizing the centrality of narrative, a substantial body of research has investigated students' understanding by asking them to construct narrative accounts, either using prompts such as a series of photographs or information cards (Barton, 2001; Epstein, 1998; Hawkey, 2004), or with open-ended questions (Létourneau, 2001; Seixas, 1997; Wertsch, 2002). The strength of this research strategy lies in the potential analytical richness of the narrative itself. A historical narrative has beginnings, endings, agents (individual and collective), problems and plot lines (Cronon, 1992; Kermode, 1966). Implicitly or explicitly, it divides the past into elements of continuity and elements of change; it includes and excludes; and similarly, it conveys a moral orientation (Kolbl & Straub, 2001).

At the same time, having students generate historical accounts can only be one piece of the investigation of young people's 'picture of the past'. First, such accounts tell us little about their epistemological tools: what ideas they have about 'truth' when historical accounts conflict with each other. Second, no matter how open-ended the question or materials used as a prompt, the researcher is setting up the task, and the research interaction has a fundamental effect on the 'picture' that the student generates. Third, students' responses may not tell us much about the everyday uses they make of the narratives. Nevertheless, the students' narratives remain an important source for our understanding of their thinking (see Soysal & Schissler, 2005).

While our research, part of a larger project entitled 'Using the Past and Thinking Historically', will eventually confront all these limitations, in this report we confine ourselves to student narratives, with analysis focused on the powerful but problematic concept of agency. Agency is central in understanding the nature of any narrative account: it involves actors who have intentions, their actions, and the consequences of their actions, intended or unintended. These elements are set in the context of the larger structures, mentalités, conditions, and constraints beyond the actors themselves. Agency is the foundation of our ability to bring moral judgments to our understandings of the past. Conversely, the existence of moral judgments in accounts of the past may convey a sense of actors' responsibility for their actions.

Historians' handling of the concept of agency always has pedagogical implications. Thomas Carlyle's (1966) lectures, *On Heroes*, *Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, were reactionary, even when he

delivered them 150 years ago.[1] Working against Enlightenment historiographic trends that had been dominant at least since the French Revolution, Carlyle located historical agency not in any variant of 'the people', but in 'Great Men':

> ...as I take it, Universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modelers, patterns and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and embodiment, of Thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world.... (Carlyle, 1966, p. 1)

Carlyle makes clear the pedagogical implications for all those who are not among the small circle:

> We all love great men; love, venerate and bow down submissive before great men... Ah, does not every true man feel that he is himself made higher by doing reverence to what is really above him? (Carlyle, 1966, p. 15)

This conception of agency, removed from the people and invested in a few leaders, is thus bound explicitly to an anti-democratic historical pedagogy of submission.

To look for a counterpoint, one might examine the historiographic revolution begun in the late 1960s and 1970s, in large part, a revolution located around the treatment of agency. Historical writing was transformed by the project of bringing historically marginalized peoples into the purview of the discipline, not simply as those acted upon, but as active participants in their own right. Historians sought a way to understand the historical agency of relatively powerless groups, even as they operated within the constraints of their social and historical positions. In path-breaking works such as E.P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class* (1963), Eugene Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974) and Joan Scott's The Glassmakers of Carmaux (1974), those who had previously been thought of as *acted upon*, by virtue of class, race or gender, became historical actors in the new history. This approach to history has important implications for the pedagogical uses of history in the present: if ordinary people participated actively in making the world in the past, then too, ordinary people in the present have an important potential for effecting historical change.

By refusing a focus on the great leaders whose intentions and actions brought coherence to the picture of the past, however, these democratic moves make problematic the construction of larger historical narratives of development over time. The story can become fragmented and discontinuous, with agency exercised in small pockets, but no satisfying account of larger historical change (see Bliss, 1991; Granatstein, 1998). One response has been to locate agency in larger collectivities which become personified, and represented as if they acted collectively with uniform intentions. Peter Burke explains this move:

> As for collective entities – Germany, the Church, the Conservative Party, the People, and so on – the narrative historian is forced to choose between omitting them altogether or personifying them... Personification blurs distinctions between leaders and followers, and encourages literal-minded readers to assume the consensus of groups who were often in conflict. (Burke, 2001, p. 286)

Another problematic task is to remove human agency altogether as an explanatory element in historical change. When this happens, historical change comes to be understood as the result of processes quite removed from the intentions of human beings. These problems are exacerbated in history pedagogy (see Hallden, 1994). Our question, then, is how do students narrate Canadian history: who are the agents (if any) that make their histories go?

Our setting the task within a national framework – the narration of *Canadian* history – imposed a particular slant to the investigation. It is perhaps justified by the fact that Canadian history comprises the majority of the school history curriculum to which these students were exposed. Moreover, notwithstanding recent countervailing efforts, most historiography continues to be framed by the nation. On the other hand, we were wary of the degree to which the task itself constructed agency in relation to the nation. It almost guaranteed that students would articulate any notions of agency in relation to subnational identities (e.g., ethnic or gender) or transnational issues in a frame defined by the nation.

Methodology and Preliminary Analysis

In order to answer this question, we asked grade 11 students from three high schools in British Columbia to write the story of Canada 'from the beginning to the present' in 40 minutes. While it can be said that such an exercise does not give students an adequate opportunity to demonstrate what they know, it does provide some measure of their 'rough and ready', accessible knowledge that they might use to orient themselves in everyday life as Canadians with a past.

One of the schools, Countryside Secondary School, was located in a suburb where most students were born in Canada. Two schools were located in a large city, one, Westside, serving an upper middle-class neighbourhood and the other, Eastside, serving a working-class neighbourhood. Both urban schools were multicultural, with many students whose families came from Asia and elsewhere around the world. Westside was close to a native reserve, and had special classes for First Nations students from the reserve. It also had an elective Women's Studies option for Social Studies 11, generally chosen by particularly capable students. Of the total number of participants (N=158), we selected twenty-four students for this exploratory analysis. They were selected purposefully from the larger group, including three from the First Nations class and three from the Women's Studies class to ensure a range of ethnic and socio-economic characteristics. Table 1 shows the contrasts among the subsamples, which reflected their respective schools and programs.

Though it is hard to see it from the prescribed curriculum, the Grade 11 British Columbia Social Studies curriculum as taught, is generally divided into three sections, including one on Canadian history in the 20th century. At the time of the study, none of the classes had studied World War II, and some were just beginning the history portion of the course. The Countryside students had had a brief review from Confederation in 1867. The Grade 9 curriculum prescribes Europe and North America, 1500-1815. The Grade 10 course encompasses Canada 1815-1914.

An examination of one student's response to the task will help to clarify our approach to working across the entire sample. ES13 and her family had immigrated to Canada from Sri Lanka four years before the study. Her teacher identified her as a good student. Her narrative is not typical (indeed, it

Table 1: The sample by school

School	Total	Born in Canada (student)	Both parents born in Canada	English only at home	College or more education (one parent)
Eastside	6	2	0	0	2
Countryside	6	6	6	6	5
Westside	6	3	3	3	6
Westside FN[a]	3	3	2 (1 N/R)	2 (1 N/R)	1
Westside WS[b]	3	2	0	1	3

a Indicates students attending Westside School who were enrolled in a First Nations' class.
b Indicates students attending Westside School who were enrolled in a Women's Studies class.

would be hard to identify a typical narrative, given the variation), but it displays many of the elements that became interesting to us as we read across the sample:

> In 1867, Canada confederated but still was under the control by Britain. John A. Macdonald was the prime minister. He had a plan to build a railway across Canada. He had a 3 point plan. 1. economy 2. immigration 3. CPR. Because of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) the people who were in the red river settlement had to move. They made Chinese immigrants come to Canada and build the railway for cheaper wage. John A Macdonald was accused of stealing money and this is called the Pacific scandal. The native Canadians traded furs for equipments used to hunt bisons . When Europeans came to Canada they brought in many diseases, and they started killing the bisons for fun. Native Canadians use every inch of the bison and they relied on bison as their main food source. The depletion of bison made them move towards the west. Wilfred Laurier was the first French prime minister and many people liked him. In 1914 the assassination of the Archduke started of WWI and when Britain claimed war, Canada was automatically in the war. Prime minister Borden introduced conscription, and French in Quebec weren't happy with it. They felt that WWI was nothing to do with Canada so they didn't like the fact that Canada going to war as part of Britain. After the WWI in 1929, the stock market crash, which made many people lose

> jobs and made many people live in poverty. Following that was the Great Depression. By 1939 R.B. Bennett was the prime minister. He was a very rich man who had never experienced poverty. He started the relief camps for the unemployed and spent a lot of money helping the unemployed. He also sent money for the people who wrote letters to him explaining the situation. He was a good prime minister at that wrong time. After the depression Canada signed the agreement named NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), Canada lately signed an agreement called the Kyoto protocol for controlling pollution. Canada supported America by sending troops to Afghanistan. This is all I learned about the Canadian history for the past 4 years, since I came to Canada. Canadian history is very interesting to learn because when comparing present with the past it shows how much Canada has been improved.

While the task was seemingly specific, 'start at the beginning and go to the present', in fact, the choice of a 'beginning' does a lot to limit the possible actors and to shape the narrative. Beginning with Confederation omits a lot of what she studied over the last four years, but focuses what she studied most recently. Confederation as the 'beginning' of Canada is somewhat arbitrary, historically, yet it does provide the basis for the celebration of national origins in Canada Day, setting a political, not a geographic, definition to the nation. The gap between 1939 and the almost current events (1994 NAFTA) listed at the end further reflects the degree to which this narrative, like those of all the students, is shaped by the school curriculum.

All but one ('the Archduke') of the five named individuals are Canadian prime ministers. Macdonald and Bennett stand out for more elaboration of their activities. Macdonald, particularly, is unique in his having a 'plan'. This expression of intention stands out as a singular model (in this abbreviated narrative) of individual agency. We will see similar treatment of Macdonald as a pattern across the other students' essays. Bennett also has some intention, less explicit than Macdonald, in that he was 'helping the unemployed' by starting relief camps. The judgment that he 'was a good prime minister at that wrong time', suggests that he was responsible (one cannot be 'good' or 'bad' without having responsibility) as an agent, but that he was up against odds too great for him.

Though ES13 named more individuals than most, and they help to give structure to the narrative, they exist side by side with collectivities and entities that make significant historical change. Thus she starts, '...Canada confederated but still was under the control of Britain'. Like many students, ES13

casts nation-states as historical actors, bringing them back again in World War I. Corporations, like the Canadian Pacific Railroad, comprise other historical entities that students cast as actors. Finally, but most importantly, there are identifiable collectivities which comprise no formal entity: Chinese immigrants, Europeans, Native Canadians, and French Canadians, along with undifferentiated 'people' who respond to others' actions by liking them, not being happy, writing letters to them, and so on.

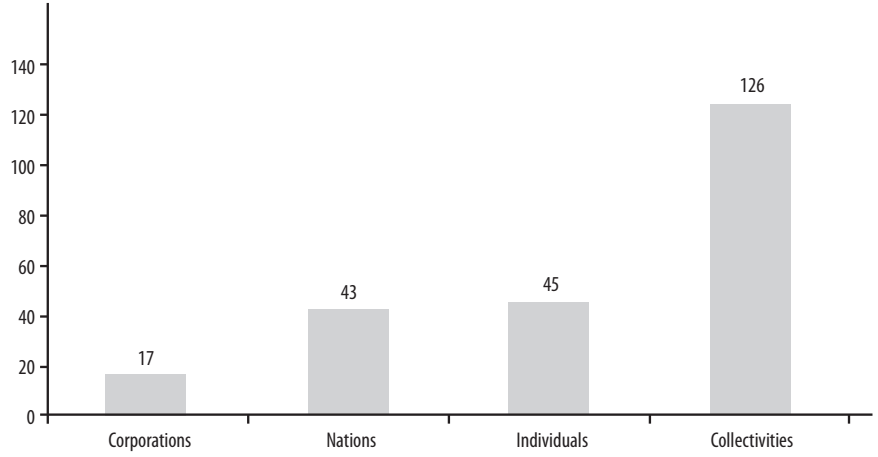
As in many of the other students' narratives, native people appear here as agents in respect to subsistence living, but then as somewhat passive victims of destruction at the hands of Europeans. This student uses a nominalism, 'the depletion of the bison' to explain what made Native Canadians move west. A nominalism surfaces again in 1929, when 'the stock market crash... made many people lose jobs....' Nominalisms, necessary as they are in the writing of history, beg the question, was someone or some collectivity responsible and if so, who? Our method of identifying human agents as 'what makes history go' meant that we sidestepped this important figure of historical writing across the sample of students' writing. Her treatment of the Chinese bears some resemblance to that of the Natives: 'They [unidentified] made Chinese immigrants come to Canada....' Here, the Chinese immigrants are objects of other people's agency: they did what they did because they were made to do so.

The final comments on the value of learning Canadian history, and the observation on 'how much Canada has been improved', provide a fine narrative closure, in the form of an evaluative judgment of the course of Canadian history: it has been a story of progress. Other proficient writers embellished their narratives with comparable flair, but since we had not asked for such observations, they were difficult to analyse across the sample, and, further, somewhat outside of the question of historical agency.

In analysing the data across the sample of students, we followed a dialectical approach in which we went back and forth between an a *priori* theoretical framework of agency (see Seixas, 2001) and 'a more grounded approach' which allowed us to develop codes as they emerged from the students' narratives (Weston et al., 2001, pp. 382-386). This enabled us both to develop codes that were informed by theory and to 'pursue several constructs that were explicit in the research questions' (Weston et

al., 2001, p. 386). Secondly, it kept the possibility alive that new and relevant codes could and would emerge from the data. Our units of analysis were 'utterances', a phrase or a sentence that included a mention of a historical agent, or a pronoun referring to one. Consecutive sentences with the same agent as the subject were coded as one utterance. The coded data were organized into four major types of actors: individuals, nations, corporate bodies (like the CPR), and collectivities (like Chinese immigrants) which were then examined in detail in order to fully understand how the students positioned various historical actors. The themes were also examined in light of the narrative(s) of Canadian history these students have encountered in school.

Figure 1: Number of utterances coded for agency



Individual Actors in Canadian History

John A. Macdonald

Of the twenty-four students in the sample, fifteen included individual agents in their 'Canada Narratives', and of these, twelve named John A. Macdonald. In fact, of the forty-five utterances coded as 'Agency – Individual', almost half (22) are about Macdonald. This, in and of itself, may not be noteworthy or surprising. However, the nature of many of the students' statements is worthy of closer examination, for most of the students who wrote about Macdonald accorded him a unique position in Canadian history.

Two significant themes are apparent in students' characterization of Macdonald. First, Macdonald is differentiated from all other individual actors named in the students' narratives in so far as he is the only actor described as having 'a vision'. Second, students make a strong connection between Macdonald's vision and the creation of Canada – the nation would not have developed into what we know today were it not for Macdonald's vision. Eight of the twelve students who named John A. Macdonald posit this two-fold notion, and employ words like *wanted*, *hoped*, *planned*, and phrases such as *he had a goal, vision or dream* to indicate Macdonald's intentionality and to locate him as the key individual responsible for building the nation. The essence of students' thinking is captured in the following examples, one from each school that participated in this study: 'John A. Macdonald, the first P.M. of Canada, had a vision to connect the whole [of] Canada by building a railway called [the] CPR' (WS77), 'John A. Macdonald was the prime minister. He had a plan to build a railway across Canada. He had a 3 point plan' (ES13), and 'So John A. Macdonald made up a plan to join a country together with a railway'. (CS5) Interestingly, six of the eight students who cast Macdonald as an actor with a vision attend the same school, Westside, and five of these are taught by the same teacher. It seems reasonable to conclude that, for at least some of these students, the teacher had a major influence on their perceptions of Macdonald's role in Canadian history. These examples indicate recognition by the students of the intentionality undergirding Macdonald's actions. Macdonald is the only person credited with having a national vision. What is interesting about these excerpts is the degree to which Macdonald is conceived as having a larger national project.

Our preliminary findings seem to contradict earlier research which found that students located the impetus for change in iconic individuals who saw something wrong within their society and decided to make a change (see den Heyer, 2003, pp. 417-426). Yes, Macdonald emerges as an iconic individual, but he is not *fixing* anything. Rather, he dreams about building a nation and sets forth to make his dream a reality. This is not a moral vision, as the students articulate it. Given the paucity of other named individual agents, it is interesting to note how active and formative Macdonald is seen in the development of the country. Whereas there are few other 'great men' in the students' narratives, Macdonald is positioned as the driving force of the nation.

Table 2: Agency coding – individual agents

Code/Category	No. of Utterances	No. of Students
Individua Agents	45	15
• Macdonald	22	12
• Misc. Agents	6	4
• Louis Riel	5	4
• Sifton	4	2
• Other PM's	4 (3 from one student)	2
• Anonymous	4	4

Other individual actors

Ten of the twenty four students name individual agents other than Macdonald. However, the remaining individual actors figure much less prominently in the students' Canada narratives. More important, the nature of the agency with which they are described is much different from the explicitly intention-laden agency ascribed to Macdonald.

Only two of twenty-four students named Clifford Sifton, and they were in the same class. He is portrayed as an agent with a very specific role: 'Clifford Sifton's job was to settle the West, and he did'. (CS6) This student's classmate wrote similarly: 'It was Clifford Sifton's job to settle the prairies. He came up with his campaign to settle the "Last Best West" with desirable immigrants'. (CS16)

Four students named Louis Riel in their narratives. All identified Riel as the leader of the Métis. They wrote of him as a direct and active leader, largely associated with military actions. Nevertheless, none provided an explicit statement of his intentions or his aims in the rebellions, nor were there explicit evaluative statements about a struggle for justice or inclusion. This neutral and descriptive comment exemplifies students' references to Riel: 'At this point Louis Riel was leading the first of his two rebellions in the red river Métis settlement'. (WS120) None of the First Nation's students included Riel in their narratives of Canadian history.

Four students refer to unnamed individuals in their narratives of Canada's past, and each one of these is a man with a very different role. One, 'a Canadian man in charge of building the CPR brought over many Chinese workers'. (CS6) Another student from the same class makes this claim about another anonymous actor: 'The Army was led by a Canadian leader for the first time'. (CS16) Then there is this account of the discovery (or creation?) of the nation: 'Canada was a bit of a mistake. It was found[ed] when someone decided it might be smart to go up instead of down'. (WS120) Finally, we have the account of 'one man' who 'risked his life to make a "SOS" call and he kept trying until someone picked up the signal'. (ES23) What the first three utterances have in common is that they are examples of Canadian firsts. The last excerpt is an indication, perhaps, of this student's familiarity with Historica's widely circulated vignette of the Halifax Explosion in the *Heritage Minutes* series.

Some students included other individual actors in their narratives. Two students made four passing references to prime ministers other than John A. Macdonald, and of these, three are from one student. Four students included individual agents that could not be incorporated into any of the other existing codes (6 utterances). In all ten of these utterances, the individual in question is associated with a very specific event but otherwise is not envisioned as a major player in Canada's past. They quickly disappear from the students' narratives once mentioned.

No women were identified as individual agents of change in any of the students' narratives of Canadian history. Perhaps this can be partly explained by the fact that, in many historical narratives (and particularly the ones students encounter in school) women have not been identified as having the same kinds of roles as men. Women are typically placed in textbook sidebars or set off from the main text in some other way and are thus disconnected from the major narrative of Canadian history. They have supporting roles but not starring ones, and are easily pushed off the screen altogether in a task framed as ours was. The fact that none included an individual woman as an agent in Canada's past is a echo of Tupper's (in press) encounter with a student who suggested that, 'had women been engaging in important historical activities, then surely they would have been included in the curriculum'. Notably, the narratives written by the students enrolled in the Women's Studies class were no different from the others in this respect.

The individual agents included in the students' narratives of Canadian history can be characterized in terms of a lopsided dichotomy: on the one hand there is Macdonald, the actor with a vision, who occupies a unique role in the students' narratives. On the other hand, there are the remaining fourteen actors (many of them only mentioned once), who, for these students, have only fleeting roles as agents in Canadian history. These agents either complete a specific job or are simply connected to a specific past event. Unlike Macdonald, these actors lack any explicit goal or ambition.

With the exception of Louis Riel, individual agents from outside of the dominant groups (i.e., Scottish or British and then Canadian leaders), were not prominent enough to achieve any place in the 40-minute narratives written by these students. We have to look beyond the individual actors, to collectivities, before other racial, ethnic and national groups appear significant in Canadian history.

Collectivities, Nations, and Corporations as Agents

Students designate notions of collective agency roughly in relation to the groups we might expect.[2] Canadians and the Canadian nation-state are the most common actors in our past, while the British, non-Anglo Europeans, and various immigrant groups are also central. Native peoples are understood as having been dominated in relation to Europeans, but are nevertheless identified as historical agents by more than a third of students. Only five students mentioned French Canadians at all, and three

were in the same class at Countryside. The location of the study in British Columbia and Canada's ongoing regionalism probably do much to explain this outcome. Less explicably, Americans (two students) and the United States (two students) were given only a passing role in the narratives.

Table 3: Agency coding – collective agents

Code/Category	No. of Utterances	No. of Students
Collective Agents	**126**	**24**
• Europeans	15	7
• Canadians	15	12
• Natives	14	9
• British	12	7
• Unnamed Agents	11	9
• Immigrants	10 (5 from one student)	5
• French	10 (8 from the same class)	5
• Settlers	10 (6 from one student)	4
• Asian	9	7
• Women	5	3
• Whites	4	3
• Americans	3	2
• Class	3	2
• Miscellaneous	3	3
• Blacks	2	2

Table 4: Agency coding – nations and corporations

Code/Category	No. of Utterances	No. of Students
Nations As Agents	**43**	**13**
• Canada	28	13
• Britain	11	4
• USA	2	2
• Misc. nations	2	2
Corporations as Agents	**17**	**7**
• HBC	7	6
• HBC & NWC	4	3
• NWC	3	3
• Misc. Corporations	3	3

Canadians and Canada

The role played by 'Canadians' and 'Canada' are sufficiently similar that we present them together (as we will with 'the British' and 'Britain' below). Students' utterances about Canadians and Canada can be grouped into three themes: nation-building, war, and domination. Their utterances are in some cases explicitly evaluative, in some cases strictly descriptive.

Twelve of the students in the sample (in a total of 15 utterances) mention Canadians as historical agents, while thirteen (in 28 utterances) mention Canada.

Table 5: Agency of Canada and Canadians (number of utterances)

Codes	Canada	Canadians	Total
Nation-building	12	1	13
War	7	5	12
Domination	0	4	4
Other (work, intergroup relations, leisure, governance, immigration)	9	5	14
Total	**28**	**15**	**43**

It is further possible to classify the utterances about Canada and Canadians in terms of approval or disapproval students express. Thus, the disapproving statement 'After WWII, Canada once again closed its doors to many impoverished Europeans' (WS55) is very different from the proud and approving judgment, 'At the battle of Vimy Ridge Canadian soldiers were the only ones able to capture Vimy Ridge'. (CS6) Most of the Canada/Canadian utterances (25 of 43) are written as neutral, descriptive matters of fact like this one: Canadians 'decided to form their own country starting with the confederation conference, and actually forming [the country] in 1867 [at] the Quebec conference'. (CS 24) Twelve of the 43 are positive and only six are negative or critical.

The positive utterances are distributed across a range of activities that Canada or Canadians undertook as agents, from 'Canada finally became a country' (WS37) to 'We invented basketball and hockey'. (ES23) In contrast, the negative statements are all concentrated around the treatment of immigrants, natives and minorities: 'Native culture... was not treated very well by the early Canadians....' (WS120)

While utterances having to do with Canada/Canadians at war were found in narratives from all schools, those that included an approving value judgment were limited to students from Countryside. This suggests that either the influence of the teacher or the demographic profile of Countryside (comprised of the children of parents born in Canada) played a significant part in how students came to express agency about Canadians and the Canadian nation-state. The research design does not permit us to say which.

One student (WS 55) wrote extensively about how Canadians and the Canadian nation-state acted to dominate immigrants. Her comments include a multivalenced moral assessment of Canada's immigration policies, with both approving and disapproving judgments. She begins: 'I feel highly connected to Canada and am quite proud of this connection'. Later, writing about the early 20th century, she notes: 'As Canada embraced various European settlers, it closed its doors to other nations'. And then again, regarding the period after WWII, she writes, 'Canada once again closed its doors to many impoverished Europeans'. She suggests, 'Canada has been racist in the past', but concludes, 'Canada has improved on its immigration policy, thus creating a multicultural country'. These remarks stand out for the explicit judgment of overall moral progress associated with Canada's policies, along with her moral judgments both positive and negative along the way.

The British and Great Britain

Table 6: Agency of the British and Great Britain (number of utterances)

Codes	Great Britain	British	Total
Domination	3	4	7
Immigration	1	6	7
Governance	4	0	4
Work	2	1	3
Intergroup relations	1	0	1
Nation-building	0	1	1
Total	**11**	**12**	**23**

One third of the sample, or eight students, mention 'the British'. Among these, most (eight of twelve) utterances refer to immigration or work. Five students write of 'Britain', addressing a range of acts, including: governance (four utterances), war (three utterances), domination over France (one

utterance) and French Canadians (two utterances), inter-governmental relations (one utterance), and immigration (one utterance). The degree of agency associated with Britain and the British stands out in these statements, because, while they immigrate, they remain 'the British' as they dominate within North America. In this way, Britain is notable in the narratives as the central external agent shaping Canada until WWI. Of the total of 23 utterances, only three have any evaluative dimension, and those are ambiguous at best. The descriptive neutrality of these utterances may indicate something of the distance that students feel from early Canadian history to which many of these statements refer.

Europeans and Natives

The way students associated agency with Europeans helps to frame our discussion of how they addressed Native agency. The term, 'European', operates in a binary mode to differentiate First Nations from those who came afterward. Students consistently speak of European agency in relation to aboriginal people, and in fact, all fifteen utterances which refer to Europeans as agents mention natives either in the same sentence or in one immediately before or after. Six utterances talk about European domination and its impact on Native lives with a strong evaluative dimension: 'As more European settlers and explorers came, smallpox was spread to Natives, killing many of them'. (WS 111) Three of these six are from aboriginal students (WS 11, WS 4). Other students offer less value-laden comments about domination and speak about mutual, inter-group relations between Europeans and Native people. In both cases, however, Europeans are conceived as acting *upon* First Nations.

Nine of the twenty-four students offer utterances about Native people as agents. Native agency is most often (five of fourteen utterances) seen in relation to their own subsistence: 'They used the land to the best of their ability, hunting for fish and making clothes out of beavers fur'. (CS 8) None of the students who express native agency in this way are of First Nations background. Expressions of domination and resistance to domination are also common (4 utterances), followed by participation in the fur trade (intergroup relations, 3 utterances), and natives as immigrants to North America (2 utterances).

Of particular interest are the First Nations students' own approaches to Native agency. WS4 begins

with an evocative setting of the stage:

- Canadian history started long before Columbus discovered Canada
- First Nations people were here long before
- Many people can not tell you how long First Nation people have been here fore
- When Columbus arrived he changed everything

Initially, our coding picked up only Columbus as an agent in this section, and he is clearly the agent who precipitates historical change; yet the fact of the presence of First Nations people, even in the face of hazy knowledge about their origins, sets up a significant claim of Native people to 'Canadian history'. After this, there is a story of destruction and devastation as a result of Europeans' activities: 'They brought over smallpox and other infections', and 'my language was almost lost'. In this narrative, domination is the overriding theme, and yet, through the use of the first person, domination is somewhat countered by the existential fact of survival. WS11 starts in the same way: 'I guess Canadian history started even before Canada was called Canada. This was when there were just aboriginal people here'. She then offers an ambivalent set of judgments, with Europeans exercising agency: they treated 'the native people very harsh, calling them savages and cheating them out of their land'. Yet, she also says, 'I guess if they didn't come here then Canada would not be the great country it is today'. WS14 starts Canadian history with 'the pioneers', but notes that they relied (again, using the first person) on 'us, the First Nations....'

> Then comes a story of domination:
>
> After the huge immigration in the 1800's many first Nation groups died down, or total disappeared due to smallpox then there was residential schools to assimilate first nations children into a white Canadian society.

Since historical change is formally expressed here in terms of impersonal forces – immigration, smallpox, and residential schools – and not individual or collective agents, our coding system did not pick up any agency in this passage. Yet the message of racial domination is clear. As if to illustrate the point of assimilation, aboriginal people are not mentioned again in the response of WS14.

The narratives written by First Nations students all focus on First Nations experience. They frequently express it in terms of domination at the hands of European agents, and yet a close reading, beyond our coded utterances, offers at least a glimpse of the expression of agency.

Asian Immigrants

National groupings are also key actors in students' conceptions of Canadian history. Seven (of twenty-four) students noted Asian immigrants as actors in their narratives. One of these included a reference to 'Indians living under the British Empire' but the remaining utterances all concern Chinese immigrant agency. Five of these students wrote that Chinese immigrants 'came [here] to work'. (CS 16) Five students also included an explicit value judgment about what happened to Chinese people upon arrival. One noted: '[T]he Chinese ... suffered greatly in Canada. Many Chinese came to Canada to begin better [lives] but the opposite happened'. (ES 1) Here we see both the active role of the immigrants with a purpose, and a relatively explicit value judgment. One student even refers to Chinese resistance against poor treatment. She wrote (historically, somewhat confused), 'Many Chinese rebelled in riots around Vancouver'. (CS 6) Chinese immigrants have a relatively active role in almost one third of the students' narratives. Other marginalized groups in Canadian history were often written about in a more passive mode.

Other Marginalized Groups

Women are clearly marginalized agents in student narratives, because of both their relative absence and because of their roles when they are mentioned. Of a total of 126 utterances coded for collective agents, women appear in only five (among three students). Three of those utterances are in relation to women's fashion, as in the response which includes, 'In the 1930s, women wore slim down dresses that were more revealing ....'. (ES14) The other two, from two students, in two different schools, introduce women during World War I, when 'women start labour jobs'. (WS14) In both cases, they followed these utterances with a passive expression of women being 'allowed the ability to vote', (ES 4) neglecting women's active struggle for suffrage.

Only two students commented on acts by Black people and in both instances the reference is to the movement of African American slaves to Canada via the Underground Railroad. One of the two expresses even this act of resistance without any explicit, active agency on the part of Blacks: 'there was a rush of escaped black slaves from the US coming to the colonies of Canada through the Underground Railroad. [t]hey were helped by many Canadians to get to freedom'. (WS 69)

Using our own notions of historical analysis, we searched almost in vain for references to working-class agency: only two utterances stood out, both of a general nature. The important point is the virtual absence of class from the narratives as a category of actors or as an analytic framework to help students understand history.

Conclusion

As with any conclusions drawn from empirical research, those which we are able to claim at the end of this exercise are laced with methodological questions and challenges. Our research design focused on students: the sample was drawn from four teachers' classes. While it is likely that the current history teacher had a strong role in shaping the narratives that students have at their disposal, we had very little way, in the end, to state conclusively the teacher effects on students' ideas. Secondly, while we were very interested in comparative analysis across demographic differences, the sample was designed only to be suggestive of these differences. The follow-up study should include sample design which enables a stronger comparative analysis. These limitations notwithstanding, the research highlights three issues in young people's understanding of agency in relation to the Canadian past.

First, while Canada and Canadians were prevalent as actors, many students narrated large sweeps of national history with descriptive neutrality. To some degree, this neutrality may be a product of the research task. Seeing this like an essay on a test, many students wrote as if they were being asked to spill out facts they had encountered. On the other hand, while students were not asked to provide an evaluative judgment or conclusion in relation to Canadian history, these sorts of statements provided a closure in a number of the narratives. Perhaps, given the task, the degree to which evaluative judgments inform their narratives is remarkable. If many students wrote in morally neutral terms about much of the past, many also used the exercise as a way of expressing a struggle toward a

meaning of the national project of which they are a part, by either birth or migration. Linking these narratives to questionnaire responses from the same students, where they were asked explicitly to identify areas of Canadian history of which they were respectively proud or ashamed, will further this analysis.

Second, we are left wondering why our participants seemed to have restricted agency associated with explicit *intentionality*, *desire*, or *vision* to Macdonald alone. Arguably, Louis Riel would have been a good candidate in regard to explicitly intentional agency. Perhaps that he was not written of in this manner reflects the narrative task as we articulated it. If the question we asked of students had been framed not around the story of Canada, but around the story of how individual and group rights were secured in the building of a multicultural nation, Riel may have figured differently. The point here, however, is the nature of Macdonald's historical agency. In contrast to Martin Luther King Jr.'s 'dream' or the vision of John F. Kennedy (among other iconic American individuals), Macdonald is neither associated with a moral mission, nor is his vision part of an Enlightenment project of defining rights or promoting moral progress. Rather, he is seen as a nineteenth century politician and nation-builder.

Finally, in regard to collective agency, while it seems clear that students use agency to delineate historical change in regard to fairly predictable actors, i.e., Canadians, Canada, Britain, the British, immigrants, it is also true that a wide range of actors is mentioned by students. In many cases the historical agency of such actors is addressed in a descriptive manner, or in a way that suggests a fairly conservative vision of how dominant groups and formal bodies have exercised power over marginalized peoples. And yet, as is apparent in the way First Nations students address and offer agency statements about relations between Europeans and native people, there is the glimmer of a challenge to the status quo. This challenge is not clearly articulated nor does it extend to other marginalized groups. But it is there in the way students articulate the existential fact of survival of aboriginal people.

Ideas about the agency of people from the past – conceptions of their hopes, dreams and intentions, their actions, and the intended and unintended consequences of their actions – have a bearing on young people's sense of the ways that they can participate – or not – in larger social projects of their own times. If the 40-minute narratives produced by our sample of 24 are somewhat thin, the challenge

for researchers is in part to find ways to stimulate the richest evocations of historical imagination that students are capable of. The challenge for teachers – always more fundamental and more difficult – is to help provide students with the intellectual resources to respond to tasks like these.

One of the greatest promises of history education is to provide students with understandings of historical change, the role of human agents in bringing it about, and the limitations imposed by conditions inherited from the past, by others with different intentions, and, indeed, by serendipity. Surely, people with a clear-headed view of how things have worked in the past are in a better position to walk as open-eyed and realistic historical agents towards the future.

Notes

1. Carlyle's position is not reactionary by virtue of advocacy of the respect for tradition: here agency is tied to Progress, just as it is in liberal understandings of historical change. This is not Edmund Burke speaking. It is reactionary, rather, in its restriction of historical significance to those who hold power.

2. Utterances have been divided into categories on the following bases. In regard to the categories for Canadians, Natives, British, French, and Americans, utterances were included in these codes if students used these or like terms (i.e., First Nations in the case of Native peoples) or referred to them in the third person (i.e., 'they' immediately following a reference to the British.) The same rule applied to the categories for Women, Whites, and Blacks. In the case of Europeans, quotations were included here if this term appeared in the utterance or was implied by third person usage. In one instance (WS 4), we included a statement under Europeans that referred to Columbus in the previous sentence and then went on in the next sentence to state: 'They brought over smallpox and other infectious diseases'. In the case of Settlers, this category was reserved for quotations that used this term or the term, pioneers and had to do specifically with subsistence living prior to the twentieth century. Although occasionally a tenuous distinction, the category, Immigrants, was used to designate utterances that include this term or speak explicitly of peoples (French, English, loyalists, explorers) engaged in acts of immigration. In the case of class, quotations referring to class groupings or to socio-economic status were included here. Finally, where agents were left un-named they were included in this category; while Miscellaneous was reserved for single references to agents.

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Historical Consciousness and Historical Learning: some results of my own empirical research

Bodo von Borries

Historical Consciousness and Historical Learning: some results of my own empirical research

Abstract

The theoretical basis of some complex notions (historical consciousness, historical learning) is explicated. The main section of the paper deals with empirical approaches to the investigation of didactical problems in history education. Four main methodological approaches are described and some results of work over the last thirty years summarized. 1. Qualitative case-studies (of the biographies of persons or the strategies of teaching) allow the reconstruction of contrasting types. 2. Quantitative questionnaire-studies are useful for constructing overviews and examinations of hypotheses (relations and causalities). 3. Intercultural studies (comparison of nations and/or minorities) promote not only mutual understanding but hint at a range of solutions to didactical problems in history education, to the width of cultural 'freedom and space of decision' that must be allowed when seeking or offering solutions to common problems. 4. Experimental studies complement and examine educational interventions; e.g. they can control for the effects of media, the role of school-textbooks in teaching and learning, variations in the ability of students to produce complex and coherent narratives, and the perceived relevance of the past to students' lives. Finally, a comment about the interdependence of theoretical and empirical work is made: Empirical approaches need preceding theoretical clarifications, and empirical results can falsify or verify – and thus promote – theoretical assumptions.

Theoretical Basis

Historical Consciousness

Historical consciousness is a theoretical concept with didactic consequences: it stands in strong opposition to the concept of historical knowledge/historical overview (in the sense of a 'compendium'). Historical consciousness is an anthropologically necessary mental phenomenon for dealing with narratives of change from past to present and their continuing relevance for the present. Formation of historical consciousness – not transmission of information about the 'past' itself – is the point and purpose of history teaching. Three *subdivisions* – or *dimensions* – of *historical consciousness* can be distinguished:

- Participation in historical culture (the culture of history).
- Formation of historical identity (self-definition in historical contexts).
- Development of historical competence (ability to think historically).

Thus, *historical consciousness* is not a perfected and permanently fixed learning outcome but an ongoing biographical purpose and process. It is a skill honed by numerous communicative encounters with historical narratives, cultures and arguments.

Types of Historical Learning

What is historical learning? First of all, as we have seen, it is a cumulative process of developing historical consciousness. It follows that students should not simply collect and store historical information; they must analyse, synthesize and evaluate it ('working through'). Second, at least four fundamentally different types of historical learning need to be distinguished.

Figure 1: Types of (historical) learning (Borries, 2008, 255f.)

Type of Learning (Psychological Theory)	General (Non-Historical) Examples	Specific Historical Examples (with reference to the case of colonialism)
Stimulus-Response, Memorising, Conditioning ('Behaviourism': Pavlov, Skinner)	Storing Information and Practising Reflexes (e.g. 'Memorisation of Vocabulary', 'Automation of Bodily Movements')	Storing Data, Names, Events and Terminology (e.g. 'List of British Colonies', 'Dates of De-Colonization'
Learning by Imitation, from Models (Reinforcement and Extinction by 'Social Learning': Bandura)	Performance by Adoption (e.g. 'Acquisition of Language', 'Imitation of Fashions')	Emulating Models (e.g. 'Enthusiasm for Colonial Heroes', 'Admiration of Anti-Colonial Freedom-Fighters')
Learning by Insight and Discovery, Restructuring (Cognitivism: Koehler, Piaget)	Solution of Problems (e.g. 'Trial and Error', 'Restructuring along Unconventional Lines')	Identifying Connections and Causal Links (e.g. 'System of the Great Triangular Trade', 'Mental and Cultural Consequences for Colonizers and Colonized')

Type of Learning (Psychological Theory)	General (Non-Historical) Examples	Specific Historical Examples (with reference to the case of colonialism)
Learning by Experience and Identity-Balancing *('Learning is Life, Life is Learning')* ('Humanistic Psychology': Rogers)	Storing Information and Practising Reflexes (e.g. 'Memorisation of Vocabulary', 'Automation of Bodily Movements')	Storing Data, Names, Events and Terminology (e.g. 'List of British Colonies', 'Dates of De-Colonization'

Frequent and Dangerous Misuses of Historical Learning

'Learning' is not always a correct, fruitful and positive process. There are examples or cases of false learning, of rejected or blocked learning and of pathological or parasitic learning about history.

- Many Serbs have *learned from* accounts of the Battle of the Kosovo Polje ('Kosovo Field' or 'Field of the Blackbird') in 1389 that Serbs have been sacrificial victims on the altar of European security and that Greater Serbia must become and remain a single state which includes all Serbs at any cost. Not only Croats, (Muslim) Bosniacs and Kosovars, but most other Europeans as well, fear the 'Greater Serbia' concept as a threat to peace. The historical learning that underpins this concept is dangerous and even pathological.

- Russian children, prior to 1991, were *taught* (and have *learned*) that in 1939 no 'secret additional protocol' existed to complete the 'Pact of Non-Attack' between Hitler and Stalin; therefore, for these children, no agreement about the partition of Eastern Central Europe and South-Eastern Europe had taken place. Instead, they were told that, if any incriminating documents existed, these were primitive forgeries by a Western Secret Service. Thus, Russian students have suffered from an erroneous, even 'falsified' learning process, victims of a conscious lie told by Russian governments for decades in order to legitimize state policies from 1939 until 1985, when the document was published from the Soviet Union's archives (and confirmed the previously released Western version).

- From 'human rights' it can be *learnt* easily that *ethnic cleansing* is strictly forbidden, just like genocide. But cynics in some countries (like Serbia, Sudan, and Ruanda) have also concluded that

there are exceptions to this rule, namely very quick and successful cleansings, the revocation or reversal of which can be morally more offensive, financially more expensive and politically more difficult than acceptance of and adjustment to the new situation. The *'normative power of facts'* is sometimes greater than the moral authority of justice and international agencies. This cynical *historical learning* process is, in fact, neither more nor less than a *refusal or denial of learning* from 'human rights'.

- After 1918/19 many people in Germany did not accept or recognize the simple truth that Germany had lost World War One. This illusion and refusal to recognize reality had a decisive impact on the success of National Socialism and drift towards World War Two. Thus a process of historical *unlearning* has contributed greatly to a catastrophe with many millions of dead.

In addition, it is quite obvious that learning history is not exclusively or predominantly a cognitive process, but also an emotional, moral, aesthetic, political, intuitive, imaginative and compulsive (even un-conscious) one. Although not in serious doubt, this is not taken into account in many history lessons. Even in scientific debates, the obvious fact that the learning of history is governed by a mix of factors is often forgotten and reduced to a set of alleged cognitive determinants (plus an unnoticed, unspoken and therefore methodologically uncontrolled remnant of not-only-cognitive factors). Any careful investigation or evaluation of historical learning requires that specific attention be given to non-cognitive – or not-only-cognitive – phenomena. This imperative holds for the practice of every-day teaching also. Reflective thinking is needed, and a change of perspectives is one way of bringing this about.

Types of Historical Orientation

According to a model proposed by Rüsen (1994), there are different logical patterns of relationship between past and present. This means that various types of conclusions about, or transfers from, the past and its implications for possible and optimal courses of behaviour in the future may be drawn. Rüsen's model may be thought to outline logical structures for *making sense* of history. Or, seen from a different perspective, it may be thought to list the ways in which *history can be used for present-day argumentation and decision-making*.

To illustrate Rüsen's model, I shall use the case of 'ethnic cleansing' mainly in Poland and Czechoslovakia after 1945, from where about twelve million German-speaking citizens were driven out (many of them former adherents of Hitler, but also many innocent ones). In Czechoslovakia (three million victims) this expulsion was called 'Odsun'. I need not say that Nazi-Germany had committed more serious crimes before 1945 and that this ethnic cleansing was backed by the international community. *But while the earlier occurrence of very serious crimes can perhaps explain the later occurrence of less serious crimes against innocents, it surely cannot legitimize them.*

Figure 2: Logical patterns in perceived relationships between past, present and future

Logical Pattern	Sense-making in Germany	Sense-Making in Czechia
Traditional sense-making (ongoing validity of a past decision or value)	e.g. 'They became the fourth tribe of the Bavarians'	e.g. 'Only since the *Odsun* are we Czechs the masters in our own house'
Exemplary sense-making (transfer of the general rule/ principle in the past case to similar cases in the present and future)	e.g. 'Legislation in Germany in favour of the 'expelled' helped them to integrate. This should be a model for the Palestinians'	e.g. 'Now in 2010 we should send away the gypsies like the Germans in 1945'
Critical sense-making (protest against an established historical interpretation and a dominant present-and-future-related conclusion)	e.g. 'The expelled refugees have not really been welcomed by the "natives" in the rest of Germany; they were often called Pollacks (Poles)'	e.g. 'The *Odsun* was a collective punishment: But collective punishments that include innocents, e.g. children, are against law and justice'
Genetic sense-making (continuity despite all change of institutions and rules, 'duration in alternation')	e.g. 'In fact, the cruel *Odsun* has made a big contribution to accelerating the mobilisation, and modernization of Germany'	e.g. 'In 1945 the *Odsun* was unavoidable though unfair. In the future, nations and borders must lose their absolute character: there must be "freedom of movement"'

The key point made in Figure 2 is the logic of the relationship between past, present and future, not its political tendency or its historical plausibility. Anti-humanitarian or un-intelligent conclusions may be consistent with the logical relationships outlined in the model. For instance, many other arguments

about the Odsun have been advanced, and it is not necessary for the reader to agree with any of the arguments in Figure 2 but only to understand how these arguments exemplify the logical patterns of 'historical orientation for the future' described in Rüsen's model.

Empirical Research

Historical consciousness – like historical learning – can be investigated empirically, although this is not frequently done. Even professors of the didactics of history often make use of ideas taken from theories of history or education, from moral norms or from everyday experience (even from personal prejudice on occasions). Use of a range of empirical methods to test and evaluate theoretically grounded and experientially justified ideas about history education has been my particular contribution for more than thirty years.

Qualitative Case-Studies: Reconstruction of Types

Cases can be school classes with their lessons, communication strategies and achievements or individuals with their learning profiles and biographies. Together with my co-workers, I have tried both. By analysing published text-protocols of history lessons and video-documented history lessons we found very different types of teaching history (now often called 'scripts of lessons'), thus partly assuring and partly detecting the types of learning mentioned above (Borries, 1984, 1985a/b, 2008; Körber, 2006).

Figure 3: Types of historical learning (Borries, 2008, p. 269)

	Merely Cognitive Processes	Cognitive, Emotional, Aesthetic and Moral Processes
Simple and Externally Controlled	Reproduction (Stimulus and Response)	Learning from Models and Imitation (Observation)
Complex and Self-Directed	Insight and Discovery (Cognitive Structures)	Balance of Identity (*'Learning is Living'* and vice versa)

Prior to the use of formal research designs, I began to analyse some hundred autobiographies and to interview children, juveniles and grown-ups. Autobiographies have the advantage that research processes do not influence the articulation of the probands' (test persons') historical consciousness (there is no 'effect of the method') (Borries 1988a/b, 1996). Nevertheless, interviews – and similar activities like stimulated recall or spontaneous writing – are also necessary since most people (normal people) never write long texts about their lives or their dealings with history (Borries, 1988, pp. 136-175, 2003, pp. 17ff., 2005, pp. 158-180, 2008, pp. 85ff., 2009a; Borries/Meyer-Hamme, 2005a, 2005b).

The status of historical references and allusions in autobiographies varies greatly. Some authors don't write about their access to history; they never mention the domain or culture of history. They seem to live completely 'without history'. In some interviews the same point is made explicitly. Questions as to whether history is being made here-and-now, whether they have experienced any history or whether history can impact on their own lives, are answered negatively by some young and adult interviewees. Apparently, they are alienated from historical thinking. But why is this so? As a short example, the answers of a 17 year old girl to questions about the relevance and methodology of history follow (Borries, 2009a):

> *I[Interviewer]. Does history have relevance for your own life? Q[Interviewee]. ... I don't think so. Since I myself am just not concerned with history. Right, if I now was forty years older, perhaps yes. Then it could be that I had lost my father or something like that, or brothers and sisters, in the war. But otherwise really not. (Borries, 2009a, p. 99)*

> *I. How does the historian, in your opinion, prove that his results are correct? Q. Hm. Well..., I cannot say that directly (embarrassed). Perhaps one knows round about in the time span, in which it has to lie round about. Since one has classified the time just anyway: Middle Ages, Baroque, and all that, and one knows round about, it has to lie in this and that time. (Borries, 2009a, p. 110)*

On the other hand, some autobiographies reveal details of reading about – and even more of imaginative engagement with – history from a very young age (sometimes before the age of five). Often, fictional and non-fictional histories are not clearly distinguished in the early years. But it is quite clear that history is very relevant for a minority of culturally eager and curious young people. Indeed, they orientate themselves within new social situations and in personal life by using scientific, aesthetic and fictional histories, mostly in the form of the 'exemplary mode' of sense-making.

If we look at the extent to which physical age corresponds with learning age, we can show that the correlation is far from perfect. (Peter Lee and his co-workers [1997, 1998, 2000, 2001] have found the same phenomenon in Great Britain). On two occasions I examined in some detail information about small numbers of individuals (Borries, 1988, pp. 151-168, 2005, 158-180). Both times, I found that sometimes a younger test person had a higher level of competence than some older ones (e.g. a boy of eleven clearly ahead of a boy of thirteen). But there were very different structures and combinations at similar competence levels as well (like a female university student of twenty-two with elaborate ideas about but little knowledge of the past, and a male student of twenty-five with good methodological competence who completely rejected the need to make sense of his data). School students of the same grade (in the same classroom) often show differences in learning age of some years. It is a naive illusion to trust or suggest that thirty pupils in the same classroom learn in identical ways or have similar learning outcomes.

Quantitative Questionnaire-Studies: Examination of Hypotheses

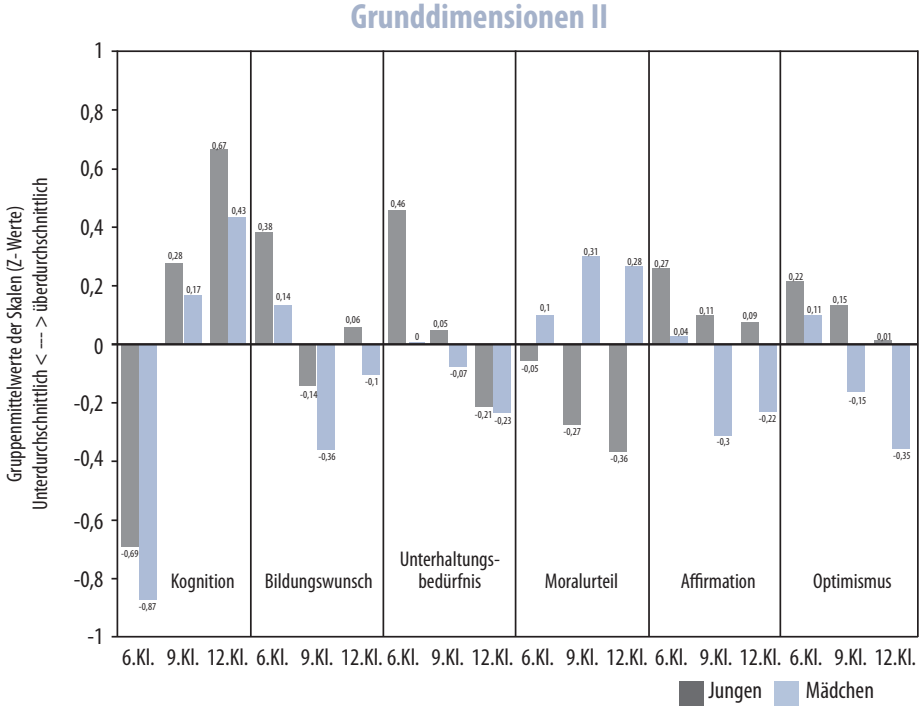
Quantitative studies (e.g. Borries et al., 1992, 1995, 1999) have been used in attempts to measure phenomena associated with historical consciousness and historical learning. Questionnaires are normally, but not necessarily, used for this purpose. More important is the question of what to measure, what to quantify. A theory and hypotheses about relevant variables and interactions are needed. Most studies are optimized for hypothesis testing rather than exploratory data analysis. Anyway, large scale surveys with representative samples can be used to describe and clarify group differences. I will only offer examples from and comments on a single study undertaken in 1992 (Borries et al., 1995). Of course, detailed conditions and mean values will have changed in the eighteen years since 1992; but structures of and relationships between variables are more significant and usually change very slowly.

In 1992, shortly after the fall of the Berlin wall, we compared historical learning in Eastern and Western Germany with representative samples from three regions (Northwest, South and East) and three age groups (around 12, 15 and 18 years). Most 'closed' items asked students to respond to supplied statements with a cross on a five step Likert-scale. Factors particular to the political and economic systems of the former GDR will not be discussed here. Surprisingly enough, except for some very specific questions, their impact was small and responses from all three regions were structurally

similar. This finding has been replicated elsewhere, even in the case of post-civil-war ethnic groups in Bosnia (Pilvi Torsti, 2003).

Instead of focusing on regional factors (and the previous communist system) here, I chose to investigate a rather strange and previously unknown field, i.e. the interrelation of gender effects (boys and girls) and age effects (sixth-graders, ninth-graders and twelfth-graders). The following calculations are based on second-order measures, scales and factor scores being used instead of raw Likert ratings. It follows that data are standardized, having no absolute mean values but being expressed in terms of standard deviations from summed overall means.

Figure 4: Basic dimensions of historical consciousness (Borries et al., 1995, p. 212)



First the basic dimensions are shown. The six bar charts of every column represent both genders (boys light, girls dark) and the three age groups (sixth-graders on the left, ninth-graders in the middle, twelfth-graders on the right). As expected, the cognitive effects of aging (in respect to knowledge of historical processes and reading ability) are uniformly positive, although much stronger for younger than for older pupils. A contrary finding would have been an unpleasant surprise! But the advantage of boys over girls – in all age groups – is somewhat problematic in view of the (internationally researched) generally higher reading scores of females. We can, however, show that the 'male' character of school history and of its traditional contents is the main reason for this effect.

The same gender effect, the slower progress made by girls in the allegedly male domain history, also obtains for another construct – the *'wish for the (school) subject history'* – which can be described as *cognitive in-school motivation* (second column). But, for this construct, the age group effect is highly variable. Motivation declines from the 6th to the 9th grade and does not recover completely until the 12th grade. This decline seems attributable not only to puberty but perhaps, more significantly, to the persistence of conventional methods of history teaching. The latter factor I call '*alienation* from history via history lessons'.

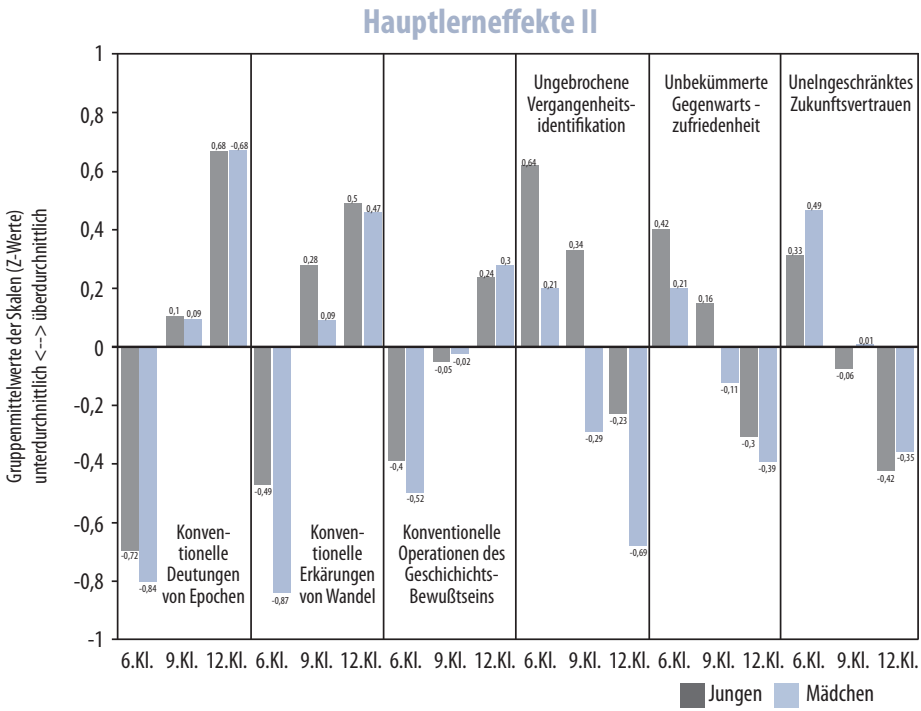
We are very proud to have measured reliably another historical interest variable, "*need for historical entertainment*". This may be described as 'adventurous, out-of-school motivation' (third column). Apparently, this declines a little from the sixth to the twelfth grade, mainly due to the boys' 'need for entertainment', a rather childish male characteristic. In this age phase, the general advantage in girls' development is about two years. In consequence, it is difficult to determine whether this strange phenomenon is a direct or indirect gender effect. Nevertheless, it has important implications for planning teaching processes.

Gender differences in '*moral judgment*' (more than half a standard deviation!) are even more important and relevant insofar as historical socialization (curriculum content and pedagogy) is nearly identical for boys and girls in Germany. Girls think in a more altruistic and universalist (group-altruistic) way, boys in more egoistic and ethnocentric (group-egoistic) ways. Girls have more pity with victims, boys more understanding for perpetrators. This is closely connected with a lot of historical cases and activities and therefore important in many contexts. We cannot be sure that gender differences in

'*moral judgement*' begin after the sixth grade only. Perhaps younger pupils did not understand questions sufficiently well for valid and reliable measures to be taken.

The last two columns will not be described in detail. But it is important to note that " affirmation' of personal and collective identities and "*optimism*" for ones own life shrink in the course of education and are expressed more vigorously by boys than by girls.

Figure 5: Main effects of historical learning (Borries et al., 1995, p. 225)



A second graph shows a more specialized effect of learning with apparent interactions between dimensions (Borries et al., 1995, p. 225). We found three constructs pertaining to conventional historical thinking (in the model of historical competencies – constructed ten years later [Schreiber/Körber et al., 2006; Körber et al., 2007] – we would call this 'conventional' also): 'conventional interpretations of epochs', *'conventional explanations of change' and 'conventional operations of historical consciousness'* (first three columns). Of course, positive age group effects obtain for all three constructs (one is more than 1.5 standard deviations), though effects are smaller in the case of 'operations' (less than 0.75 standard deviation).

The gender effect is not uniform, although the three constructs intercorrelate highly and can be combined to form a second order construct. While gender differences are strong in the case of *'explanations of change'* (perhaps girls do not like change?), for *'interpretation of epochs'* and 'operations of historical consciousness' they disappear or reverse over the course of time. As a result of socialization and aging, the lead of boys can no longer be detected in this deep structure construct.

There are three additional constructs. Two of the three (fifth and sixth columns) – *'unconcerned contentedness with the present'* and '*unrestricted trust in the future*' – are not measured very reliably. As expected, scores on these constructs diminish as pupils mature with age and learn with socialisation. What could not have been anticipated, however, is that boys tend to persist in acceptance of the present and girls to trust in the future until older ages.

The third additional construct – *'unbroken identification with the past'* – is both more important and measured more reliably. It is defined as *self-evident acceptance of violent facts and naive internalization of dubious traditions*. This construct – at least in Germany today – registers an unwelcome disposition, and one which history education tends to extinguish ('forgetting', 'unlearning'). The negative age effect (nearly one standard deviation for each gender) is impressive, but there is also a gender difference in all three ages of about half a standard deviation in favour of girls. Apparently, this is a consequence of the higher incidence of 'altruistic' moral values amongst girls. On the other hand, 'empathy' – as distinguished from 'identification' – with former actors and perpetrators is more common amongst boys. This is consistent with observations to the effect that the higher moral values

held by girls are sometimes offset by a small cognitive delay in the development of their 'historical understanding'.

It is hoped that what may be learned from quantitative studies has been demonstrated by the examples given above. If awareness is raised by these and other ('qualitative') studies, and if debate is as open as it is in the USA (but perhaps not in Cyprus), *gender effects and differences* in history and history education may be discussed at greater length. But without further quantitative studies most statements will remain theoretical suppositions untested against empirical evidence. Higher order analyses of and theoretical hypotheses about, for instance, causal relationships obtaining amongst gender, age and psychological variables can only proceed on a safe basis if intelligent use is made of quantitative data.

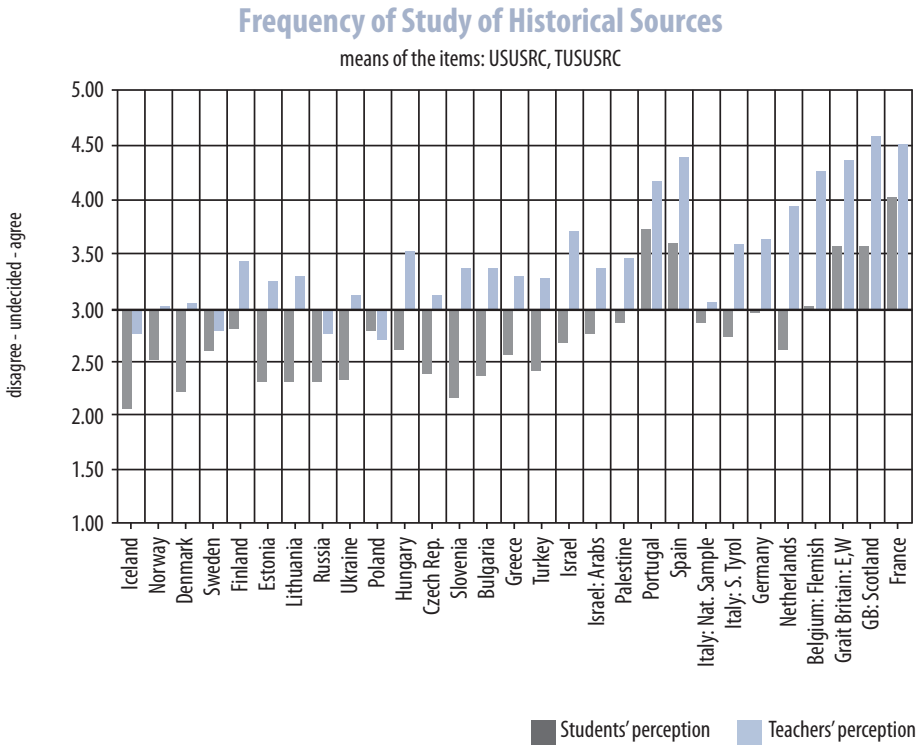
It must be admitted, however, that quantitative studies have methodological weaknesses and costs as well as benefits. They are often somewhat reductionist – or very reductionist – in their questions and theories. It follows that a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, materials and perspectives is preferable to 'silver bullet' and 'one-size-fits-all' approaches. This can be done by means of two-step and three-step studies or through the triangulation of methods and findings from an incremental series of follow-up studies.

Inter-cultural Studies: Comparison of Nations and Minorities

Are cultures of history and methods of teaching identical in different nations and societies? Of course, we suspect that they are not. But how can we identify and measure differences, if there are such? After the end of the Cold War, and following a small pilot-study (Borries et al., 1994), a European project, 'Youth and History', was carried out in 27 countries with 30 sample groups in 1995. Altogether, more than 31,500 students (*ninth grade, about fifteen years*) and over 1,250 of their history teachers were questioned against a standard set of more than 200 questions in 25 languages (see Angvik/Borries, 1997; Van der Leeuw-Roord, 1998; Borries et al., 1999). The common project language was English, but the questionnaires were translated to and retranslated – as a control mechanism – from 25 school languages.

As a rule, participants rated statements (closed questions) on a five point Likert-scale from 'totally disagree' (1) to 'totally agree' (5). Mean scores below 3.0 indicated a rejection tendency; those above 3.00 (or rather, means above 3.25, since there is evidence of positive response style, a slight bias towards agreement with statements) indicated an acceptance tendency. Again, we have to keep in mind that the data is 15 years old. Some details have changed since 1995, but it is more likely than not that the deep structure has remained stable.

Figure 6: Frequency of study of historical '(primary) sources' in students' and teachers' perceptions (Borries et al., 1999, p. 89)

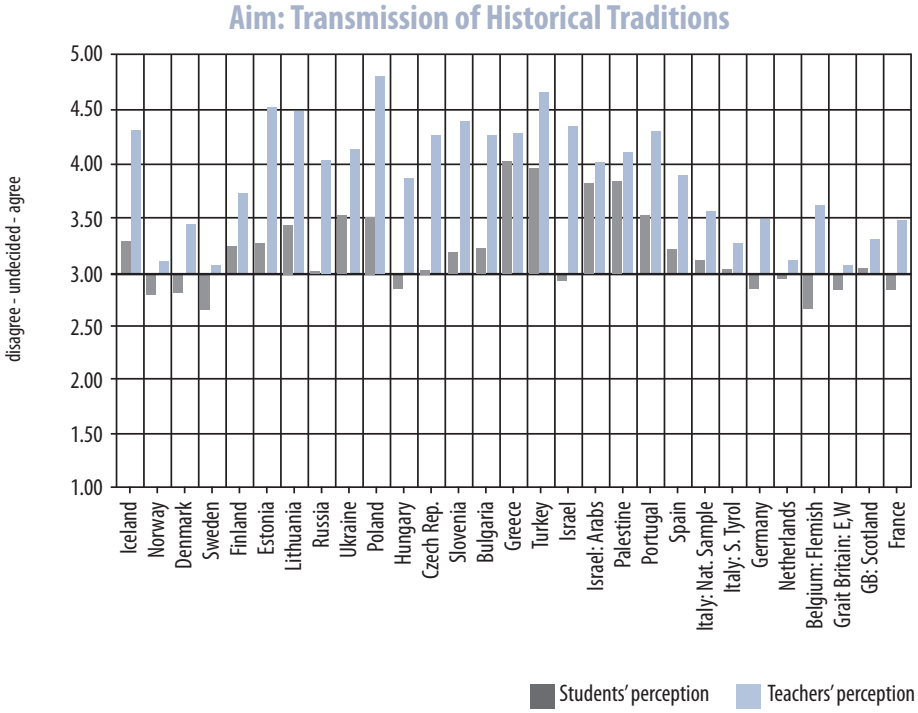


The frequency of '*work with (primary) sources*' is the first example considered here. In this case, as in many others, students and teachers responded to the same items (to describe the real lessons in their own classes). Thus, the two sets of data are methodologically entirely independent measures of the same phenomenon from different perspectives. In consequence, statistically significant correlations between student and teacher data sets should be expected ('mutual control'). This notwithstanding, there are two very clear results:

- Teachers and students articulate their observations of the same everyday teaching in very different ways (and with surprisingly low though statistically significant correlations on class level (comparing each teacher with his/her own class). In 28 of the 29 samples (in Croatia no teachers' data is available), Poland being the exception, teachers report far more 'source-work' than do students. The smallest differences are found in Sweden and Italy, the greatest in the Netherlands and Belgium. Apparently, teaching-cultures and learning-cultures are not identical, or at least they are not 'felt' to be identical. Maybe teachers like to give 'socially desired answers'; maybe they try to represent themselves as users of 'modern' methods. Maybe students expect more radical (utopian?) classroom practice than teachers are able to offer. For whatever reason, the shared reality of 'history lessons' seems to be experienced differently by the two 'tribes', students and teachers.

- There are also significant regional differences. In the Western (Great Britain, France, Belgium) and South-Western (Spain, Portugal) countries, a rather high level of 'source-work' is reported by the teachers and also by the students. In the Northern (Scandinavia), Eastern (former Soviet Union) and South-Eastern (Balkan states) parts of the continent, both groups report much lower frequencies. Statistically, there is a very high correlation between teacher and student mean scores on state-level (N = 29). In other words, we found consistent differences between national cultures of learning and/or history, though measured with two imperfect, but independent methods (students' reports and teachers' reports).

Figure 7: 'Transmission of historical traditions' as a learning aim in students' and teachers' perceptions (Borries et al 1999, 92)



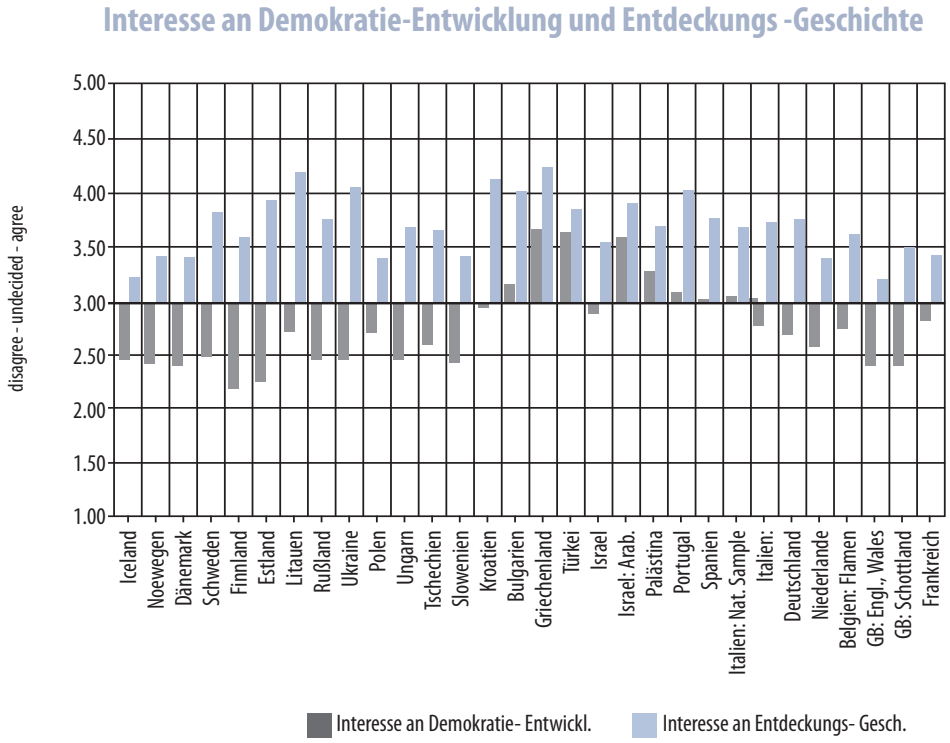
As a second example I will compare responses of teachers and students about the 'transmission of traditions' as an aim of history lessons. Again, we find two incontrovertible results:

- First, there are different regional cultures of history education. Teachers in Eastern and Southern Europe (including parts of the Middle East) stress the 'tradition-function' of history teaching; their students follow them in this, albeit somewhat cautiously, especially in the South-East. In Western and some Northern countries, 'tradition functions' are not emphasized in history lessons by teachers, and student responses even yield negative mean-values in this connection. Europe

appears to split into two regions with different types of national cultures of 'history learning', one more 'authoritarian – or at least conservative – traditional', the other more 'liberal progressive' ('modernised'). This is a general and fundamental phenomenon underlying responses to a high number of items (Borries et al., 1999, 311).

- Second, teachers' responses are more positive (i.e. mean values are higher) than those of students. In some states (like Norway, Sweden, (Italian) South Tyrol, the Netherlands, and Great Britain) differences in student and teacher mean scores are rather low. In other nations (especially Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechia, Slovenia and Israel) differences in mean scores exceed one scale-point. Apparently, teachers and students have different ideas about teaching history. In some countries (Czechia, Hungary, Israel), the teachers' attempts to transmit traditions are clearly rejected (or not noticed) by students. In other words: young people feel more liberally modernised than their teachers. In other samples (Greece and Turkey, Israeli and Palestine Arabs), teachers and students subscribe to the same traditional culture. And in some Western states (Norway, Sweden, Italian South Tyrol, the Netherlands and England) both students and teachers conform with a liberally modernized historical culture. Anyway, there is a very high correlation ($r = .66$) of teachers' and students' articulations on country level ($N = 29$).

Figure 8: Students' interest in the 'development of democracy' and the 'history of discoveries' (Borries et al., 1999, 83)



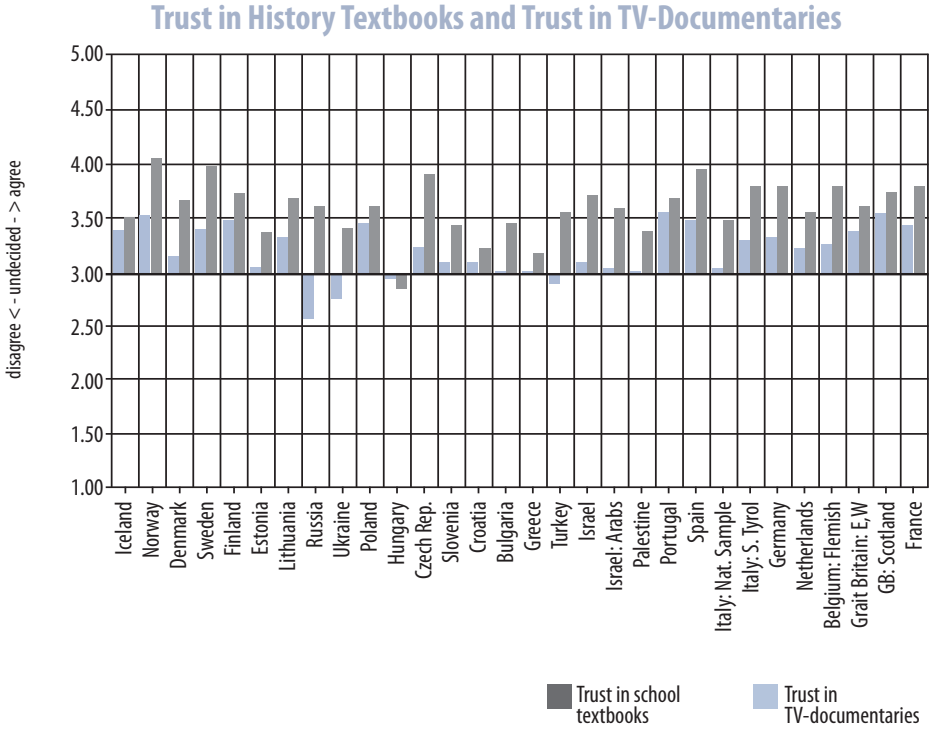
The interest in special fields of history is another important part of the 'Youth and History' survey. In my third example, I compare the students' motivation to study *'the history of discoveries'* (black columns right) and *'the development of democracy'* (grey columns left). Their teachers did not answer these questions.

- Apparently, interest in '*discoveries*' exceeds that in '*democracy*', and usually to a considerable extent. Among eleven items, mean ratings for interest in discoveries are the second highest of

all. Teachers may not like this result, but the basically imaginative, adventurous and even fictional character of the students' preferences in history is a fact they will have to cope with. The differences between Eastern and Southern Europe with very high mean scores and Northern, Western and Eastern Central Europe with somewhat lower means reflect overall differences in student motivation, i.e. the same patterns of difference obtain for general interest in history, a scale (construct) based on a couple of items. In *traditional* countries the motivation of young people to study history appears to be higher than in *modernised* ones. Or maybe differences in what is *socially desirable* rather than in motivation itself are being registered. Perhaps only in liberal societies are students allowed to articulate their lack of interest so frankly.

- Interest in the *'development of democracy'* is far lower, with negative mean values usually being recorded. 'Democracy' seems to be the most boring historical topic in the set of eleven items! In the *old democracies* of Northern and Western Europe, the unfavourable picture is identical to that in the new democracies ('*transformation states*') of Eastern-Central and Eastern Europe: simple disinterest in the 'history of democracy'. Only students in some Southern countries, and especially Greece, Turkey, Arab Israel and Palestine, yield higher and even positive responses. If you are in a deep crisis or have been recently (1995!), you may be interested in studying the historical solutions and promises offered by democracy.

Figure 9: Students' trust in 'history textbooks' and 'TV-documentaries' (Borries, unpublished)



Comparisons of student trust in (school) 'history textbooks', in (historical) 'TV-documentaries' and in (historical) "movies" are relevant to debates about the formation of 'historical consciousness'.

- In the case of textbooks, the articulations of students are rather vague, mean scores being very near to 'undecided' or 'so so' (3.0). In the *old democratic* North and West, the trust in textbooks is positive but marginally so; in the transforming societies of the East, Eastern Centre and Middle East it is lower and often negative. But differences between both groups are smaller than might be expected. In some former socialist countries, textbooks had lied for a long time and, in consequence, even examinations in contemporary history were skipped by the authorities in

1989/91. Thus, some years later (1995), students still had good reasons to mistrust history textbooks. But the fact that mean responses to questionnaire items do not vary fundamentally from those of their 'happy' peers in the West suggests that 'trust in media' is not really a topic dealt with at schools. History textbooks are used and memorised because they are school media, not because they are thought to be reliable. This hints at problems with the teaching of historical methodology in schools.

- In all countries, trust in (historical) TV-documentaries is positive and greater than that in textbooks. Differences in trust are especially large in some post-socialist countries (Russia, Ukraine, Czechia, Hungary) and small in Poland and some Western states (Iceland, Portugal, Great Britain). It should also be noted that trust in fictional movies about the past is lower, but not as much as might be expected and not in all countries (see Borries et al., 1999, 87). Youngsters in some countries (Russia, Ukraine, Hungary, Turkey, Israeli Arabs, and Palestine Arabs) think that even fictional films are more reliable than textbooks. Only in four countries (Iceland, Portugal, Spain, and France) are textbooks deemed to be far more reliable than fictional films set in the past, a difference of at least one point on the Likert-scale being registered between mean scores. An even higher difference would be reasonable – and should be anticipated – for nearly all countries. These findings support the earlier hypotheses about non-existent and/or inadequate coverage of historical methodology and source reliability in the generality of European classrooms. To sum up: The complexity of learning outcomes in this area is revealed by the strange fact that students appear to have far more confidence in the reliability of other media (*'museums', 'primary sources', 'TV-documentaries', 'teachers' stories'*) than in school textbooks.

Examples have been drawn from only six of the more than two hundred items used during the Youth and History investigation. The selection is rather arbitrary; many others allow similarly interesting reflections. How Cypriot students might have responded to these items remains an open question.

Experimental Studies: Understanding of School-Textbooks and Reflections on Relevance

Questioning can be combined with experimentation. In some experiments, students were asked to read extracts from textbooks (Borries et al., 1992, 1995, 2005) and to describe their ideas, emotions, sympathies, attempts to empathy, conclusions, relations to today etc. One of the more striking results was that many failed to understand some of the basic information contained in the texts. Even ninth-graders had problems with excerpts from a textbook for sixth-graders. (At a later date, we discovered that trainee teachers only gave 75% correct answers to questions about the text in question). This discouraging result was supported by qualitative studies in Germany (e.g. Beilner, 2002; Langer-Plän 2003) and by international comparison data (PISA 2000, 2003, 2006). In sum, for at least 20 percent of pupils in Germany, history textbooks appear to be quite useless, and many more pupils are partly overtaxed by the demands of this medium.

On one occasion, we required students to compare three short textbook-passages about the same historical topic, Boniface and the Christianization (conversion to Christendom) of Germany around 750 A.D. (Borries et al., 2005). There were open contradictions – not only controversies – in the texts. But only a very small minority of pupils, and even of university students, detected this fact. Either texts were not read carefully or nobody could conceive the possibility of errors in school textbooks. This supposition conflicts with previously reported findings (low trust in textbooks), but the inconsistency of views and behaviours may derive from the fact that *history textbooks appear rather irrelevant to students*.

It also transpired that students judged the past according to the moral standards of today. The 'otherness' of history (*'history is a foreign country'*) was neither perceived nor acted upon. A good example of 'moral presentism' occurred when students were asked to adopt, hypothetically and experimentally, the role of a victorious crusader in 1099 (the text described the massacre of all women and children in Jerusalem). Among other tasks, students were asked to rate proposed arguments as 'possible' or 'anachronistic' on a five-point Likert-scale running from -2 ('not at all') to +2 ('completely').

Figure 10: Empathy with the situation of a crusader conquering Jerusalem after a long, exhausting journey in 1099 (Borries, partly 1995, partly unpublished)

(N = 6.480 school students 1992; N = 44 trainee teachers 2001)

Possible and Anachronistic Arguments	6th grade	9th grade	12th grade	Trainee Teachers
Accuracy of Understanding after Reading (in %)	**33.3**	**47.7**	**53.0**	**74.7**
'The pope as substitute of God has explicitly allowed it. Therefore: "Kill them all!"'	-0.12	-0.41	-0.70	-0.20
'Apparently that is the punishment of God for the infidels. Therefore: "Kill them all!"'	-0.58	-0.77	-1.06	-0.40
Four-Items-Scale: Acceptance of mass-murder on the basis of empathy with a contemporary of that epoch	**-0.38**	**-0.50**	**-0.77**	**-0.23**
'Murder of women and children can never be justified. Therefore "Spare them!"'	+1.01	+1.19	+1.18	+0.60
'Muslims are God's creatures too. Only peaceful mission! Therefore "Spare them!"'	+0.74	+0.63	+0.55	+0.00
Four-Items-Scale: Protest against mass-murder on the basis of empathy with a contemporary of that epoch	**+0.83**	**+0.79**	**+0.72**	**+0.20**

Every justification for mass-murder (there were four) was vigorously repudiated (especially by older pupils); every protest against the massacre (four as well) was accepted (with little age effect). Pupil arguments were clearly anachronistic and counter-factual. Trainee teachers responded to the 'empathy' items in more cautious ways. Nevertheless, they neither agreed to accept the massacre nor to protest against it from the world-view of a contemporary crusader. Their neutral position indicated a higher level of historical understanding but not so high as to be able to reconstruct the collective mentalities of other times and places (including massacres).

The findings discussed above echo those of other experiments in which the principles of 'women's equality', 'democracy', 'human and civil rights', 'religious tolerance', 'radical individualism', etc. are transferred from the present to the past by all groups of school students. (Again, trainee teachers argue in more historical but still limited ways; see Borries 2006c, 68). There is little doubt that one of the basic theoretical assumptions of professional historians does not hold true in the classroom: as a rule, knowledge of the past is not used by students to inform understanding of contemporary life and conflicts; on the contrary, what is known about the present, is (falsely) used to explain and make sense of history.

Another series of experiments was undertaken with university students of history, i.e. with potential history teachers. They were given a small package of texts and pictures (primary sources, fiction, non-fictional narratives) and asked to produce a meaningful and relevant account or narrative (see von Borries, 2004b, pp. 266ff.; 2006c, pp. 70ff.; 2007c, pp. 67ff.). This turned out to be an extremely challenging task even though the examples chosen were rather simple (e.g. 'Witch Hunt' or 'Black Death'). Fiction was often used as though it were reliable information and some students wrote fiction themselves. The fundamental character of history as a 'true' narrative that explains changes in the past and between past and present and orientates consideration of future possibilities was either theoretically unfamiliar to or beyond the practical accomplishment of students.

Creative writing worked better in another practical setting (see von Borries, 2007c, pp. 63ff.). Taking a famous text (Bert Brecht's *'Questions of a Reading Worker'*) as a model, students were asked to compose parallel texts: *'Questions of an Immigrant Woman'* or *'Questions to the "UN-Declaration of Human Rights" after sixty years'.* Here, another form of empathy was required. Students could retain the perspective of the present but 'walk in the shoes and watch with the eyes of others'. Variations in the quality of responses were incredibly large. Some texts could easily have been printed in newspapers because of their intelligent and sensible ideas. Others were extremely poor or verged on the nonsensical. It proved to be very useful for teachers' education – though time-consuming – to discuss (of course anonymously) some rich, some average and some weak texts.

Another task was to write down more or less spontaneous associations after having watched a fictional historical film or a documentary. Special stimuli – *'I have noticed (...) I have felt (...) I have*

associated (...) I have remembered (...)' – were sometimes provided in order to structure responses (see Borries, 2007a, pp. 189ff., 205ff.; 2007b, pp. 57-61). It proved easy to assess the competence not only of students' historical de-constructions (i.e. their critical examinations of and comments on historical accounts in the mass media) but also of their willingness and ability to adopt appropriate – i.e. 'reflected' and 'responsible' – historical orientations.

Indeed, the historical consciousness of potential history teachers (i.e. of history university students) gives cause for concern in and of itself. In general, history is predominantly understood by them as knowledge of the most important 'facts' or 'developments' of national political history within a European context. History is construed as a body of content not as a mode of thinking, an approach to the world. But the methods used for 'content' coverage and, thereby for handling complexity and infinity, are neither structurally nor methodologically sound in most cases.

In an attempt to train teachers how to reflect upon the relevance and significance of information about the past, we have often set the following task: *'Congratulations! You have been selected as a member of the commission responsible for writing the history-curriculum. Which topics, which goals (targets) and which skills (concepts) do you want to include – and why?'* (see von Borries, 2004b, pp. 271ff.; 2007c, pp. 73ff.) Since teachers have to apply syllabi, we thought the task fair; but some students disagreed (and protested)! Outcomes varied greatly. Some students could hardly write down more than *'World War I', 'World War II', 'Reformation', 'French Revolution'*, and *'Fall of the Berlin Wall'*. Others, most likely immigrants, mentioned *'Mustapha Kemal Atatürk'* or *'The Conquest of Constantinople'.* Only a minority of students produced excellent essays and elaborate lists, combining key processes with domain specific competences and adequate approaches for the young learners. Historical content (or subject matter) is not equivalent to historical consciousness, but it is highly relevant; and criteria for content selection are even more important.

Interdependence of Empirical Studies and Theoretical Concepts

Functions of Theoretical Propositions and Functions of Empirical Studies

It is necessary to comment on the methodological standards of empirical studies in history education. If we demand the highest possible 'state of the art', then nothing will be done in a country without an empirical tradition, with few experts and without money. Thus, methodological claims can easily pre-empt empirical studies. On the other hand we have cases where poorly designed and methodologically flawed investigations are used publicly for a very loud whistle blowing and successful *agenda setting* (e.g. Boßmann, 1977; Deutz-Schroeder/Schroeder, 2008). Curiously enough, the press and the television are especially interested in the worst designed or analysed but most scandalizing studies ('*Only* bad *news are good* news'). It follows that a scientific moral code specifying minimal methodological standards is necessary.

As shown in previous examples (types of learning, levels of competences, individual differences, the dependency of 'histories' upon 'presentist' perspectives, cultural determinants), theoretical propositions and empirical research findings cannot be separated neatly or – even worse – played off against each other. Some theories help to clarify questions and inform the selection of adequate research methods. But empirical results, especially qualitative ones, suggest and ground new hypotheses which can then be tested by means of quantitative studies. Measurement, not only of the statistical significance of effects but also of their size or strength (percentage of 'explained variance'), is very important and can only be done through quantitative research. Thus, theory and empirical research are interdependent; they serve each other.

Reconciliation via History Learning?

The historical consciousness of enemies has often intensified and aggravated conflicts between religions, empires, and nations. Even today, this goes on. The post-Yugoslavian Balkan and post-Soviet Caucasian civil wars have been sad instances of this phenomenon in recent decades. Can historical consciousness play the opposite role and foster reconciliation? Some people believe that it can. There have been attempts at mutual decontamination of text-books since the First World War.

Even attempts to write common textbooks (Germany and France, Germany and Poland, Japan, China and South-Korea, Israel and Palestine) have been made since the Second World War.

This can be useful provided that conflicts are not hidden but articulated and discussed with tolerance for, but not necessarily acceptance of, the 'other's' convictions about the past. Learning to mutually reciprocate perspectives, *to walk in the other's shoes and to look with the other's eyes*, is the decisive operation. It needs a lot of mental strength and psychological insight. Understanding the opponent does not mean giving in, but seeking for a common and peaceful future. I wish that I could cite rich empirical examples of successful *reconciliation via the mutual telling of histories and exchange of arguments following study of the 'other's' textbooks and narratives*, but such examples have yet to be identified and proven. It is, however, possible to propose theoretically grounded strategies by means of which reconciliation of divergent and competing histories (e.g. via textbooks) might be reconciled.

Figure 11: Mental strategies for historical reconciliation

	Understanding History	Revising own Positions (e.g. Textbooks)	Dealing with the "Other"
Lower steps (self-distance)	Avoiding simple 'traditional' and 'exemplary' ways of making sense of the past, e.g. distancing ourselves from methodologically infirm accounts of 'our own' history.	Expunging historical falsifications (e.g. from textbooks) and debunking biased myths about the superiority and inferiority of groups, nations and peoples.	Taking distance from the own (and foreign) past; overcoming without forgetting the past conflicts and crimes.
Intermediate steps (movement)	Changing and comparing perspectives on the past and agreeing criteria for content selection, historical interpretation and history-based orientation.	*Going towards each other and going forward together (in life as well as in historiography and history education)*	Identifying conditions and possibilities for a common future in despite of past hostilities.

	Understanding History	Revising own Positions (e.g. Textbooks)	Dealing with the "Other"
Higher steps (mutuality and gradual convergence)	Systematically comparing and exchanging historical narratives and orientations.	Constructing new and plausible histories that are partly or wholly compatible or even common.	Developing mutual tolerance – and perhaps sympathy and acceptance – for and of the "other" (including their conventional – and transcended – perspectives on the past).

(see Borries, 2009b, pp. 240-243, with minor revisions)

Since my model is no more than a normative theory (Borries, 2008, pp. 121-137; 2009b) awaiting empirical verification it is appropriate to end at this point.

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What Does it Mean to Think Historically in the Primary School?

Hilary Cooper

Abstract

This paper considers the reasons why we should not teach young children didactically to learn a 'grand narrative' account of the past, and how we can teach them to actively engage in the processes of historical enquiry, in order to construct an understanding of themselves and of others, of their identities and of their place in the world. It will identify what is meant by the processes of historical enquiry at an academic level, consider social constructivist theories of how children learn in increasingly complex ways and relate these to the processes of enquiry in history. A series of case studies will exemplify this process.

The Limitations of the 'Grand Narrative'

Elementary history education in the England, prior to the introduction of a National Curriculum (DES, 1991; DfEE, 1999), was frequently a nationalistic and moralistic story of the past. This is exemplified by *Our Island Story* (Marshall, 1905). For example, the text accompanying a nineteenth-century painting of Sir Francis Drake playing bowls when the Spanish Armada invasion fleet was sighted in 1588 (p. 322) is captioned:

> 'There is time to finish the game and beat the Spaniards too. Day by day the wind grew fiercer. The Spaniards were shattered on unfriendly rocks... at last, ruined by shot and shell... about fifty maimed and broken wrecks reached Spain. Elizabeth ordered a medal to be made, saying, 'God blew with his breath and they were scattered'.

Such books contained the stories of England's victories and achievements. History was seen as unquestioned and its role in education was to promote a shared national identity and social cohesion. This approach is open to powerful political manipulation and is unlikely to achieve its aims in a modern multicultural society where, within the broad umbrella of English history, citizens have many histories and many perspectives.

History and Identity

Ayi Kwei Armah (in Fryer, 1989) said that 'The present is where we get lost, if we forget our own past, and have no vision of the future'.

But there are dangers in telling a 'grand narrative'. Maitland Stobart (1996) warned of the tensions between political ideology and history teaching, asking,

> To what extent may history serve a cause, however well-meant? Identity is a complex concept. It covers language, religion, a shared memory and a sense of identity – sometimes of historical grievance and injustice. It is rich in symbolism, heroes, battles lost and won, national anthems, songs, poetry, paintings, memorials and street names.

And, as Jerome Bruner (1996) said,' It is not easy, however multicultural your intentions, to help a ten–year-old create a story that includes him, beyond his family and neighbourhood, having been transplanted from....' Children need an overarching understanding of chronology, of key events and movements and of their causes and consequences. However, if within this big picture they learn the process of asking, discussing and answering their own questions, they will learn that there is often no one right answer, no single perspective, and that it is important to listen to, discuss and tolerate different views of the past which will allow everyone a stake in society.

The English National Curriculum for History: Exploring Content through Enquiry

The *National Curriculum for History*, made statutory after heated national debates, was introduced in 1991, revised 1999. It consisted of programmes of study outlining the content to be taught in primary schools (from ages five to eleven years old). The content was to be learned through the processes of historical enquiry, based on asking questions about different types of historical sources, in order to find out about changes over time, similarities and differences between past and present times and so construct accounts – interpretations of the past. Children were to learn to do this in increasingly complex ways. Publishers produced resources to support this approach, museum educators supported teachers and, for the first time, all primary school children were engaged in the process of finding out

about the past and in constructing their own 'accounts', whether these were class museum displays, role play reconstructions, models, or written accounts. History was seen as very enjoyable.

At first the skills of historical enquiry are rudimentary, because of children's immaturity and limited knowledge base, but if children start learning these processes from the beginning, then in increasingly complex ways they will be enabled eventually to critically engage with historical questions. However, over the years, a proliferation of government policies focusing on reading and writing has marginalised primary history; and at secondary level, because of the emphasis currently put on grades in the latter years of secondary school in England, there has been criticism in universities of history students having been 'spoon fed', 'taught to the test', and not being able to think for themselves. In France and Switzerland, research has shown that adolescents do not find history, which is taught didactically, to be relevant or interesting (Audigier and Fink, 2009).

The new Conservative Coalition government (2010) claims to attach great importance to learning history, but it remains to be seen whether it will promote an enquiry-based approach. A single, national narrative may again be seen as a means of developing a sense of a shared national identity. But this may not be simple. History is important in constructing a sense of belonging, in time and place, but learning a mono-perspectival, single narrative, may be exclusive for many people, not inclusive..

The Process of Historical Enquiry

Interpreting Sources

An analysis of the processes of historical enquiry owes much to the work of R. G. Collingwood (1938, 1942, 1946). First, it involves making deductions about historical sources (traces of the past which remain). But since sources tell us very little for certain, because they are often incomplete or we do not know their status, purpose or validity, we must usually make inferences from them; there may be several equally valid inferences and no single correct answer. Accounts of the past are constructed by selecting and combining inferences about sources. Accounts depend on the particular interests of the historians who create them – they may be histories of individuals or groups, written from a right-wing or left-wing perspective, a particular ethnic or gender perspective, about military or economic

history or the history of art or music, local, national or global. Accounts vary depending on the time in which they were written and the evidence available at the time; accounts, then, may be different but equally valid. Validity depends on whether the account conforms to what is already known, whether there is any contradictory evidence and whether it seems reasonable. So accounts of the past are both dynamic, and multi-perspectival.

Interpreting Behaviour and Feelings

Understanding the past also involves attempting to infer, from the evidence of people's actions, the thoughts and feelings which underpinned them, in societies with different knowledge bases, belief systems and views of the world from our own and different social, political and economic constraints. Hypotheses about the way people may have thought and felt may be considered valid if they are reasonable and conform with what is known, and if there is no contradictory evidence. Collingwood (1939) attempts to clarify the relationship between interpreting evidence and interpreting the thoughts and feelings of people who made it. He says, for example, that we know that Julius Caesar invaded Britain in successive years; we can suppose that his thoughts may have been about trade or grain supply or a range of other possibilities, and his underlying feelings may have included ambition or career advancement. Collingwood (1939) also points out that an historian can share the thoughts of someone in the past because he has experienced similar feelings and thoughts within his own contexts through shared humanity.

Constructivist Learning Theories Applied to the Process of Historical Enquiry

Interpreting Sources

Piaget's findings about the ages at which children attain particular skills are contested and it is difficult to apply his pattern of reasoning consistently to historical evidence, because thinking in history can operate on several planes (horizontal decalages) and at different levels in different subjects (vertical decalages), depending on the complexity of evidence and the questions asked. However, Piaget, who was the first person to explore the learning process, found in the children he studied that, by the time

they were seven or eight years old, they could use 'because' appropriately to justify their deductions and inferences, and 'therefore' to make a second statement dependent on the first (1926). They could also make increasingly reasoned statements about probability. Throughout Piaget's research, the sequence of assimilating new knowledge into an existing mind map of understanding (equilibrium) and revising the mind map when knowledge or experience does not fit into this pattern (accommodation), is the way in which progression occurs. This, together with his work on probability (Piaget and Inhelder, 1951) and on Moral Development (1932), informs our expectations about children's increasing ability to make, explain and develop probabilistic inferences about sources.

Bruner (1963) said that children must learn the concepts and processes of enquiry at the heart of each discipline so that they can apply these to new material and so avoid 'mental overload'. He said that these skills and concepts should constantly be revisited and built on, in a 'spiral curriculum', and that children of any age can engage in the processes of enquiry at the heart of a discipline if they are introduced to them in appropriate ways: through things they can touch, things they can see, as well as through writing (Bruner, 1966). Historical sources should therefore be sites, buildings, photographs, paintings, artefacts, music, as well as simple written sources.

However, Bruner did not attempt to apply his spiral curriculum to history. He said (1963, p.1) that much more work of a specific kind is needed to provide detailed knowledge about structuring the humanities and that this work has been postponed on the mistaken grounds that it is too difficult.

However, in his view (1966, p. 22),

> If one respects the ways of thought of the growing child; if one is courteous enough to translate material into its logical forms, and challenging enough to tempt him to advance, then it is possible to introduce him at an early age, to ideas that in later life will make him an educated man.

Interpreting Thoughts and Feelings

Kohlberg (1976) argues that understanding how other people may think and feel is both a cognitive and an affective process, while Piaget (1956) saw it as cognitive, thinking rather than feeling from someone else's point of view. Piaget (1932, 1950) argues that conflicting viewpoints lead to decentration. Cox (1986) differentiates between visual perspective taking, conversational role-taking and pictorial representation; in each instance children appear to be underestimated.

Concept Development

Vygotsky (1962) focused on concept development; key concepts underpinning a discipline should be introduced in different contexts, discussed and learned through using them and through trial and error. In this way pupils can take each other's understanding further.

Learning as a Social Process

Both Bruner, through 'scaffolding' and Vygotsky (1978) through the Zone of Proximal Development, emphasized mediation in discussing the source, through the support of 'more-able-peers and adults', questioning, prompting, challenging and providing alternative resources, rather than telling.

Both Piaget, particularly initially, and Vygotsky saw growth of understanding as a social process.

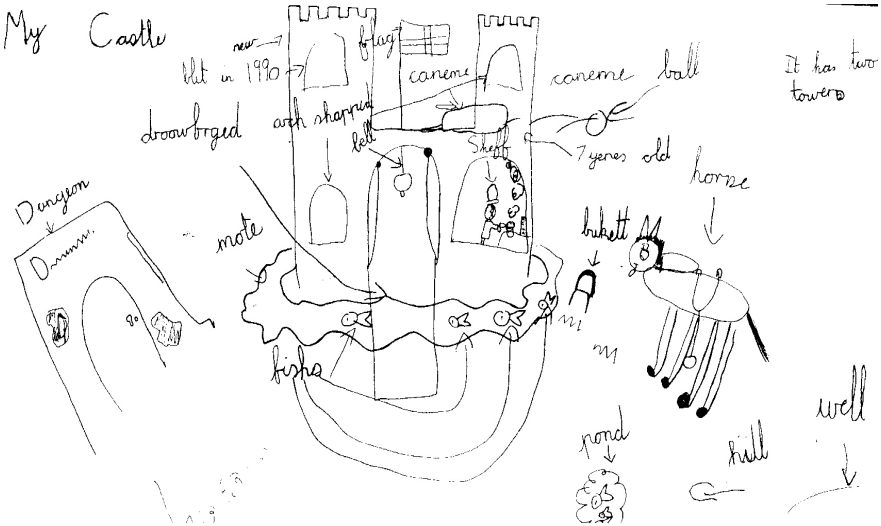
Post-Piagetian developments in psychology have argued that cognition is intrinsically social; Doise (1975, 1978, 1979) sees this as caused by conflict of viewpoint or interaction at different cognitive levels. More recently, developmental psychologists have used triangle metaphors to conceptualise the social constitution of psychological development. Zittoun et al. (2007) have posited and analysed a mediational triangle rooted in the work of Vygotsky and a sociocognitive triangle originating with Piaget, which have a common theme, the transformation from external mediation to internal mediation. The work of Alexander on Dialogic Teaching (2008) translates these theories into principles for teaching: collective, reciprocal, supportive cumulative and purposeful.

Case studies applying constructivist theories to teaching and learning in history

Five to Seven-Year-Olds learn the Processes of Historical Thinking: Kendal Castle

In this case study (Cooper, 2006, pp. 75-80), children used primary and secondary sources to construct a role play of a banquet in Kendal Castle in the early sixteenth century. They started by drawing 'concept maps' – pictures showing what they understood about castles in general, often from fairy stories, in order to build on what they already knew (Bruner, 1963) (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Concept map: what do you know about castles?



Then the class were told they would be visiting nearby Kendal Castle in the afternoon, and were asked what they would like to find out about it. The teacher collated their ideas on a flip chart and organised them into three enquiries, one to be investigated by each group. The questions were:

- Why was it built here? How could you attack it? Why?
- Daily life: Where could you store food, wash, cook, keep warm, have a banquet?
- Survey of the site – measure walls, windows, draw plan.

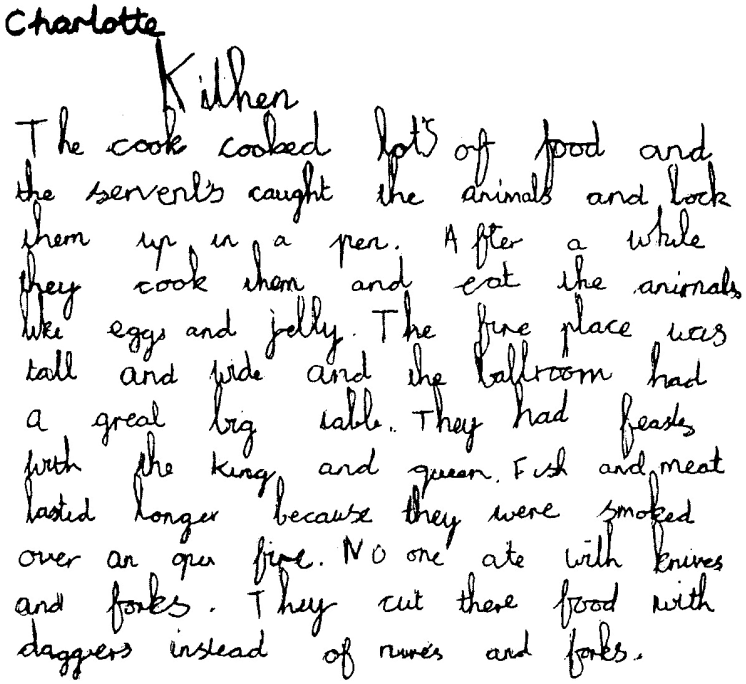
During the visit the children took site notes at whatever level they were able. Some were simply labelled drawings, others were notes organized in groups and including some inferences.

The next day the children prepared to use the evidence from the castle visit and to find out more from secondary sources in books, in order to create a 'reconstruction' of a banquet which may have taken place in the castle. They made 'brass-rubbings' of replica, medieval, memorial brasses with engravings of a knight and a lady. They used these as historical sources to try to find out what they should wear for the banquet. Sonya wrote, 'My lady looks like she is from a very important family. On the dress there are beautiful patterns. Round her middle there is a long belt with a tassel. She has a long dress. On the bottom of the dress is an animal like a squirrel. She has a cross expression. I think she's praying. I think she lived in a grand house or a castle'. Here there is both description and some probability inferences. Samantha researched what knights might look like in books and drew a lively picture of two knights at a tournament, labelling the helmets, sword and lance. But she made an interesting distinction between this interpretation and the brass-rubbing. 'The knight on the brass looks different to my picture because this knight is standing still but in my picture he is in action'. .

Everyone then made a small item observed through their research (a necklace or a sword, for example), to wear at the banquet the following day. They wrote guest lists, invitations and menus. The menus were based on pictures in an adult book on medieval food. Models of the dishes were made: squirrels, a boar's head, fish. Entertainment consisted of dancing to medieval music, jesters who made up 'medieval' jokes and story-telling. One group of children spontaneously decided that since the information board at the castle had been written for adults, they would make one for children. This made it very clear what they had learnt during the three-day project. On the visit to the castle the

children had seen the medieval fireplace and speculated where the great hall had been. Now they wrote an informative paragraph, including such details as, 'Meat lasted longer because it was smoked over a fire and that, 'No one ate with knives and forks. They cut food with daggers' (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Information board for children

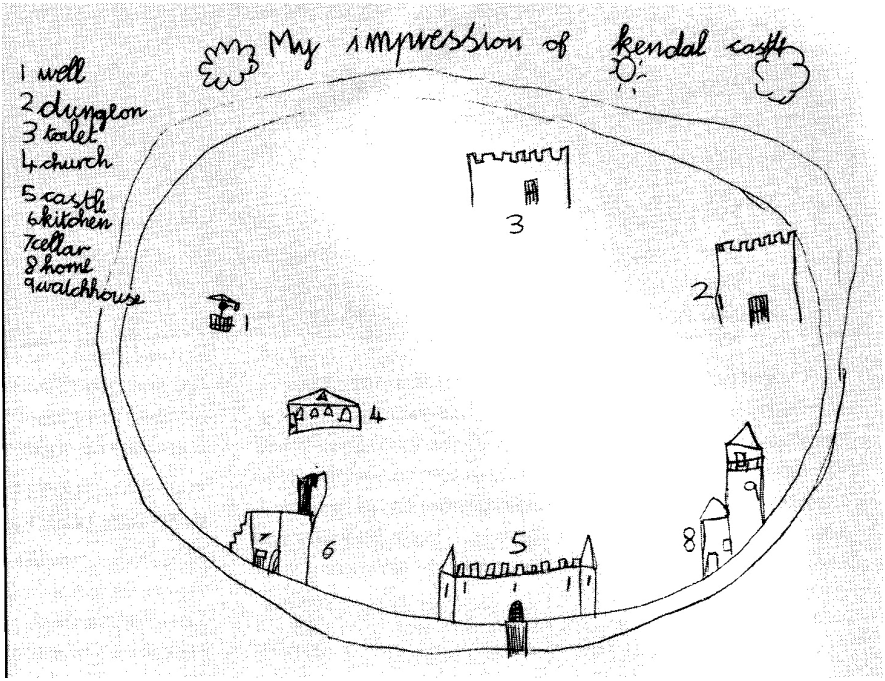

Charlotte

Kithen

The cook cooked lots of food and the servents caught the animals and lock them up in a pen. After a while they cook them and eat the animals like eggs and jelly. The fire place was tall and vide and the ballroom had a great big table. They had feasts with the king and queen. Fish and meat lasted longer because they were smoked over an open fire. No one ate with knives and forks. They cut there food with daggers instead of nives and forks.

The plan of the castle which was drawn for the information board was accurate, with a key labelling the kitchen, toilet, cellar, church, well and so on (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Plan of the site



This demonstrated a considerable advance from the original fantasy concept maps of fairy story castles that had been drawn two days previously.

Learning Theories and Historical Thinking Skills applied to the Enquiry

The *primary source* was a local castle. Children drew *concept maps* to show their existing concept of a castle and, at the end of the project drew plans to demonstrate how their concept of a castle had developed. They posed *questions at their own level*, about the castle which they investigated in a kinaesthetic way through a visit, feeling and measuring the thickness of the walls, climbing up the mound, searching for the kitchen, the well, the chimneys. They worked in *mixed age/ability groups,* each *including an adult, discussing* the questions they were investigating. They recorded their findings

either as drawings (*iconic*) or in writing (*symbolic*). The follow-up work in school involved making replica artefacts based on pictures in books (*iconic*) and brass rubbings (*kinaesthetic*). The account/interpretation resulting from their enquiry was a role play banquet, including dancing and juggling (*kinaesthetic*).

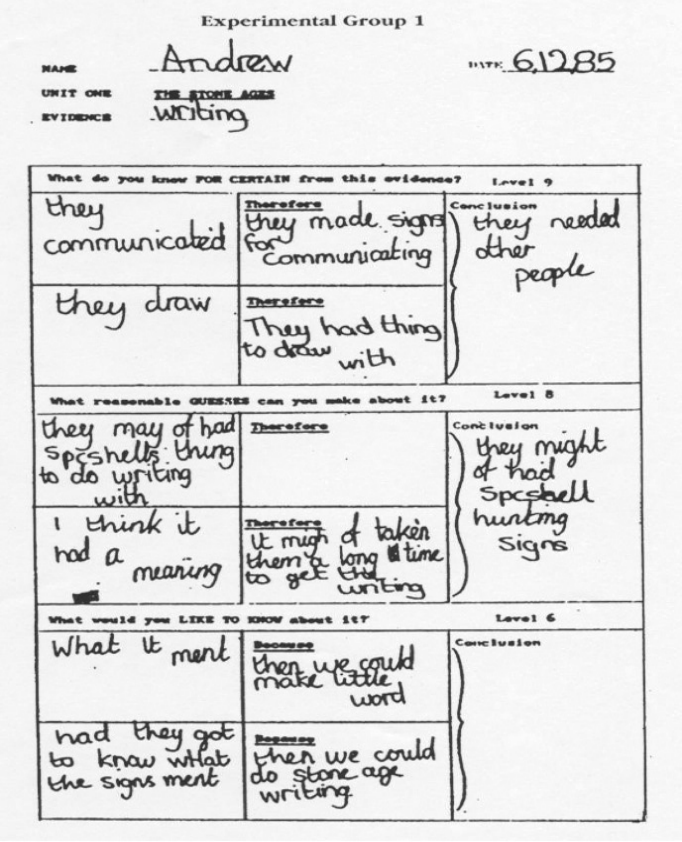
Eight-Year-Olds: A Local Study

This study was undertaken with classes of eight-year-olds (Cooper, 1991, 2006). They learnt four units of history, each unit four weeks long, for one lesson each week. The units were: The Stone Ages, The Iron Age, The Romans, The Saxons. In whole class lessons they were shown slides of different historical sources related to the period: an artefact, a picture, a diagram, a map and a written source; that is, information presented in different forms (Bruner, 1966). They were encouraged to say: what they knew about the period from the source, what they could 'guess' (hypothesize) about it and what they could not know. (Although the children were involved in hypothesizing, making statements as a basis for argument, it was thought that the appropriate word for an eight-year-old was 'guess'. Each whole class lesson consisted entirely of discussion, learning to differentiate between knowing, guessing and not knowing, and learning to justify and contest statements using 'because' or 'therefore'. This draws on the work of Piaget (1926). Children were also introduced to concepts central to history at three different levels of abstraction: concrete, abstract and superordinate (overarching abstract concepts), and encouraged to use them in the class discussions (Vygotsky, 1962). The teacher's role was to support and 'scaffold' (Bruner, 1963; 1966; Vygotsky, 1962). They also went on two site visits related to each of the four units, one local and one further afield, to link the local to wider contexts – the bigger picture. The visits also reflect Bruner's ways of presenting information through physical and visual experiences (1966).

At the end of each unit the children were told they were to pretend to be archaeologists, and each write a report sheet on a given artefact, picture, diagram, map and written source which they had not previously seen. The 'report sheet' was designed to encourage them to think at the highest possible level: to support their statements with further arguments using 'therefore', and to differentiate between knowing, guessing and not knowing.

Figure 4 shows an example of a report on Stone Age 'glyphs'; i.e., marks made in stone. It shows that Andrew was certain, from the evidence, that Neolithic people could communicate, (one of the abstract concepts learned in class discussions), and could draw. He therefore reasoned that they had drawing implements and communicated using signs. This leads him to conclude that they needed other people. He 'guesses that such writing required specialized tools, that it took a long time to learn to communicate in writing and that the meaning of this writing may be a sign connected with hunting. But he cannot know what it means, although he would like to.

Figure 4: Example of a student's report on Stone Age 'glyphs'



Experimental Group 1

NAME Andrew DATE 6.12.85

UNIT ONE THE STONE AGES

EVIDENCE writing

What do you know FOR CERTAIN from this evidence? Level 9		
they communicated	Therefore they made signs for communicating	Conclusion they needed other people
they draw	Therefore They had thing to draw with	

What reasonable GUESSES can you make about it? Level 8		
they may of had spcshells thing to do writing with	Therefore	Conclusion they might of had Spcshell hunting signs
I think it had a meaning	Therefore It migh of taken them a long time to get the writing	

What would you LIKE TO KNOW about it? Level 6		
What it ment	Because then we could make little word	Conclusion
had they got to know what the signs ment	Because then we could do stone age writing	

Figure 5 shows concepts introduced in this unit at each level which the children used spontaneously in their reports: concrete concepts such as plough, clay, abstract concepts, symbol trade, crops and 'superordinate' concepts, belief, power).

Figure 5: Concepts introduced in the unit

Concrete concepts	Abstract concepts	Superordinate
Plouch, Clay	Harvest, Symbol, Trade, Crops	Belief, Power

At the end of each unit the children, in groups of five, also discussed one of the historical sources they had reported on individually; the discussions were recorded. Figure 6 shows an example of how they took each other's thinking forward through group discussion (Vygotsky, 1962). They are discussing an extract from Strabo (Geography, 1.4.2) describing Britain in the Iron Age. From this they knew that the Britons 'produced corn and cattle and had hunting dogs'. They went 'beyond the information given (Bruner, 1973) to deduce that therefore they could farm, and to infer that 'they may have used the dogs to guard the crops', that they made flour and kept cattle for meat. In the first year of the project the teacher was present in the group discussions to question and cue, but in the second year no adult was present. The resulting discussions showed that the children had learned the sorts of questions to ask and ways in which to answer them. They challenged each other and explained their ideas. Interestingly, discussions with no adult present generated a far greater number of valid deductions and inferences because the children had learned how to discuss the sources and were not constrained by the presence of an adult. Children also corrected each others' misconceptions.

Figure 6: Deductions and inferences made by children when discussing a text about the Britons

Deduction	Inference
They produced corn and cattle	They could farm
They had hunting dogs	They probably used the dogs to keep an eye on the crops
	The corn was to make flour to make into food
	And the cattle for meat

Learning how to discuss historical sources is essential since there is often no single correct answer. This, and the need to select sources to construct accounts, enables children to understand why accounts of the past may be valid but different. This is important for social and emotional, as well as intellectual development. Children learn to develop a reasoned argument, to defend it, to listen to the views of others, possibly changing their views as a result, and to accept that often there is no single 'right' answer.

Analysis of Learning Theories and Historical Thinking reflected in the Enquiry

This study drew on the work of Piaget, asking children to state a *premise, followed by a dependent statement* (because or therefore) and to distinguish between *certainty* and *probability* statements. It drew on the work of Vygotsky, through the introduction, and use in *discussion*, *of key concepts* of different levels of abstraction. The visits to sites and museums and the range of sources, concrete artefacts, visual sources, and written sources reflected Bruner's three *'modes of representation'.*

The thinking of the eight-year-olds was at a higher level than that of children in the previous study in the following ways. The sources included written sources; it was found that because the children had learned the processes of historical enquiry they could apply them equally well to all five types of sources. They were able, to varying extents, to develop an argument to support a premise and to differentiate between knowing, 'guessing' and not knowing. They were able to use in writing and discussion, concepts to which they had been introduced, often at an abstract level.

Nine-Year-Olds: Speculating about the Thoughts and Feelings of People in the Past - Emigrants and Immigrants

In this a case study of a class of nine-year-olds studied Tudor Exploration and Journeys of Exploration (Ager, 2006; Teachers TV). They were able to suggest many reasons why people may have wanted to explore and to settle in North America. These included: to be famous, to get more land for England, get more riches for the Queen, to escape from England, to spread the Christian word, to get more land than Spain, to see what it was like, to start a new life, to get riches and spices.

Drawing on an account written by one of the settlers in Roanoake they were able to describe and identify with the experiences of the settlers (helped by a visit to the empty moorland behind the school where they had considered, if this were the coast of Virginia and they had just landed, what they would need to do in the short and longer term, to survive). They were later told the story of how the native Americans helped the settlers to grow crops but that later the settlement was found abandoned, and they were able to make many suggestions about what had happened and why, from the point of view of the indigenous people: 'At first they helped them but the English stole from them when their crops failed which was wrong'; 'It was the other people's land; they brought strange new English ways and ideas and language'; 'They renamed their land Virginia'.

Analysis of Learning Theories and Historical Thinking reflected in the Enquiry

This case study shows that these nine-year-old children were able to suggest multiple reasons for people's actions, in order to attempt to understand the perspectives of different groups of people in the past, based on a primary source, the diary reading. This draws on the work of Collingwood (1939) on processes of historical enquiry and on the work of Kohlberg, Piaget, Cox and others which suggested that children are increasingly able to suggest how other people might think and feel, and the reasons underpinning their actions.

Eight to Ten-Year-Olds: Accounts written from Different Perspectives

In this case study (Cooper, 2006, pp. 158 –171), eight groups of ten-year-olds, in two classes, were studying Elizabethan England. Each group wrote a newspaper account of the Spanish Armada from the perspective of the English Protestants, the English Catholics, the Spanish, the French, the Dutch, and the Scots, which recognized that they all had different views about it and what its success or failure meant for them. The Spanish newspaper, for example, featured a cartoon of the Spanish ships being blown onto the rocks and a sailor saying, 'I thought God was on our side!' The text reported that, 'The Duke of Parma mucked up our invasion plan, because he was not ready to sail in Dunkirk. On the other hand Philip was pleased with Medina Sidonia because he had reached Calais without losing too many ships or fighting a sea battle with the English. After this achievement how did the Duke of Parma dare to say that his 17,000 men, 1000 cavalry and 170 ships would not be ready to sail for 2 weeks?'.

'The Dutch Lure' reporter had interviewed Lord Howard Effingham, who had told him that he though England had a good chance of winning. 'Spain's ships are sinking by the hour and about 150 men have been killed'. This is accompanied by a cartoon in which sailors in the Netherlands shout 'Who comes there?' and when the reply is 'The English' they call, 'Welcome'.

Analysis of Learning Theories and Historical Thinking involved in the Enquiry

These children were not only able to consider the points of view of different but to use these to create accounts from different perspectives.

Ten-year-olds' Understanding of why Accounts may change over Time: the Death of Boudicca

Through learning to make inferences from sources, in order to construct increasingly sophisticated accounts, in drama, in model-making and class museums, as well as written accounts, children come to be able to explain why accounts written at different times may be different. In one study (Hoodless, 2004) ten-year-old children read an account of the revolt of Boudicca against the Romans, (Sarson and Paine, 1930) and a more recent account (Deary, 1994). They were able to explain that they were different because of the different times in which they were written: 'The 1930 account treated Boudicca with the respect people may have thought was due to a queen'; 'It didn't dwell on death and suicide because people then did not talk about such things'; 'It reads like it was written just after the war and we were all proud of ourselves'.

They recognised that the earlier version told the story as a matter of fact while the later one, which they preferred, recognized different possibilities. 'Because', they said, 'peoples' ideas written up in stories might be wrong'.

Analysis of Learning Theories and Historical Thinking reflected in the Enquiry

Having previously understood the reasons why accounts may differ, these children had sufficient knowledge to be able to identify changes in society between 1930 and 1994 which account for the

different interpretations. They clearly state a preference for active engagement in the processes of constructing and evaluating accounts.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that it is essential that children learn, from the beginning, to engage with historical enquiry, in order to build up 'the big picture' rather than be presented with a 'master narrative': examples showed how this may be done and that, from five years upwards, children can make inferences from sources and try to justify them, can engage in group discussion, and can construct accounts based on primary and secondary sources and attempt to explain different points of view. Through this process they learn to understand how accounts are constructed and why they may be equally valid but different. The case study examples given illustrate development but, since development in historical thinking depends on many variables and many strands of historical thinking, there is no attempt to map a continuum.

Constructivist approaches to teaching and learning history in the primary school, and related research, have become of increasing interest in attempting to replace a politically manipulated grand narrative in the previously Communist countries of Eastern Europe; previously Fascist countries of the Hispanic world; in countries where history is contested, such as Northern Ireland and South Africa; and in countries poised between European and Asian perspectives, such as South Korea, Singapore and Turkey. These research studies can be accessed in The International Journal of History Teaching, Learning and Research (vol. 1 – 7, *www.heirnet.org*; Vol. 8.1 – 9.2, The English Historical Association *www.history.org* or the University of Cumbria *www.cumbria.ac.uk*) and in Education 3 – 13 (2010) vol. 38 issue 3. An example of a constructivist approach in English secondary schools can be found in Cooper and Chapman (2009).

It would be impertinent to suggest how these ideas might be translated into the context of Cypriot historical sources but given the rich variety of cultures which are represented in its history – Neolithic, Copper and Bronze Ages, Ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Byzantines, Crusaders, Venetians, Turks, British – the resources for teaching the processes of historical enquiry seem endless. Ancient sources are particularly useful as a means of teaching young children the processes of historical

enquiry, because less is known and more hypotheses are possible, and because they are less contested. If younger children learn the processes of historical enquiry in simple and ancient contexts using artefacts from different cultures, they should be able, with maturity, integrity and in a supportive learning environment in which all points of view are respected, to apply processes involving uncertainty and different perspectives to more recent events. As Lawrence Durrell (1957) wrote, 'The confluence of different destinies which touched and illuminated the history of one small island in the Eastern basin of the Levant give it significance and depth of focus'....

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Methodology, Epistemology and Ideology of History Educators Across the Divide in Cyprus

Charis Psaltis, Eleni Lytras, Stefania Costache, Charlotte Fischer

Methodology, Epistemology and Ideology of History Educators Across the Divide in Cyprus [1]

Abstract

This paper describes a study by the *Association for Historical Dialogue and Research* which used results from a quantitative questionnaire survey with a representative sample of educators teaching history in both communities, in order to understand the field of history teaching as well as the needs of and issues faced by Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot history educators in primary and secondary public educational institutions. The research addressed five main issues: 1) history educators' perceptions of the curriculum, the textbooks and of teaching practices; 2) intergroup relations; 3) epistemological beliefs about history; 4) representations concerning the history of Cyprus; and, 5) training of history educators and their opportunities for further professional development and attempted to establish links between the five areas, in order to provide an insight into the possible relationships between them.

Aknowledgments

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A Socio-Culturally Situated Analysis Of History Teaching

Filling the gaps in research

This project is ground-breaking in its focus. Work already exists looking at how social representations furnish identities through which we construct and structure our past and present that leads into the future.[2] Research has also demonstrated that representations of the past are related to identities,[3] and has mapped possible relationships between epistemological beliefs and history teaching practices

in post conflict contexts.[4] An entire field of literature has emerged on the socio-cultural and institutional context of teaching. However, no research up until now has looked empirically at how representations of the past and identities structure the teaching practice of history teachers. Furthermore, almost no attention has been paid to how epistemological beliefs[5] relate to these issues in the Cypriot context.

Teachers' epistemological beliefs

Epistemic beliefs are individuals' views about the nature of knowledge and the nature of knowing.[6] Whilst vast amounts of research have been conducted on 'teacher beliefs' in general, research on epistemic beliefs has focused primarily on students.[7]

The surveys that have been done often categorize three types of teacher understanding about knowing and learning.[8] The positivist/realist perspective on the one end of the spectrum believes that experimentally demonstrated theories give access to objective truth. In this view, the purpose of the teacher is to impart knowledge of 'the truth'.[9] The relativist/postmodernist approach on the other hand states that all knowledge is subjective, there is no truth, and thus 'everything goes'. The constructivist approach, in contrast, views knowledge as a result of a theory-driven process whereby changes in theories are considered a sign of progress. Knowledge in this respect is both subjective and objective, since it is constructed at the interface of the subject and object of knowledge. The teachers' role in this approach is to train students in how to enact the enquiry-based process of aiming for objectivity, even if it can never be totally achieved due to our subjective knowledge structures that influence the way we make sense of 'reality'.

Still, the general sociocultural turn in the social sciences has made clear that subject-object epistemologies are problematic and that the construction of knowledge is of a social nature involving a subject-object-other triad.[10] From this perspective, the quality of social relations between people and groups becomes a central consideration when thinking about how we obtain knowledge of our past, present and future.

One of the consequences of this social constructivist epistemological framework in relation to history teaching, is understanding that a teacher holding a particular set of epistemological beliefs is part and parcel of actual or imaginary dialogue with significant 'others'. It also means that issues of identity, ideology and belonging to certain groups or institutions is expected to have a bearing directly on the formation and expression of particular epistemological beliefs. Maggioni and Parkinson[11] suggest that one reason why many studies cannot prove a causal relation between epistemic beliefs and teaching practices, despite highlighting a correlative relationship between the two, is the role played by contextual factors. They note that teachers consider not only the nature of learning and knowledge, but also the curricular and institutional constraints they face, when planning their lessons. Fundamentally, the institutional setting in which teachers operate, and the ideologies such environments promote, constrain teachers when planning lessons.[12]

In conflict or post-conflict societies, contextual pressures to deliver certain kinds of 'knowledge' may be particularly acute. Firstly there is the curriculum. As Apple notes, *'the curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge.... .It is... someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge'.*[13] Curriculum politics is particularly salient for history, which is often seen as a vehicle to acculturate students with a sense of national consciousness[14] through the transfer of patriotic or national 'truths', as study after study points out.[15] Therefore, history teachers wrestle within a system that already dictates to some degree what kind of 'knowledge' can be passed on: Israel's history syllabus at one point only allocated 1.4% of its time to the Arab history of the land,[16] while Rwanda formally banned history teaching on the 1994 genocide or the country's dynamics leading up to it for ten years after the event.[17]

However, even in environments where the formal curriculum allows teachers to focus on subjects with a range of interpretations or narratives, history teachers sometimes 'play safe'[18] and shy away from tackling controversial events, often citing a fear of upsetting students if painful topics are addressed.[19] They often worry that when history is taught to a classroom containing students with strong allegiances to one particular narrative out of multiple competing narratives, 'emotion kicks in over reason'[20] and rational discussion becomes impossible. Moreover, teachers may also worry that studying recent but politically sensitive history may turn the classroom, intended to be a safe space, into a troublesome,

highly emotional environment.[21] In many situations, teachers report that whilst they support notions of constructivist history in theory, they feel inadequately prepared to teach lessons with it in practice.[22] In South Africa, so great was the problem that an NGO was set up to train already-qualified teachers on this issue.[23] Examination structure can also dis-incentivize teachers otherwise keen to teach a constructivist approach. A European study found teachers and students supporting a fact-based type of teaching because it permitted for direct correlation between students' mastery of knowledge and their grading. Interviews with teachers suggest that the same situation obtains in Korea.[24]

Local communities may also put pressure for history to be taught a certain way. Teachers in Northern Ireland reported pressures from the local context to be the greatest external influence on their teaching.[25] In a study on history teaching in Guatemala, Oglesby records teachers being asked by parents whose family was active in the violence not to teach their children about those events.[26] What is often missed in these discussions is, however, the simple fact that the educator him/herself holds an identity position, acting as a societal actor in a highly contested ideological field. His or her ideological positioning can either promote or hinder particular teaching practices, methodologies and epistemologies in the classroom. Post-conflict societies are the stage *par excellence* to explore such interlinkages.

De facto Separation in Cyprus and the Contact Hypothesis as a Context of History Teaching

A characteristic of today's Cyprus is the division between the two communities of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. This division was particularly entrenched from 1974 until the partial lifting of travel restrictions in 2003. During those post-conflict years most Cypriots had absolutely no contact at all with members of the other community.

The partial lifting of travel restrictions in 2003 offered opportunities for contact to take place between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots which previously were impossible. However, years of division have meant that whole generations of Cypriots have grown up without any contact with members of the other community, and without ever visiting parts of the island or even parts of their own city or

properties which are under the other community's administration. Even now, when travel restrictions have been partially lifted, mental barriers still exist for members of both communities, and thus for educators as well, in meeting and exchanging views on the issue of history teaching. A significant part of these mental barriers is the contrasting views of official historical narratives themselves, since the lack of contact for years meant that the official narratives remained unchallenged by the other side's official view of the history of Cyprus.

Furthermore, on an official level no systematic efforts have promoted quality contact between members of the two communities. Calls have been made from sections of the civil society (e.g. the AHDR, the United Platform of Educators) for the exchange of visits between schools from across the divide, while the present Greek Cypriot Minister of Education has actively promoted such initiatives by issuing circulars that set targets for two consecutive years, (2008-2009, 2009-2010) requiring the cultivation of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Despite these efforts, the majority of educators and school principals have been reluctant to arrange inter-communal visits; and the Greek Cypriot elementary teachers' union (POED) has openly disapproved of and forbidden any such attempts, despite their claim that they generally support the aims of the ministry for the cultivation of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. This reluctance follows from educators' fear of stigmatization by colleagues and society, from issues surrounding recognition of the Turkish Cypriot administration,[27] and from teachers' reluctance to assume responsibility for taking children across community lines or lack of confidence in handling politically sensitive matters.[28] Therefore, for one reason or another, on the whole contact between the two communities in Cyprus, and especially between educators, has been limited.

Numerous international studies with individuals from groups in conflict demonstrate that contacts between people from conflicting groups result in the reduction of prejudice and the promotion of trust.[29] The contact hypothesis[30] proposes that positive, cooperative contacts between individuals from opposing groups, supported by laws and custom, can decrease prejudice and improve inter-group relations. If these conditions are met, contact is deemed to facilitate a better understanding of the out-group, an enhanced ability to take the perspective of the out-group and a reduced sense of threat

from the out-group. In the Cyprus context in particular, it was shown that increased levels of intercommunal contact are directly related to a view of history that challenges the dividing official narratives across the divide when it comes to the general population of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.[31] Still, this issue was never explored until today in the special population of history educators and in relation to the views of history teachers about epistemological beliefs, methodology used, teaching practices and the aims of the curriculum of history teaching.

History Curricula and Textbooks in Cyprus

Both before and since the island's declaration of independence in 1960, the purpose of education has been to reinforce Greek and Turkish Cypriots' national identities and connection to the national 'motherlands' of Greece and Turkey. Separate educational systems for the two communities, by constitution, has produced citizens of Cyprus whose allegiance and symbolic ties are often not to Cyprus but to Turkey or Greece. This trend continued after the final step in the ethnic segregation of the island in 1974, when Turkish troops invaded/intervened and occupied the northern part of the island.

History teachers from both sides of the divide teach using history textbooks that are prepared in either Greece or Turkey, and consequently place emphasis on the respective history of each motherland. Even textbooks specifically on the history of Cyprus that are prepared in Cyprus have strong ethnocentric characteristics.

In the Turkish Cypriot community, the Republican Turkish Party rose to power in 2004, announcing its commitment to solve the Cyprus issue and lead the community into the European Union. Turkish Cypriot officials committed to changing the educational materials to offer a more balanced view of Cypriot history, and to avoid reproducing prejudiced attitudes against Greek Cypriots and the European Union. Subsequently, three textbooks covering the history of Cyprus from the arrival of its first inhabitants to the present were published for secondary schools, together with a few others for primary schools and the lyceum. Local NGOs and educational scholars received them with praise, highlighting the shift in the narrative structure, moral evaluation of the historical actors, and more

Cypriot-centric view.[32] The initiative was also welcomed by left-wing media and politicians, but faced strong criticism from voices on the right of the Turkish Cypriot political spectrum for 'eroding' Turkish national identity. During the 2009 Turkish Cypriot elections, the right-wing National Unity Party vowed to replace the revised history textbooks if it were elected to power. After their victory, the National Unity leadership ordered a revision along a more nationalist paradigm.[33] The textbooks for secondary education currently in use have already replaced the books prepared back in 2004 by the Republican Turkish Party.

On the other side of the divide, 2004 also heralded the commencement of reform efforts. In particular, an Educational Reform Committee was set up to prepare a report on general reform of Greek Cypriot education. With regard to history, it argued in favor of promoting multiperspectivity and reconciliation, suggested a revision to the history textbooks, criticized the use of textbooks from Greece,[34] and emphasized the need for adjustments in history teachers' training. However, the proposed changes never materialized, and in 2008 a newly elected government announced a general reform in the Greek Cypriot educational system. Public debate exploded on whether history education should promote the Greek national identity and maintain the desire for liberation of the semi-occupied island, or whether it should promote a common Cypriot identity and the reunification of the island through reconciliation with Turkish Cypriots.[35] In preparation for the pending educational reform, and following suggestion and approval by various political parties across the political spectrum, an educational committee with its respective working group, comprised solely of academic historians, was formed in 2009 to produce a new curriculum for history education. The committee prepared two proposals since no unanimity could be reached, but one was finally promoted as the official proposition; and it has been criticized for still being ethnocentric, not incorporating decisive methodological changes, and for essentially promoting the same notion of history education as the current curriculum.[36]

It is obvious therefore, that the principles of both educational systems at present do not allow for *'the conceptualization of Cyprus as a multicultural and multiethnic space in the past and the present'*.[37] There is a widely held view that the teaching methods predominantly used in Cyprus emphasize the teacher's authority to dictate knowledge and decide if the students' answers are 'right' or 'wrong', whilst failing to integrate diverse and alternative interpretations into narratives or to develop students' historical

thinking. These teaching methods conform with the overall nationalizing purpose of education, achieved through the upholding of a single legitimate narrative about the past and the community.[38]

In the intense public debate concerning the change of history curricula and textbooks across the divide, another approach to the reformation of the system came from the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR). The AHDR proposes that education in Cyprus should align with international research in education, by promoting the teaching of substantive knowledge that draws upon not just political history, but also local, regional and international history in order to help students relate to and understand the world in which they live. Furthermore, the AHDR expresses the belief in the value of multiperspectivity and empathy in history teaching.[39] Applied to the history of Cyprus, multiperspectivity would show the complexity of relationships between co-habiting groups, political groups, colonizers and colonized, and how the historical actors' interpretations of each other influenced decisions, alliances and perceptions.[40] Encouraging students' empathic reasoning benefits the development of critical historical thinking, as well as students' ability to discuss issues that have moral and civic dimensions.[41] Whilst it is challenging to understand the decisions of past actors from a perspective by definition formed in the present, empathy is a necessary requirement in history.

The present study aims to fill a research gap in Cyprus regarding the views of history teachers across the divide on methodological, epistemological and ideological issues, and to provide answers to questions relating to national identification and representations of history, history teaching, intergroup relations and the epistemic beliefs of history educators in Cyprus. Specifically, it will examine the relation between the following variables: teachers' epistemological beliefs, quality of relations with members of the other community, representations of the recent history of Cyprus, their ideal view of the curriculum, and finally teaching practices in the classroom. Hopefully, these research findings will be of international interest as well, as this research sits at the interface of social psychology and history teaching – an area rarely explored in the two relevant fields.

Method

Procedure-Participants

The study is based on data derived from face-to-face administration of a questionnaire to a nationally representative sample of Greek Cypriot (n = 400) and Turkish Cypriot educators (n = 119) in primary and secondary educational institutions. The interviews were performed in the mother tongue of the respondents by a professional researcher from a private research agency in each respective community.

The sample in the Greek Cypriot community comprised 29.6% males and 70.4% females, where 281 worked in primary education while 115[42] worked in secondary education; they had an average of 13.89 years of teaching experience and 13.01 years of experience teaching history. Their mean age was 38 in primary and 37 in secondary.

In the Turkish Cypriot community the sample comprised 47.9% males and 52.1% females, where 66 worked in primary education and 53 worked in secondary education, with an average of 13.14 years of teaching experience and 9.58 years of experience teaching history. Their mean age was 34 in primary and 35 in secondary.

Initial qualifications and in-service training

In the GC community, only 7% of those teaching history in primary schools and 33% of those teaching history in secondary education actually report having a degree in history. In GC primary education, 72% did their undergraduate studies in Cyprus, 22% in Greece and the rest in the UK, Italy, France and the USA. In secondary education, 75% took their bachelor's in Greece, 18% in Cyprus and the rest in the UK, Italy, France and the USA. In terms of post-graduate studies, 37% of primary school teachers reported having done a master's in various specializations, but almost nobody in history education. The majority had done their master's in the UK (52%) and a significant number (31%) in Cyprus. In secondary education, 25% report having done a master's but only 5% report having done a history-related master's. Many did their master's in the UK (42%) and a significant number (39%) in Cyprus.

It is also worth noting that 78% of Primary School educators and 90% of secondary school educators report having taken history courses during their undergraduate studies. When it comes to courses on *history teaching* in particular, the corresponding percentages are 80% in primary and 78% in secondary. In terms of having taken history courses as part of pre-service or in-service training, the percentages drop to 45% for primary and remain at 78% for secondary. In response to the question 'how many times in the last five years did you attend a *history teaching* seminar organized by the official educational system?' 60% of primary and 37% of secondary stated 'never' as their answer. When it comes to attending seminars outside the official educational system, the corresponding percentages of 'never' were 82% for primary and 70% for secondary. It is also worth noting that 30% of primary school educators and 25% of secondary school teachers know of the AHDR.

About 20% of primary school educators and 18% of secondary school educators disagree that they felt confident to teach history after the completion of their studies. Additionally, 71% of educators in primary and 67% in secondary agree that they need more in-service training in history teaching. Also, 44% of educators in primary and 40% of secondary disagree that the opportunities offered in Cyprus for in-service training in history teaching cover their needs. The sources for enriching historical knowledge and knowledge of history teaching are mainly newspapers, and to a significantly lower degree, scientific journals and history books. Internet comes last in order at both levels. When asked to describe the depth of their substantive *historical knowledge*, the majority describe it as moderate to high. When it comes to evaluating their knowledge of *history teaching*, the majority again describe it as moderate to high, but only 5-6% describe it as very high at both levels of education. There is also a percentage of around 10-15% at both levels who describe their knowledge as rather poor.

In the Turkish Cypriot community, all primary school educators have a degree in general education and not history specifically, but 92% of those teaching history at the secondary level actually do have a history degree. In primary education, 97% took their bachelors in Cyprus and only 3% in Turkey. In secondary education, 44% took their bachelor's in Cyprus and 56% in Turkey. In terms of post-graduate studies, 5% of primary school teachers and 7% of secondary school teachers report having done a master's. Only a few people have done a PhD in education.

It is also worth noting that 65% of primary school educators report having taken history courses during their undergraduate studies, and all history teachers in secondary. When it comes to *history teaching* in particular, the corresponding percentages drop to 41% in primary and 36% in secondary. In terms of having taken history courses as part of pre-service or in-service training, the percentages drop to 20% for primary and remain at 32% for secondary. To the question 'how many times in the last five years did you attend a history teaching seminar organized by the official educational system?' 46% of primary and 23% of secondary stated 'never' as their answer. The majority of those who did get a seminar referred to one organized by the educational authorities in the north on the CTP new (by now old) textbooks back in 2008. When it comes to attending seminars outside the official educational system, the corresponding percentages stating 'never' were 49% for primary and 28% for secondary, which was considerably lower than the levels in the GC community – suggesting that many educators are in fact taking part in events organized by NGOs like the AHDR on history teaching. Most of the participants referred specifically to attending the EUROCLIO conference co-organized on the UN Buffer Zone by the AHDR and the teacher trade unions across the divide. It is also worth noting that 42% of primary school educators know of the AHDR, and 60% of secondary school teachers.

About 35% of TC Primary school educators and 14% of secondary school educators disagree that they 'felt confident to teach history after the completion of their studies'. Additionally, 44% of educators in primary and 80% in secondary agree that they need more in-service training in *history teaching*. Also, 24% of educators in primary and 50% of secondary disagree that the opportunities offered in Cyprus for in-service training in history teaching cover their needs. The sources for enriching historical knowledge and knowledge of history teaching are mainly newspapers, and to a lower degree, scientific journals and history books, although scientific journals are more commonly used by secondary school educators compared to primary school educators. Internet comes last in order at both levels. When asked to describe the depth of their substantive *historical knowledge*, the majority describe it as moderate to high; but there is a much higher percentage of primary school educators stating that they have a poor grasp (26%) of historical knowledge and *history teaching*, compared to TC secondary educators, among whom almost nobody states this.

The Scales

Scales were constructed (see Table 1 in Appendix) based on the items of the questionnaire which showed high levels of internal consistency.[43] Most items were measured on 5-point Likert scales, where 1 represented *Absolutely Disagree* and 5 represented *Absolutely Agree*, unless otherwise stated.

The first two scales constructed focus on the history curriculum where the first, *'Curriculum for Reconciliation'*, describes the belief that the history curriculum should promote reconciliation and peace while the second, *'Curriculum for historical thinking'*, expresses the idea that the history curriculum should focus on promoting historical thinking. The next scale constructed, *'Current textbooks pluralistic'*, expresses the belief that the textbooks currently used are pluralistic. Due to the recent change of history textbooks in the Turkish Cypriot community, it should be mentioned that the participants were asked to state their opinion on the textbooks that they used at the time of the research, which were the latest textbooks published in 2009 by the UBP administration. The next scale constructed, labelled *'Self-reported emphasis on historical thinking'*, expresses the focus of the history educator's teaching on historical thinking during the history lesson.

The next set of scales describe the epistemological beliefs of history educators. The first of these, labelled *'Relativism'*, expresses the relativist epistemological belief that historical truth is subjective and that one interpretation can be equally valid to another.[44] Further, the second scale on epistemic beliefs, *'Constructivism'*, expresses the belief that historical truth is constructed, that it is subject to change as new evidence emerges, and that one interpretation can be more valid than another.[45]

The following set of scales refers to the intergroup relations between members of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities in Cyprus. The first such scale was labelled *'Quantity of Contact'* and refers to the quantity of contact history educators have with members of the out-group community,[46] while the second such scale, *'Quality of Contact,'* refers to the quality of the contact between the participant and the members of the out-group community.[47] *'Attitude towards the out-group'* is comprised of a single item which requires the participants to state their feelings towards members of the out-group, on a scale resembling a thermometer ranging from 0 to 100 degrees.[48] This scale was recoded so as to range

from 1 to 10, where 10 represents the most positive feelings or attitudes towards the out-group. Further, the *'Turco/Helleno-centrism'* scale expressed the participants' identity alignment with the respective 'motherland', that is, with either Greece or Turkey.[49]

The next scale constructed, *'Criticize Turkey and foreign powers for Cyprus problem',* expressed the participants' emphasis on and criticism of the role of Turkey and of foreign powers in creating the Cyprus issue, as against the view that Turkey intervened in 1974 to save TCs from GCs who actually created the Cyprus issue with their struggle for union with Greece. As such, this scale expresses adherence to the official Greek Cypriot narrative in the high scores, and adherence to the official Turkish Cypriot narrative in the low scores.

The scale *'Communal Identification'* expresses participants' identification with their respective communities, that is, with either the Greek or the Turkish Cypriot community.[50] Lastly, the scale labelled 'Perceived Collective *Continuity*'[51] reflects the participants' belief in an essentialist view of perceived continuity of traditions and values that is facilitated by the perception that the group history has narrative coherence. It is a variable directly relating to the history of a group which is expected to be closely correlated with Communal Identification and Nationalist views, since the nationalist ideology is based on myths and dogmas of continuity.

Exploring similarities and differences between the two communities and the two levels of education

After constructing the scales, similarities and differences were explored between the two communities of history educators across the existing divide in Cyprus, as well as between educators teaching in the primary and those teaching in secondary education. This was done by a 2 (Community: GC/TC) x 2 (Level of Education: Primary/Secondary) between-subjects ANOVA with all the scales used as dependent variables. These analyses permitted one to investigate whether the fact that a particular educator belonged to one or the other community, and/or whether he/she taught in either primary or secondary education, affected his/her responses to the items of our scales.

Essentially, the participants were divided into four groups according to their group membership: 1) Greek Cypriot primary school educators; 2) Greek Cypriot secondary school educators; 3) Turkish Cypriot primary school educators; and 4) Turkish Cypriot secondary school educators. In this way we were able to compare the statistical mean of these four groups of participants on the scales constructed, in order to explore possible differences between them. The Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) permits for the exploration of such differences as it indicates if any differences between groups are statistically significant - that is, whether the mean of the responses of one group of participants is statistically different from the mean of the responses of the participants in the other groups.

Means and Standard Deviations for educators at both levels and both communities are reported in Table 2 of the Appendix. The mean score is calculated by adding together the responses of all the participants of a group on a particular item and then dividing the sum with the total number of participants in that group. Since most of our scales range from 1 to 5, where 1 represents *Absolutely Disagree* and 5 represents *Absolutely Agree*, then a mean score below 3, which would be the mid-point of the scale, indicates disagreement with the position of the particular scale while a score above 3 represents general agreement with the scale's positions.

On the history teaching related set of scales, the analysis revealed that the members of the two communities significantly differed in their responses to the scale *Curriculum for Reconciliation* ($F(1,513)=6.94, p=.009$). This difference was found between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot educators in general, irrespective of the level of education at which they taught. Specifically, Turkish Cypriot educators expressed greater enthusiasm ($M=3.98$) for a 'reconciliation curriculum' than Greek Cypriot educators ($M=3.78$). However, in general history, teachers from both communities did appear to be positively disposed towards the concept of a 'reconciliation curriculum', as mean responses for both groups were above the mid-point of 3 on a scale from 1 to 5.

With respect to the second scale, *Curriculum for Historical Thinking*, the findings were more complicated due to an interaction effect ($F(1,513)= 20.599, p<.001$) that qualified both the main effect of community ($F(1,513)= 8.69, p<.003$) and of level of education ($F(1,513)= 25.14, p<.001$). Primary school and secondary school educators had a similar score in the Greek Cypriot community ($M=4.69$),

but in the Turkish Cypriot community the elementary school educators (M= 4.29) scored significantly lower compared to Greek Cypriots at both levels and compared to Turkish Cypriot secondary school educators (M=4.79). So while Turkish Cypriot primary school teachers agreed the least with this scale, Turkish Cypriot secondary school teachers agreed more than all other groups with it.

An interaction effect (F (1,513)= 21.24, p<0.001) was also found on *Current Textbooks seen as Pluralistic* that qualified a main effect of level of education (F (1,513)= 7.14, p<.008). Greek Cypriot primary (M= 2.64) and secondary school educators (M= 2.76) had similar scores, but in the Turkish Cypriot community the primary school educators (M=2.97) were more likely to think that the current textbooks were expressing various voices, compared to Turkish Cypriot secondary school educators (M= 2.52), who were more critical of the absence of various voices in the textbooks. It was interesting to note that at the level of primary, Turkish Cypriots (M=2.97) scored higher than Greek Cypriots (M=2.64); but at the level of secondary, it was the Greek Cypriots(M=2.76) who scored higher than Turkish Cypriots (M= 2.52) on this scale.Still, the majority of educators across the divide expressed their dissatisfaction with the textbooks used on both sides of the existing divide in terms of their lack of pluralistic spirit.

On the scale *Self-reported use of Historical Thinking Methods*, a main effect of community (F (1,513) =55.107, p<.0001) suggested that Greek Cypriot history teachers of both levels of education (M=4.38) scored higher on this scale than Turkish Cypriot teachers of both levels (M=4.04). In addition, a main affect of level of education (F (1,513)=25.09,p<.001) suggested that secondary school teachers, irrespective of their communities (M=4.42), scored higher on this scale than elementary school teachers (M=4.24). However, again it should be mentioned that the majority of educators expressed their agreement with the scale, as their responses were well above the mid-point of 3.

With respect to epistemological beliefs, Turkish Cypriot history teachers, irrespective of their level of education (M =3.35), agreed more than Greek Cypriot teachers (M =3.07) with the *Relativism* scale (F (1,513) =9.65,p=.002). On *Constructivism* the picture was far more complicated, since a marginally significant interaction effect (F(1,513)=3.58,p=.059) suggested that secondary school educators (M

=4.34) had a higher score compared to elementary educators (M =4.03) in both communities; but in the Turkish Cypriot community the difference was more pronounced. This interaction effect also meant that Turkish Cypriots of secondary education (M =4.49), but not of primary (M =4.04), scored significantly higher than Greek Cypriots of the secondary level (M =4.27). Again, despite these differences it is worth noting that the mean scores for both levels across the divide on constructivism are over 4, which is considered very high.

With respect to the scales related to intergroup relations, main effects of community were found on both the *Quantity of Contact* ($F(1,513)=78.14$, $p<0.001$) and on *Quality of Contact* ($F(1,513)=8.58, p=0.004$) where, in both cases, Turkish Cypriots scored higher than Greek Cypriots irrespective of the level of education. Turkish Cypriot participants report having more contact with members of the Greek Cypriot community (M =2.17) than Greek Cypriot participants report having contact with members of the Turkish Cypriot community (M =1.47); and in addition, Turkish Cypriot participants perceive the contact they have with Greek Cypriots to have a more positive quality (M =3.02) than vice versa (M =2.75). It should be noted, however, that the quantity of contact is generally low in both communities.[52] The better quantity and quality of contact in the Turkish Cypriot community is also reflected in the fact that the social norm of having contact with Greek Cypriots in the working milieu of colleagues is generally positive in Turkish Cypriot schools, compared to a negative or ambivalent social norm in the Greek Cypriot community, as revealed by a comparison on a single item that was also included in the questionnaire, asking whether they agree or disagree with the statement *'My colleagues generally approve of being friends with Greek Cypriots'.*

Moreover, on the *Turko/Helleno-centrism* scale, a main effect of community ($F(1,513)=124.42$, $p<0.001$) suggested that Greek Cypriot educators expressed greater Hellenocentrism (M =4.05) than Turkish Cypriot educators expressed Turko-centrism (M =3.15).

Further, Greek Cypriot teachers (M =4.01), as expected, were critical towards *Turkey and foreign powers* regarding the Cyprus problem, closely adhering to their official historical narrative. Similarly, Turkish Cypriots were more likely to disagree with this view (M =2.71), thus echoing their respective community's official narratives ($F(1,513)=416.15, p<0.001$). The fact that the majority of Greek

Cypriots supported this view while the majority of Turkish Cypriots disagreed with this view, but instead agreed more with the reverse coded items *('In 1974 Turkey invaded Cyprus in order to protect the Turkish Cypriots' and 'TMT arose out of the need of Turkish Cypriots to protect themselves')* shows the great gap that exists between the two official historical narratives of victimization.

Moreover, no differences were found on the *Communal Identification* scale, as both communities expressed high levels of identification with their respective communal groups across level of education (Greek Cypriots, M =3.99; Turkish Cypriots, M =4.00).

With respect to Perceived *Collective Continuity,* Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriots both expressed their general agreement with the scale, as their scores were above the mid-point of 3; but it was found ($F(1,513)=57.318, p<0.001$) that Greek Cypriot participants (M =4.05) agreed significantly more with the positions of this scale than did Turkish Cypriot participants (M =3.63), which could relate to the finding that GC educators were more Hellenocentric compared to TC educators being Turkocentric.

Finally, on *Positive attitude towards the out-group only,* an interaction effect was found ($F(1,513)=4.950, p=.027$), where Turkish Cypriot primary school educators (M=5.08) had the lowest positive attitude towards members of the Greek Cypriot community, whilst Greek Cypriot primary teachers (M =5.92), Greek Cypriot secondary school teachers (M =5.61), and Turkish Cypriot secondary school teachers (m=5.83) reported higher positive attitudes, although this difference did not reach significance.

How does the self-reported use of historical thinking methods relate to the other variables?

An exploration of the relationships between the scales in the GC community by level of education is presented in Tables 5.1, and for the TC community in Table 5.2 in the Appendix. For the GC community it is worth noting that the variables relating to the quality of intergroup relations are often correlated with each other as one might expect, at moderate levels ($0.50>r>0.30$) (Curriculum for Reconciliation, Quality and Quantity of Contact, Helleno/Turko-centrism, Identification with communal identity,

Criticising Turkey and Foreigners for the Cyprus issue, Perceived Collective Continuity, Positive Attitudes towards Members of the Other Community). This is more or less true in both communities, although minor differentiations also exist. For example, Identification with Communal Identity is related with no other variable in the case of TC secondary school teachers, and with only contact variables and Turko-centrism in the case of primary school teachers. This is probably due to the fact that the communal identity of 'Kibrisli Turk' in the TC community is an identity that is widely used across the ideological spectrum,[53] contrary to the corresponding *Ellinokiprios that is often juxtaposed to Cypriot in the GC community.*

On the other hand, scales relating to pedagogical and epistemological beliefs also relate with each other to a moderate degree (e.g Curriculum for Historical Thinking, Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods, Constructivism), and this is true for educators of both levels in both communities.

What is interesting to observe, however, is that in the GC community the pedagogical issues seem to be independent or weakly correlated with ideological/intergroup relations matters, since variables across the two sets are rarely significantly related. In the TC community, on the contrary, at least two variables from each set are moderately to highly correlated. For example, the correlation between Curriculum for Reconciliation and Curriculum for Historical Thinking reaches moderate levels in the secondary ($r=.41$, $p<0.001$) and high levels at primary education ($r=.59$, $p<0.001$). This might indicate that, in contrast to the GC community, reconciliation and the cultivation of historical thinking are not seen as unrelated or even incompatible aims.

What was more interesting in this context was whether self-reported practices promoting historical thinking in particular could be predicted from the rest of the scales constructed. To this end we performed regression analysis using the *self-reported practices promoting historical thinking* as the criterion variable, and all the rest of the variables as predictors based on the stepwise process.

For the GC sample, *Curriculum for Historical Thinking,* $b = .34$, $t(396) = 7.56$, $p < .001$, *Constructivism*, $b = .25$, $t(396) = 5.63$, $p < .001$ and *Hellenocentrism to a lesser extent* $b = .17$, $t(396)= 3.92< .001$ significantly predicted self-reported use of historical thinking methods scores. All three variables

explained a significant proportion of variance in *self-reported use of historical thinking methods scores,* $R2 = .27$, $F (3, 396) = 50.70$, $p < .001$. Beyond the expected relationship between support for a curriculum that promotes historical thinking and the actual practice of it, it is important to note the significance of constructivism in relation to the practices of historical thinking which is in line with the literature reviewed earlier. What is however, puzzling, is the way Hellenocentric views relate to historical thinking practices; this demands further investigation. The fact that in Table 5.1 Hellenocentrism is not significantly correlated with self-reported practices at either the primary or the secondary level suggests that the correlation with Hellenocentrism might be spurious.

For the TC sample, only *Curriculum for Historical Thinking,* $b = .33$, $t(117) = 3.78$, $p < .001$, significantly predicted *self-reported use of historical thinking methods scores. Curriculum for Historical Thinking* explained a significant proportion of variance in *self-reported use of historical thinking methods scores,* $R2 = .10$, $F (1, 117) = 14.31$, $p < .001$.

Still, correlations mask important variability within each community, so another statistical method was employed that aimed at identifying different 'profiles' of teachers within each community.

Representations and Identities within each community: Ideological positions and teaching practice

The analyses did not only focus on differences between the two communities and relationships between the variables in each community; similarities and differences within each community were also explored. In order to identify possible positions that differentiate members of the two communities internally, a *Two-step Cluster Analysis* was performed on the participants' responses to the scales of the study.[54] The *Two-step Cluster Analysis* is a method of identifying subpopulations in samples (or in the two communities in this case), and can facilitate the identification of the organizing principles that orient groups of people within each community towards their relationship with the 'other' community. That is, instead of looking at trends and differences between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history educators, we will now turn our attention to possible trends and differences within our sample of Greek Cypriot history educators and within our sample of Turkish Cypriot history educators.

Looking at history educators in the Greek Cypriot community, three different identity positions, or clusters, were found (see Table 3). Cluster 1 (GC-C1) described a pro-TC and history for reconciliation position that also scored high on self-reported use of historical thinking methods and constructivism. Cluster 2 (GC-C2) described a position that was ambivalent to positive towards TCs, however, virtually not having contact with TCs; high on Hellenocentrism but also high on self-reported use of historical thinking methods and constructivism. Cluster 3 (GC-C3) was ambivalent to negative and isolated from TCs, scored moderate to high on self-reported use of historical thinking methods, and had the lower score of all clusters on both constructivism and relativism.

As can be seen from Table 3, history educators falling in GC-C1 are characterized by a highly positive attitude towards TCs, especially when compared to the other two clusters which show less positive attitudes towards TCs, with GC-C3 scoring below 5, the mid-point of that scale. In terms of contact, it is obvious that the levels of the quantity of contact in all three clusters are low, but history educators in C1 do report more contact with members of the Turkish Cypriot community than do history educators in GC-C2 and GC-C3. The latter two clusters actually seem to be isolated from Turkish Cypriots. Further, history educators in GC-C1, scored lower than history educators in GC-C2 and GC-C3 on Communal Identification and on Hellenocentrism, even though participants in GC-C1 did score higher than the mid-point of 3 on Communal Identity, thus expressing their identification with Greek Cypriot identity. On the other hand, history educators in GC-C2 expressed the highest identification both with the communal Greek Cypriot identity and with the idea of a 'motherland' Greece, when compared to the other two clusters. In effect, history educators falling in GC-C3 seemed to be in between GC-C1 and GC-C2 in their responses on the scales related to the communal identification and Hellenocentrism. A similar trend appeared with respect to criticizing Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem. In this case, it was again GC-C2 which expressed the highest agreement with this position, while GC-C1 and GC-C3 expressed lower agreement on this scale. However, it should be noted that all three clusters did express agreement with criticizing Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem, as they all scored above the mid-point of 3. With respect to continuity, again the same pattern appeared, as of all three clusters GC-C2 expressed greater agreement with essentialist views of continuity, with GC-C1 expressing the least agreement. Again, however, as in the case of criticizing Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem, all three clusters scored above the mid-point of this scale, thus expressing their general agreement with the Greek Cypriot official narrative.

Moving on to the scales which refer to history teaching, it can be seen that participants who fall in GC-C1 expressed, as expected, the most support for the proposition that the history curriculum should be used in support of reconciliation. Even though the other two clusters did express some support for this position, GC-C1 expressed by far the most agreement with this position. GC-C1 and GC-C2 also expressed support for the idea that the history curriculum should promote historical thinking, with GC-C3,compared to the other clusters, expressing significantly lower agreement with this position. A similar pattern can be observed from the positions of the three clusters with regard to the reported emphasis on historical thinking; however, in this case GC-C2 expressed the most agreement with this scale, while GC-C1 also expressed similarly high agreement although at a significantly lower level compared to GC-C2. GC-C3 on the other hand, expressed the least agreement with this scale when compared to the other two clusters. The opposite trend, however, appeared with respect to considering the current history textbooks as pluralistic. Even though all three clusters scored below the mid-point on this scale, thus unanimously expressing their dissatisfaction with the current textbooks used, GC-C1 expressed a stronger criticism of the textbooks compared to both GC-C3 and GC-C2.

With regards to epistemological beliefs, some interesting inconsistencies and tensions were revealed regarding GC-C2. Participants in GC-C2 were found to be the most Constructivist of all three clusters but at the same time the most Relativist of all three clusters, on the whole tending to agreement with both scales, which suggests that perhaps the way constructivism is interpreted from this position is problematic. A Machiavellian reading of constructivism could possible resolve this tension – if there were people, for example, who thought that the historical interpretations accepted as more valid by a society are the ones that are supported by the greater number of people or the more powerful. History educators in GC-C3 scored the lowest both on Relativism and Constructivism; this was actually combined with high adherence to a naive realistic view about history.[55] Participants in GC-C1 exhibited a consistent constructivist position, largely disagreeing with both realist and relativist views. It should be noted that all three clusters agreed more with Constructivism than with Relativism, which is an encouraging finding. It was also interesting to note that the distribution of the three clusters in the two levels of education did not differ significantly.

Table 3. Two step cluster analysis on the sample of Greek Cypriot history educators

GC-C1: Pro-TCs & Reconciliation/ Highly for Historical Thinking (13.2% of sample)	GC-C2: Ambivalent to TCs & History for Reconciliation/ Hellenocentric/ High for Historical thinking (54.8% of sample)	GC-C3: Ambivalent and isolated from TCs Ambivalent towards History for Reconciliation/ Moderate for Historical Thinking (32% of sample)
Attitude towards Turkish Cypriots (7.55/10)[c]	Attitude towards Turkish Cypriots (6.04/10)[b]	Attitude towards Turkish Cypriots (4.83/10)[a]
Quantity of Contact (2.38/5)[b]	Quantity of Contact (1.36/5)[a]	Quantity of Contact (1.31/5)[a]
Communal Identification as Greek Cypriot(3.23/5)[a]	Communal Identification as Greek Cypriot (4.21/5)[c]	Communal Identification as Greek Cypriot (3.90/5)[b]
Hellenocentrism(2.84/5)[a]	Hellenocentrism (4.35/5)[c]	Hellenocentrism (4.02/5)[b]
Criticizing Turkey and Foreign powers for Cyprus problem (3.72/5)[a]	Criticizing Turkey and Foreign powers for Cyprus problem (4.23/5)[b]	Criticizing Turkey and Foreign powers for Cyprus problem (3.73/5)[a]
Continuity (3.59/5)[a]	Continuity (4.26/5)[c]	Continuity (3.89/5)[b]
Curriculum for Reconciliation (4.44/5)[c]	Curriculum for Reconciliation (3.81/5)[b]	Curriculum for Reconciliation (3.47/5)[a]
Curriculum for Historical Thinking (4.83/5)[b]	Curriculum for Historical Thinking(4.86/5)[b]	Curriculum for Historical Thinking (4.34/5)[a]
Current Textbooks Pluralistic (2.22/5)[a]	Current Textbooks Pluralistic (2.74/5)[b]	Current Textbooks Pluralistic (2.75/5)[b]
Self-reported emphasis on historical thinking (4.35/5)[b]	Self-reported emphasis on historical thinking (4.57/5)[c]	Self-reported emphasis on historical thinking (4.07/5)[a]
Relativism (2.91/5)[a]	Relativism(3.28/5)[b]	Relativism (2.80/5)[a]
Constructivism (4.30/5)[b]	Constructivism(4.31/5)[b]	Constructivism (3.76/5)[a]

Note: Scales with a different superscript differ at $p<0.05$ based on Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons

From the epistemological perspective, it seems therefore that in GC-C1 *constructivism*, but not *relativism*, goes hand in hand with more positive attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots as well as more contact with members of the Turkish Cypriot community, with support for the history curriculum to be used to promote reconciliation, support for the history curriculum to be used for historical thinking, and dissatisfaction with the current history textbooks. Moreover, it is accompanied with less alignment with the motherland of Greece, lower support for the official narrative of blaming Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem, less identification with the Greek Cypriot community and less agreement with essentialist views of perceived collective continuity. Thus the overall picture emerging from the position of GC-C1 is one that could be described as critical of the hegemonic discourse, unbiased and pedagogically informed, and that is unfortunately a minority position in the GC community.

On the other hand, it seems that in GC-C2 epistemological confusion reigns, since not only are relativist and constructivist views often found in the same person; but moreover, they are often coupled with adherence to naïve realistic views like 'In History the facts speak for themselves and do not require interpretation' or 'Historical truth is given and we can always discover it', as further explorations with single items reveal. The high adherence to essentialist views of perceived collective continuity in this position also casts a shadow on the authenticity of constructivist views expressed by it, on their honesty in answering that that they often use historical thinking methods in their teaching, and on their high agreement with the notion that the curriculum should be used for the promotion of historical thinking. To put it in another way, how could somebody be a constructivist once he or she refuses to engage with views of the 'other' in the pursuit of historical knowledge if the latter are considered as challenging the received wisdom of the official national history?

The contradictions in this position are also associated, on the one hand, with being moderately positively disposed towards Turkish Cypriots but having no contact at all with them; and on the other hand, showing high adherence to a Greek-centric view of history and community and essentialist views of perceived collective continuity. This identity position is legitimized by high commitment to the official narrative with regard to the Cyprus problem, whilst at the same time exhibiting slightly positive attitudes towards support for the use of the curriculum for reconciliation but also reduced

satisfaction with the current textbooks being used that are well known for their ethnocentric outlook. Lastly, in GC-C3 the small agreement with *constructivism* and disagreement with *relativism* often goes hand in hand with naïve realistic views like 'In History the facts speak for themselves and do not require interpretation' or 'Historical truth is given and we can always discover it'. This position is related to weak negative to ambivalent attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots and little to no contact with Turkish Cypriots, coupled with a moderate to high emotional attachment to the so-called 'motherland'. It is also characteristic of moderate identification with the Greek Cypriot community, and moderate criticism of Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem, that are closely related to moderate agreement with essentialist views of *perceived collective continuity* and moderate disagreement with the use of the current textbooks. However, it is also associated with low agreement with the curriculum to be used for promoting reconciliation, low agreement with the position that the curriculum should promote historical thinking, and low reported emphasis on historical thinking during their lessons. On the whole this is a position characteristic of the more comparatively poor pedagogical outlook and prejudiced view of Turkish Cypriots of all clusters.

Turning to the Turkish Cypriot history educators, a different picture emerged through the *Two-step Cluster Analysis* results (see Table 4). Cluster 1 (TC-C1) was a pro-GC and history for reconciliation position that also included a strong element of Cypriot-centric criticism of Turkey and Turko-centrism. Participants occupying this position also scored high on self-reported use of historical thinking methods, relativism, and even more constructivism. Cluster 2 (TC-C2) described an ambivalent to negative stance towards GCs, ambivalence towards history for reconciliation, and significantly lower scores on curriculum and self-reported methods for historical thinking and constructivism compared to TC-C1, although still moderate to high.

As can be seen from Table 4, the analysis in the TC sample gave a two-cluster solution, which revealed a more polarized context for history teaching compared to the GC one. Turkish Cypriot educators in TC-C1 show a more positive attitude towards members of the Greek Cypriot community than their colleagues in TC-C2 who actually report a negative attitude towards Greek Cypriots (below the mid-point of 5). It is worth noting that the percentage of the sample representing this position is substantially higher than the corresponding GC pro-reconciliation cluster.

As one might expect, TC-C2 expressed more identification with the Turkish Cypriot identity and with the motherland of Turkey than TC-C1, where TC-C1 even reached the point of expressing its disagreement with Turco-centrism by scoring below the mid-point of what can be described as an expression of Cypriot-centric views on the Cyprus issue. These positions are in accordance with the greater criticism by TC-C1 of Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem as compared to TC-C2, even though it should be noted that on the whole both clusters did disagree with blaming Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem, rather being more inclined to blame GCs for it. With respect to essentialist views of perceived collective continuity, TC-C2 expressed greater agreement with this scale than TC-C1, even though both clusters scored above the mid-point of this scale, thus expressing their agreement with its positions.

Moving on to the scales related to history teaching and the history curriculum, Turkish Cypriot history educators in TC-C1 expressed more agreement than participants in TC-C2 with the history curriculum to be used to promote reconciliation, as well as with the history curriculum to focus on the promotion of historical thinking. Further, they also reported giving more emphasis to historical thinking during their lessons. Moreover, as in the case of the Greek Cypriot sample, Turkish Cypriot history educators in TC-C1 clearly expressed their dissatisfaction with the history textbooks they are currently being asked to use, as they did not agree that the textbooks are pluralistic. However, the majority of educators in TC-C2 neither agreed nor disagreed with the idea that current textbooks are pluralistic, some even finding the current books pluralistic.

With respect to the epistemological beliefs, it can clearly be observed that Turkish Cypriot history educators in TC-C1 score higher on both Relativism and Constructivism than their colleagues in TC-C2. This finding probably indicates some confusion on epistemological issues for TC-C1, that was not the case for GC-C1.

From the *Two-step Cluster Analysis* on the Turkish Cypriot sample, it seems therefore that higher *constructivism* is related to a more positive attitude towards Greek Cypriots, less identification with the Turkish Cypriot identity, rejection of Turco-centrism, more criticism of the role of Turkey and foreign powers in the Cyprus problem, and less agreement with essentialist views of continuity. Further, they

are associated with more support for the use of the history curriculum in promoting reconciliation and in promoting historical thinking, more emphasis given to historical thinking during the history lesson, and less satisfaction with the current textbooks.

It was also interesting to note that the distribution of the three clusters in the two levels of education differ significantly in the TC, in contrast to the GC community, where the distribution of the clusters was similar for both levels of education. In primary, the percentages were TC-C1: 34,8 %, TC-C2: 65,2%. In contrast, in secondary the percentages were TC-C1: 54,7%, TC-C2: 45,3%. This significant finding suggested that the majority of primary school teachers were rather more conservative than TC secondary school history teachers.

Table 4. Two-step cluster analysis on the sample of Turkish Cypriot history educators

TC-C1: Pro-GC/Cypriocentric/High for historical Thinking (43.7% of sample)	TC-C2: Ambivalent to negative towards GCs/Ambivalent towards History for reconciliation / Turko-centric /Moderate to high for historical thinking (56.3% of sample)
Attitude towards Greek Cypriots (6.96/10)[b]	Attitude towards Greek Cypriots (4.21/10)[a]
Quantity of Contact (2.26/5)[a]	Quantity of Contact (2.10/5)[a]
Communal Identification as TC (3.72/5)[a]	Communal Identification as TC (4.23/5)[b]
Turko-centrism (2.53/5)[a]	Turko-centrism (3.63/5)[b]
Criticizing Turkey and Foreign powers for Cyprus problem (2.95/5)[b]	Criticizing Turkey and Foreign powers for Cyprus problem (2.54/5)[a]
Continuity (3.38/5)[a]	Continuity (3.83/5)[b]
Curriculum for Reconciliation (4.63/5)[b]	Curriculum for Reconciliation (3.48/5)[a]
Curriculum for Historical Skills (4.84/5)[b]	Curriculum for Historical Skills (4.27/5)[a]
Current Textbooks Pluralistic (2.44/5)[a]	Current Textbooks Pluralistic (3.03/5)[b]
Self-reported emphasis on historical thinking (4.28/5)[b]	Self-reported emphasis on historical thinking (3.87/5)[a]

TC-C1: Pro-GC/Cypriocentric/High for historical Thinking (43.7% of sample)	TC-C2: Ambivalent to negative towards GCs/Ambivalent towards History for reconciliation / Turko-centric /Moderate to high for historical thinking (56.3% of sample)
Relativism (3.53/5)[b]	Relativism (3.22/5)[a]
Constructivism (4.55/5)[b]	Constructivism (4.00/5)[a]

Note: Scales with a different superscript differ at $p<0.05$ based on Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons

Discussion

Through this piece of research we have explored the similarities and differences between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot educators in Cyprus, as well as internal differentiations relating to ideological, epistemological and pedagogical variations. We have explored the current status and needs of educators in relation to the initial, pre- and in-service training and additionally identified the key positions, beliefs and attitudes held by history educators across the existing divide with respect to the content and aims of the history curricula and the textbooks used. Further, we presented data related to intergroup relations between history educators and members of the other community and also explored issues of identity and blame about the Cyprus problem. Finally, we presented data on the epistemological beliefs of history educators across the divide.

These findings allow some specific suggestions to be made for the advancement of history teaching across the divide and across levels of education. It seems that there is general agreement across the divide for the need to have a history curriculum that promotes reconciliation, and even more, the cultivation of historical thinking. Also, there is a general criticism of the current textbooks as lacking in pluralism and multiperspecivity.

This research has brought to the surface some important tensions and inconsistencies when it comes to the relation between constructivist epistemology, ideology, and teaching methods and practices which, beyond the limitations of questionnaire surveys and their weaknesses in capturing actual

practice, probably indicate an underlying tension around the role envisioned by the 'other' and other's official narrative in the construction of historical knowledge. Whilst in both communities constructivism is often positively related with self-reported use of historical thinking methods, support for a curriculum for historical thinking and a criticism of mono-perspective/non-pluralistic textbooks, it is also true that in the TC community, it positively correlates with support for a curriculum for reconciliation; and in TC primary specifically, it additionally correlates with positive attitude towards GCs. On the contrary, in the secondary education of GCs it is related to higher identification with communal identity, which is usually a mark of increased majoritarianism and negativity in intergroup relations in the GC community.[56] This suggests that in the GC community a considerable number of GC educators might see the promotion of reconciliation and the cultivation of historical thinking as incompatible. When they agree with statements such as 'In studying historical texts it is important to ask questions about the validity of the author's arguments', 'It is possible for one interpretation to be more valid than another', 'Historical knowledge is open to review as it is subjected to new findings and new evidence', this is done on condition that this openness to new interpretations will not lead to upsetting the dominant ethnocentric official narrative of their community.

Policy makers can work towards both the directions of promoting reconciliation and historical thinking, feeling confident that they have strong support for this from a large percentage of the population of educators; but they also need to convince those who feel insecure or ambivalent about this change that it will not be done at the expense of cultivating historical thinking, which seems to be the priority across the divide and across levels of education. It could indeed be argued that reconciliation and the promotion of historical thinking are not necessarily related but can be absolutely compatible projects that support each other, as long as reconciliation is defined in a way that is premised on the cultivation of open dialogue between perspectives and coordination of those perspectives towards higher forms of historical knowledge and second order skills, without silencing or replacing one politically motivated narrative with another and without a priori exclusion of the 'other's' (within and across community) perspectives from this endeavor of coordinating perspectives.[57] The present findings indeed support such a claim, since we find that in many participants, pro-reconciliation attitudes go hand in hand with high adherence to the cultivation of historical thinking. The present findings are a challenge and a call to teacher trade unions across the divide to actively promote both reconciliation and historical thinking. The fact that the majority of educators are in favour of both of these aims makes their task even easier.

Notes

1. This is a shorter version of a Report published elsewhere by the same authors. The original title is 'History Educators across the existing divide in Cyprus: Perceptions, Beliefs and Practices'; the report can be found on the webpage of AHDR.

2. Psaltis, C. and Duveen, G. (2006), p. 410.

3. Psaltis, C., and Makriyanni, C. (2009) 'Historical Dialogue and Reconciliation in Cyprus', PRIO 2009 Annual Conference, 'Learning from Comparing Conflicts and Reconciliation Processes: A Holistic Approach. Makriyanni, C., Psaltis C. and Latif, D. (forthcoming) 'Historical Education, Historical Culture, History didactics in EU-Europa', pp. 27-29.

4. Makriyanni, C. and Psaltis, C. (2007).

5. e.g. Maggioni L., Alexander, P. and VanSledright, B. (2004). 'At a crossroads? The development of epistemological beliefs and historical thinking', *European Journal of School Psychology*, 2, (1).

6. e.g. Hofer, B. K. and Pintrich, P. R. (1997).

7. Buehl, M. M. and Fives, H. (2009).

8. Maggioni and Parkinson, ibid., p. 452.

9. Yaeger and Davis (1995), p. 23.

10. Zittoun et al. (2007).

11. Maggioni and Parkinson, *op*. cit.

12. Njoroge (2007), p. 219.

13. Apple (1993).

14. Önenö M. B., Jetha Dağseven, S., Karahasan H., Latıf, D. (2002). Re-Writing History Textbooks. *History Education: A tool for Polarisation or Reconciliation?* POST Research Institute, p. 7.

15. Von Borries (2000), p. 248.

16. Israel Government Yearbook (Jerusalem: 1960), p. 12.

17. Weldon, G. (2009).

18. Kitson, A. (2007), p. 123.

19. Kitson A., *ibid*., p. 141.

20. Kitson, A. *Ibid*., p.132.

21. Kitson , A. *ibid*., p.141.

22. Zembylas et al. (2010); Kitson, A. *op. cit.* p. 141.

23. Called Shikaya. See www.shikaya.org

24. Korea chapter, Teaching the violent past.

25. Kitson p. 141.

26. Oglesby p.186.

27. See Psaltis (in press).

28. Zembylas et al. (2010).

29. See Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000; Tausch et al. (2010).

30. Allport, 1954.

31. Psaltis (in press).

32. Chara Makriyanni, Charis Psaltis and Dilek Latif, 'Historical Education: Cyprus', p. 11.

33. Chara Makriyanni, Charis Psaltis and Dilek Latif, 'Historical Education: Cyprus, pp. 12-13.

34. The proposal of AHDR is available at
http://www.cyprus-tube.com/historical-dialogue/Articles/AHDR_REFORM_PROPOSAL_ENGLISH.pdf

35. Perikleous, L (2010)

36. See Perikleous, L. *ibid*

37. Chara Makriyanni, C. Psaltis and Dilek Latif, 'Historical Education', p. 47.

38. Chara Makriyanni, Charis Psaltis, 'The Teaching of History and Reconciliation', Cyprus Review 19, no. 1 (spring 2007), pp. 45-46.

39. Chara Makriyanni and Charis Psaltis, 'Historical dialogue and reconciliation in Cyprus', (paper presented at the PRIO 2009 Annual Conference – Learning from Comparing Conflicts and Reconciliation Process: A Holistic Approach, Ledra Palace, Nicosia, 18-20 June 2009), p. 15.

40. Makriyanni and Psaltis (2007), pp. 54-56.

41. Cunningham (2009), p. 683.

42. There were 4 educators who did not identify whether they worked in primary or secondary education.

43. See Cortina, J. M. (1993).

44. See Maggioni, Alexander and Van Sledright (2004), p. 174.

45. Yeager and Davis (1995).

46. Psaltis, C.and Hewstone, M. (2007).

47. Ibid.

48. Items from Haddock et al. (1993).

49. Items from Pachoulides (2007).

50. Items from Luhtanen and Crocker (1992).

51. Items adapted from Sani et al. (2007).

52. This finding is in line with other research by Psaltis & Hewstone (2008) and more recent research of AHDR exploring the same issues with a representative sample of both communities. It is now well established that a pattern of 'reluctant crossing' by many GCs and 'regular' crossing' by many TCs can explain this finding, since the two communities are geographically separated.

53. See Psaltis (in press).

54. The scale Quality of Contact was not included in the Cluster Analysis due to the large number of missing values on this scale. Since not all participants had contact with out-group members, not all participants could respond to the scale examining the quality of contact with out-group members, hence the large number of missing values.

55. Such was the single item, 'In History the facts speak for themselves and do not require interpretation'.

56. See Psaltis (in press).

57. See Makriyianni and Psaltis (2007).

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Questionnaire items and Cronbach's α levels of the scales constructed

Scale	Items	GC alpha	TC alpha
Curriculum for reconciliation	I believe that in a united Cyprus there should be a common history curriculum for Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot students One of the main objectives of the history curriculum should be to enhance a common identity which will include Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots One of the main objectives of the history curriculum should be to promote peace among people	0.71	0.75
Curriculum for historical thinking	One of the main objectives of the history curriculum should be to enhance critical thinking One of the main objectives of history curriculum should be to develop a multi-perspective approach to history One of the main aims of the history curriculum should be the development of historical thought (concepts and skills related to how we learn about the past)	0.60	0.80
Current textbooks pluralistic	History textbooks use a satisfactory amount of sources History textbooks are ethnocentric (reversed) History textbooks provide the necessary material and activities for the development of historical thought (concepts and skills related to how we learn about the past) History textbooks set constraints to the way I teach history (reversed) History textbooks present a mono-perspectival narrative (reversed)	0.68	0.74

Scale	Items	GC alpha	TC alpha
	Women are presented adequately in history textbooks Children are adequately presented in history textbooks Other socio-cultural groups are presented adequately in history textbooks.		
Self-reported emphasis on historical thinking	In my teaching I use activities which aim to develop the historical thought of my students (concepts and skills related to how we learn about the past) I encourage my students to pay attention to the historical context when reading a source I always ask my students to support their reasoning with evidence	0.60	0.61
Relativism	Historical truth is essentially a matter of opinion It is not possible to argue that one specific interpretation of History is more valid than another since they are always subjective Since there is no way to know what really happened in the past, people can believe in whatever story they choose	0.63	0.56
Constructivism	In studying historical texts it is important to ask questions about the validity of the author's arguments It is possible for one interpretation to be more valid than another Historical knowledge is open to review as it is subjected to new findings and new evidence	0.67	0.66
Quantity of contact	*How much contact do you actually have with members of the other community under the following conditions (not just seeing them but actually talking to them)?* 1) At work,	0.80	0.86

Scale	Items	GC alpha	TC alpha
	2) In bi-communal meetings, 3) In the neighbourhood where you live, 4) in the South, 5) in the North		
Quality of contact	*When you meet with members of the other community how do you find the contact?* 1) In cooperative spirit, 2) Positive, 3) Based on mutual respect	0.94	0.86
Attitude towards out-group (single item)	*The following questions concern your feelings towards different groups in general. Please rate each group on a thermometer that that runs from zero (0) to one hundred (100) degrees.* *How do you feel towards Greek/Turkish Cypriots in general?* *0 10° 20° 30° 40° 50° 60° 70° 80° 90° 100°* *Very cold or negative* ... *Very hot or positive*		
Turco- centrism / Helleno-centrism	I am characterized by the Turkish/Greek cultural origin Islam/Orthodoxy is an indispensable part of our national self I consider Turkey/Greece as the Motherland	0.71	0.76
Criticise Turkey and foreign powers for Cyprus problem	In 1974 Turkey invaded Cyprus to achieve partition of the island In 1974 Turkey invaded Cyprus in order to protect the Turkish Cypriots (reversed) The Cyprus problem is one created by the application of NATO plots in Cypriot issues The establishment in the north of the TRNC impeded the solution of the Cyprus problem	0.65	0.66

Scale	Items	GC alpha	TC alpha
	TMT arose out of the need of Turkish Cypriots to protect themselves (reversed)		
	The British colonial policy of divide and rule led to the first seeds of hostility between the two communities of Cyprus		
Communal Identification	In general, I'm happy to be a GC/TC	0.82	0.89
	I am proud to be a GC/TC		
	Being a GC/TC is an important part of how I see myself		
	Being a GC/TC is the most important part of who I am		
	I often wish that I wasn't a GC/TC (reversed)		
	Being a GC/TC is not an important part of my identity (reversed)		
Perceived Collective Continuity	The traditions of TCs/GCs have passed on from generation to generation	0.65	0.78
	Important moments in Cypriot history are closely interconnected with each other		
	TCs/GCs will always be characterized by specific traditions and beliefs		
	TCs/GCs have preserved their values throughout the centuries		

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations of the scales in both communities and levels of education

	Greek Cypriots						Turkish Cypriots						Total					
	Primary		Secondary		Total		Primary		Secondary		Total		Primary		Secondary		Total	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Curriculum for Reconciliation	3,80	,73	3,75	,77	3,78 ^{x}	,74	3,92	,88	4,05	,80	3,98^{y}	,85	3,82	,76	3,85	,79	3,83	,77
Curriculum for Historical Thinking	4,69^{b}	,39	4,69^{b}	,37	4,69 ^{y}	,39	4,29 ^{a}	,79	4,79^{c}	,51	4,51^{x}	,72	4,61^{e}	,52	4,72^{f}	,42	4,65	,49
Textbooks seen as pluralistic	2,64^{a,b}	,56	2,76^{bc}	,48	2,68	,54	2,97 ^{c}	,44	2,52^{a}	,84	2,77	,68	2,71	,55	2,68	,63	2,70	,58
Self-Reported Teaching for Historical Thinking	4,32	,40	4,53	,42	4,38^{y}	,42	3,92	,58	4,20	,61	4,04^{x}	,60	4,24^{e}	,47	4,42^{f}	,51	4,30	,49
Relativism	3,08	,78	3,06	,87	3,07^{x}	,81	3,37	,81	3,33	,87	3,35^{y}	,83	3,14	,79	3,15	,87	3,14	,82
Constructivism	4,07^{a,b}	,57	4,27^{b}	,52	4,13	,56	4,03 ^{a}	,56	4,49^{c}	,54	4,24	,59	4,06^{e}	,57	4,34^{f}	,53	4,15	,57
Quantity of Contact	1,48^{a}	,61	1,44^{a}	,68	1,47^{x}	,63	2,27^{b}	1,15	2,04^{b}	,65	2,17^{y}	,96	1,64	,81	1,64	,72	1,64	,78
Quality of Contact	2,74	,98	2,77	,89	2,75^{x}	,96	3,03	,77	3,01	,58	3,02^{y}	,69	2,79	,95	2,85	,81	2,81	,91
Turko/ Helleno-Centrism	3,98^{b}	,71	4,22^{b}	,81	4,05^{y}	,75	3,19^{a}	,94	3,10^{a}	1,01	3,15^{x}	,97	3,82	,82	3,85	1,02	3,83	,89
Identification with Communal Identity	3,95	,67	4,10	,64	3,99	,66	4,02	,83	3,98	,85	4,00	,83	3,96	,70	4,06	,71	4,00	,71
Criticise Turkey and Foreigners	3,99^{b}	,61	4,06^{b}	,56	4,01^{y}	,59	2,76 ^{a}	,53	2,65^{a}	,65	2,71^{x}	,58	3,75	,77	3,60	,89	3,70	0.81
Continuity	4.01	0.52	4.21	0.50	4.05^{x}	0.53	3.63	0.70	3.63	0.59	3.63^{y}	0.65	3.93	0.58	4.01	0.60	3.96	0.58
Positive Attitude Out-group	5,92	2,53	5,61	2,4	5,83	2,50	5,08	2,51	5,83	1,94	5,41	2,30	5,75	2,55	5,68	2,26	5,73	2,46

Note: A significant main effect of Community is indicated by superscripts x and y, A significant main effect of Level of Education is indicated by superscripts e and f. Interaction effects between Community and Level of Education are further analysed by Tukey HSD post-hoc comparisons. Means with a different letter (a,b,c) represent significant differences.

Table 5.1. Correlation matrix of the scales in the GC Community

	GC Primary\GC Secondary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	**Curriculum for Reconciliation**	-	,172	-,025	-,050	-,007	-,123	,336**	,389**	-,402**	-,392**	-,060	-,304**	,413**
2	**Curriculum for Historical Thinking**	,264**	-	-,248**	,398**	,080	,408**	-,036	,206*	,077	,091	,052	,129	,115
3	**Textbooks seen as pluralistic**	-,124*	-,248**	-	-,073	,116	-,322**	,228*	,107	,046	-,077	,068	,116	,237*
4	**Self-Reported Teaching for Historical Thinking**	,183**	,462**	-,076	-	,150	,302**	-,076	-,030	,167	,201*	,160	,129	-,080
5	**Relativism**	,230**	,149*	,118*	,116	-	,058	-,134	-,116	,111	,064	,007	,150	-,083
6	**Constructivism**	,047	,344**	-,192**	,381**	,169**	-	-,199*	,025	,043	,119	,011	,124	-,029
7	**Quantity of Contact**	,300**	,029	-,072	-,012	,170**	,029	-	,457**	-,508**	-,313**	-,020	-,453**	,447**
8	**Quality of Contact**	,414**	,067	-,052	,016	,233**	,146*	,513**	-	-,455**	-,197*	-,149	-,063	,435**
9	**Turko/ Helleno -Centrism**	-,217**	-,055	,339**	,108	-,025	-,056	-,297**	-,333**	-	,583**	,246**	,526**	-,323**
10	**Identification with Communal Identity**	-,177**	-,039	,248**	,122*	,041	,015	-,171**	-,207**	,552**	-	,211*	,385**	-,207*
11	**Criticise Turkey and Foreigners**	,141*	,124*	,138*	,147*	,008	-,009	-,045	-,045	,254**	,278**	-	,113	-,044
12	**Essentialist views of continuity**	-,065	,070	,257**	,208**	,028	,157**	-,097	-,081	,422**	,399**	,334**	-	-,160
13	**Positive Attitude towards TCs**	,407**	,111	,055	,092	,261**	,029	,284**	,512**	-,159**	-,120*	,102	-,065	-

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.1. Correlation matrix of the scales in the GC Community

	TC Primary\ TC Secondary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	**Curriculum for Reconciliation**	-	,417**	-,416**	,213	,215	,322*	,281*	,279*	-,509**	-,128	,438**	-,279*	,363**
2	**Curriculum for Historical Thinking**	,592**	-	-,218	,095	,259	,286*	,055	,021	-,191	-,132	,120	-,016	,218
3	**Textbooks seen as pluralistic**	-,310*	-,225	-	,145	-,039	-,440**	,033	-,099	,487**	,249	-,373**	,198	-,280*
4	**Self-Reported Teaching for Historical Thinking**	,205	,385**	-,050	-	-,050	,038	,022	,222	-,199	-,209	,089	,073	,134
5	**Relativism**	,359**	,147	,054	,063	-	,364**	,212	-,006	,153	,244	,027	-,181	,169
6	**Constructivism**	,401**	,454**	-,094	,262*	,292*	-	,014	-,021	-,110	-,024	,042	-,004	,172
7	**Quantity of Contact**	,120	-,063	,159	-,038	,061	-,144	-	,238	,124	-,049	-,097	-,319*	,309*
8	**Quality of Contact**	,258*	,157	-,134	-,115	-,172	-,036	,420**	-	-,225	-,039	,170	-,148	,481**
9	**Turko/Helleno -Centrism**	-,315*	-,137	,276*	-,036	-,124	-,158	-,111	-,361**	-	,265	-,689**	,129	-,457**
10	**Identification with Communal Identity**	-,095	,125	,165	,024	,027	,100	-,278*	-,305*	,299*	-	-,329*	,114	-,040
11	**Criticise Turkey and Foreigners**	,140	-,054	-,300*	-,275*	,060	-,022	-,004	,200	-,408**	-,154	-	-,151	,328*
12	**Essentialist views of continuity**	-,003	,187	,116	-,116	-,079	-,038	,042	,144	,136	,144	,014	-	-,134
13	**Positive Attitude towards GCs**	,506**	,155	-,032	,006	,227	,317**	,337**	,486**	-,375**	-,359**	,217	-,134	-

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Helping History & Humanities Teachers and the British Professional Development Journal *Primary History*

Jon Nichol

Abstract[1]

This paper addresses how we can provide cheap, appealing and effective professional development support for teachers of History and Humanities to 5-11 year olds through a professional journal such as the Historical Association of Great Britain's Primary History, available digitally and in hard copy at **www.history.org.uk**. Primary History can be used as a focus for individual, school-based and accredited in-service on-line, face-to-face or blended, i.e. combining elements of both. In its digital form Primary History provides teachers with a plethora of resources, other material and information via the Internet. *Each edition is the equivalent of a free standing chapter of a book*.

We examine the four guiding principles that underpin *Primary History's* development of the *History Teachers' Craft* knowledge, i.e. their professionalism: *(a) Values and beliefs:* An understanding of what 'Doing History' as a discipline involves – its skills, processes, protocols, procedures and disciplinary concepts – and of 'Public History' as a stimulating, engaging, creative, empathetic, imaginative and entertaining subject whose narratives, i.e. histories, provide individual/familial and collective regional, national and international identities; *(b)Historical learning* both in terms of how children's cognition develops and what thinking historically involves; *(c) The curriculum* that shapes the teaching of history in every school; *(d) Expert pedagogy:* Expert teaching that turns ideas about 'Doing History' into stimulating, effective teaching and learning.

In turn, the paper explores the thematic dimensions of *Primary* History that reflect its principles: *(1) Forms of historical knowledg*e, e.g. Local History; *(2) Using evidence: sources*, e.g. Artefacts & Objects, Written and Printed sources; *(3) Expert teaching / pedagogy,* e.g. Drama, Archaeology; *(4) Curricular developments*, e.g. History and Gifted & Talented Education; *(5) Concepts: substantive* e.g. Citizenship, Controversial Issues and Identity; *(6) Concepts: Second order Concepts* e.g. 'Doing History' Chronology and Content; *(7) Content*, e.g. Roman Britain.

These elements, when combined, provide the teacher with full guidance and help to develop their professional knowledge and expertise to produce lessons that stimulate, energize and satisfy them – and, hopefully – their pupils!

Introduction

Fifteen years is a long time in the life of a journal; in 1992 the Historical Association launched a dedicated journal for teacher of history in primary schools: *Primary History*. By 2007 the *Historical Association* faced a major challenge: how to ensure that fifteen years after its launch *Primary History*:

- still met the needs of teachers, pupils, parents, governors, community and politicians;
- was up-to-date, relevant, fresh, lively and giving sufficient added value to be a constant reference point for classroom teachers of history, humanities and related subjects/areas such as literacy/English. Something cheap and cheerful – not quite a tabloid like *The Sun* but a professional journal that in the Digital Age [c. 2005+] would still stimulate, entertain and inform as it had done in the Print Age [c. 1500-2005]. Crucially, the digital age journal should enable the reader to access the spoken and moving image, i.e. sound recordings, video film and on-line TV programmes;
- was as visually attractive as magazines and journals; on sale in news agents
- was cheap – sufficiently cheap for all schools to buy
- came into line with digital age publishing and provision, i.e. it had moved from the print age [c.1500-2000] to the digital age [c.2000 +];
- was easy to administer.
- would enable professional development through personal or collective, school-based, inter-school or external provided in-service. Such in-service could be accredited at all levels, using the Internet to provide distance on-line teaching, tutoring and support.

In 2007 this was the challenge I faced as the newly appointed editor of *Primary History* – a challenge I felt honoured and privileged to accept. But, where to start?

This paper examines how we have reshaped *Primary History*, building on its considerable strengths and successes. The development of the journal is a work-in-progress, a never-ending process. For example, we are in the process of making *Primary History* fully digital, and we are turning our attention

to the issue of content, i.e. how to support teachers in their teaching of the most popular topics in primary schools, such as Roman Britain.

Principles: Orientation

In meeting the *Primary History* challenge the Historical Association needed to be clear about the values, beliefs and assumptions – a reference-frame – for *Primary History* as a professional journal. *Professional* is the key word. What does professionalism involve in the *Primary History* context?

Professional knowledge is multi-faceted and dimensional. Since the late 1980s what constitutes teacher's professional knowledge has been the subject of extensive research. For teachers of history, see Rosie Turner Bisset's *Expert Teaching* (2001). We can identify a number key features in the professional knowledge of history teachers.

Fundamentally, *teachers' beliefs and values* about history both as an academic discipline and as a public form of knowledge shape how they treat it as a school subject. For curriculum development, without a congruence of beliefs and values between teachers and professional development tutors, any innovation/change will be shallow-rooted, transitory and almost certain to fail (Harland and Kinder, 1997).

A key aspect of orientation is a view of History as a discipline, a mode of enquiry that allows for competing and conflicting views and interpretations of current situations with their historical roots. Interpretations need to be evidentially based: and, as such, historical thinking allows for competing interpretations based upon the nature of the historical record and the selection of evidence from it. Such sceptical thinking is essential for a plural, liberal polity such as Cyprus where there are deep-rooted, passionately held differences between members of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. Hopefully History Education allows for Cypriots to say: 'We profoundly disagree on these fundamental issues: but we are happy to accept these differences and accordingly live in peace and harmony based on mutual respect and tolerance'.

As such. a single journal on History Education with the flexibility that its online, e-digital version provides, can encompass debate, controversy and conflicting and contrasting perspectives. An open

minded, flexible catholic publication can then adapt and refine its approach, structure and focus according to how society develops in its post-conflict period. Indeed, *Primary History* has been able to do this within the United Kingdom following the de facto civil war in Northern Ireland of the 1970s-1990s [more deaths per year than British casualties in Afghanistan].

The professionalism of the history teacher draws upon four major elements:

a. Values and beliefs: the nature of history: procedural [skills] and substantive [content/facts] knowledge

Background: Professionalism about school history draws upon history teachers' understanding of history as an *academic discipline* [procedures: skills, concepts, procedures, protocols] and as a *public form of discourse* [substantive: factual information, narratives/stories & concepts] that entertains, informs and shapes personal identity.

Public history is pervasive: as a subject we constantly encounter and enjoy it through the media, books, articles, pamphlets and personal engagement in family, personal, community and local history and visiting museums, theme parks, sites, buildings and historical buildings.

An understanding of history as an academic discipline, its procedural knowledge: Academic history's identity comes from its unique procedures & processes, protocols, conceptual framework and skills that underpin pupils, with teacher direction, support and guidance, 'Doing History'.

The concept of 'Doing History' in schools means that pupils: (1) ask questions; (2) study in depth and detail; (3) work on authentic sources; (4) rely upon teachers to mediate sources to make them accessible; (5) use the minimum of sources needed; (6) communicate the knowledge and understanding in an appropriate medium, mode or genre.

The teacher's role is crucial in ensuring that pupils progressively develop the procedural knowledge and understanding needed to 'Do History', i.e. construct their own understanding under teacher guidance and with teacher support. Procedural knowledge enables pupils to produce their own histories/narratives and to verify upon which they, and others, are based, i.e. a truth test (Rogers, 1979)

A view of public history as a stimulating, engaging subject that is:

- creative, imaginative
- provisional and interpretative
- illuminates the world in which we live
- a central element in personal, familial, communitarian, regional, national and international identity.

Without seeing History as an enquiry that enables us to create our own understanding of the past, teachers draw upon a view of history as a body of public knowledge to be transmitted to pupils who passively and uncritically assimilate its embedded political messages. These messages overwhelmingly constitute a national 'master narrative' that politicians argue should shape citizens' personal and collective identities, values, ethics, beliefs, attitudes and perceptions.

b. Historical learning

Children's historical thinking develops progressively from 5-16 through the gradual, accretive assimilation of the processes, concepts, protocols and skills involved in 'Doing History' in different ways and contexts. Such thinking draws upon a framework of interlinked second order concepts, including causation, change, chronology, evidence, historical narrative and interpretations and substantive knowledge, i.e. content.

Historical thinking is open-ended, questioning, sceptical, logical, deductive, imaginative and empathetic – with the rider that throughout it is grounded in the record of the past, both first hand sources [primary] and accounts of the past -histories [secondary].

Thinking historically is a major facet of *citizenship to support liberal and plural democracies*. Historical thinking empowers pupils to think sceptically: to question, to assess the provenance of claims and statements, to think independently, to be flexible and empathetic and accommodating, to accept the position of 'the other'. As Kruschev, Russia's ruler stated, 'Historians are dangerous people.'

c. The primary curriculum – its opportunities and constraints.

The school curriculum provides the boundaries, challenge and opportunities for teaching school history. Crucial is a detailed knowledge and understanding of what each school curriculum uniquely involves for each teacher. Curricular knowledge includes a detailed working knowledge of pupils, parents/guardians, monitoring, recording, assessment, reporting, reflection and review as well as the school and community 'culture'.

d. Expert pedagogy

Primary History had to reflect to the History Teacher's Craft, please note the deliberate echo of Marc Bloch's *The Historian's Craft* (1954), a book penned in a Nazi concentration camp as an antidote to fascist autocracy. *History Teachers' Craft* knowledge, expert pedagogy is the medium that progressively develops pupils' historical learning from 5-16. Expert pedagogy is grounded in scholarship and research; practice, reflection, review and informed planning and resourcing.

History Teachers' Craft knowledge is highly sophisticated, scholarly and grounded in experience. It is equivalent to the professional knowledge of other professions.

Professional Support

Primary History depends upon the expert advice, guidance and contributions [text/articles] from the members of the Historical Association's *Primary History Committee*. Without them it would have been impossible to have either developed the journal in its current form or produced the themed editions. They provide both the expertise and network of contacts that make *Primary History* possible.

Additional professional support comes from the Historical Association, both its administrators and its publication officers.

Theory into Practice

Themes

With our principles in place, a review of *Primary History* since 2000 suggested that we needed to map thematically what *Primary History*'s future editions would cover in a two-year rolling programme revised yearly. Each edition should deal with one or two themes within the context of the topics that each edition would cover. The publishing programme's editions for 2007-2013 cover the following topics.

1. Archaeology
2. Artefacts and Objects
3. Drama
4. Environmental Education
5. Gifted and Talented Education
6. Information and Communications Technology
7. Integration – Humanities – Social Studies
8. Local History
9. Oral History
10. Printed and Written Sources
11. Sites and Visits
12. The Curriculum
13. The History National Curriculum
14. Visual Sources – Visual Literacy
15. Writing & Communicating

As such each edition is intended to be equivalent to a *free standing chapter of a book* that will be updated and digital via Internet links.

We identified seven thematic areas – editions can cover one or more themes, they are listed under each theme.

1. *Forms of historical knowledge,*
    - 'Doing Archaeology' with Children, *Primary History*, 50, Summer 2008
    - 'Doing Local History', *Primary History* 55, Summer 2010

2. *Using evidence: sources,*
    - Visual Literacy: Learning Through Pictures and Images, *Primary History*, 49, Spring 2008
    - Doing History with Artefacts and Objects, *Primary History*, 54, Spring 2010
    - 'Doing History': Printed and Written Sources, *Primary History*, 56,Autumn 2010

3. *Expert teaching / pedagogy,*
    - History, Drama and the Classroom, *Primary History*, 48, Spring 2008
    - 'Doing Archaeology' with Children, *Primary History*, 50, Summer 2008 [subsidiary theme]
    - 'Doing Environmental Education' and History, Summer 2009
    - 'Doing Local History', *Primary History* 55, Summer 2010
    - Using Museums and Site Visits, *Primary History*, 59, Autumn 2011
    - Oral History, *Primary History*, 60, Spring 2012

4. *Curricular developments,*
    - History in the Foundation and Early Years, 3-8, *Primary History*, 45, Spring 2007
    - Thinking Through History: Opportunity for Equality (Gifted & Talented Education) *Primary History*, 47, Summer 2007 [subsidiary theme]
    - 'Doing Environmental Education' and History, Summer 2009
    - 'Living History: A *Primary History* Curriculum for the 21st Century: Historical, Geographical and Social Understanding, Primary History, 53, Autumn 2009
    - What History Should We Teach, *Primary History*, 57 , Spring 2011

5. *Concepts: Substantive*
    - Citizenship, Controversial Issues and Identity *Primary History*, 46, Summer 2007, see figure 1.
    - Thinking Through History: Opportunity for Equality [Gifted & Talented Education] *Primary History*, 47, Summer 2007
    - The Olympics, *Primary History*, 58, Summer 2011

Figure 1: Citizenship, Controversial Issues and Identity, Primary History, 46, Summer 2007



6. *Concepts: Disciplinary Concepts- Syntactic [Second Order]*
    - What History Should We Teach, Primary History, 57 , Spring 2011

7. *Content*
    - Roman, Viking and Saxon Britain, Primary History, 61, Summer 2012

The Digital Age

Since Spring 2010 we have brought the journal into a digital age: each article has internet links to relevant websites and publication. To that extent *Primary History* has become an electronic catalogue that opens to readers a plethora of sources and information to enhance and support their teaching of history.

Primary History's structure

Over the past three years we have evolved a structure that is common to each edition of *Primary History*.

Design

We aim to make each edition and its contributions visually attractive: professional designed, full colour, a mix of illustrations and text with articles of varying length up to four sides maximum. The Historical Association has an excellent design team: as editor I spend half a day going through each edition so that we are happy that the design will have the maximum appeal and impact. An example of this collaboration can be seen on pages 18-19 of 'Doing Local History', *Primary History 55*, Summer 2010 where the reproduction of Frith's painting is as large as possible.

Figure 2: 'Doing Local History' Primary History no. 55 Summer 2010, pp. 18-19



A feature of design is sign-posting contributions, with paragraph titles/headings and sub-headings and the breaking down of the text into easily accessible segments. We try to avoid presenting the readers with pages of undifferentiated text/block of cold print.

Structure

The journal has sequentially nine separate elements, all of which combine upon supporting teacher professionalism with a focus upon classroom practice: teaching and learning. The journal is 44 sides long, including the cover. The elements are:

1. Cover – A visually attractive cover that immediately stimulates interest in the topic [1 side]
2. Contents – a clear and comprehensive guide to what the edition contains. Figure 3 is the contents page of the edition on 'Doing Local History' [1side]
3. Editorial – reviews the edition and also deals with matters of more general current interest. [1-2 sides]
4. In My View – Individual short pieces, usually one side, in which guest contributors provide interesting, stimulating and informative contributions on the edition's main theme. [1 side each, exceptionally 2 sides]
5. Articles – These explore major issues and concerns, both theoretical applied drawing upon scholarship and research that underpin classroom praxis, i.e. pedagogy [1-4 sides each]
6. Features – standard features from members of the Primary History committee, currently Think Bubble and A View from the Classroom [1 side each]
7. Curriculum Advice and Guidance – A four-page centre-page pull out that teachers can keep in a folder – it is aimed to update them on developments in primary education that affect and influence them. [4 sides, centre pages]
8. Case Studies – from 4-7 per edition. Exemplars of excellent practice / pedagogy that teachers can draw upon in their own teaching, as 'models' to inform, influence, adapt or even adopt. [1-4 sides each]

9. Resources and Internet Links – A page that gives direct access to major support available on the Internet. This ties in with the digital links in each article/contribution, enhancing Primary History's role as a digital resource. [1 side]

Figure 3 shows the contents of Primary History 55 illustrating the journals structure described above.

Figure 3: Structure of Primary History 55 (Doing local history) *[Colour key: see end of the table]*

	Sides	Author	Title
	3	Title Page	Contents
	4	Editorial	
	5	Colin Richards	Be Bloody, Bold And Resolute" – Two Possible Interpretations Of 'Local History'
	6	John Fines	Doing Local History
	8	Tom Connelly	Local History For Children: Through The Eyes Of A B.Ed Student
	9	Chris Waller	How Can Citizenship Education Contribute To Effective Local History?
	10	Peter Vass	Think Bubble Making Up Your Own Mind
	11	W.G. Hoskins	**Article 1** The History Teacher's Craft: 'Doing Local History **Through The Eyes Of** W.G. Hoskins – Maxey, A Fenland Village
	15	Nuffield Primary History Project	**Article 2** Local History Field Work – Top Ten Pointers For Success
	16	Alf Wilkinson	**Article 3** A Local History Toolkit
	18	Jane Card	**Article 4** Branching Out: Local Railway History – Using Visual Sources
	21	Barbara Sands	Planning For History In The New Curriculum: A Teacher's Perspective
	23	**Mel** Jones	'Doing Local History' And The 2012 Olympics
	25	Cathie McIlroy	**A View From The Classroom: Teachers TV, The *Staffordshire Hoard* And 'Doing History'**
	26	**Sue Temple**	**Article 5 Introducing Teachers To Local History: The Fusehill Local History Project**
	28	Jacqui Dean	**Article 6** Urban Spaces Near You
	29	Bev Forrest	**Case Study 1 The Saltaire Project-Planning ForAn Effective Learning Experience On A Living Site**

	Sides	Author	Title
	32	Mick Anderson	**Case Study 2** Oral History: A Source Of Evidence For Children In The Primary Classroom
	34	Ben Screech	**Case Study 3** Using A Local Historical Figure As A Stimulus For History In The English National Curriculum: Samuel Plimsoll & Bristol
	36	John Fines	**Case Study 4** 'Doing Local History' Through Maps And Drama
	40	Laura Austin	**Case Study 5** Year ICT And Local History: The Bolham ***Queen Elizabeth II*** Golden Jubilee Project [BJP] 1952-2002
	44	Jacqui Dean	Resources And Internet Links

Contents and editorial **In My View pieces** **Features** Curriculum Advice and Guidance
Articles Case Studies Resources and Internet Links

Conclusion

Primary History is very much a work in progress: we refine, adapt and try to improve it in the light of feedback, circumstance and review. It is one element in a rich and catholic pattern of provision in the United Kingdom that developed from the introduction of History as a National Curriculum subject from 1989/1009. However, the marginalization of History as a primary subject from 1997 has produced a new generation of teachers who have little or no knowledge or understanding of what the teaching of national curriculum history involves. A 2010 Historical Association survey of primary history teachers has revealed minimal training to both teach and lead history and vestigial knowledge of historical content: a situation that mirrors that of a 1993/94 government report on history teaching in schools.

Collectively, *Primary History* is the teacher's flexible friend: accessible, relevant, with each edition the free-standing chapter of a book that can be drawn upon as teachers want.

As a professional development medium, *Primary History* can be a central feature of in-service on an individual and collective [in-school/inter school] level, linked to accreditation of the teaching work force at all levels for Higher Education degrees in modular form from BA to doctoral levels. The digital,

on-line nature of *Primary History* from the summer of 2010 massively reinforces and extends the professional development perspective. Teachers can now access resources, materials, articles and journals, and spoken and moving-image resources – audio and video.

As such, *Primary History* fully incorporates and reflects the approach developed in the Nuffield Primary History Project from the early 1990s (Fines & Nichol, 1997) and currently available in full on the Nuffield Primary History Project website (Nuffield, 2010). The development of a thematic approach, the production of high quality 'cases' that teachers can adopt or adapt to their particular needs, the presentation of research findings in a form that teachers can assimilate and draw upon in their own teaching, the representation of theoretical models of teaching and learning illuminated through 'cases', all these are factors in high-quality professional development.

Evidence of the effectiveness of this approach has been both formal and informal. Formal, through the reports of government inspection that gave the CPD programme embedded in *Primary History* the top national grade for teaching quality and impact, the research which Rosie-Turner Bisset presented in *Expert Teaching: Knowledge and Pedagogy* (2001) and the detailed article in the *Journal of In-Service Education* (Nichol & Turner-Bisset, 2007) that evaluated the in-service, CPD courses that the Nuffield Primary History Project had directed. Informal, through national feedback from initial and continuing professional development providers in the UK to a request from the NPHP. Comments were universally appreciative of the effectiveness of the NPHP materials, resources and website for both Initial and Continuing Professional Development.

With the focus of in-service education [professional development] on every school, either individually or in small groups or clusters, it makes sense to use a medium such as *Primary History* to interface teachers with expert knowledge and guidance. The guidance can come in the form of local cited experience teaches / lecturers / academics / advisers providing the necessary human and humane support needed.

Notes

1. Please consult *Primary History* 55, 'Doing Local History' when reading this paper downloadable from **www.history.org.uk**

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Dealing with Conflict - New Perspectives in International Textbook Revision

Falk Pingel

Dealing with Conflict - New Perspectives in International Textbook Revision

Abstract

International textbook research and revision underwent considerable changes after the collapse of the Soviet block. The role of official textbook commissions set up by national governments increased, with NGOs and international organizations becoming major players in textbook projects. With the changing design of textbooks and in view of a greater variety of didactical methods, the methodology of textbook analysis and procedures for textbook consultations have had to be revised. This article examines to what extent these developments exert an accelerating or retarding influence on textbook revision in Cyprus. Educational authorities, as a rule, do not support bi-communal approaches in the teaching of the social sciences; instead, they follow a policy of non-recognition not conducive to the development of multi-perspectival curricula. Initiatives for innovation have to come from within civil society. The impact of these initiatives on classroom teaching remains limited.

Transnational and Intra-state Textbook Projects versus Bi- and Multi-national Textbook Consultations

Since the end of the First World War, which shattered world order and world peace, newly founded international organizations strove to combat the emergence of mind sets, stereotypes and values that could foster belligerent attitudes. It was in particular the *League of Nations* and its *International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation* that made history and geography textbooks an object of systematic screening with the aim of eradicating national, social and cultural stereotypes from the teaching of the social sciences. Through scientific and comparative analysis of textbooks, more 'objective' teaching material and teaching programmes were to be created, void of one-sided views that disparage the so called 'other' or adversary. In this way, committees comprising curriculum experts, ministerial officials, scholars from various disciplines and classroom practitioners created *international textbook* revision as a scientifically controlled pedagogical activity intended to moderate the role played by textbooks as one of the main transmitters of content and methodology. They established an international network of textbook authors and curriculum experts mostly, but not exclusively, in neighbouring countries.[1]

Comparative international textbook revision encouraged 'pure' research into textbooks, particularly in the social sciences, as transmitters of social values and interpretative patterns that give insight into the 'Zeitgeist' of a society. Although academic work and textbook revision projects produced remarkable results, they could not prevent belligerent politics from gaining ground and impacting first on European and then on world affairs. Tragically, these projects might have fostered trends of appeasement in the Nordic countries, in South America, and in parts of Western Europe where bi- and multi-national textbook commissions were at work until well into the 1930s.[2] They no longer met the political realities of the time since the threat of war was already on the international agenda and peace-minded appeasement policies led to the Munich Agreement of 1938, deferring the outbreak of open and violent aggression for no more than a couple of months. In East Asia, the violent Japanese takeover of Nanjing in 1938 involved the massacre of soldiers and civilians, a portent of other and more devastating war crimes to follow.

After the Second World War, UNESCO, the United Nations' cultural organization, was commissioned with continuing the work of peace-oriented pedagogy and textbook revision. Although the UN often gave textbook revision high priority, effective implementation was, and remains, to a large extent dependent on the activities of individual national commissions. Drawing on traditions of close cooperation in the 1920s and 1930s, the Nordic Association became very active again.[3] The USA and Canada issued joint textbook recommendations in order to foster the close ties developed during the war and to overcome mistrust originating from different routes to independence. Textbook revision should help North American neighbours to reach new levels of mutual understanding that temper the economic superiority of the USA by deepening cultural cooperation.[4] Textbook revision has also become an engine of reconciliation within the framework of Germany's re-integration into the Western world. During the post-war occupation, the *International Schoolbook Institute* conducted textbook consultations, conferences and seminars and, in 1975, developed into the *Georg-Eckert-Institute for International Textbook Research* located in Braunschweig. This Institute has organized bi- and multilateral textbooks projects aimed at overcoming misunderstandings and biased perceptions among peoples, nations, social and cultural groups through the meticulous analysis of textbooks and curricula, comparison of analytical results with state-of-the-art academic research,

and the issue of recommendations as to how international and intercultural issues should be represented in textbooks.[5]

Almost all of the above activities have served to deepen mutual understanding between countries no longer involved in current or open conflicts and which have more-or-less already settled conflicts through political agreement. Textbook revision successfully contributed to *peace building* between the peoples of countries which had already established peaceful international relations. Textbook revision was less successful in overcoming the big divide between capitalist, pluralist countries on one side and socialist, one-party system states on the other. There is, however, one notable exception to this generalization. The International Textbook Institute (and later on the Georg Eckert Institute) reached out to the communist world in the 1970s, and the resultant German-Polish Textbook Commission set an example that attracted widespread attention in academia as well in the political arena with the publication of joint German-Polish textbook recommendations.[6] Also this remarkable, though not uncontested, achievement was facilitated by favourable political conditions as the new 'Ostpolitik' of the German Brandt government supported the project, and the Polish government, already critical of Soviet rule, gave textbook talks with West Germany priority over similar activities with socialist East Germany.[7] The two German states – and this may be of relevance for the divided Cyprus – never succeeded in conducting joint textbook conferences despite initiatives in this direction during the 1980s. Just a year before the fall of the Berlin Wall, the German Standing Conference of Ministers of Education deemed textbook comparisons to be premature; the Conference envisaged the 1990s as more appropriate for such a risky undertaking – a decade during which East German schoolbooks disappeared from classrooms.[8]

The dissolution of the Soviet system and the breaking down of the 'iron curtain' opened up new horizons for international textbook revision:

1. It widened the area of traditional bi-national textbook projects since educational experts from previously isolated countries could now meet and freely exchange opinions and experiences. In particular, the Austrian ministry of education initiated a number of projects with neighbouring countries in East, Central and South-eastern Europe, often with the help of its organization for cultural links, *KulturKontakt Austria*. The Georg Eckert Institute intensified existing and initiated

new projects with countries in transition, such as the Baltic countries, Poland and the Czech Republic.

2. The process of transition, however, could not always be managed in a peaceful way. As far as Europe is concerned, this applies to South-Eastern Europe above all, but Cyprus can also be seen as a place of protracted conflict where not even the process of European integration has prompted a viable solution. The Caucasus is another region where different conceptions of history contribute to the aggravation of political conflicts. In these areas, international support for reconciling opposing narratives and implementing comparative views is still needed as governments appear unable to deal with textbook issues on a multi-national level.
3. The role of school history in stabilizing countries in emergency or conflict situations has caught the attention of international organizations such as UNESCO and the World Bank over the last two decades. The development of new textbooks has become an urgent issue in conflict ridden areas like Iraq, Sudan, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan. Global awareness of the role of history education in conflict areas has led to expansion of the Georg Eckert Institute's work which, up to this point, was mainly devoted to dealing with past conflicts pertinent to Germany's relations with other countries. Germany's foreign cultural relations have become less of a reference point for the Institute's project planning and selection since the beginning of the 1990s. The expertise of the Institute was more and more asked for by would-be partners entangled in webs of inextricable difference and in need of outside help to break free in a peaceful manner. One of the first activities in this regard was a joint project with South African historians during the abolition of Apartheid. This project exemplified a new trend in textbook revision: it was no longer confined to conflicts between states but also dealt with conflicts within states and societies. This change of paradigm was a response to the increasingly multi-cultural make-up of modern societies. In Moldova, as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Institute was confronted with internal, highly politicized conflicts between identity concepts in history education.[9] The Israeli-Palestinian conflict became another field for textbook studies[10] and led to the development of innovative approaches to dealing with conflicts that cannot yet be solved on a political level (see below). The restructuring and expansion of the Institute's work led to the establishment of a new research area: *Textbooks and Conflict*.

4. The accelerated process of European integration changed the focus of traditional bi-lateral textbook revision between states in Europe. At least within the area of the European Union, textbook work of this kind will no longer be needed; however, the growing importance of the European dimension in the teaching of history, geography and civics challenges the pre-eminence of the national dimension in curricula and textbooks. As hours of instruction and length of textbooks can be expanded no further, any extension of the European dimension will be at the cost of nation-centred approaches. The dominance of the national dimension has already been questioned through the development of textbooks and teaching materials that prioritize an overall European civilization approach over detailed narratives of individual states and peoples.[11] However, the reduction of national history and geography is highly contested and has already triggered fierce public debates, particularly in 'countries of transition' like Romania and Russia on the European periphery. Similar debates have also arisen in some Western European societies such as the Netherlands which had devised an open history curriculum emphasizing European and global developments. Conservative forces in the Netherlands now work to secure a 'canon' that, in the main, focuses on Dutch and Western European history.[12] Developing concepts appropriate to an integrated European approach is still a challenging task. In view of these controversies, the recent proposal of the German minister of education to develop a 'European history textbook' was criticized by most of her colleagues.[13] Before such a textbook is likely to appear, teaching material will need to be collected that reflect the different facets of the European heritage and presents these without imposing a new master narrative. International textbook comparison and research on this topic may help to reconcile national patterns of identity with an increasing awareness of European interdependencies, interactions and future possibilities.[14]
5. Last but not least, the expanding and unifying Europe is closely observed by non-European states, partly in fear of a new superpower and partly in admiration for a peaceful integration process that may serve as an example for cross-border cooperation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The European dimension in history textbooks, therefore, should include awareness of the image of Europe outside of Europe. Of particular relevance in this connection is the Arab-European cultural dialogue, not only because of the geographical contiguity of regions with opposing values, religious beliefs and political strategies,[15] but because, as European societies become increasingly multicultural, Arabs and Muslims form growing minority groups. Textbook authors and curriculum

experts are confronted with the challenge of writing narratives that take into account the multi-cultural composition of European societies without threatening social cohesion.

The developments described above signify for the methods and objectives of textbook research and revision. These will be discussed in the following sections. Of particular interest in this respect is the extent to which the process of conflict resolution in Cyprus could benefit from new trends in international textbook revision.

Cyprus has always been at the crossroads of developments that impact on European politics and cultural traditions. At present, the partition of Cyprus and the narrow national policies pursued by both communities contrast with the island's history as a meeting point for different cultural traditions. Can textbook research and textbook revision help to close or to narrow the deep rifts that divide interpretative patterns of history and culture on the Turkish and Greek Cypriot sides?

The Changing Paradigm of Social Science Teaching as a Political Challenge for Cyprus

1. With the opening of borders and increasing exchange arrangements for teachers and textbook authors, new didactical models have gained ground throughout Europe. This process was accelerated by the Council of Europe's history and civic education projects and the activities of the fast expanding Association of European History Teachers, EUROCLIO. Step-by-step, textbook authors enriched their books with sources, diagrams and illustrations, often at the expense of detailed nation-centred narratives. Assignments were added that did more than ask students to repeat and summarize what they read by encouraging them to compare different sources, to pursue their own enquiries in local archives and to use the Internet to locate information, to draw conclusions and to make evaluations.

   Traditional history textbooks presented a core narrative in an authoritative way. Pictures and sources served mainly to illustrate and corroborate the narrative. Today, the authorial text is considerably reduced and makes up between one- and two-thirds of a textbook depending on the target country, where it is published and the author's concept. Students are asked to work

with a variety of tools under teacher direction. Thus, the role of the textbook has changed. It no longer transmits a single 'master narrative' but aims to make students think about history, weigh alternative explanations and developmental patterns, and test propositions against evidence provided in textual and complementary materials. Changes in textbook paradigms entail concomitant changes in the role of the teacher. Teachers are no longer great narrators who convince or persuade students by conveying clear moral lessons. Teachers are now expected to offer students tools that enable them to reconstruct history, to acquire historical understanding by comparing and compiling historical information. Teachers should help students to see the same event from different angles, through the eyes of the oppressor and the oppressed, the victorious and the vanquished, the rich and the poor. Learning history is no longer solely based on listening and repetition but also on active exercises.

This arrangement shows that history is no longer regarded as a given set of dates, events, and human biographies that should be consumed, but represents a method of reconstructing what is worth knowing about the past. It may well be that textbook authors in some countries have gone too far with this approach since teachers feel they have insufficient time to train students in the required methods of enquiry. It seems to be of particular importance for teachers to observe the age-appropriateness of methodological tools offered in teaching materials.

Textbook researchers have to take into account this broadened variety of didactical tools. The traditional communication model of textbook revision assumed that the text transmitted the most important message and, if the text were clear and unambiguous, that pupils would understand exactly the intentions of the authors. Therefore, textbook projects concentrated on the authors' text and tried to make it more lucid. Now, the arrangement of the authors' text, sources, tasks etc. and the methodology of interpreting them has to be factored into the analysis as well. The more skill-oriented is a schoolbook, the less its specific contents matter.

Learning cultures in the schools of the two Cyprus communities follow, as a rule, the traditional model of a teacher-centred classroom; so do learning materials which present the valid canon of what should be learned, remembered and known in texts and examinations. Although changes

introduced in the last decade have expanded the range of didactical tools employed, these have not altered the weight afforded to crucial content issues in teaching and testing. There is still little room for the open debate of controversial issues or, to say it the other way round, few topics that impinge on sensitive issues of national identity can be taught in ways that are controversial.

Innovations in teaching contents and methodologies have been proposed mainly by NGOs which, by their nature, have ambivalent relationships with educational authorities. In consequence, the approaches they offer are used only by a minority of courageous teachers and are not likely to be favoured by the authorities, not even as experiments to test approaches that, in future, could be integrated within official curricula.

Although official Cypriot textbooks produced over the last decade draw on a greater variety of methodological tools, they hardly aim to stimulate students' imaginations but are mainly meant to make learning more interesting and aid recall of critical content. Textbook design changed, but the core of transmitted messages remained much the same. It goes without saying that Greek-Cypriot books claim to represent the whole of Cyprus, whereas the books of the Turkish community strive to underline the importance of Asian, Ottoman and Turkish elements throughout the island's history. The textbooks of both sides have clear national and ethnic biases, giving preference to and extensive coverage of one or other community, to its 'parent' nation and ethnicity. The 'other' is not neglected, but representation focuses on problematic rather than on peaceful relations. During the time of intense high level political talks following the Annan initiative, formerly frequent references to Greece and Turkey as the respective 'motherland' of each community became less common; references concerning the sense of national belonging shifted more to the cultural and ethnic dimension.

Here, a dichotomous mode of argumentation often seems to displace affirmative general statements about past instances of peaceful co-existence. Detailed descriptions of inter-communal clashes and emphasis on the cultural and daily life of one's own community without giving similar emphasis to the 'other' community fail to offer pupils incentives to question stereotyped mind sets about the 'other'. I found the most striking example of ambiguous concepts in a Greek-Cypriot

civics textbook. On one hand, the book covers the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-faith composition of Cyprus and provides short, 'objective' and fact-oriented information about conflict issues in the text; on the other hand, a very emotive illustration shows a map of the island divided by a barbed-wire fence with a Turkish soldier's boot occupying half of the island. Blood drips from the barbed-wire.[16] This powerful illustration leaves a much stronger image of 'Turks' imprinted on young readers' minds than do the short description of Turkish institutions and facts about the Turkish community offered in the core text. Currently, as the political situation seems to be hardening again, textbook representations of the 'other' remain ambivalent, to say the least.[17]

2. It was expected that the integration of Cyprus into the EU would ease tensions and raise hopes for unification.[18] In part, these expectations have been fulfilled as the border fortifications which made Nicosia resemble Berlin during the Cold War have fallen and communication between the two communities has increased; but a long-term political solution leading to unification is not in sight. In a way, however, and in particular with respect to education, EU integration has strengthened the position of the Greek side, wherein unification is only understood either as full integration of the Turkish within the Greek system or as the establishment of a separate Turkish education department under Greek majority control. Neither of these solutions is conducive to the development of a comparative, multi-perspectival curriculum. However, any pedagogical approach that aims to bridge the divide and bring the two sides closer together, starts from a multi-perspectival position that stresses commonalities wherever possible and respects continuing differences, including cultural traditions or political affiliations. Bi-communal groups that strive to lay foundations for a unified education system give equal weight to cultural artefacts and concerns particular to each side, in order to build common ground. The current political situation is not conducive to such a symmetrical approach.

3. In contrast to other places of protracted conflict, the level of international intervention in education has remained relatively low in Cyprus. Governments on both sides lack interest in and discourage interventions from outside. Offers for support from international organizations still arouse the authorities' suspicion, although the situation has improved since the 1990s, when Cypriot teachers or academics who took part in seminars abroad that dealt with textbook issues were threatened

by their authorities. As the two governments remain unwilling to consider revision of history curricula and textbooks with a view to possible unification (with the exception of some timid steps taken mainly on the Turkish side), reform can only come from within a civic society whose financial means and influence are limited. It is, however, unfortunate that grassroots bi-communal activities in education meet with official scepticism and suspicion. Although representatives of the two communities meet in high-level political talks, in education the politics of non-recognition prevails and has even promoted Greek and Turkish national aspirations in recent curricular adjustments.

4. The European focus of some recent history textbooks published in the EU has not aided prospects for textbook reform in Cyprus. Indeed, the role of Cyprus in European history is a contested issue. Official Greek Cypriot propaganda invites tourists to visit the birthplace of Europe. Although this propaganda, and the mainstream school history narrative likewise, underscore that Cyprus was always able to integrate and acknowledge the influence of different cultures that flourished in the Mediterranean and left their imprint on the island, this European story entails nevertheless a strong anti-Asian and hence anti-Ottoman and anti-Turkish bias.[19] Instead of showing how Asian Turkey and European Greece could meet and build a single community in the future, official curricula and textbooks stress an ongoing history of differences and clashes which offer hardly any point of departure for an inclusive, forward-looking narrative likely to contribute to the healing of old wounds. In an endeavour to legitimate the current state of affairs, the official narratives of both communities lack perspective when dealing with Europe.

5. Furthermore, official Cypriot narratives omit a characteristic feature of the European dimension found in most textbooks of other European countries; in these books, the fall of the Berlin Wall does not just stand as a symbol of what Europe represents today in terms of cooperation, power and competition in the fields of economy, politics and culture; it also invokes a vision of the rule of democracy, human rights, peace, and social security that, while not (yet) fully realized, serves as a common denominator for future hopes and plans.[20] As long as it remains unclear whether Europe's borderline crosses and divides Cyprus or will eventually even include Turkey, the project of European integration draws lines rather than promises cultural inclusion. This may hold true even were the political re-unification of Cyprus to be achieved. If they stay in a unified Cyprus,

post-1974 immigrants from Turkey may have more problems than indigenous Turkish Cypriots in accepting minority status (as do Turks in many other member states of the EU) within a Cypriot state having full membership of the European Union. Were many Turks to regard minority status as insufficient, they might claim a special status that could serve to prolong rather than dissolve the current separation of living spheres including education.

The problem is that in view of the deep mistrust that prevailed between the two communities in the past and the low incidence of inter-communal contacts in the present, Turkish Cypriots could ask for special regulations to secure their safety and guarantee their cultural autonomy. In such situations education often becomes the playground for well-intentioned but ill-conceived political compromise. Given the precarious state of the economy in the Turkish sector of Cyprus which, most likely, will not be quickly overcome (look at the example of German unification), a special status for the education of Turkish Cypriots may well consolidate existing disadvantages in material resources and trained staff to the long-term detriment of the community.

In sum, the new developments in international textbook research and revision described in items 1 to 5 above influence attempts at reconciliation through education in Cyprus in ways that are not entirely positive.

Dimensions of Historical Knowledge and Understanding

Although it is desirable to overcome opposing opinions and find joint conclusions, held-in-common historical 'truths' should be continuously tested against novel interpretations of the ever changing and expanding past. If controversial judgements are integral to the acquisition of historical knowledge they should also form part of history education, at least in higher grades when a first understanding of history as a science is to be developed.

Controversies may arise along three different dimensions of historical understanding. We tend to think first of controversies about the interpretation of historical events in this connection.

1. However, historians sometimes have differences about the most basic facts. For example, for several decades the Soviet Union denied the existence of the so called Hitler-Stalin-Pact of August

1939 and classified documents pertaining thereto. As this ban has now been lifted, Russian historians can no longer refuse to acknowledge the factual status of the Nazi-Soviet agreement.

2. We are quite familiar with controversial interpretations of uncontroversial events. Nobody denies that the Ottoman Empire subjugated the Greek people for centuries. However, it is highly contested whether the dominant reaction of the Greeks was steadfast and continuous resistance to the Ottoman rule or step by step adjustment in daily life, and even assimilation, cooperation and full integration into the structures and systems of Ottoman economic and political life.

   National narratives tend to emphasize heroic deeds and achievements, and to neglect the dark sides of national histories. For instance, French history textbooks of the post-war decades put the most emphasis on the resistance movement when dealing with the Nazi occupation. Research findings and a penetrating public debate about the ways in which French people reacted to the occupation brought about a change of perspective in the 1980s that was consolidated during German-French textbook consultations. Forms and degrees of collaboration with occupying forces were now taken into account. Initial emphasis on resistance in the first post-war textbooks served to invest the new French government with the legitimacy accorded to the intransigent few who refused to accept the military and political catastrophe of 1940. Step by step, the French public became receptive to a more thorough and self-searching examination of the occupation period. The aim was no longer to give legitimacy to the current government through relating it to a heroic past but to better understand the impact of the occupation on people's minds and behaviour. A range of responses to occupation from adaptation in daily life, open collaboration with the occupier to forceful resistance came to the fore.[21]

   Where available, oral history sources, eyewitness accounts and biographical stories help to expose and illuminate the motivations, fears and behavioural patterns of human beings confronted by a violent political system. This multifaceted approach provided valuable insights into the ways in which people coped with oppression and foreign rule. Otherwise, it is hardly possible to understand how the Nazi regime enlisted so many followers and acquired the strength and capacity to subjugate almost the whole of the European sub-continent.

3. A dimension rarely taken into account determines the emotions we attach to historical events and persons. Though emotions are not 'controversial' in and of themselves, controversy may arise when different people show contrasting feelings about the same event. The victors' expressions of joy at a military victory may contrast with the desperation and mourning of the defeated. In classrooms, teachers often deal with events to which different pupils attach contrasting emotions.

In most extreme cases, all three dimensions of historical knowledge and understanding can be invoked: when both facts and the interpretations thereof are contested contrasting emotions are also likely to be evoked. Interpretation of Armenian massacres by Ottoman troops during the First World War as 'genocidal' in intent and effect is unlikely to prove controversial in an ethnically homogenous French classroom; but this judgement is forbidden in Turkish classrooms. For Armenians, the interpretation of the death marches as wilful 'genocide' should be recognized internationally and in particular by the Turkish government. In a mixed German classroom including students of Turkish and Armenian background it would be very difficult for a teacher to control emotions and pave the way for rational discussion of the issue. Even seen from the 'neutral' French position, it is important to know about different interpretations and how evidence has been evaluated in different national and ethnic contexts. Different interpretations and evaluations are closely bound to historical experiences and national self concepts which must be also addressed before students can understand how such radical differences in perceptions of a common past can arise.

Each dimension requires particular methods for coping with historical controversies in the classroom:

1. If we do not agree about facts, we must find evidence which proves one position to be more valid than the other. We examine artefacts, establish the provenance of sources and so on.

2. To evaluate competing interpretations, we define criteria against which their coherence and consistency, explanatory power and parsimony may be determined.

3. Emotions cannot be refuted by argument, only controlled by rules of communication. At first glance, emotions hinder rational communication. However, they show that a person feels closely related to the issue at stake and has a strong motivation to deal with it.[22] Having expressed our

emotions, we can start to talk about the reasons why we are so moved by something that happened in a past of which we sometimes do not even have a memory and with which we may have no obvious connection. In so doing, we begin a conversation about our place in history. We learn how to imagine ourselves in strange and unfamiliar contexts. In the course of such a conversation, we can try to broaden our horizons and locate areas of experience that overlap with those of others. Such areas might serve as a basis for harmonizing judgements, for reciprocating perspectives and for developing feelings of sympathy with the 'other'.

From a Confrontational Approach to Discursive and Inclusive Communication

In Cyprus, the unresolved political situation is a stumbling block for confronting teachers and pupils with the arguments and feelings of the other side. Official policies of non-recognition do not allow for a symmetrical approach; they accept only one truth and reject the point of view of the 'other' as a starting point for deliberations. Reconciliation, however, as a process of mutual learning and communication, starts with recognition: listening to the 'other' in the same way as the 'other' will listen to you. Scholarly communication aims at a balanced interaction in order to reach mutual understanding. Applying the communication model of the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas, one could juxtapose communication oriented towards understanding against strategic communication directed by interests of power.[23] Politicians have to make decisions in order to solve problems; they follow strategic lines of decision making to reach their goals. Whereas the result of political negotiation is a decision which – in the best case – reaches a balance of power, mutual understanding does not necessarily lead to a joint conclusion; it can identify different sets of arguments and define common ground as well as differences which, in turn, may lead to further in-depth communication with a view to reducing differences. In political negotiations different opinions compete for supremacy or aim for a compromise that defines a new 'held-in-common best-possible' truth accepted by all partners. Scholarly communication accepts different points of view as a starting point and sees truth as a continuing process of rationalization. Curricula that are heavily influenced by political interests allow, as a rule, only for 'the one and only truth', whereas curricula that follow a more scientific approach strive to train teachers and students in truth finding processes that necessarily involve discussion and recognition of divergent points of view.

One may object that such open teaching can lead to relativity. However, quite the contrary should happen. Classroom discussion should foster reasonable argumentation and test the reasons given to support arguments. Nevertheless, teachers, in the end, should not hesitate to explain that, in any society, living together is possible only when basic rules and values are agreed and respected by all members of the society. Of course, such respect can only be expected to be shown if these values have been defined in a consensual process. Therefore, teaching materials should make obvious the values and reference systems on which a given historical narrative is based. Pupils should be enabled to reconstruct the authors' values and reference systems and to compare these with their own.

In conflict situations where different political parties with exclusive ideologies, territorial claims or economic concepts compete for hegemony and recognition, the authorities rarely accede to the development of discursive school curricula. Education is more often used as a tool for justifying fixed positions than for understanding the arguments of the 'other'. Education in Cyprus is used as just such a tool; and the concept of non-negotiable truth still underlies both official curricula.

Textbook projects in conflict theatres have developed two ways of operationalizing the concept of discursive truth.

On the one hand, experts from all conflicting parties have developed a common narrative that is acceptable to all sides. Such a process takes, as a rule, several years. At its beginning stands an analysis of the mainstream narratives of each side. These are critically examined against state of the art international research. Step by step, the core of a new narrative emerges with fewer and fewer points of difference. The shortcoming of this method is that some persistent differences tend to be played down, pushed aside and glossed over. Contested issues are often described in neutral language that avoids evaluative and emotive terminology. As a prime example, the East Asian textbook 'A History that Opens to the Future' may be mentioned. This appeared in Japanese, Chinese and Korean versions, and focuses on difficult relationships between the three countries during the 19th and 20th centuries.[24] It is meant to be used as supplementary material, primarily by teachers. Nevertheless, it is the first and only comprehensive educational narrative of the shared contemporary history of these three countries written by a tri-national team of authors. Other educational books produced by authors from two or all three of these East Asian countries contain little more than sources and short

explanatory paragraphs. In failing to offer a joint narrative, they only provide a basis for interpretations that may still differ. While this approach is likely to be less criticized by the public, its impact on classroom teaching is weak since few teachers are familiar with source-based and discursive styles of teaching or use additional materials to complement official textbooks.[25]

Joint textbooks more closely resemble those with which teachers are already familiar and, in consequence, are easier to accept from a methodological point of view. The only curricular, multinational textbook approved by ministries of education has been developed by a German-French team of authors. The idea to produce such a book was born in the German-French Youth Exchange organization and then backed by the two governments. Two private publishing houses – one German and one French – were responsible for its realization.[26] Franco-German textbook production did not, however, take place within a conflict situation. Rather, development of the book was preceded by long and firmly established political cooperation as well as by educational and academic consultations about history teaching and history textbooks that started during the post-war years. Joint multinational textbooks can hardly be successful in situations of open conflict; they may be most usefully initiated when a political solution to the conflict has been found that allows for a re-interpretation of respective histories. In situations of open conflict, joint production of materials based on a variety of sources which can be interpreted in different ways may prove to be a more realistic option.

The second way of operationalizing the concept of discursive truth is illustrated in the project, recently finalized by a group of Israeli and Palestinian teachers and scholars, to develop joint teaching material about the difficult Israeli-Palestinian relationship in the 20th century. Their method can be regarded as the polar opposite of that described above. In view of the unresolved political situation, the prolonged occupation and ongoing violent clashes, they abandoned the idea of a joint narrative. Instead, they saw it as their prime aim to raise awareness of the legitimacy of parallel but contrary narratives grounded in different cultural traditions, religious beliefs and political affiliations. During in-depth discussions they compared Israeli and Palestinian points of view and worked on both narratives until each side was able to understand and recognize the 'other's' interpretation, albeit without necessarily accepting it. For example, reciprocal recognition of the national aspirations of Jews and Palestinians enables understanding of why Palestinians describe the war of 1948 as a 'catastrophe' and the Israelis as 'the war of independence'.

Within the Israeli-Palestinian project group of teachers and scholars, the experiment succeeded inasmuch as the group produced two narratives that were both taught in Israeli and Palestinian schools by group members.[27] Exposing pupils to the two narratives, however, led to paradoxical outcomes. While in some cases Israeli and Palestinian pupils were willing to step into the shoes of the 'other', and even to defend the other's position, pupils also said that after the experiment they felt confirmed in their own views and rejected those of the 'other' as falsifications of history.

In contrast to teachers and scholars in the project group, whose work extended over a period of eight years, pupils in experimental teaching groups were given a couple of lessons to confront and critically discuss the views of the 'other', and to make comparisons with their own interpretations.

The work on recognition and reconciliation by project group teachers and scholars involved two layers of communication. On the first layer, group members observed rules of scholarly, professional debate when developing a teaching unit for external use. On the second layer, to be able to do this, they applied certain communication strategies which helped them to overcome mistrust and avoid social, cultural or political stereotypes of people believed to represent the 'enemy' and with whom no credible communication was thought to be possible. The group applied the TRT (To Reflect and Trust) communication model developed by the late psychologist Dan Bar-On, team leader for the Israeli side.[28] A crucial element of this method is biographical story telling. To understand each other's judgements one has to listen to and acknowledge each other's experiences. Experiences are neither right nor wrong, but people build on them value systems as contradictory as their experiences are diverse. Listening and acknowledging leads to mutual recognition and understanding which, in turn, allows for rational discussion of differences and controversial issues.

Processes of personal recognition, apparent prerequisites for reciprocal acknowledgement of the legitimacy of competing narratives, are difficult and perhaps impossible to organize in normal classrooms. To be effective, teaching the material requires a seminar-like atmosphere in which pupils can express their feelings and preconceived images of self and other and relate them to their own life experiences. However, large pupil numbers, the lack of sufficient time and resources, and inadequate in-service teacher training opportunities (particularly in areas of conflict) are not conducive to the

use of appropriate teaching methods. It follows that the immediate pedagogical impact of multi-perspectival materials is usually limited.[29] Nevertheless, the Israeli-Palestinian project shows that professional cooperation between 'enemy sides' is possible and has positive results.

Although textbook innovations rarely exert direct and immediate influence on pedagogical practice, they create networks of agents in the political arena, academic institutions, NGOs and societal interest groups that prepare the ground for classroom change. They create nuclei of pedagogues able to transform pedagogical paradigms in the longer run, that is, when peace is secured and political conditions for the development of official peace curricula are present. So even if textbook initiatives can exert only limited influence at present, they lay foundations for the implementation of an inclusive history education in the future.

Notes

1. *School Text-Book Revision and International Understanding.* (1933).

2. *Les manuels scolaires d'histoire en France et en Allemagne* (1937); Tiemann (1988).

3. Castrén (1980); Helgason, B., Lässig, S. (Eds.) (2010); visit also http://www.norden.se.

4. The American Council on Education/The Canada - United States Committee on Education (1947).

5. For a comprehensive overview see Pingel (2010). *UNESCO Guidebook.*

6. Gemeinsame Deutsch-Polnische Schulbuchkommission (1977); visit also Zernack, K. *After the Wende: The German-Polish Textbook Project in Retrospect.* **http://www.gei.de/fileadmin/bilder/pdf/Projekte/After_the_Wende.pdf**.

7. Although textbook consultations with the Soviet Union/Russia and Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic started before the breakdown of the Soviet block, they had a significant impact only after 1990; Lemberg, H., Seibt, F. (Eds.), (1980); Dolezel, H., Helmedach, A. (Eds.), (2006); de Keghel, I., Maier, R. (Eds.), (1999); Becher, U., Riemenschneider, R. (Eds.), (2000).

8. Pingel (2006).

9. Dimou (Ed.), (2009).

10. Pingel (Ed.), (2003); Firer. R., Adwan, S. (2004).

11. Even if it still concentrates on developments in the larger European countries, the most important and ground breaking work in this regard is Delouche, F. (1993); it is translated into almost all important European languages.

12. Grever, M., Stuurman, S. (Eds.), (2007); Grever, M., Ribbens, K. (2007).

13. The German minister made this proposal at a EU conference held in Heidelberg, 1-2 March 2007; concerning the debate, visit **http://www.tagesspiegel.de/weltspiegel/gesundheit/geschichtsstunde/819048.html; http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,2370988,00.html; http://www.kultur-in-europa.de/54.html**

14. The George Eckert Institute is going to set up a new portal on images of Europe in European textbooks, visit **http://www.eurviews.eu/de/start.html**

15. On the initiative of UNESCO, the League of Arab States, ISESCO, ALESCO and others, a group of experts is developing a Guidebook 'On a Common Path: New Approaches to Writing History Textbooks in Europe and the Arab-Islamic World' which focuses on the image of the 'other' in European and Arab-Islamic Textbooks.

16. Γινομαι καλος πολιτης [To become a good citizen]. (2004), p. 9.

17. Papadakis (2008); with a more positive outlook see Vural, Y., Özuynık, E. (2008).

18. Baier-Allen (2004).

19. Philippou (2007).

20. Pingel (2000).

21. Vichy-Frankreich und Nationalsozialismus im deutschen bzw. französischen Geschichtsunterricht. (1987); Hofmeister-Hunger, A., Riemenschneider, R. (Eds.) (1989); Dischl, J. (2009); Vissing, L. (1999); Kleszcz-Wagner, A. (1991).

22. Mütter, B. (1999); Mütter, B., Uffelmann, U. (Eds.), *(1996)*; Wunderer, H. (2001), see also **http://www.sowi-online.de/methoden/dokumente/filmanalyse_wunderer.html**

23. Habermas (1985); Pingel (2010). 'Geschichtsdeutung als Macht?....'

24. Minoru, I., Ryuichi, N. (2008).

25. This holds most likely true also for the teaching material develope d by the „Joint History Project' of the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in South-Eastern Europe (CDRSEE); the material also contains sources on Cyprus, visit www.cdsee.org/jhp/index.html

26. Le Quintrec, G., Geiss, P., Bernlochner, L. (Eds.), (2006, 2008); compare Wittenbrock (2007); Droit (2007); Riemenschneider (2007).

27. The final version of the material is in print. The experimental version is accessible on the Internet: **www.vispo.com/PRIME**. The Georg Eckert Institute supported the group with expertise and finance thanks to grants from the German Foreign Office and the EU Commission. The project has been conducted by the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME) located in Beith Jalla, Palestine.

28. Bar-On (2006).

29. The PRIME group consists of 20 to 30 teachers; it is intended to expand the group in a follow-up project.

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Re-writing History Textbooks – History Education: A Tool for Polarization or Reconciliation?

Hakan Karahasan and Dilek Latif

Re-writing History Textbooks – History Education: A Tool for Polarization or Reconciliation?[1]

Abstract

The education system and the textbooks used in Cyprus are part of the ongoing ethnic conflict. The Turkish Cypriot education system for many years aimed at the legitimization of the division of Cyprus on the basis that 'the two communities in Cyprus cannot live together.' Nevertheless, Turkish Cypriot history education and textbooks have been going through visible changes over the last seven years. This paper presents research findings of a comparative analysis of the revised Cyprus history textbooks rewritten after the referenda on the Annan Plan in 2004 and the re-revised Cyprus Turkish History textbooks that have been prepared under the auspices of the current National Unity Party (UBP) government following the Party's victory in the April 2009 general elections. The objective is to compare the revised and re-revised history textbooks through the prism of reconciliatory education, evaluate the changes and present the current debates on history education amongst the Turkish Cypriots. Within this context, how history education can be used as a building tool of harmony and understanding and how controversial issues of history can be taught to contribute peace rather than fostering divisions will be discussed.

Introduction[2]

Even though writers such as Francis Fukuyama have argued that we are at the end of history, it is not unusual to talk about history education.[3] Although capitalism has declared its victory in terms of economic systems and globalization has become a fact, there is still much to discuss when it comes to education. Globalization, as a phenomenon, cannot change the fact that we are still living in between modernism and postmodernism, which creates a very problematic picture for the world around us. Places, communities and countries that did not have the experience of 'national awakening' are trying to create or enhance a sense of 'national consciousness'. In this regard, it is not a surprise to see that history education plays a key role in this 'national awakening'.[4] Nonetheless, this is not the only reason why history education has been used. We can say that the Sumerians, who 'discovered' writing, were also the first to create education in order to train/educate scribes, and they became one of the most important social classes in Sumerian society, legitimizing their king through writing. This

shows how significant education has been since the beginning of history – it has been used to create subjects that the dominant classes can easily manipulate.[5] In this sense, education is not only a tool that helps people to 'learn' about something, but a tool that perpetuates the ideas of the dominant classes.[6]

Of course, the case of Cyprus is not so different from that of the rest of the world. Consideration of the fact that Cyprus received its independence in 1960 tells us many things about the situation. While Cyprus was a colony of the British Empire, there were two different communities (Orthodox and Muslim) and each of them used the language of their 'respective motherlands'. These languages then led to national identities in these communities.[7] Greek Cypriots (hereafter G/C) were the first to 'awaken from the dream' and became conscious of their Greekness.[8]

As Niyazi Kızılyürek suggests, 'the 1821 Greek liberation movement gave birth to the nationalism of the Christian bourgeoisie in Cyprus, who having declared themselves Greek, insisted on the struggle for union with the Greek national state'.[9] According to Kızılyürek, national identity became an issue for G/Cs after Greece obtained its independence from the Ottoman Empire.[10] Turkish Cypriots (hereafter T/Cs), on the other hand, became 'aware' of their Turkishness mostly as a counter-reaction to the G/Cs. As Zenon Stavrinides points out, 'there was no institution, for example, among the Turkish Cypriot community corresponding to the Greek Orthodox Church'.[11] Another factor is that the idea of nationalism did not become an issue for T/Cs until the establishment of the modern Turkish national state.[12]

The 'awakening' of the 'two nations' on the same island resulted in the creation of an independent republic in Cyprus in 1960. Interestingly, the problem of becoming a nation has not ended. One of the reasons for this problem was due to there being no common educational system, even though people lived in the same republic. During the British Administration, both communities used textbooks from their 'respective motherlands', and this, in turn, helped to 'cultivate' Greek and Turkish nationalism in Cyprus.[13] Another reason for this rise in nationalism was that during both the British rule and the Republic of Cyprus periods, the two communities had separate schools. In other words, Turkish Cypriots went to Turkish schools and mainly followed the textbooks from Turkey, whereas Greek Cypriots went

to Greek schools and followed textbooks from Greece. Especially after 1963, the time that can be seen as the official beginning of interethnic violence, both parties separated more and more from each other, leading to each community's 'establishing' its own 'national narrative' where each side demonized the 'other'. Of course, another 'problem' has been that history textbooks in general are 'imported' from the respective 'motherlands'.[14]

Nevertheless, a quick survey of the official narratives of both sides shows that each side has used history as a way to construct its own national identity as being the only one, thus marginalizing the 'other'. Of course, marginalizing or demonizing the 'other' is not specific to Cyprus but is one of the 'characteristics' of nationalism. As Loring M. Danforth claims, 'nationalist movements... are twofold in nature. First they define and reject a national other, then they define and create a national self'.[15] Given Danforth's definition, history textbooks could be used as instruments for 'each nation' to 'define' and 'redefine' the 'other' through its own historical narrative. The case of the former Yugoslavia is a very good example of this narrative and its projection of the 'other'. As Falk Pingel suggests,

> Textbook authors have not always been critical enough towards the society in which they live. With the emergence of the nation states in the last century it became quite obvious that schoolbooks contain statements glorifying their own nation and disparaging others, glorifying the ruling groups within one nation or society and disparaging so-called minority groups. At that time concerned educationalists and politicians had already noticed that textbooks, especially history textbooks, do not only convey facts but also spread ideologies, follow political trends and, by investing them with historical legitimacy, try to justify them.[16]

As Pingel suggests, the writers of these textbooks mostly focus on 'their national glories', not the 'others', who are human beings as well. If one looks at how history textbooks were written in Cyprus, it can be seen that both sides have used history and history education to legitimize their own official policies.[17] As Karahasan and Latif have claimed elsewhere,

History education is seen as a significant tool for 'creating' national identity. In this regard, history education in Cyprus can be seen as an instrument that legitimizes official discourse. If history education itself is seen as an 'ideological tool' that creates national identity, then the Turkish Cypriot experience can be seen as an interesting 'experiment' which allows us to document how and why it is ideological.[18]

Although Karahasan and Latif's aim was to document the current debates on history education on the northern part of Cyprus, these debates are good examples of how history education is seen in Cyprus (especially in the northern part) at present. Cyprus History textbooks have been replaced twice since 2004: once during the Republican Turkish Party (CTP) authority and a second time following the election of the UBP party in 2009.[19] The promise made by the new National Unity Party (UBP) to 'change history textbooks that are far away from our national identity' is a good example of how history education is seen at the present moment. In this sense, one can say that education in Cyprus's history is still regarded as a determinant factor that 'creates' the national self. However, as mentioned above, the case of Cyprus is not 'unique.' Recent attempts to change the curriculum and write new history textbooks have occurred in other nations, especially in the Balkans, but also in the common history textbooks of Germany and France.[20] For example, former Yugoslavian countries have attempted to 'reform' their history education for the same reason: they want to support mutual trust and understanding, and history education is still an important tool in the creation of national identity, as well as the promotion of peace and reconciliation.[21]

This paper is a comparative study of the upper secondary *Cyprus (Turkish)* History textbooks. Four 'Cyprus History' textbooks prepared under the Republican Turkish Party (CTP) authority for Grades 9, 10, 11 and 12 will be analysed and compared with the two 'Cyprus History' textbooks created by the current (National Unity Party – UBP) authority. Officially, there is a single textbook policy in the Turkish Cypriot educational system which is applicable in all schools. Nevertheless, teachers have autonomy in the classrooms regarding the usage of material.

Methodology

The textbooks have been analysed in order to ascertain whether the principles of peace education as a teaching approach are presented in them. UNICEF defines peace education as the process of promoting knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create conditions conducive to peace.[22] A historical framework will also be given in order to show how and why textbooks have changed, and why it is that the issue is still a 'hot

debate' in the politics of Cyprus. Whilst analysing the textbooks, theoretical information will be given to show how texts, as well as pictures, were analysed. The use of language, descriptions of historical events, utilization of visual images, photos and maps will all be analysed from this angle.

Historical framework

The decision to replace the *Cyprus History* textbooks in 2004, although very much welcomed by many, was not celebrated by all and instigated a huge discussion in the northern part of the island. Following the publication of the revised textbooks (2004) right wing political parties, journalists and historians reacted strongly against the changes. During the election campaign in 2009, the right-wing National Unity Party (UBP) announced that if they were re-elected, they would re-write the Turkish Cypriot history books. The centre-left parties such as CTP and the Communal Democratic Party (TDP) supported the new textbooks and argued that the change from the old books was inevitable. Textbooks that were revised in 2004 were seen as a step towards reconciliation or a united federal Cyprus because stressing commonality throughout history inevitably contributes to peace in Cyprus (Vural & Özuyanık 2008). Nevertheless, there has not been any scholarly research or surveys conducted to examine the impact of the 2004 textbooks.

Before the current textbooks were published by the UBP government, there was a debate as to whether new textbooks would be ready for the 2009 semester. Soon Mr. Dervis Eroğlu, former prime minister, introduced the new history textbooks to the public during a press conference on the 8th of September 2009.[23] This time the content and the approach of the history textbooks have been criticized by the pro-solution political parties, NGOs and trade unions in the north.

Comparison of the Cyprus History Textbooks, Grade 9 and Grade 10

One of the 'big' differences between the 2004 Cyprus History textbooks and the 2009 versions is that, according to the curriculum, pupils previously had four textbooks for each year, whereas, with the newest revision, the number of textbooks has been reduced to two. The ninth-grade *Turkish Cypriot History* textbook now covers the same subjects included in the *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] and *Kıbrıs Tarihi* (1878-1960): *Kıbrıs'ta İngiliz Dönemi Siyasal Tarihi* [Cyprus History

(1878-1960): Political History of the British Period] textbooks that were written during the CTP government period.

In terms of information, the new textbooks have less substantive content information comparing the old ones (in terms of page numbers etc.) The 2009 textbook for grade 9 covers the subjects: 'İlk ve Ortaçağ'da Kıbrıs' [Cyprus in Prehistory and the Middle Ages] up to 'Dr. Fazıl Küçük'ün Hayatı, Milli Mücadelemizdeki Yeri ve Önemi' [The Life of Dr. Fazıl Küçük and his Significance in Our National Struggle]. Whereas the 2004 textbook covers the subjects 'Osmanlılar Öncesi Kıbrıs' [Cyprus Before the Ottomans], 'Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar' [the Ottomans in Cyprus] and 'Sosyo-Ekonomik Hayat' [Socio-economic Life during the Ottoman Era]. The former (2004) textbooks attempt to avoid presenting the 'other' in a negative sense but to take a humanistic stance. A quick look at the prefaces shows the differences in terms of the perspectives. The preface of the 2004 textbooks reads: 'Contemporary history education aims to encourage critical thinking and to encourage students to develop their own ideas. One of the aims of contemporary history is not to deny the existence of the 'other' but to look at events from a multicultural perspective'. On the other hand, the preface of the 2009 textbooks is as follows: 'We [the commission of 2009] would like to emphasize that the reason we wrote this history book was to provide historical facts, to say that Turkish Cypriots are a sovereign power on this island; and to educate youngsters who appreciate their own republic and the state, who are peaceful, and who are bonded to Atatürk's revolutions, principles'.

In terms of pedagogy, a shift has taken place from a student-centred approach to a more hierarchical way of teaching, close to the 'banking model' condemned by Paulo Freire. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire associates hierarchical teaching methods with the 'banking model' of learning. According to Freire, 'Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the "banking" concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits.'[24] In a way, textbooks published in 2004 employed the opposite approach, since students were encouraged to think, criticize and research.

Grade 9

The cover page of the 2004 textbook (*KTT1*) has a picture of Kyrenia with a sailing boat. There is no explicit indication of or emphasis on nationality, but the book is clearly about the island of Cyprus, since a view from Kyrenia Harbour is shown. The cover page of the 2009 textbook has four pictures: the biggest one is Atatürk, and near his picture on the left side, the coat of arms of the Ottoman Empire; below the coat of arms, there is a view of the Arab Ahmet, and just next to it a picture of the Ottoman Sultan Selim II. The 2004 book can be seen to be more neutral, whereas the 2009 book seems to aim to show that 'Cyprus is a Turkish island'. The content of the two books (written in 2004 and in 2009) shows that the former book adopts a broad perspective, whereas the latter is more Turkish-centred in its approach. The new textbook prefers to use a narrative that is based on the difference between Turkish and Greek Cypriots. However, the old textbook prefers to construct a narrative that is based on the view that many incidents of the past may have been bad, but considering the experiences of the rest of the world, they were not unusual. Interestingly, the 2009 textbook contains 'new information' such as:

- On page 75, the book talks about the 'Meclis-i Millî [National Parliament]' and its significance;
- On page 78, when Turkey signed the Lausanne Agreement and Turkish Cypriots were given a chance to choose between British or Turkish citizenship, those who preferred Turkish citizenship went to Turkey.
- Also on page 78, for the first time, writers say that 'Atatürk thought that if many Turkish Cypriots migrated to Turkey, it would be harmful [for Turkey as well as Britain], so he sent delegates to Cyprus and finished the procedure'.
- On pages 100 & 101, the section 'Our Culture' is composed of two parts: 'Kıbrıs Türklerinin Sinemayla Tanışması [The Acquaintance of Turkish Cypriots with Cinema]' and 'Darül-Elhan'ın Kurulması [Establishing the Darül-Elhan Turkish Music Group]'.

Grade 10

The 2004 Cyprus History textbook for Grade 10 covers the period between 1960 and 1968. It is the third of the four sets of books written for the upper secondary schools. The subtitle of the book is 'Cyprus Political History' (Repentance). Unlike the previous textbooks, the 2004 textbook took a humanistic and balanced approach rather than a nationalistic one. The volume covers a contentious period – the period of interethnic violence in the 1960s – that tends to be described through opposing Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot official narratives and viewpoints. In previous textbooks, this period was seen as one of Greek Cypriot aggression against Turkish Cypriots; dark, hopeless and full of dispute. In contrast, this textbook draws a very different picture with its textual and visual features. There is an extensive social history element in the 2004 textbooks, highlighting concerns and hardships common to both communities in Cyprus. Traditionally neglected aspects of Cypriot history, such as the educational affairs of the time and the evolution of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot media, are also incorporated.

The first chapter of the current textbook examines the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. It is argued that Turkish Cypriots had to defend themselves and thus founded many defence organisations. While this topic was only very briefly touched upon in the previous textbook, this volume gives it much more room. The second part of this chapter of the 2009 textbook deals with the establishment agreements for the Republic of Cyprus: the Zurich and London Agreements, the Guarantee Agreements and the Military Alliance Agreement. Two information boxes explain what a 'guarantor' and what veto rights are. This is followed by a description of the importance of the Agreements for Turkish Cypriots, such as the prevention of Enosis, veto rights, separate municipalities and Turkey's guarantee. One can argue that these parts are very Turkish Cypriot-centred as they evaluate events from one point of view. The following chapter portrays the process from the establishment of the Republic until December 1963. The textbook lays the blame on Greek Cypriots for the troubles and insinuates a hidden agenda behind their acts. The next discussion question for the students argues that even though the 13 amendment points[13] seem to give Turkish Cypriots some rights, they were full of traps.

The third chapter is entitled 'Actions of the Greek Cypriots to Destroy the Republic of Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot Resistance and Political Developments (1963-67)'. Preparation questions before the chapter

ask: 'who were the leaders and designers of the Akritas Plan? Examine the mission of the UN in Cyprus and evaluate whether it served its mission. Research the importance of the Kumsal area for the Turkish Cypriot struggle'.

Section A gives an account of 'Greek Cypriot Aggression'; the Lefkoşa, Ayvasıl, Boğaz, Larnaka, Lefke, Limasol and Baf battles; the Erenköy resistance and the Mağusa district combat. As in the old (unrevised) history textbooks, a photograph of Turkish Cypriot Forces General Nihat İlhan's murdered children is shown. However, it is not the well-known bloody bathroom picture, which has been said to have a bad impact on the psychology of pupils. The hardship of the Turkish Cypriots, the way they were attacked by Greek Cypriots, and their heroic resistance are explained in an emotional and vivid way. Pictures of the 'martyrs', war monuments, cemeteries, warriors with guns, fleeing women and children taking refuge in Turkish schools are used abundantly. Section B explains the establishment of the Bayrak radio station, its importance in the Turkish Cypriot history of struggle, and the ways it boosted the morale of the people. Section C covers the London Conference, the UN Security Council Resolution of March 1964, and the prohibition of Denktaş' return to Cyprus by Makarios. The last part describes the 1967 Geçitkale and Boğaziçi incidents and Turkey's ultimatum to the Greek junta regime. This part also focuses on the 1963-1974 period, mentions the reasons for the start of inter-communal negotiations and moves on to the bi-lateral negotiations and intermittent talks until 1974. The part that talks about the 1974 'Peace Operation', describes that Makarios's plan for Enosis was to devastate Turkish Cypriots in the long term and assimilate them, while EOKA-B supporters wanted to realize Enosis in the short term using violent means (2009, p.56).

In the 'Peace Operation' Era, the reasons and justifications for the military operation, the first 'peace operation', the Geneva negotiations, the second 'peace operation' and the overall consequences of the operation are presented. Visual images such as pictures of Turkish vessels, troops, parachutes, helicopters, tanks, maps showing the progression of the Turkish army, and children watching Turkish soldiers are employed giving a militaristic tone. The Greek massacres of the Turkish villages Atlılar, Muratağa, Sandallar and Taşkent are mentioned along with pictures of the murdered children and mass graves. There is a diagram weighing the scale of Greek and Turkish troops in the Famagusta region, showing the overwhelming supremacy of the Greek troops. Below the diagram, there is a

picture of the Turkish Cypriot Peace Forces and the Turkish Security Forces, presented as 'our safeguard'. Only the positive consequences of the 'peace operation' are mentioned. The part that explains the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', its flag, a map of Cyprus and a picture of the gigantic flag on the Beşparmak Mountains are featured at the start of the seventh chapter. At the end of the chapter, the concept of self-determination is explained in a circle and a research question asks students to collect information regarding the declaration from different sources.

The final chapter covers political, social and economic developments from 1983 to the present day. The book includes some information regarding the Annan Plan negotiations and demonstrations.[26] Two pictures from the mass demonstrations are shown in the last part: Turkish Cypriots holding the EU flag and YES posters, and Greek Cypriots holding the Greek and Cyprus flags and NO posters.

Conclusions

The newly revised volume (2009) depicts Cyprus Turkish History from the official Turkish point of view. The influence of ethnic nationalism can be observed throughout the textbook. Unlike the 2004 textbooks, there is no reference to the common past and common experiences of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities in Cyprus. The former Head of the Turkish Cypriot Educational Planning and Programme Development department, Dr. Hasan Alicik, who analysed the textbook, compiled statistics and published them in the *Yenidüzen* newspaper concluding that the new textbooks are extremely nationalistic.[27]

The four 'Cyprus History' textbooks prepared under the CTP authority for upper secondary schools (Grade 9, 10, 11 and 12) have been analysed and compared with the two 'Cyprus Turkish History' textbooks created by the current UBP authority. The content and the visual images of the textbooks have been analysed from a peace education perspective. According to the findings of this comparative study, the current Cyprus Turkish History textbooks have reverted to an ethnocentric approach, using more nationalistic and militaristic discourse and visual images. The inclusion of the political developments of the Greek Cypriots parallel to those of Turkish Cypriots has been abandoned. Moreover, there is no reference to the minorities of Cyprus, such as the Armenians and the Maronites. The representation of any Greek Cypriot loss, pain or suffering in the contested periods is avoided.

In terms of teaching methodology, it does not adopt the student-centred approach to the extent that the previous textbooks did.

Further Information

The full analysis can be read in POST RI's publication, 'Re-writing History Textbooks – History Education: A Tool for Polarization of Reconciliation?' released to the public at a book launch on July 15, 2010. This book provides a comprehensive account of the changes made to the history textbooks used in the northern part of the Island since 1971 and also incorporates the previous textbook analyses conducted as part of the Education for Peace II project. The book is published in English, Turkish and Greek and is a valuable resource for anyone, both in Cyprus and internationally, interested in history education in conflict and post-conflict areas and how the political changes of a country are often mirrored in the history that is taught to the new generation. (To receive a free copy of the book, please contact POST RI at **info@postri.org** or visit the website at: **www.postri.org**)

POST RI's 'Education for Peace' Projects

POST RI believes that peace can be sustained through education. This is based on research that has shown that education plays a crucial role in establishing long-term peace and reconciliation after an ethnic conflict occurs.[28] To this end, since 2004, POST RI has conducted a series of projects entitled 'Education for Peace'.[29] The overall objective of the Education for Peace projects is to promote reconciliation, multiculturalism and dialogue in Cyprus by improving the quality of history education taught in schools. Moreover, the project aims to create awareness regarding peace education in Cyprus, and to contribute to debates regarding history curricula in the schools of Cyprus.

POST RI's first project (Education for Peace I) focused on the analysis of the fifth (final) grade primary school textbooks in the northern part of the Island. Extra curricular activities were conducted in order to pinpoint the elements that reproduce nationalism, hatred and prejudice against the 'other'. For example, interviews and meetings were organized with teachers and Teacher's Trade Unions in order to give a much wider perspective. The study was published in a book format and was widely distributed to interested parties such as academics, teachers, NGOs, researchers, local authorities, unions etc.

Similarly, in the second project (Education for Peace II), the team analysed the revised history textbooks used in lower secondary schools, in relation to text and visual materials and noted the differences between the old and newly revised textbooks. The team organized a series of workshops in various areas in the northern part of the Island, in order to meet with the history teachers teaching and exchange views regarding the use of the new books and teaching methodologies. The team also developed questionnaires, (one for teachers, one for parents and one for students), which were widely disseminated in order to gain a broader understanding of the opinions, issues problems and benefits of the then newly revised textbooks. During March 2007, the final report was published and disseminated widely to various stakeholders; articles outlining the main findings of the project were written and published in daily newspapers and workshops were organized in various locations in order to discuss the study and the team's findings with a wider audience[30].

Reforming the education system by revising the textbooks and the curriculum is certainly necessary; otherwise the current method of education will carry on poisoning children's minds by promoting hostility, as indicated in some other works.[31] The reforms should also include changes in curriculum, teaching methods, and management structures. In addition to the elimination of ethno-centric and racist elements in the textbooks and school practices, the reform strategy should aim for a modern, higher standard of education that is free of political opinion. Textbooks in national subjects such as history, social science and literature should contain material that is acceptable to all (in the case of Cyprus: that is acceptable for both the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities).

The development of a dialogue between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriots teachers, educators, local NGOs and competent authorities, with the aim of reforming the education system has also been initiated through 'Education for Peace', which will hopefully see the next generation of citizens and leaders ready to accept a multicultural and multinational society. There is need for education reform in Cyprus in order to achieve peace and reconciliation, and the 'Education for Peace' projects certainly play a vital role in assisting in this reform in the whole of Cyprus, with the long-term aim of a harmonious island. For this reason, the POST RI team has decided to continue its work in this area by undertaking the 'Education for Peace III' project, with the aim of making a comparative analysis of the secondary school history textbooks, which were once again revised,[32] and providing training to history teachers across the divide.

Notes

1. The research described in this paper was a project by POST Research Institute (POST RI) which is a non-profit, non-political organization established in 2002 by a group of individuals whose aim is to work for the social, cultural and environmental betterment of Cyprus. POST RI has conducted various projects and activities since its establishment, including three Education for Peace projects, Exploring Europe with partners Cyprus College and the Divided Communities Project in Mostar, as well as various human rights seminars and film events. The information is a summary of POST RI's latest analyses conducted under the Education for Peace III project and funded by the European Commission. This presentation can be found in POST RI's publication Handbook for Educators: New Ideas for Formal and Non-Formal History Education. For more information regarding the paper and POST RI's projects, see *Re-writing History Textbooks – History Education: A Tool for Polarisation or Reconciliation?* Nicosia: POST RI, 2010.

2. The 'introduction' is reproduced from POST RI (2010), pp.13-20. We are grateful to the publisher for giving permission to reproduce the 'introduction' here.

3. For a discussion of the 'end of history', see Fukuyama (2006). In his work, Fukuyama argues that capitalism is the most advanced system we live in and since there are no better alternatives to it, we have reached the end of history. Slavoj Žižek has also spoken about the 'victory of capitalism' as an economic system on 'Hardtalk' on *BBC World News*. Excerpts from the interview can be seen online: **http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/hardtalk/8374940.stm (accessed 5/12/09)**.

4. As Ernest Gellner says, 'Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist'. Quoted in Anderson (2006), *Imagined Communities...*, p. 6.

5. See Tokgöz (2008) .

6. See Althusser (1971).

7. For a detailed account about how each community is being perceived, see Stavrinides (1999), pp. 12-13.

8. There are many more reasons why G/Cs first became aware of their Greekness than there are for Turkish Cypriots (T/Cs). As Zenon Stavrinides (1999) argues, from the very beginning Greek education in Cyprus faithfully followed the organization and curricula of the education system in Greece, which concentrated heavily on Greek literature, historical and cultural tradition and the Orthodox religion. This fact has had a definite formative influence on the kind of language with which Greek Cypriots came later to express their political ideas and discuss the situation of their island (15).

9. Kızılyürek, (1990), p. 21.

10. Ibid.

11. Stavrinides (1999),18.

12. For more information, see Onurkan Samani (1999), p. 21.

13. For more information, see POST-Research Institute (2007), p. 37. See also the Cyprus History 2 textbook, written during the CTP government: KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı (2005), 65.

14. For a detailed account of the textbooks that come from the 'mainland', see AKTI-Project and Research Centre (2004).; POST-Research Institute (2004).

15. Quoted in Dimitras (2000), p. 41.

16. Pingel (1999), pp. 5-6.

17. For more information on how the politics of memory and forgetting is used, see Papadakis (1993); Karahasan (2004). For the ways that the history textbooks are being used, see AKTI (2004); POST-Research Institute (2004); POST-Research Institute (2007); Kızılyürek (1999).

18. Karahasan, Hakan and Dilek Latif (2009).

19. See Özgürgün (2009).

20. For the common history textbooks of Germany and France, see **www.klett.de/projekte/geschichte/dfgb/index_k.html** (accessed 20/12/09); **www.goethe.de/Ins/jp/ lp/prj/wza/defr/en2281618.htm** (accessed 20/12/09); **www.gei.de/en/publications/eckert-dossiers/europa-und-die-welt/europe-and-the-world.html** (accessed 20/12/09). See also POST Research Institute (2004).

21. For the educational 'reform' in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see Latif (2009); Latif (2006). For more information about history education in the Balkans, see Koulouri (2001).

22. See Fountain (1999).

23. See Özgürgün (2009).

24. Freire (2006), p. 72.

25. In 1963, Archbishop Makarios, then President of Cyprus, put forward a set of 13 proposed constitutional amendments 'to resolve constitutional deadlocks', which was strongly rejected by the Turkish Cypriots.

26. The Annan Plan was the latest UN plan for a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus conflict; it was negotiated during 2002-2004 and failed with the 24th of April 2004 referenda. For more information, see: **http://www.hri.org/docs/annan/** (accessed 10th May 2011).

27. Alicik (2009).

28. Akter (2009); Kızılyürek (1999); Papadakis (2008); Vural, Y & Özuyanık, E. (2008); Zembylas, M & Karahasan, H. (2006)..

29. POST Research Institute. (2004); POST Research Institute (2007). Both reports were published in: Post Research Institute. (2010).

30. For more information about the project, see the website of POST-RI: **http://www.postri.org/** (accessed 12/4/11)

31. Kızılyürek, N. (1999); Papadakis, Y. (2008); Vural, Y & Özuyanık, E. (2008); Zembylas, M. & Karahasan, H. (2006); POST Research Institute (2004) and (2007), published in POST Research Institute (2010).

32. In other words, revised history textbooks were revised again right after the victory of the UBP.

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Constructing an Epistemological Framework for the Study of National Identity in Post-conflict Societies Through History Teaching and Learning

Chara Makriyianni

Constructing an Epistemological Framework for the Study of National Identity in Post-conflict Societies Through History Teaching and Learning

Abstract

This paper explores some of the epistemological and theoretical perspectives that could shape research designs and inform the analysis of data relating to the construction of national identity in history teaching and museum education in post-conflict societies. These theories have implications for reflecting on the research process; on the objectives of research, procedures and findings, and for exploring the national identities formed by pupils participating in history teaching and museum experiences. The need for a social constructivist approach in both the research and teaching enterprise is argued. In particular, it brings together certain stances on history teaching and the construction of national identity and unravels the ways in which power structures and ideologies are implicated in this construction. This paper provides a theoretical lense through which history teaching and museum visits could be examined in future research projects. While discussion of these theoretical perspectives is organised under broad subheadings, the issues at stake frequently cross whatever boundaries these headings might be thought to imply.

> 'Those who control the present control the past, and thereby shape the future'
>
> (Orwell, 1954, p.31).

Introduction

This paper discusses the basic epistemological and methodological principles that can inform research into the role of history teaching and museum educational visits in the construction of national identity, as both process and outcome, thereby extending the discussion initiated by McLean[1] from the perspective of museum education. It is also argued that such a question already implies recognition of a social constructivist epistemology, and further suggests that in the context of post-conflict societies, the study of museum visits should be undertaken within a critical and social constructivist framework.[2] Such a framework needs to be based on the establishment of a crucial distinction between two different ways of presenting the past: as *heritage* and as *history*. The paper also argues that heritage and history are supported by two different forms of social relations drawing on the Piagetian

distinction between *social relations of constraint* and *social relations of co-operation*.[3] It ends with some methodological suggestions.

A social constructivist approach to the construction of national identity assumes that identity is not a fixed and unchanging essence but something continually constructed and reconstructed in social interactions. 'Social constructionism' is used sometimes to designate a movement, and at other times a theory or an epistemological stance. At its most general, it serves as a label denoting a series of positions that were articulated after the publication of Berger and Luckmann's influential work in 1966 but that have been modified and refined by a variety of subsequent intellectual movements and disciplines.[4] Crotty suggests that constructionism is the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.[5]

Constructionism in this sense implies that socially constructed meanings can be 'objective' in the sense that they all are 'inter-subjective' and many are (informally) tested against, though not given by, external reality. Colour concepts may be considered to be 'natural categories' in this sense, i.e. whilst colours represent arbitrary segments of a continuous electro-magnetic spectrum, named segments nonetheless correlate highly and reliably with bands of given wavelengths that exist independently of human cognition and language. The key ideas appear to be: (a) Wittgenstein's arguments against the possibility of a private language; and (b) the distinction between public concepts (= symbolic artefacts) and private ideas (= mental events that public concepts take as objects).

In contrast to radical social constructionist approaches that imply a relativism of meaning as an expression of a subjectivist and extreme relativist position, it should be recognised that meaning has inertia but still is negotiated and renegotiated in different settings, takes different forms and promotes a diversity of values: children in history classes and museum education activities construct meanings that are then negotiated with teachers and museum educators, renegotiated with teachers and

classmates in the classroom, and later with family members at home - so that any form of communication can be a source of influence for children. Importantly, learning involves the constitution of new meanings and knowledge as well as the transmission of ready-made beliefs. Meanings often obtain momentum and are not created *ex novo* in every new situation. On another level, it could be noted that critical historical understanding, so important for the particular socio-historical contexts of post-conflict societies, is not served by radical constructionist approaches, since the latter offer no criteria for deciding across various frameworks which practice is the best, or for distinguishing between different forms of communication and learning.

The concept of 'identity' is similarly strongly debated in social theories, depending on the position that each social constructivist approach takes on the issue of 'judgmental relativity'.[6] Gergen states that there is no ultimate, inspiring groundwork on which knowledge of self, values, or reality can be based.[7] Understanding identity in a *critical social constructivist* framework, however, implies that one could identify different forms of identity that depend on more or less desirable forms of communication with the 'other'. The reason for this, as will be argued later, is that the development of national identity is an ontogenetic process that is socially constructed within developmental and ideological constraints that can and should be subject to critical analysis. Thus, accepting national identity as a social construction implies that we should be studying how it is actually constructed micro-genetically, ontogenetically and socio-culturally, since it is a phenomenon undoubtedly affecting and affected by our everyday interaction with people and the way we view our present and future in relation to the 'other'. In the case of post-conflict societies, if questions of national identity are identified as contributing to past conflicts or future confrontations between people, then we need to know why this is so and what factors are entailed in its construction. Admitting that national identity is constructed – that social factors play a causal role in bringing it into existence – is not enough. Social factors need to be defined, including the nationalistic designs and aims that might lead to conflict.

It is in the examination of forms of communication, meaning and identity that there is the greatest need for further reflection, since 'macro' and 'micro' social structures are both engaged in the construction of our 'realities'. For example, taking children to the museum through an organised visit could be described as a practice of 'disciplinary power' in Foucaultian terms; however, the way this practice is structured and resisted by each pupil is also important. Considering power constraints,

researchers could set out to critically examine certain classroom and museum experiences by tracing their development back to the political and ideological structures through which they were produced. It is from this stance that they should seek to unravel the policies of various ministries, institutions and other governmental organisations, and then critically explore the ways in which the various mediating actors – museum educators, curators and and directors, teachers and school inspectors - interpret government policies. At the same time, researchers might take issues of human agency into account in line with the social constructivist and sociocultural approach that Rowe proposes:

> The contexts in which museum visitors operate are not static, pre-existing configurations. Rather, they are constantly changing and are actively constructed and transformed by those participating in them. Again, however, this does not mean that museum visitors are viewed as being unhindered in the interpretation they can make of an object. Instead,... museum exhibitions act to both 'afford' and 'constrain' certain interpretations. The dynamics of this process mean that even though museum visitors may not use or interpret objects in the way that curators or exhibit designers had intended, the setting nonetheless fundamentally shapes their activities.[8]

In this spirit, any such enquiry should investigate children's sense of national identity and avoid assuming that museum narratives will be internalised uncritically by young visitors. Certain questions should be posed: What is children's sense of national identity before, during and after the museum visit? What kind of meaning-making process is taking place before, during and after the visit through object-centred learning, internalisation of narratives and interactions with mediating actors?

Sociocultural theories of development, which articulate the process of construction of both identity and meaning, offer an approach that seriously attempts to bridge macro-structural and micro-cultural constraints. This approach is based on the developmental theories of Vygotsky, which emphasize the role of cultural artefacts and semiotic mediators in the collective generation and transmission of meaning. In recent formulations of sociocultural and sociogenic theories, the social remains primary while the individual emerges out of interaction.[9] There is general acknowledgement of the constitutive roles of semiotic functions (language, signs, and symbols) as embedded in human practices. The constitutive roles in question are those of 'emergence' and 'mediation'.

From Wertsch's socio-cultural perspective, individuals are the seats of agency as evidenced by their choice of activities; in a temporal sense, their capacity to choose also endows them with immediate responsibility for their actions.[10] Agency, however, is constrained by structure. The material and psychological tools through which these activities are accomplished are cultural in origin and circumscribe potential for action. Agency is still a 'both/and' proposition; activities could not occur without both individuals and culture. Hence the unit of analysis is the mediated action as suggested by Wertsch;[11] we, as researchers, need to study the actions of children in museums in relation to the interpretations they give, and the use they make of cultural artefacts and of the historical narratives produced and offered for consumption by power-holders. However, in contrast to those exemplified in Piagetian genetic epistemology, these approaches do not theorise the role of the *quality* of social relations in interiorisation. For example, given the irreducible power relationships of teacher and student, students' interpretations of cultural artefacts are shaped not only by their prior knowledge of the past, but also by prior experience of the problems and responses that a teacher typically expects them to solve and to produce. The latter are also constrained by two sorts of context: those of museum layout and presentation, and those of teacher-supplied tasks and questions. For instance, students who construe their role as guessing what is in the teacher's head respond very differently from students who construe their role as working out and being prepared to debate an original (original to the student) point of view. Again, students who feel able to ask awkward questions about things that don't make sense (to them) operate in a pedagogic relationship which is qualitatively different from that of students who feel unable to initiate negotiations, to set the pedagogic agenda.

The argument put forward in this paper emphasizes the role of the quality of the relationship with 'the other' in the social construction of both knowledge and identity. Identity is 'emergent' only within a network of 'self'-'other' relations. In isolation, personal attributes are meaningless. Only by our positioning ourselves relative to social others do our personal attributes come to orient and structure individual existence.[12] Accordingly, we take up aspects of the world which, importantly, pre-exist us; but which provide the material for the ongoing construction of identity. The personal or private moment of identity construction occurs during the appropriation of culturally available artefacts, the time when such artefacts also become amenable to individual transformation.[13] Although experiences of self or identity customarily fall within the category of personal possession, we 'have' a self or 'acquire'

an identity only in relation to, or in dialogue with, a chorus of others. Thus an identity, to be socially viable, must be constructed with the materials of pre-existing meaning systems. It is at issue any time people use words, symbols, or gestures to map themselves onto the world. In addition to direct negotiation of meanings, the types of feedback offered by teachers can signify other forms of negotiation of meanings, especially when feedback is *active* and *formative* as opposed to deferred and evaluative.

Overall, the sociogenic approach that this article embraces commits itself to a broad constructivist epistemological stance, whilst elaborating the particularities of this stance. With reference to Hacking, it is argued that the historical dimensions of socially constructed identities should be analysed alongside the 'idea' of national identity, the 'ontogenetic' social construction of human beings, and 'the experience of having a national identity'.[14] For instance, researchers could choose to explore the historical formation and development of nationalist ideologies through history teaching and learning in such educational contexts as museums.

A more refined conceptualisation of national identity as a form of social identity can be found in social developmental psychological research. Such conceptualisation assists our selection of methods for measuring change in children's sense of national identity. First, however, a discussion on national identity as social identity will be put forward in order to illustrate the relationship between a broad, constructivist epistemological stance, and certain theories of identity.

National Identity as Social Identity

One of the dominant theories dealing with inter-group relations and national identity in social psychology is Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (SIT).[15] In a recent summary of SIT, Bennet and Sani emphasize 'social identity', 'social categorisation' and 'social comparison' as its three interrelated concepts.[16] 'Social identity' is 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his/her knowledge of his/her membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership'.[17] Attaining a social identity is intertwined with the process of 'social categorisation' that signifies the cognitive segmentation of the social environment into different social categories. This operation both systematizes the social world and offers a system of orientation for the self by establishing

and defining the individual's place in society. 'Social comparison' alludes to a tendency to assess the categories comprising the context by comparing them on pertinent dimensions, thereby contributing to an understanding of the social world and of the in-group within it.

SIT's hypotheses are based upon the premise that 'if it is assumed that individuals strive for a positive self-concept in order to maintain or enhance their self-esteem, the in-group must be perceived as positively different or distinct from the relevant out-groups'.[18] Hence, SIT proposes that in each inter-group context people are motivated both to achieve a positive image of their social group (in-group favouritism) and to make the context as explicit and meaningful as possible. They attempt to satisfy both needs by a positive delineation of the in-group from the out-group.

Banker, Gaertner, Dovidio, Houlette, Johnson and Riek argue that actual differences between members of the same category tend to be perceptually minimized and often ignored, whereas between-group differences are likely to become exaggerated, stressing social difference and group distinctiveness.[19] Moreover, within- and between-group perceptual misrepresentations extend to additional dimensions (e.g. character traits or stereotypes) beyond those that initially distinguished the categories. How people perceive others as members of their group, or not, affects the emotional meaning of group differences, generating additional perceptual distortion and evaluative biases that are reproduced positively for the in-group and the self and these biases often turn into derogation and negative stereotyping of the out-group (out-group derogation). Such cognitive biases help to maintain social biases and stereotypes, regardless of countervailing evidence. Collective pronouns such as 'we' and 'they' are often paired with stimuli having strong affective connotations. Subsequently these pronouns may obtain evaluative properties of their own and may automatically and unconsciously influence 'beliefs about, evaluations of, and behaviours towards other people'. Mummendey, Klink and Brown[20] link the concepts of in-group favouritism and out-group derogation with Staub's distinction between 'blind' and 'constructive' patriotism,[21] and define the situation where a subject performs both favouritism and derogation as 'blind patriotism' or nationalism.[22]

Social psychological interventions based on SIT that aim to reduce prejudice towards out-groups usually attempt either to weaken the sense of categorisation, create the sense of a super-ordinate category or to retain the sense of different categories whilst promoting cooperative relations and

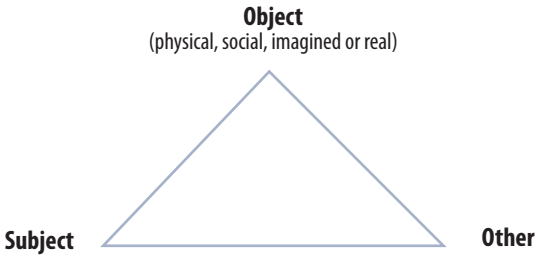
contact between members of in-group and out-group. SIT has also informed research on *social representations* of history in relation to national identity. The theory of 'Social Representations' (SRT) deals with the problem of how socially and culturally shared knowledge influences individual modes of perception, experience and action. A rich description of content is clear in the definitions of social representation as:

> A system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history.[23]

According to Moscovici,[24] social representations function towards making the unfamiliar familiar and providing a common code of communication via the dual process of 'anchoring' and 'objectification'. By anchoring, the unfamiliar (e.g. a museum artefact, historical narrative) is classified in a familiar category. This object becomes objectified through subsequent usages, which also change existing and attach new meanings to it. Thus the relationship between subject and object is mediated through the 'other' (Figure 1).[25]

Figure 1: Semiotic triangle

(Markova, 'Amedee or how to get rid of it', p. 436)[26]



Liu, Lawrence, Ward and Abraham argue that in-group favouritism is a process that takes place not automatically but in relation to the social group's historical context:

> History is the story of the making of an in-group. To accept this representation is to know oneself as part of the group. The group may prefer to exaggerate its losses rather than enhance its gains, if the loss is understood to say something about the group and the relevant others in its environment.[27]

The historical and socio-cultural context, however, is not the sole constraint on the construction of national identity. Years of social-developmental research revealed that the developmental level of the child decisively constrains the way in-groups and out-groups are perceived. Piaget and Weil first suggested that children's thoughts and feelings about countries and national groups are determined by their current stage of cognitive development.[28] Jahoda showed that many children violated Piaget's proposed cognitive-developmental sequence, although age was an important determinant of their perceptions of in-groups and out-groups.[29] Much of the subsequent research in this field, however, is descriptive and atheoretical.[30] Recently Barrett[31] and Bennett, Lyons, Sani and Barrett[32] have presented more work based on social identity theory, as well as on social representations theories about children's progress in this area.[33]

Barrett, in particular, argues that the study of national identity in children is polarized.[34] On the one hand, cognitive developmental approaches stress how children's identity development is driven by underlying cognitive developmental changes - that shifts in the ways in which children are able to conceptualise and reason about the social world drive developmental changes in their identity systems. On the other hand, socialization theories postulate that children's identity development is driven by influences in their social environments, especially parents, schooling and the mass media.[35] Yet, as Barrett rightly concludes, both of these theoretical approaches are over-simplistic.[36] There is a need to consider both the ways in which children are able to conceptualise the world at different ages and the social influences that impact on that conceptualisation. Research also reveals that variations in developmental patterns between and within countries overlay, and may even obscure, universal and age-related patterns in identity development.[37]

In a multinational study conducted by Barrett, Lyons, Bennett, Vila, Gimenez, Arcuri and de Rosa,[38] data were collected from 1700 children aged 6, 9, 12, and 15 years old living in England, Scotland,

Catalonia, Southern Spain, Northern Italy, and Central Italy. The overall picture emerging is that in-group favouritism is exhibited to a different extent by different national groups of children at different ages.[39] Similar developmental and socio-cultural constraints were observed in the expression of in-group favouritism and out-group derogation through stereotyping. Evidence indicates that at least some national stereotypes are acquired by 5-6 years of age and that, during subsequent years, children's national stereotypes become more elaborate and detailed.[40] Through the course of middle childhood, variation within national populations around these stereotypes also increases. At 6-12 years of age, place of birth, language, parentage and current place of residence -in that order- rather than religion or 'race' were used to predict nationality, and developmental constraints were also found to hinder understanding of the relationship between local and national group memberships.[41] The significance of socio-cultural context on stereotyping is clearly seen where the child's nation is currently or historically in conflict with another nation.[42]

From a theoretical perspective, such findings are impoverished in lacking a robust appreciation of macro-structural constraints in the sociocultural context; social representations pre-structure the ways people position themselves towards others whilst constructing their identity.[43] Whilst acknowledging that the consequences of categorization can be seen in the processes of identity, Duveen indicates that to begin the discussion of identity in the motivational drive to attain a positive self-concept is to start from the wrong place.[44] The main argument here is that identity is first a social space made accessible within the representational structures of the social world; it is this that gives categorizations their power, not categorizations that determine identities.[45]

Dealing with museums and their narratives as cultural tools for constructing national identities, the concept of 'symbolic resources' becomes useful,[46] affording a strong sense of agency and subjectivity as well as a strong grasp of particular symbolic elements. Such elements comprise the meaning-making system of social representations in a sociocultural context. It is the use of symbolic elements by an agent to accomplish something in a given social, cultural and temporal context, which constitutes them as symbolic devices and 'resources'. Over time, such 'resources' enable agents to 'transition' from one socio-cultural formation to another:

> What turns a symbolic element into a resource is both (a) the fact that it is used by someone for something; and (b) that in the context of a transition that results in a new socio-cultural formation, it entails a significant re-contextualisation of the symbolic element to address the problem opened up by a rupture and to resolve it.[47]

'Transitions' entail 'sequences of problem/rupture, the engagement of representational labour' bringing about 'some resolution/outcome such that action can continue'.[48] In the context of the present paper, the use of symbolic resources can be located both externally and internally in processes of production and consumption of symbolic elements. Through observation and interviewing, it is possible to identify and draw on both internal and external aspects of these processes. The uses of symbolic elements thus can be located 'in shared concrete things, or some socially stabilized patterns of interaction or customs that encapsulate meanings or experiences for people'.[49] Transitions from pre-visit to post-visit museum experiences can be seen as mediated by different symbolic resources.

Having considered the epistemology that should underpin the construction of identity and knowledge, emphasizing agency and relations of 'self' and 'other', the discussion now focuses on how this epistemological framework supports a particular way of presenting the past and teaching history as an identity construction process.

History and Heritage

A starting point for reflecting upon theoretical perspectives and practices could be the debate between history and heritage in the literature of history teaching. On one level, heritage can be viewed as simply all the material remains of the past and history as everything that happened in the past. However, the words 'history', and even more, 'heritage', become value-laden when they are used to mean interpretation and representation of the past. Therefore, history and heritage must be examined in this context.

Lowenthal makes a distinction between *heritage* and *history*.[50] According to him, heritage deliberately omits aspects and thrives on ignorance and error; its nurturing virtue is bias and its essential purpose prejudiced pride. Heritage transmits exclusive myths of origin and continuity endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose, is held as 'a dogma of roots and origins and must be accepted on

faith' and the past is used as a weapon.[51] History, in contrast is disinterested and universal, in the sense that no group has exclusive claim to particular stories or to truth. Bias is a vice that history struggles to eliminate even if it cannot claim to communicate absolute truth. History conforms to accepted tenets of evidence and is subject to debate; it is always altered by time and hindsight. One consideration in assessing history is learning how to question a historical account, to become aware of the evidentiary base upon which it rests, and to assess it in relation to contrasting accounts.

If we accept this binary distinction, then a crucial question emerges. Is history teaching in post-conflict societies closer to the practices of 'heritage' or 'history'? In order to furnish a conceptual framework for answering this question, this article first draws on Moscovici's distinction between on the one hand, social representations based on knowledge and on the other social representations based on belief.[52] The distinction between social *representations based on knowledge or belief* is premised on the idea that characteristics of beliefs are homogeneous, affective, and impermeable to experience or contradiction that leave little scope for individual variation, and are close to the 'dogma' characteristics that Lowenthal attributes to 'heritage'. By contrast, *social representations founded on knowledge* are similar to Lowenthal's 'history' since they are more fluid, pragmatic and amenable to the proof of success or failure and leave certain latitude to language, experience and even to the critical features of individuals. In addition, *social representations based on belief* are the result of a particular form of communication, wherein the subject and the other are in a relation of asymmetry of status - a relation that constrains the expression of different perspectives. On the contrary, symmetrical social relations facilitate the construction of new knowledge. These relations allow the expression of different viewpoints since the communicating actors recognize each other as thinking subjects.[53]

Wertsch also offers a set of useful oppositions that can be used, this time, to distinguish 'collective memory' from 'history'.[54] Collective memory provides a single committed perspective; reflects a particular group's social framework; is unself-conscious and impatient with ambiguity about motives and the interpretation of events. In contrast, history is distanced from any particular perspective, reflects no particular social framework, has a critical, reflective stance and recognizes ambiguity. Collective memory focuses on a stable, unchanging group essence while history focuses on transformation. Collective memory has a commemorative voice: for example, it sees a museum as a temple that preserves and presents unquestionable heroic narratives. In contrast, history has a

historical voice: a museum is viewed as a forum where disagreement, change, and controversy are accepted as part of an ongoing historical interpretation.[55] Both history and collective memory connect past and present but do so in different ways. Collective memories assume the past to be a backward extension of the present, whereas history deems the present to be the leading edge of a continuously transformed past. Concepts of 'identity' epitomise these differences. The identities represented in collective memory are unchanging essences fixed by their myths of origin.[56] It is the historicity rather than the 'pastness' of the past that is denied by collective memory. In contrast, 'identity' is properly seen as an historical phenomenon, a changing product of a changing past that will continue to change in the future. History also analyses the conditions under which identities emerge, and are often manufactured, for purposes good and ill. One such condition is 'false consciousnesses of the past and its connections with the present.

Comparing now the essential characteristics of heritage to those of nationalism, we see that both are premised on the same epistemological foundations that support the promotion of prejudiced pride for one's own group, the suppression of the other's point of view and the promotion of exclusive forms of identification and purity. Nationalism can only be described as being served by *heritage* and not *history*, and as promoting social representations based on *belief*, not *knowledge*. However, teaching history as dogma (in other words, teaching history as *heritage*, based on representations of *belief*) poses serious problems for learning:

> If historians, curriculum experts, textbook writers and school authorities make all the decisions about the right version of the past, then the students' only job is to absorb it. What started out as contentious, debate-ridden investigation about truth, right and meaning in the past and present ends up before the students as a catechism to be memorized. [57]

This paper argues that both nationalism and teaching history as *heritage* suppress and lead to atrophy of the pupils' critical faculties. Moreover, in order to promote the nationalist ideology through the teaching of history as *heritage*, the quality of social relations between educators and pupils is reduced to a particular form of transmission that hinders the examination of the other's point of view and stifles unconstrained dialogue.

Two distinct moral stances are thus implied between interacting subjects (i.e. educators, pupils) when

constructing the past as *history* or when transmitting the past as *heritage*. As Piaget ([1932] 1965) convincingly argued in his classic work on the moral judgment of the child, there are two basic orientations in social interaction: *social relations of constraint* and *social relations of co-operation*. Where there is *constraint* because one participant holds more power than the other, the relationship is asymmetrical, and, importantly, the knowledge which can be acquired by the dominated participant takes on a fixed and inflexible form. Piaget refers to this process as one of *social transmission*; such as for example the way in which elders initiate younger members into the patterns of beliefs and practices of the group. By contrast, in relations of co-operation, power is more evenly distributed between participants and a more symmetrical relationship emerges. Under these conditions, authentic forms of intellectual exchange become possible, since each partner feels free to express his or her own thoughts, consider the positions of others, and defend his or her own point of view. Under these circumstances, where thinking is not limited by a dominant influence, the conditions exist for the emergence of constructive solutions to problems, or what Piaget refers to as the *reconstruction of knowledge* rather than social transmission of superficial beliefs. The reconstruction of knowledge supports the emergence of a norm of reciprocity between the interacting partners and the advancement of the autonomy, reflection and novelty in the reasoning of pupils. Here the knowledge that emerges is open, flexible and regulated by the logic of argument rather than being determined by an external authority. In short, relations of co-operation provide the arena for the advancement of reasoning and the moral development of the child, which for Piaget requires the absence of any constraining influence based either on the imposition of authority or coercion.[58]

Here we have the important theoretical link between the two forms of knowing and the two types of social relations. History teaching and learning that take the form of *social relations of constraint* can be described as *social representations based on belief* (what Lowenthal termed *heritage*). On the contrary, history teaching and learning based on *social relations of co-operation* can promote *social representations based on knowledge* (what Lowenthal termed *history*).

We could thus argue that the epistemology, morality and praxis of history teaching are different from the epistemology, morality and praxis of heritage teaching. History assumes a social constructivist epistemology or a stance of reflective reasoning.

Methodological Suggestions

Researchers who wish to study the construction of national identity and history in museums, within the suggested epistemological framework described so far, should begin their examination with the analysis of the museums' experiences and narratives. The lenses through which this examination should be undertaken is the identification of elements of *history* and *heritage* in the museum narrative.

Furthermore, the use of a quasi-experimental design would make possible the exploration of aspects of national identity and images of the 'in-group' and 'out-groups' in the transition period before and after the museum visit. This approach can be complemented by a more qualitative analysis of children's narratives regarding the history of their homeland before and after their museum visit, focus group discussions, and drawings made in the museums. The latter analyses would help to unravel the variability of the museum experience and children's agency.

The issue of construction of agency should also be examined at the microgenetic level through the lenses of the distinction between social relations of constraint and social relations of co-operation. Thus, researchers should be open to a variety of research techniques and equipment. Observation is useful in examining the museum educators' teaching. Museum architecture, displays, physical structure should also be observed and recorded for analysis. Semi-structured interviews shed light on the ways museum directors and curators attribute meanings to objects and select particular artefacts for display. Semi-structured interviews are also valuable in examining policies pertaining to the roles of museums within communities, states and nations, and in explorations of processes that demarcate and regulate public and private spheres of interest. Documentary analysis and interviews can also be deployed in order to look into the genesis of museums, their means of preservation and organization, and their current missions and objectives.

In addition, interviews could shed light on the ways in which mediating actors interpret and pursue ministry and other institutional policies with respect to the teaching and learning of history and children's responses to museum narratives and constructed experiences. In order to explore children's appropriation of, or resistance to cultural tools, their use of symbolic resources as items of consumption, and the ways they construct their own experiences before, during and after museum visits,

questionnaires, focus groups, observation, videotaping, drawings and writing of narratives can also be employed to these ends.

Employed as part of a quasi-experimental design, questionnaires preceding and following the visit could be based on established psychological instruments for assessing children's understandings of national identity, such as the 'Measures for use with 5-11 year old children', Centenary Project 'Children's Views of Britain and Britishness in 2001' of the British Psychological Society, Developmental Psychology Section.[59] Such questionnaires could be adapted to the specific context of the research field and used to capture the strength of identification with in-group (degree of identification, affect, internalisation, importance, pride); stereotypes for in-group and out-group; and attitudes for in-group and out-group. Children could be asked to complete the questionnaire immediately after they finish writing up their narratives, the day before and after the museum visit, following a specific introductory explanation to them of the procedure and rationale of the questionnaire task.

Focus groups before and after the visit would further help researchers comprehend children's understanding of the questions posed in the questionnaire and their reconstructions of the museum visit. Classroom teachers could help in organizing focus groups comprising small groups of pupils (3 or 5 children) of different academic achievement but the same gender. This will help researchers to avoid asymmetries of gender dynamics and retain variability in terms of academic achievement. Focus groups provide privileged access to the dynamics of interaction between perspectives, thus revealing points of consensus or resistance. Also, children in the presence of peers have more freedom to air their views, thereby evading relations of constraint consequent upon adult-child power asymmetry. In school, a digital tape recorder can be deployed to capture pupils' discussion: placed in the middle of a table, below eye-level so that they refrain from looking at it and losing their focus of attention. During the museum visit a video operator would be very useful in recording actions and speech (permission granted by parents). Every step needs to be taken so that respect and confidentiality is safeguarded. Focus groups can be asked particular questions to unravel the meaning-making process underlying children's decisions to identify with or distance themselves from a particular group, as manifested in their questionnaire answers. The rationale here is that what lies beneath a particular value expressed on a 1-5 Likert scale can be a rich process of meaning making, more easily explored through small focus groups.

Concluding Remarks: National Identity and History as Process and Outcome

In this paper particular theoretical standpoints have been articulated. These standpoints could inform research design and analysis into the ways in which children construct their national identities whilst making sense of museum experiences. It has been argued that identity and knowledge are social constructions. Through the debate on history and heritage, this paper has also showed the importance of macro-cultural, political and ideological constraints on how national identity and historical knowledge are related. The article's main aim is not only to illustrate a rationale for constructing a particular epistemological paradigm, but also to suggest a framework for teaching and learning knowledge as a social construction process through which debates on history, heritage and the development of historical understanding can be discussed in relation to the formation of national identity. Hopefully, this paper will contribute to a dialogue about epistemological paradigms and improved research practice. As researchers we are as much a product of society as the phenomena being studied. Our interest should not only be practical in Habermasian terms but also emancipatory;[60] understanding the ways national identities are constructed in their complexity through the interaction of micro- and macro-social structures leaves open the possibilities for reconstructions, with a critical edge based on self-reflection and ideological criticism.

Such a complex concept as national identity should be studied both as process and content. This process of construction can be described at different levels of analysis, the intra-personal level of cognitive processes, the interpersonal level of social interaction, the inter-group level of relations between social groups and finally, the ideological or social representational level.[61] In this light, history teaching and learning in museums should be critically examined as a part of a social discourse comprising different practices that are applied to children at different ages by the various socialization agents offering cultural artefacts, historical narratives and interpretations as symbolic resources within each child's socio-cultural setting.

Museums could engage participants in productive dialogue by presenting a multi-perspectival view of the past, highlighting the need for visitors to be made more aware of museum production and regulation processes and be given ample opportunities to reflect upon the standpoints of producers

and consumers. In doing so, visitors could unravel the constructed nature of the museums exhibitions and narratives and challenge their taken-for-granted, static epistemologies. Through this process of deconstructing museum narratives and discussing various views and intentions within 'in-groups' and 'out-groups', visitors may become aware that the stereotypes and prejudices that have governed their judgments about 'the other' are both counterproductive and dangerous, and may recognize the need for productive alternatives. For all these to be successful and to avoid the continuation of sub-surface conflicts, cultural differences should be attended to as well as matters around power and divergence in communication styles. Moreover, these relationships in progress should be nurtured and sustained, and be part of a broader drive towards a revisionist history, historiography and history teaching. History teaching should aim to develop in pupils 'the intellectual ability to analyse and interpret information critically and responsibly, through dialogue' and 'through open debate based on multiperspectivity, especially on controversial and sensitive issues'.[62] Moreover, 'history teaching must not be an instrument of ideological manipulation, or propaganda',[63] but should help students to develop the knowledge and mental tools that are necessary to understand the contemporary, and future world in which they are going to live as adults.

The need for reflection and reconsideration of teaching practices is crucial. Reflective process should include questions like: 'Do we want children in Cyprus to comply to a single account or to question multiple accounts?'; 'To conform to a particular perspective or come to grips with multiperspectivity?'; 'To obediently recount the 'official' interpretation or to construct their own interpretations through disciplined argument and debate?' Multiperspectivity as a teaching approach, but also as an epistemological standpoint, adds an extra dimension to historical narrative by supplementing the linear process with a sequence of 'meanwhiles' which convey the reactions and subsequent actions of 'significant others'.[64] It also highlights the mutual influences between different groups within Cyprus, neighbouring countries, alliances, rivalries or occupiers and occupied. Moreover, it sheds more light on conflict situations on the divided island of Cyprus by helping us to understand that they often arise, persist and are shaped by conflicts of interpretation where each party to the dispute assigns motives and intentions to each other's actions which are not founded on any specific evidence, but reflect long-established assumptions, preconceptions, prejudices and stereotypes.[65] Finally, it demonstrates that in some situations in the histories of Cyprus, the perspectives are related in a symbiotic way, with

emphasis placed on historical relationships between majorities and minorities, between different minority groups, between powerful countries and their less powerful neighbours, allies and satellites.

Educators and educational officials must seriously re-consider and re-evaluate the reasons for which children visit museums. There is a need for new museums that escape the static conception of history, and promote reflectivity and critical thinking in the move from theory to everyday teaching practice. Concrete and immediate steps are required. There is urgency to 'challenge the established representation of history in museums'; confront the 'difficulties of representing contested histories'; initiate a debate on 'ongoing issues concerning the legacy of the past'.[66] New museums could be established which would initially mount temporary exhibitions as a way to try out a variety of interpretative approaches prior to re-establishing their permanent history galleries. At first, these exhibitions might deal with 'non-threatening', 'non-sensitive' issues of social history, such as the history of toys, childhood, women, family, everyday life, yet they should also display visual, written and audio sources and historical evidence from various groups assuring representativeness of all ethnic communities and providing a multiperspective approach at various levels: intra-personal, interpersonal, intergroup and representational-ideological.[67] Displays could take up different exhibition styles, such as a more archival approach, presenting the material culture of a certain theme with minimal interpretation, commentary or personal context, or a meta-interpretive approach to exploring, touching upon and commenting on ambiguity and myth, revealing discrepancies and biases. These different exhibition styles would further challenge people's perceptions of how such histories should be narrated. Later on, more contentious and sensitive issues could be addressed. This kind of museum engagement could offer insights so as to enhance our knowledge and awareness of the ways heritage is constructed, and challenge us to further reflect on the power dynamics implicated in the formation of heritage, 'past legacy' and national identity.

Existing museums could be also approached and interpreted from new perspectives with the help of educational programmes before, during and after school visits. To begin with, for those museums that are unwilling to redefine their established narratives of history, the preparation of packs for children could be pursued. These packs would include guidelines and suggestions for teachers and activities and open-ended tasks for children, aiming to challenge their perceptions and ways of thinking about archaeology and history in general. In addition, there would be particular themes for discussion in

the classroom regarding the reasons for establishing particular museums, the history of founding groups, issues of inclusion, exclusions and representativeness of different voices. Teachers and children would be urged to seek and identify the 'absences and silences' of 'others', put themselves in the shoes of 'others' during their visits, and try to imagine what it would have been like to be them. They would be challenged to question accounts and interrogate evidence, not to take things at face value, but always to research and to construct their own interpretations through disciplined argument and debate.

Notes

1 McLean (1998), 244-252.

2 Makriyianni (2007).

3 Makriyianni and Psaltis (2007).

4 Berger and Luckmann's (1966) rich description of social construction is a seminal contribution that argues there are three components to the social construction of reality: externalisation, objectification, and internalization. These explain how social institutions, technologies and knowledge are created, maintained, legitimated, and transmitted through social interaction. Knowledge begins as a natural by-product of the externalization of human activity. As people try to interact over time with each other, an implicit mutual understanding develops between them. Soon, however, this tacit knowledge becomes objectified and reified in explicit concepts and rules to which language and other sign systems can refer. The final step in the process occurs when this knowledge needs to be internalised by people who were not part of its creation. In the case of the museum visit, artefacts and narratives are set up to be internalized by pupils in an ongoing process of national identity construction.

5 Crotty (1998).

6 Bhaskar makes use of a distinction between the principles of 'epistemic relativity' and 'judgemental relativity' (Archer, Collier and Porpora, 2004). The former states that knowledge is socially constructed and therefore there is no trans-historical truth or rationality; the latter maintains that there can be no rational grounds for preferring one set of beliefs to another; one may be an epistemic relativist without embracing judgemental relativity (Danziger, 1997). This article argues for an epistemic but not judgmental relativism. We continue to use history as a point of reference and it continues to carry meanings that can be judged in relation to an aim or objective, even if those meanings are slippery or malleable.

7 Gergen in Schwandt (2000).

8 Rowe in Wertsch (2002a).

9 For an account of sociogenic and sociocultural approaches, see Wertsch (2002a), Valsiner (2000), Wertsch (1997), Cole (1996), Falk and Dierking (2000).

10 Forman, Stone and Minick (1993).

11 Wertsch, op.cit., 113-120.

12 Davies & Harré (1990).

13 Gavelek and Gover (1995).

14 Hacking (1999).

15 Tajfel, Flament, Billig, and Bundy (1971).

16 Bennett and Sani (2004).

17 Tajfel in Bennett & Sanni, ibid., 9.

18 Ibid., 9-10.

19 Banker, Gaertner, Dovidio, Houlette, Johnson, and Riek in Bennett and Sani, ibid..

20 Mummendey, Klink and Brown (2001).

21 Staub (2003). See also Schatz, Staub and Lavine (1999).

22 Blind patriotism is regarded as inflexible attachment to one's nation, unquestioning positive evaluation, staunch allegiance, intolerance of criticism and fixation with national 'traditional-cultural' concerns. On the other hand, in-group favouritism without out-group derogation is directly related to 'constructive patriotism' characterized by critical loyalty, active citizenship, questioning and criticism of current group practices that are driven by a desire for positive change, Schatz, Staub and Lavin, ibid.

23 Moscovici in Flick (2002), 24.

24 Moscovici (1984).

25 Triadic Relations in the Theory of Social Knowledge: In contrast to traditional Platonic/Cartesian epistemology, which takes as a starting point the relation between the knower and an object of knowledge, that is, I-Object, constructivist approaches start from the relation between individual cognition, 'social' cognition (e.g. socially shared knowledge, ideology, beliefs, etc.) and an object of social knowledge. However, social knowledge is constructed by the knower (I) and by the other (other individual, group, society, culture). It was on the basis of this idea, Markova informs us, that Moscovici proposed the dynamic semiotic triangle *Ego-Alter-Object* (or symbol/representation) as an essence of the theory of social representations. Moreover, the interdependent dyadic relation *Ego-Alter* presupposes not only asymmetry, but also the relation of tension. In other words, what moves this epistemology forward is tension. (Markova, 2000).

26 Markova, ibid., 436.

27 Liu, Ward and Abraham (2002).

28 Piaget and Weil (1951).

29 Jahoda (1964).

30 See for example: Lambert and Klineberg (1967), Tajfel, Nemeth, Jahoda and Campbell (1970).

31 Barrett (2007).

32 Bennett, Lyons, Sani, and Barrett (1998).

33 Bennett et al., op. cit.; Cutts et al. (1992); Barrett and Farroni (1996); de Rosa and Bombi (1997).

34 Barrett, op. cit.

35 Barrett, op. cit.

36 One can detect here the tension between the Piagetian and the Vygotskian version of constructivism. In this paper both of these approaches are treated as complementary, not competing (Barrett, op. cit.).

37 See review in Barrett (2005); Barrett, op. cit.

38 Barrett et al. (1997).

39 At 9 years of age, in-group favouritism is exhibited by the Spanish and Catalan children, and by the English children in relation to all of the national out-groups except the Scottish out-group. However, at 9 years of age, the Italian children no longer exhibit in-group favouritism, whereas the Scottish children are beginning to show some evidence of this phenomenon, but not consistently so. Only Spanish children consistently displayed in-group favouritism at all ages on a trait-attribution measure (Barrett, op.cit).

40 Barrett, op.cit., 266

41 For example that of nested group memberships, like hyphenated identities.

42 In a study with Croatian and Bosnian children, Povrzanovic demonstrated that war, nationalist propaganda, and the influence of parents gave rise to particular feelings that resulted in clear, negative, and hostile images of the enemy even at the age of 5 years. Similar findings have been found in other studies, which have examined Greek children's feelings towards Turks and vice-versa (Barrett, op.cit.). Also, see Bar-Tal and Teichman (2005), p. 59; Oppenheimer (2005); Povrzanovic (1997).

43 This is emphasized by Duveen, arguing that theories initiated by Tajfel 'too often have been empty forms so that identity has become a vacuous notion, a transparent glass case enclosing nothing', (Duveen [2001], p. 267).

44 Duveen, ibid., 257-270.

45 Ibid., 268

46 Zittoun et al. (2003).

47 Zittoun et al., ibid., 418.

48 Ibid., 417.

49 Ibid., 418.

50 Lowenthal (1998), 174, 176, 177.

51 Lowenthal, ibid., 2.

52 Moscovici (1998); Moscovici and Markova (1998).

53 Psaltis and Duveen (2006).

54 Wertsch, op.cit.

55 In brief, most scholars who have written about history education deploy 'distinctions between history and heritage, history and the past, professional history and amateur history, analytic history and collective memory and that pair of old favourites, the use of history and the abuse of history' (Barton and Levstik [2004], p. 5). Unless these distinctions are viewed as useful analytical tools and different ways of approaching the past, they threaten to 'shut down public debate and leave us with little to talk about', obscuring more than they reveal.

56 For example: the Athens of Pericles, the Mycenae of Agamemnon and the Knossos of Minos for the Greeks; the Anglo-Saxons of Henghist and Horsa, the Danes of Cnut & Eric Bloodaxe for the English.

57 Seixas, P. (2000). Schweigen! Die Kinder! or Does postmodern history have a place in the schools? In P. Stearns, P. Seixas and S. S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, (pp. 34-35). New York: New York University Press.

58 For more recent empirical evidence on this, see: Psaltis and Duveen (2007); Psaltis and Duveen (2006); Psaltis (2008); Duveen and Psaltis (in press).

59 Barrett, op.cit.

60 Habermas (1996).

61 Doise, W. (1986). *Levels of explanation in social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

62 Council of Europe, 2001, op.cit., p. 2

63 Ibid.

64 Stradling (2003), p.19.

65 Ibid., p. 20.

66 Crooke (2005).

67 See again Doise's (1982) four levels of analysis.

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