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Editorial correspondence should be addressed to:

Hilary.cooper@sky.com and Jon Nichol at Heirnet@gmail.com; IJHLTR@gmail.com

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EDITORIAL

Hilary Cooper and Jon Nichol

From 1938–1943 Karl Popper searingly analysed the horrendous threat to liberal democratic ‘Open Societies’ from Fascism’s and Marxism’s totalitarianism built on their historicist foundations. Popper began writing *The Open Society and its Enemies* (1962) on the day in 1938 that he heard that Nazi Germany had invaded Austria – the Anschluss – and completed his book at the height of World War II. Today we face a new and equally devastating historicist totalitarian challenge to the Open Society from theocratic jihadism. Jihadic inspired religious and sectarian wars now permeate the Middle East. Their ripples spread out across North Africa, Turkey and Europe with ‘Open Societies’ liberal, plural democracies as jihad’s major enemy. The social principles, values, ethics, morality, attitudes and beliefs of Open Societies will play a major, if not the major part, in winning the war of hearts and minds to neutralise jihadism.

Here History Education will play a crucial, vital role. History provides the historical tap and side roots of Open Society liberalism. Grounded in history, axiomatic to Open Societies is an understanding of what shapes their democracies: including universal suffrage, the rule of law, human rights, social ethics, shared values, freedom of opinion, faith, beliefs, expression, movement and organisation; equality of the individual, ethnicity, gender and respect and toleration. To understand, appreciate and value these elements Open Societies’ citizens need to think with an open, sceptical mind-set that rejects historicism. Crucial are history curricula and pedagogy/didactics built around syntactic, know-how, cognitive and affective historical thinking in contrast to history curricula that pupils passively, unquestioningly learn and accept: intellectual totalitarianism. Understanding based on the historical domain’s syntactic skills, processes, protocols and concepts empowers pupils’ historical awareness, consciousness, memories and sense of identity within their personal, familial, communal, regional and national historical narratives.

The papers in this edition of IJHLTR share a view of History Education – the teaching of pupils to think like historians as a normal, learned act, in much same way as they should learn to think like mathematicians and think like scientists to be effective citizens in the 21st century as the *Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development* indicates (OECD, 2016)

Open Societies’ history curricula, teaching materials and resources and didactics/pedagogies require an evidential, research base. Each of the papers in IJHLTR 13.2 depend upon one or more of a wide range of research methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative that draw upon statistical surveys, longitudinal studies, case studies and action research. IJHLTR 13.2 contains one new element: a review of its papers, pp. 4-13, all of whom relate to the ‘Open Society’ editorial theme.

OECD – Echazarra, A., Salinas, D., Méndez, I., Denis V., and Rech. G., (2016) *How Teachers Teach And Students Learn: Successful Strategies For School* OECD Education Working Paper No. 130.

Popper, K. (1962, revised 1966) *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, volumes I and II, London: Routledge.

EDITORIAL REVIEW

Jon Nichol and Hilary Cooper

History Education, Research and Pedagogic Content Knowledge

Evidence based teaching has become a trope, a mantra, even a cliché. But, what does it mean in terms of the improvement of teaching and learning in history and related curricular areas? At its core is the systematic collection of both quantitative and qualitative data to investigate an issue through initial questions that can be modified, refined, added to or even abandoned as the research proceeds. For History Education the research methodology as illuminated in IJHLTR's thirteen volumes is comprehensive, drawing mainly from the academic History domain, other Humanities disciplines, the Creative Arts and the Social Sciences. IJHLTR 13.2 typically has a wide range of research papers, drawing on national curricula creation, curriculum development projects, action and case-study research, evaluations as well as studies of the effectiveness of different teaching and learning strategies and interventions. All involve the systematic collection, collation and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data.

Philosophical Perceptions

Marnie Hughes-Warrington's review on pages 14-15 of *R. G. Collingwood: A Research Companion*, "a comprehensive and systematic listing of materials by and on" reveals the wide-ranging, catholic nature of his academic career as an archaeologist, historian and philosopher. Why is Collingwood of any significance to History Education? Because he provided the philosophical backbone for the Schools Council History 13-16 Project (1976, pp. 16-18) that from the early 1970s revolutionised the teaching of History in the United Kingdom and which subsequently had a major international impact. Collingwood in both his *Autobiography* (1939) and his *Idea of History* (1946) analysed what historical thinking involved and how historians research and write history, i.e. history's syntactic dimension, 'Doing History'. The creator of the Schools Council History project, David Sylvester, 'the heart and soul and the brains' of its team' (Shemilt, 2009), openly acknowledged Collingwood's major role in its creation (Sylvester, 2009). Collingwood's metaphor of the historian as a detective in his John Doe murder mystery – see 'Historical Evidence' in Part Five – Epilegomena of *The Idea of History*, (1946) is reflected in the *What is History?* Schools Council History Project's introductory course. For a translation of the John Doe mystery into active cognitive and affective pedagogy, i.e. Pedagogic Content Knowledge (Shulman, 1986), see (Dean & Nichol, 2011).

Marnie Hughes-Warrington's review illuminates the value of major literary and philosophical figures' views on history and its teaching. On pages 17-23 James Percival's *The Relevance Of George Orwell: Reflections On The Teaching And Learning Of History In A Knowledge Based Curriculum* examines Orwell's devastating critique of school history as an intellectually totalitarian canon of positivistic factual knowledge for pupils uncritically to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest. Orwell draws his reflections on school history from the well of bitter personal experience.

As such, Orwell has resonance for history educators when confronted with governments whose zeitgeist for a national history curriculum reflects the Orwellian perception of such curricula; whether it be that of the governments of England (DfE, 2013), Russia (Putin, 2014a, Putin, 2014b) or South Africa (Fredericks, 2014; Motchekga, 2016). Orwell notes the relevance of a body of knowledge for pupils, but one based upon pupils' use of historical imagery as a starting

point for their historical thinking. Indeed, Orwell's perception reflects the educational value of Collingwood's major philosophical writing on visual imagery and aesthetics (Collingwood, 1938). Orwell's insight is also reflected in the Nuffield Primary History's focus on *Visual Literacy* (Fines & Nichol, 1998) and the Historical Association *Visual Literacy* edition of Primary History (Nichol, 2008).

Pupils, Society and Historical Knowledge

Orwell raises the fundamental importance of the existing, culturally acquired knowledge of pupils to their learning of history. Pupils' minds are not tabula rasa. The next two papers from Chile and Greece explore the implications for history education of the pre-existing knowledge and understanding of pupils, both before and during their period of compulsory state education. In all countries this is a vital element in education for citizenship; nowhere more so than in countries in transition from autocracy/dictatorship to democracy as in Chile and Spain. The Chilean paper *Understanding The Processes Of Transition From Dictatorship To Democracy. A Survey Among Secondary Schools Students In Chile*. pp. 24-35, reports some findings of a Chilean and Spanish joint research project into Chilean pupils' understanding [conceptualisation] of the process of Chile's transition from dictatorship to democracy. The project analysed the content of student responses using a framework with five levels – 1 prestructural, 2 unistructural, 3 multistructural, 4 relational and 5 extended abstract, see page 26. Responses ranged from the meaningless *prestructural* and the unistructural that 'refers to some of the elements relevant to the Transition but which on their own do not explain it' to the highly structured, sophisticated *extended abstract* responses that may 'distinguish between different types of transition depending on who determines it; the existing regime, the opposition or the people themselves.'

Analysis revealed that the majority of pupils, c. 95%, showed a prestructural or unistructural conceptualisation of the transition. The message is clear: there has been a lost opportunity for education in citizenship through the teaching of history in schools. The research also shows that how the subject is taught is the crucial factor in pupils learning how to understand democratic and totalitarian principles and issues. The article demonstrates the Chilean need for the professional development of history teachers; without it any regional or national curriculum is doomed to fail.

The Chilean paper illuminates a crucial aspect of the transition of countries from one political system to another, such as colonialism to independence, communism to nationalism, autocracy to democracy and democracy to totalitarianism. Central to the Chilean paper is the moral, ethical dimension grounded in history that echoes Orwell's concern about the nature of pupils' historical knowledge based upon rote learning of factual historical information or in Chile's case, pure ignorance or folk memory. This theme is echoed in many of IJHLTR 13/2's papers, with concerns over national curricula and a traditional pedagogy routed in teacher and textbook transmission of an unquestioned body of Information and ideas, values and beliefs embodied in a patriotic, culturally grounded narrative that draws upon a set of stories, myths and legends. Such curricula are as much indoctrination as history. However, we should recognise "that some form of patriotism is necessary, even a kind of civic, constitutional centrist patriotism; that a collective attitude to citizenship has to have some kind of relationship with what is valid in the past." perhaps within "a framework curriculum within which it is possible to be both a loyal AND a critical citizen" (R. Guyver, email 03.04.2016) with the informed scepticism that is the hallmark of historical thinking.

Orwell's question on the origin and nature of pupils' historical knowledge is central to Kostas Kasviki's *Textbooks, Teachers, Historians And Word Of Mouth: Greek Students' Ideas On How*

Historical Accounts Are Constructed, pp. 36-43, on Greek pupils' awareness of the evidential basis of five key, iconic historical aspects of Greek History ranging from Mycenaean citadels to the German Occupation in World War II. The research revealed both pupils' minimal understanding of the evidential basis for any of the five key iconic areas of Greek history and that pupils' awareness of transmitted, unquestioned historical knowledge was primarily through 'traditional' channels – history teachers, textbooks, older history books, the media and folk memory.

In its socio-cultural setting the 'history from below' oral, graphic and written folk tradition is a prime, even dominant source of children's historical knowledge. Even where students recognise the importance of historians and archaeologists in shaping their historical understanding, it is in the extra-school contemporary context of the media, public and street history and their related familial and social political discourse that history's major impact lies, as with the demand for reparations from Germany for the World War II occupation of Greece to offset Greek indebtedness to Germany.

Here historical evidence and its evaluation is an element in Greek society's "uses and abuses of the past in the present": history written in blood that is not yet dry upon the paper. Kostas Kasviki's article also relates its findings to the dominant, traditional pattern of Greek history teaching with the teacher as an authoritarian figure transmitting an uncontested non-problematic positivistic national narrative. The paper concludes that there is a need for "a reconsideration of teachers perceptions and practices concerning the development of students' historical skills in the history classroom."

Public History: Museums, Monuments, Statues, The Built Environment and Controversial Issues

History Education is one factor in the wider presence of *public history* as an element in cultural awareness. History saturates culture; as a temporal dimension that conveys meaning it is omnipresent. Through multiple channels, ranging from the familial and social to the national and governmental, formal and informal historical education shapes children's historical awareness, consciousness and memory. IJHLTR 13.2's next set of papers relates to the concept of 'informal education', the education that is one element of young citizens' developing historical awareness, knowledge and understanding.

Formal public history is universally present in public spaces in many ways, for example, monuments, memorials, inscriptions, place names and perhaps most significantly, museums. Museums are a major local repository of historical awareness in every town and city from Stettin (Szczecin) to Trieste and from Cape Town to Reykjavik. Kostas Korres' and George Kokkinos' fascinating paper *Historical Culture In Museums: The Representations Of The First World War In The 'Historial De La Grande Guerre Museum Of France & In The Imperial War Museum Of London*, pp. 44-57, analyses the contrasting roles of two major museums of war in England and France – the Imperial War Museum of London and the 'Historial de la Grande Guerre' in Péronne. The authors raise fundamental questions not only about the wider, national role of museums but how they can be radically different in their views of both the public and their 'educational' role in influencing individuals' 'historical memory, understanding and interpretation'.

Intriguingly Kostas and George argue that the two museums reflect radically different approaches to public knowledge and understanding of the past. The Imperial War Museum takes a traditional approach to present a narrative, an interpretation that it reinforces through the extensive use of digital age technology. Here the historical memory it presents and

reinforces is positivistic, indeed within the traditional transmission of a given, single narrative. In contrast the Historical presents multiple representations of the First World War, empowering the visitor to construct their own representations of the traumatic experience of war encompassing a personal agenda of 'images, knowledge, feelings, experiences and thoughts.'

Communal and national identity is often grounded in an understanding, no matter how inchoate, of historically grounded fundamental issues literally cast in stone and permanently in our faces in the form of 'memory sites and events' – public statues, monuments, memorials, inscriptions/ plaques, place names, historical accounts/explanations in the form of noticeboards and posters, parades, ceremonies, services and commemorations, all aspects of:

public memories emerge in places where people have the opportunity to communicate and interact and this is the reason why public memories are so susceptible to change: they are negotiated all the time, they may be abandoned and resumed or conflict with each other.(see page 59 below)

Statues are one such 'memory site' embedded in public space. The 2015-16 international furor about the removal of Cecil Rhodes's statues in South Africa and Britain raised the emotive power of such images. Eleni Apostolidou in *'Truman Or Lincoln?': Greek Students Debate On Commemoration Decisions Made By Their Community*, pp.58-69, researches from a Greek perspective the question of public memory sites and their role in student attitudes towards the controversial statue of Truman in Athens. The Truman statue was erected in 1963. Since then, demonstrators have pulled it down on numerous occasions; as such, it has been a lightning conductor for Anti-American Greek protest.

Eleni's article analyses the views of 136 university education students on the Truman statue and whether one of Abraham Lincoln should replace it. Only 35 students reasoned historically about the statue showing an objective, multi-perspective understanding of its overall historical context in which it was erected, its contemporary setting and significance, the overall political and cultural messages that it delivered in terms of American hegemony and influence and the related dimension of Greek politics.

In *Local Heritage Approaches In History Education: Understanding How Decisions Of People In The Past Led To The Present*, pp. 70-81, Helena Pinto reports research on a Portuguese heritage education curriculum development project in a country where heritage education plays little or no role in the teaching of history. The project involved two groups of 12/13 and 15/16 year old students using local historic sites and related objects as evidence of a changing past. The pupils used a questionnaire-guide that included questions, problem solving and challenges about significant sites/points on a route through a city centre that could have significance at a local, national or international level.

To support pupil investigation, interpretation and analysis the guide contained information to provide contextual meaning for the evidence the pupils studied at each site/point. The focus of the research was on pupils' historical understanding built on two constructs 'use of evidence' and 'historical consciousness.' Because the pupils were faced with historical evidence about a diverse, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural past. Helena argues that this local, heritage dimension could be of considerable value in education for an increasingly multi-cultural and diverse Portuguese society. The paper raises key questions about the *Pedagogic Content Knowledge* (Shulman, 1986) and pedagogy of teachers implementing heritage education in Portugal. Without appropriate professional development historically focused local heritage education perhaps faces insuperable barriers.

Moral and Ethical Concerns: Values, Beliefs and Attitudes

The articles on museums, statues, monuments and the local environment all raise key moral and ethical concerns that are central to Yngve Skjæveland's, Ellen Holst Buaas's and Kari Hoås Moen's *Teaching Cultural Heritage In Culturally Diverse Early Childhood Centres In Norway*, pp. 82-92. Francis Xavier's meme 'Give me the children until they are seven and anyone may have them afterwards.' is an appropriate prefix to this important, thought provoking paper. Yngve and his fellow authors also raise the fundamental problem of teachers' professional development in educating children up to the age of 5 for an increasingly diverse, multi-cultural Norwegian society. Norway, historically famous for the impact of extensive Norwegian migration [Vikings] has since 2000 been subject for the first time in its history to widespread immigration.

Diversity involves pupil assimilation of values, attitudes and behaviours grounded in respect and understanding of 'the others' and their ethnic communities with their often sharply defined cultural boundaries between them and indigenous communities. By the age of five pupils have well formed values, beliefs and a sense of identity; hence the central social, cultural and educational role of Norway's Early Childhood Centres [ECC] in laying the foundation for a harmonious and stable Norwegian society based on toleration and respect. Axiomatically such 'formation' involves culture, history and diversity.

The ECCs have a clear theoretical framework in which 'formation' is one of four key themes/ concepts. Through active participation, mutual respect and building upon existing foundations within Norway's cultural heritage immigrant pupils can participate fully, assimilate and even integrate with a common Norwegian heritage. The paper provides fascinating examples of the pedagogy that supports and enhances 'formation'. However, while exemplars of excellent practice illuminate, the article's research reveals there is urgent need for the education and training [professional development] of the staff of ECCs. With their own orientation, knowledge and understanding rooted in their mono-cultural background's common cultural, ethnic, linguistic and historical heritage with its norms, values and behaviours, teacher professional development is urgently required to meet the needs of immigrant children and their families from radically different, diverse cultures.

History Education is multi-faceted, particularly in its education for responsible citizenship dimension, however defined. History has a major moral and social ethical role, in which the behaviour of people from the past are measured against both their contemporary and current ethical and moral standards. Here historical thinking is pertinent as something **that is taught and which permeates all history and related lessons**. Mature historical thinking requires detachment and objectivity, to analyse past human behaviour in its historical social, cultural, faith and economic context while consciously attempting to understand and evaluate the mind-sets of the people involved with their particular, often unique, values, beliefs, ethics, rituals and behaviours. Traumatic events in national history provide teaching situations in which teachers and pupils can explore complex moral and ethical issues and the historical mentalities of those involved as well as relating them to present day beliefs and attitudes. In American History one such traumatic, even iconic, historical event was the 1968 My Lai massacre in Vietnam involving American troops and Vietnamese citizens.

In *Students' Perceptions Of A Moral And Value Based Lesson In Relation To Their Personal Selves: The Massacre At My Lai*, p. 93-104, Jeffrey Byford, Sean Lennon and Sarah Smilowitz present teaching about the Vietnam War's 1968 My Lai massacre in a lively, creative and innovative way. Such creativity is in stark contrast to the deadly sterile teaching of history as factual knowledge – assessment led teaching that reflects the 'drill and grill' high stakes

testing that dominates USA history pedagogy/didactics. The My Lai paper argues that the syntactic affective and cognitive dimensions of historical learning enable students to understand how people thought and behaved in the past. Such high level critical thinking is based upon teaching history as an enquiry with its disciplinary skills, procedures, protocols and conceptual framework, based upon questioning and the rigorous interrogation of both primary and secondary sources. Such teaching is grounded in a developing framework of detailed substantive/propositional knowledge, both historical [temporal] and geographical [spatial] essential for empathetic understanding; knowledge that will also meet the 'grill and drill' testing imperatives. The teaching involves discussion, argument, debate and a wide-ranging analysis of the ethical and moral dilemmas that the My Lai massacre raised. The authors conclude, p. 103:

The study examined the reasoning process of students in which historical empathy and value dilemmas were integrated into a short fictional narrative designed to foster higher-order critical thinking through classroom discussion and historical knowledge. ... Students lacking in critical thinking ability are unable to make informed decisions, unable to reason logically, and may lack educational motivation. For this reason, it is crucial that history teachers develop students' critical thinking skills to help guide them through the decision-making processes and with critical analysis (Marina & Halpern, 2011). History classrooms and students stand to be energized by the power of history to foster inquiry, stimulate the analytic mind, shape perception, and deepen students' understandings of the past, themselves, and the contemporary world (Colby, 2008).

Into The Classroom and Professional Development

All of the papers in this edition have at their heart the role of the teacher as the crucial, vital figure in pupils learning history. The teacher's professional orientation is the fundamental, axiomatic key to pupils' long term, accretive ability to think historically both cognitively and affectively as well as to assimilate their developing, evolving substantive, factual historical framework without which there can be no understanding. Such learning requires assimilation at a meta-cognitive level of the disciplinary skills, procedures, processes and intermeshed historical concepts, both cognitive and affective, of the historian. In the classroom context it involves the transmutation of such knowledge into *what* can be effectively taught and learned – Pedagogic Content Knowledge – and related curricular knowledge of pedagogy/didactics – *how* it can be taught (Shulman, 1986). Rosie-Turner Bisset, in *Expert Teaching* (2001), analysed the nature and significance of knowledge bases for history teaching, reporting the finding of a national research project based on Shulman's 1986 paper. In term of teacher professional development . Harland & Kinder (1997) developed a typology of the knowledge bases for successful, long term professional development, a typology based on research into the British government's extensive professional development courses of the 1990s, a typology that underpinned the Nuffield Primary History Project's national professional development programme (Nichol & Bisset, 2000).

An indication of what expert teaching involves is contained in the extremely valuable Netherlands paper of Harry Havekes, Carla van Boxtel, Peter-Arno Coppen and Johan Luttenberg *Stimulating Historical Thinking In A Collaborative Learning Task: An Analysis Of Student Talk And Written Answers*, pp. 105-24. Their paper investigates the use of peer interaction in pairs using a collaborative historical thinking/learning task to facilitate both high quality student talk and answers. There is limited, if any, research into this crucial area of history pedagogy and related pupil learning. Seven classes in five different schools and five different teachers carried out the thinking/learning task. The research involved the analysis of 685 written answers and 38 hours of student talk. The focus was on the collaborative nature

of the talk and the discussion from multiple perspectives to understand how the students developed their understanding of the historical context and its historical concepts and relationships.

A key component of our analysis is the focus on the *process* of reasoning during the student talk and on the *product* of their reasoning in the written answers. We also investigate how specific stimuli in the task triggered specific types of talk and answers. We therefore have sub-questions:

- a) *What kind of student talk does the task stimulate?* (process);
- b) *What kind of historical contextualisation do students construct?* (product);
- c) *What are the relationships between questions in the task.*

The paper's data analysis indicated that only some of the project's goals were realised, i.e. student construction of the historical context and the use of specialised historical language in relation to substantive and syntactic concepts.

The research findings suggest that the crucial element is teachers' knowledge bases (Turner Bisset, pp.8-19), including Pedagogic Content Knowledge, both substantive and syntactic as represented in both teaching styles and related student tasks. The revision of the task to encourage the kind of thinking the research was attempting to monitor supports this conclusion, i.e. it supported/structured learning.

These findings raise questions about the relationship between the design of the task, peer-interaction and cognitive development of the students within historical thinking. Our results make clear that the design of the task helps students, but this also calls for a balance between a suitable amount of guidance in the task itself, without oversimplifying the process by providing a step-by-step model. It is also clear that a well-designed task can guide students to discuss multiple perspectives, but it is not clear whether this also helps students to develop a more sophisticated epistemic stance.'

The traditional pattern of history teaching that most papers report centres on pupil assimilation of historical narratives, stories, biographies, iconic moments and situations transmitted through the medium of the teacher and, crucially, the textbook, a de facto storybook. Henrietta's Marshall's 1905 *Our Island Story* became Britain's most influential storybook/ aka textbook ever, even influencing the English government's history curricula reforms from 2012–13. Henrietta is crystal clear on her storybook's role "I must tell you though, that this is not a history lesson, but a story book." Raquel Sánchez, Laura Arias and Alejandro Egea in *The Perduration Of Master Narratives: The 'Discovery', Conquest And Colonisation Of America In Spanish History Textbooks*, pp. 126-35, illuminate how the influence and traditional role of the history textbook persists, despite revision to incorporate changing perceptions, attitudes and scholarship. Revision includes the omission of stereotypes and the inclusion of social and cultural elements previously absent from textbooks' politically dominated content. The role of history transmitted through such textbooks remains the same: the development of identity, memory and historical consciousness, i.e. new wine in old bottles.

Raquel's, Laura's and Alejandro's paper analyses interpretations of Spanish discovery and colonisation of America Spanish textbooks published between 1939 and 1969. While the later textbooks included major revisions of the previous core narrative there was little or no attempt to present historical knowledge and understanding, its substantive 'know that' knowledge, as being grounded in the syntactic 'know how' cognitive and affective historical enquiry based on interrogating history's primary and secondary sources. Teaching pupils that histories of

the same topic like Spanish colonisation often produce contrasting, controversial and highly disputed interpretations of the same topic leads the authors to conclude:

Due to all of these reasons, we consider that insisting on the idea of the textbook as a basic curricular material of great importance is fundamental, but teachers are still the key element in the teaching-learning process. In this sense, a special emphasis must be made in their formation in the historiographic and didactic ground, centered in the analysis of different sources and using methodologies which stand for the development of critical and reflexive thinking (as cases study, teaching based in problems, project-based learning, etc.) from early ages sources enables them to understand why topics such as Spanish colonization are controversial.

Once more we return to the largely neglected elephant in the history classroom: the almost total absence of professional development for teachers, both in relation to their Pedagogic Content Knowledge, i.e. what to teach and the related curricular, didactic/pedagogic knowledge, i.e. how to teach, The History Teacher's Craft.

Textbooks are only one, albeit still the universally dominant, fundamental element in history pedagogy/didactics. For well over fifty years teachers and curriculum developers in Europe and the rest of the world have created a wide range of pedagogic approaches embedded in radical curricula for pupils to learn to think historically throughout all of their historical learning, both inside and outside the classroom. Thinking historically should be history curricula's pedagogic spine. Elias Stouraitis's *Fostering Creativity In Sixth Grade History Education Through A Story-Telling Digital Game: An Empirical Study*, pp. 136-47, reports on one such innovatory, creative pedagogic approach, a digital game that was piloted with sixty-eight 12 year old Greeks.

A storytelling game based on digital cards was developed for the history course in the sixth grade primary school. A story full of challenges was created based on contemporary history events set in Greece in the 19th century.

The pedagogy focused on pupil creativity through them collaboratively producing stories related to a Greek historical event. Pupils changed from passive, unthinking accepters of a story to thinking as proto-historians as they created stories that they then examined critically through discussing their stories, verbally exploring and debating ideas, hypotheses, conclusions and their evidential foundations. This meant that the students were able to understand on what their stories were based and how created. A central element in the pedagogy was the support teachers gave to the pupils' composition. De facto the teachers provided the student's 'second records' that are a crucial element in each learning to thinking as an historian:

It is everything that he [the historian] can bring to bear on the record of the past in order to elicit from that record the best account he can render of what he believes actually happened in the past. Potentially, therefore, it embraces his skills, the range of his knowledge, the set of his mind, the substance, quality, and character of his experience – his total consciousness. (Hexter, p. 80)

Elias's paper concluded that additional research is needed to realise the potential of the story writing approach as a medium for developing pupils' historical thinking. The next paper also reports on maximizing the potential for ICT in learning history. The transformative role of ICT in history education has been a major aspect of educational research and development since the late 1970s, starting in Britain with the highly creative, innovatory and inspirational approach of Beverley Labbett (1978). The significance of ICT within

this tradition receives full recognition in a Anastasia Vakaloudi's and Vasileios Dagdilelis's paper on a Greek research and development pilot project on *The Transformation Of History Teaching Methods In Secondary Education Through The Use Of Information And Communication Technology (ICT)*, pp. 148-72. The project's research findings showed that students involved in the ICT pilot had much greater personal involvement in the subject through 'learning by doing' than in traditionally taught lessons. The teaching involved historical research and also included role-playing games. The students' use of ICT enabled them to *explore, access and understand the information in their textbooks, digital and conventional resources and materials*; to work interactively in groups with teacher support, to respond to research questions either orally or graphically, reach conclusions and frame arguments. They also became fully aware of the role of maps, i.e. spatial understanding in historical learning and the essential relationship between History and Geography.

The pilot, while optimistic about the potential transformative role of ICT, was pessimistic when dealing with the educational infrastructure and realities of using ICT in a traditional teaching environment without the necessary facilities, hardware, resources, pedagogic and technical expertise needed. However, within a wider, international context, the extensive role of ICT as described in this paper is realistic where it is an element in the 'culture' of both pupils and teachers in schools equipped for the digital age. As such, ICT is a natural element to assimilate into existing pedagogic practice.

Conclusion

Writing the review article has been a fascinating exercise in drawing out the common strands in the wide range of papers that move from the philosophical, the social and communal to the history classroom. Consistently authors face the fundamental threat to Open Societies from intellectual totalitarianism, no more clearly shown than in the iconoclastic destruction of statues and monuments as in protestant England in the 1640s and recently in Palmyra and internationally in the case of statues and memorials to Cecil Rhodes, 'Rhodes Must Fall'. Eleni Apostolidou, pp. 70-81 analyses what this intellectual totalitarian mindset involves, i.e. a **systemic failure to educate pupils to think like historians** is a fundamental factor. A major focus is the urgent need for the education and training, i.e. professional development, of the history teaching profession. Without this, there is the danger that history will be an element in the curriculum and society at large that supports jingoistic nationalism and which will fail to meet the challenge to 'Open Societies' from jihadic and other totalitarian movements.

Correspondence

Jon Nichol
Jonnichol17@gmail.com

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REVIEW

Marnie Hughes-Warrington, Australian National University, Australia

R. G. Collingwood: A Research Companion, James Connelly, Peter Johnson and Stephen Leach, London: Bloomsbury, 2015, 293 + vi pp.

In 1992, I became the fortunate owner of a small photocopied guide to the R. G. Collingwood papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This much-thumbed, much-annotated booklet became the first item in a collection of transcriptions and notes that soon spilled over the limits of a single folder and settled into a row of boxes that continues to grow today.

Such was the lot of a researcher on the life and works of Robin George Collingwood (1889–1943), philosopher, archaeologist, historian and luminary of Oxford University in the first half of the twentieth century. Until now, Connelly, Johnson and Leach's companion for researchers admirably fulfils its aims of providing a comprehensive and systematic listing of materials by and on Collingwood and of placing those materials in the context of a detailed chronology of his life (p. 2).

The book is helpfully divided into eight sections, covering a biography, a chronology of life events, letters, unpublished and published works by Collingwood and his commentators and details of the many archive holdings. The largest section – a description of correspondence – is arguably the most helpful, for the volume and scattered nature of holdings provides a considerable challenge to any budding researcher. The chronology is also a powerful aide to understanding Collingwood's battle with failing health, which he describes rather poignantly in a 1941 letter to Christopher Hawkes as the time 'since the superincumbent sword of Damocles became clearly visible, and here I am driving a pen, though not well' (p. 137).

To those who would argue that it is an important rite of passage for new researchers to find materials for themselves, the simplest rebuttal is that comprehensive aids for research assist in the development of a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the ideas and life events of individuals and groups. Moreover, they minimise the risk of misunderstandings that arise from not having considered particular materials, protecting students, early career researchers and those interested in Collingwood because of his connections to others from the dreaded 'but you haven't read x' of the experienced Collingwood researcher.

There is a little to quibble about the book. The biography (pp. 3–6) gives the reader little sense of *The Idea of History* as a posthumous collection brought together by Collingwood's student, T. M. Knox, or of the significant discovery in 1993 of missing chapters from *The Principles of History* in the basement of Oxford University Press. The published Collingwood is only the tip of an extensive manuscript collection that shows the evolution of his thought at work.

Nor does the book give the reader a sense of what to expect when they see a Collingwood manuscript for the first time. Collingwood's handwriting is far from challenging as far as philosophers go, and his use of recycled exam scripts provide a helpful reminder of the Oxford in which he worked. But readers do need to be warned about his liberal use of ancient Greek terms, as well as his predilection for quoting from poems without noting their source. What was customary intertextual reference in Oxford of the 1930s can take the present day reader by surprise, and the best remedy is to begin with the revised editions of Collingwood's philosophical work – starting notably with David Boucher's edition of *The New*

Leviathan (1992) – as they contain transcriptions and explanatory notes to a significant group of manuscripts.

Finally, the collection does not explicitly give the reader a sense of the balance of Collingwood's interests *in toto*, as distinct from a year-by-year summary. This is a significant gap, as an analysis of the Collingwood corpus can remind us not to pass over his contributions to aesthetics when we see the vast lists of writings on archaeology, metaphysics and the philosophy of history.

But these are minor quibbles, and given the significant opportunities for research posed by a still largely untapped group of writings, this *Research Companion* is a welcome introduction to those new to Collingwood studies.

Correspondence

Marnie Hughes-Warrington
marnie.hughes-warrington@anu.edu.au

*THE RELEVANCE OF GEORGE ORWELL: REFLECTIONS ON THE TEACHING AND
LEARNING OF HISTORY IN A KNOWLEDGE BASED CURRICULUM*

James Percival, Oxford Brookes University, Oxford, England

Abstract

George Orwell's reflections on his own preparatory school education, and his subsequent work as an unqualified private school teacher, highlight many of the weaknesses associated with a factual and rote based teaching and learning of history. These insights are timely given the return to a knowledge-based curriculum in the recent National Curriculum reforms. The long-standing debate between progressive and traditionalist approaches to history is outlined and a case made that ultimately historical understanding requires both knowledge and skills. Orwell also identified the importance of visual imagery as a starting point for historical reasoning, something that has rarely received recognition from history educators.

Keywords

George Orwell, Hirsch, Historical understanding, Pedagogy, Visual literacy, Visual reasoning, West – John,

George Orwell will be remembered principally because of his final two novels, but there is a school of thought that suggests that his reputation ought to reflect his skill as a remarkably original and penetrating essayist (Crick, 1980, pp. 18-19). One such essay was his posthumously published account of his preparatory years at St Cyprian's school in Eastbourne between 1911 and 1916. The essay, 'Such, such were the joys', was almost certainly completed in the late 1940s but publication in the UK was delayed until 1968 due to fears of libel. From the outset it should be stated that Orwell's tendency to exaggerate and distort experience for effect has resulted in criticisms of his journalistic style (Taylor, 2003, pp. 350-1); and it is certainly the case that this essay has received more refutations than almost anything else that he wrote (Crick, 1980, pp. 73-80; Taylor, 2003, pp. 32-36). This does not, however, invalidate the fact that Orwell was an insider witness to a style of teaching, particularly for history, that still has its adherents including influential policy makers.

'Such, such were the joys' is also notable for outlining a particular approach to the teaching of history that ostensibly led to valuable scholarships to attend leading public schools. One of the lesser known facts about Orwell's early life was that he was runner up for the Harrow history prize, losing out to his school friend, the celebrated literary critic Cyril Connolly. Therefore what Orwell described in this essay received public approbation in the form of funded access to elite schools; and as is arguably more commonly known, Orwell was ultimately successful in gaining a scholarship to Eton College. St Cyprian's school was probably typical of literally hundreds of small private preparatory schools that grew in the 19th century for the children of upper middle class families. Often the proprietors were also the teachers, and few would have had formal academic qualifications or received teacher training; indeed, Orwell subsequently worked as an unqualified non-graduate teacher in two north London private schools in the 1930s (Crick, 1980, pp. 220-243; Taylor, 2003, pp. 121-134). The venal nature of St Cyprian's school was emphasised by the fact that Orwell recorded that he felt victimised due to the fact that his parents paid half-fees because of his academic promise, but the greater price was the almost obsessive pressure to succeed through excessive cramming. In describing this process Orwell provided examples of the level of questioning and response that was promoted:

They were the kind of stupid question that is answered by rapping out a name of quotation... Who caught the Whigs bathing and ran away with their clothes? Almost all our historical teaching ran on this level. History was a series of unrelated, unintelligible but — in some way that was never explained to us — important facts with resounding phrases tied to them. Disraeli brought peace with honour. Clive was astonished at his “moderation.” (Orwell, 1968. p. 337)

The first thing of note is the fact that the ‘resounding phrases’ quoted barely explain anything to the modern reader: who really did plunder the Whigs clothes while they were bathing; and was Clive right to be astonished at his moderation? The reference to the Whigs losing their clothes refers to a speech given in the House of Commons on the 7th of February 1845 by the MP Benjamin Disraeli when he attacked the Tory Prime Minister Peel for supporting the largely Whig (Liberal) policy of repealing the Corn Laws in order to reduce the pressure for wage increases on manufacturers; and in so doing Peel crossed the line of traditional Tory protection for the agrarian economy. These are political arguments that probably seemed arcane and remote to school boys in the early 20th century, and even more so now; the various factions that combined to create the modern Conservative party are not really explained by pithy ‘sound bites’ of this kind.

Similarly Clive’s ‘moderation’, which refers to Robert Clive’s self-defence when his conduct, and that of the East India Company, was investigated by Parliament in 1772 for excessive profiteering, is equally not explained by merely quoting Clive’s riposte, and not likely to be received sympathetically in a post-colonial modern world. Both scenarios are complex and at least partly ideological. For example there is a strong case for claiming by unifying the traditional Tory support from the landed gentry and ‘squirearchy’ with liberal capitalism, Peel essentially forged the origins of the modern Conservative party; and both examples require extensive study to even begin meaningful comprehension.

Having dismissed this superficial approach to complex episodes of political and economic history, Orwell turned his attention to the question of memorising dates, which still resonates with those who believe history is ultimately about learning facts.

I recall positive orgies of dates, with the keener boys leaping up and down in their places in their eagerness to shout out the right answers, and at the same time not feeling the faintest interest in the meaning of the mysterious events they were naming.

‘1587’

‘Massacre of St Bartholomew!’

‘1707?’

‘Death of Aurangzeeb!’

‘1713?’

‘Treaty of Utrecht!’

‘1773?’

‘Boston Tea Party!’

‘1520?’

‘Oo, Mum, please, Mum¹—’

‘Please, Mum, please Mum! Let me tell him, Mum!’

‘Well! 1520?’

1 The school proprietor Mrs Wilkes whom the boys called ‘mum’; Orwell thought it possibly a corruption of ma’am.

'Field of the Cloth of Gold!
And so on" (Orwell: 1968: 337-8).

Even allowing for exaggeration and distortion, for example it is hard to imagine that even in 1910 the Harrow history prize could rest on so trivial an approach, Orwell could not have been plainer in his condemnation of the usefulness and relevance of learning disembodied facts, stripped of any genuine historical understanding, engendered by this form of mindless 'orgiastic' rote learning. The current significance of Orwell's essay, which was reflecting on teaching practices approximately 100 years ago, is that it contains echoes within recent educational trends towards a knowledge based curriculum, and theorists like Hirsch (1988; 1999) and his argument for a shared cultural literacy based on core knowledge. Admittedly Hirsch's main point has been that prior knowledge is essential for both reading engagement and comprehension, and he accepted deeper 'intensive' forms of knowledge are required alongside the 'extensive' curriculum (Hirsch, 1988, pp. 27-30). But, the fundamental implication of returning to a knowledge based curriculum is that a superficial understanding of history, based on the rote learning of significant dates and events, and devoid of any genuine historical insight, would be the main outcome for children. Hirsch's theories have been popular and they almost certainly influenced the recent (2010–15) Secretary for Education Michael Gove, and Schools Minister Nick Gibb, who both directed a return to a more content based approach to the new National Curriculum (DfE, 2013), the so called 'school of hard facts' (Abrams, 2012).

Having condemned the mindlessness of some forms of rote learning in history, it is worth noting that in this account Orwell offered a biting critique with no suggestions for improvement. However, it would be a arguably be a mistake to reject completely the importance of knowledge in much the same way that history should not be traduced into a series of dates. During the infamous battles between progressives and traditionalists from the 1960s onwards, critics of the 'new' history, such as Robert Skidelsky (Cannadine et al, 2011, pp.195-6), rather ignored the point that many considered voices have argued that good history teaching and learning involves *both* content and skills. This claim is supported by theoretical perspectives such as Ryle's (1949) distinction between procedural (knowing how) and propositional (knowing what) forms of knowledge, or Schwab's (1964) categorization of substantive and syntactic understanding and in practice few proponents of the 'new' progressive history ever accepted the extreme version of the skills approach to pedagogy over the transmission of knowledge. Indeed there were many powerful criticisms of a predominately skills-based approach: Dickinson et al (1978), Rogers (1987) and Lee (1991) all argued for the importance of content, essentially as a form of reference to help children scaffold their understanding, and also the desirability of synthesising skills with knowledge. Lee (1991, pp. 43-8) was particularly vocal against the 'vicious relativism' that sometimes emerged from predominately skills-based approaches.

More recently Counsell (2000, p. 65) advocated the re-establishment of 'substantive knowledge' as an 'organising device' in children's engagement and understanding of history, and she advocated a 'fingertips' approach where patches of detailed knowledge are taught to help children with specific historical questions or problems. For example understanding the ideological and economic conditions in England in the 1840s is essential for any understanding of why Disraeli was part of a disaffected Tory group critical of its leader. Historical knowledge may be essential, but Orwell's account demonstrated the danger of an overreliance on facts, especially the triviality of disembodied dates and isolated quotations.

Orwell's experiences as a tutor and teacher in interwar private education found their way into one of his less celebrated novels, 'A Clergyman's Daughter' (Orwell, 1935). As Taylor (2003, p. 350) noted, the novel is really a conglomeration of four separate episodes loosely linked

together in the overall narrative, and the third element is a thinly disguised account of Orwell's relatively brief teaching career. He began by noting the difficulties covering history to children with limited cultural experiences, claiming it was the hardest subject to teach; his reasoning for this statement was that 'children from poor homes' (Orwell, 1935, p. 196), more accurately the children of the reasonably prosperous lower middle class who were desperate to avoid the social stigma of sending their children to council schools, had a limited understanding of the very concept of history. In a passage worth quoting in full Orwell wrote:

Every upper-class person, however ill-informed, grows up with some notion of history; he (sic) can visualize a Roman centurion, a medieval knight, an eighteenth century nobleman; the terms Antiquity, Middle Ages, Renaissance, Industrial Revolution evoke some meaning, even if a confused one, in his mind (Orwell: 1935: 196).

It is therefore important to note that Orwell did not reject completely the importance of prior historical knowledge, and in fact he extended its definition to include the importance of shared imagery, alongside key cultural terms, as a starting point for historical thinking, an argument echoed by Hirsch (1988, p. 31). Orwell further claimed that the children and parents from these 'bookless' homes placed little value on history, were unable to see the value of knowledge of the past, and had never indulged in any form of historical thinking based on imagination and curiosity. Instead their knowledge was limited to two historical figures, Napoleon and Columbus, largely learned from newspapers he thought, and chronology was so misunderstood that a question such as 'who invented the motor car was likely to receive the response: 'About a thousand years ago, by Columbus' (Orwell: 1935: 196). The latter quotation is probably an example of Orwell's tendency to write for effect, and it is unlikely that any individual child really did elide these statements together into one answer, but there are some important themes that can be discussed.

To begin with the question of the ability of children to reason about history has received some attention since Orwell's death (Lee et al 1996a; Lee et al 1996b). The unbridgeable gulf of time, the difficulty of entering the mind of adults, particularly those whose belief systems are quite different from contemporary society, and the gaps in information resulting in uncertainty and conflicting interpretations, are all problematic even for historians; for children the challenges may seem insuperable, and certainly there has been pessimism about the ability of young learners to fully engage with history (Hallam: 1970). In this respect Orwell's observations add little other than the commonplace assumption that history can be a hard subject for young learners, but with his suggestion that historical imagery acts as a starting point for children's historical thinking he highlighted something infrequently discussed.

In fact both the acquisition and the use of historical imagery have rarely received much coverage by either historians or educators. John West (1978; 1981; 1986) has been one of the few researchers who questioned not only children's understanding of historical imagery, but also sought to discover their origin. In a four year project involving 1,500 children aged between 7 to 11 years, he concluded that children drew their knowledge of a wider range of sources than teachers acknowledged, and that popular culture included television, encyclopaedias, comics and hobbies accounted for 65% of their information, although school activities such as out of school visits and topic work remained important. Comparable findings were reported by Levstik and Barton (1996) from a North American perspective.

If West's project suggested the idea that access to historical imagery was generally reasonably widespread in the 1970s, certainly compared with earlier generations such as Orwell's 1930s, then there is a *prima facie* case that the proliferation of children's television, for example CBBC

and CITV channels, the number of historical based feature films, and the far wider availability of well-illustrated children's history books has made access to historical knowledge and imagery even more prolific and democratic, even if the focus can be as much about entertainment as it is on education (Scanlon and Buckingham: 2002). For example since 2001 'Horrible Histories' has been filmed by the BBC with high production values and almost consistent repeats on the CBBC channel. In terms of children's books two publication series from different decades may be used as examples: there has been acknowledgement of the very high standard of illustrations in Ladybird publications from the 1950s onwards, which featured many historical series and titles with an equal weighting between text and high quality illustrations (Hughes: 2015; Moore: 2015); and the quality of photographic reproductions in the Dorling Kindersley 'Eye Witness' series, which often feature historical themes and content from the 1990s onwards (Scanlon and Buckingham: 2002: 145), have also received praise.

One new source for historical knowledge and imagery that is just beginning to be considered is the place of the internet and the ability for many young children to conduct their own historical enquiries including access to an almost incalculable amount of historical information and imagery, including photographs and film. As yet the transformative effect of this source of historical information and images is not known, but it would seem safe to conclude that the absolute ignorance of history reported by Orwell is unlikely to be the case even in the most disadvantaged homes.

There are also clear implications for the pedagogy of history in both the primary school and KS3 from Orwell's observations. Whilst it is unlikely, even with a return to a content based curriculum, that children would be expected to learn disembodied dates and aphorisms, nor assessed in this way, the importance of learning history for understanding has arguably been reinforced by Orwell's insightful observations. Teachers should be mindful not to assume that basic knowledge and historical imagery is shared equally, and to consider how these gaps might be filled. Clearly a central element will be to use as many images as possible during teaching inputs.

West's (1986) research also revealed that even when images were recognised children still required instruction in the skills of detailed observation and interpretation. This suggests that teachers should model the decoding of historical imagery using interactive white boards, large scale illustrations, or historical artefacts, and that combining history with detailed observational drawing could also help to develop children's skills. It should also go without saying the place of school trips to historical sites, visitors (particularly those in costume and in role) and the local study (with an emphasis on historical buildings and maps) are equally important. Historical images can also support work in some of the historical concepts. The contrasting ways in which historical events or actors have been painted or dramatised is an obvious route into the complexity of historical interpretation; and sequencing images is not only a way of covering the increasingly emphasised concept of chronology, it will arguably help to develop children's 'sense of time' or 'period' (DES, 1988, p. 7; QCA, 2007, p. 112) which is the arguably one of the most important outcomes of the teaching and learning of history.

Correspondence

James Percival
jpercival@brookes.ac.uk

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UNDERSTANDING THE PROCESSES OF TRANSITION FROM DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY. A SURVEY AMONG SECONDARY SCHOOLS STUDENTS IN CHILE

María Sánchez-Agustí, University of Valladolid, Valladolid, Spain.

Nelson Vásquez-Lara, Pontifical Catholic University of Valparaíso, Valparaíso, Chile.

Gabriela Vásquez-Leytón, Pontifical Catholic University of Valparaíso, Valparaíso, Chile.

Abstract

This aim of this paper is to understand how young Chileans conceptualize the process of Transition from dictatorship to democracy that countries such as Chile and Spain have experienced in their recent histories. The research hypothesis for this paper is that secondary pupils have only a simple grasp of the issues and that this prevents them from understanding the process as a period of adaptation of political and social structures during which the pursuit of agreements and consensus between the different political powers was essential. To obtain the necessary data 616 students from Secondary Education institutions were asked to explain what they understood by the Transition from dictatorship to democracy. Their responses were analysed using an analytical typology for specific content, based on the SOLO classification (taxonomy) (Structure of the Observed Learning Outcome) which enables the level and quality of thought in relation to some particular knowledge to be measured. The results indicate that the majority of the students surveyed demonstrate a prestructural or unistructural conceptualization of the Transition. This means that the definitions they provide lack any historic meaning or that their explanations fail to include essential aspects of the concept. Very few of the students understand the process of transition as an historical event based on the balance of political power and the search for agreements that enable a return to democracy. This situation represents a lost opportunity for education in citizenship through the teaching of history.

Keywords

Teaching of history, Recent history, Transition to democracy, Citizenship education, Student perceptions, Secondary education.

Research rationale

This paper forms part of a wider research project (TRADDEC), under the MINECO national plan in Spain for R&D plus Innovation (EDU2009-09775), with the aim of researching the way in which processes of Transition to democracy are taught in Spain and Chile. We should bear in mind that during the second half of the twentieth century both countries experienced the processes of transition from dictatorial political systems to the establishment of democratic forms of government and that they shared several basic characteristics regarding the development and the process, principally in relation to the dismantling of the previous authoritarian regime as a result of agreements reached between the opposing political forces (Huneeus, 1986; Baloyra, 1987; Linz & Stepan, 1996, Huntington, 1997).

The issues, then, concern open processes where society has to deal with all the potential pitfalls involved in constructing freedom and democracy, demonstrating that they are not inherent values resulting naturally from the end of the dictatorship but rather successes achieved only a result of tortuous processes (Waisman, 2005). This is evidenced in recent times by the failure of the so-called "Arab springs", with the possible exception of the case of Tunisia. We can consequently appreciate that the construction of an intermediate situation, meaning the

movement towards democracy, means a balance between the forces must be found between the supporters of the old regime who need to make way or adapt and those in favour of reestablishing democracy. The latter are only able to assume the running of the state as a result of explicit or implicit negotiations and of gaining the support of society through the ballot box, as happened in the cases of both Chile and Spain.

The educational relevance of this historic episode therefore stems from the fact that the Transition enables us to educate young people about democracy. It allows us to teach them how democracy does not simply arrive as a natural state following a dictatorship, as the sun might come out after a storm, but rather it is a conquest which is only won when a society works hard to achieve it, overcoming all obstacles in its path. As mentioned above, it should be taught in a way that serves the cause of citizenship education, highlighting the need for a past that gives way to the present and connects with the problems and the needs of contemporary society, developing through the study of the past principles appropriate to democratic citizenship which can be strengthened through educational practices such as dialogue, consensus, respect for human rights and valuing participation, among others (González-Gallego, Sánchez-Agusti and Muñoz, 2010).

For this reason, it is vitally important to understand how students conceptualize and comprehend this change of leadership from authoritarianism to government by the people because one of the objectives of the teaching of history is to construct the concepts which characterize historical periods in a way that enables events or local histories to have meaning. This concept is “not just an instrument for a more or less metaphorical explanation, because what guarantees the theoretical effectiveness or the cognitive value of a concept is its function as an operator and, consequently, the possibilities that it offers for the development and progress of knowledge” (Astolfi, 2001, 31).

In our research we have started from the premise that secondary school students have only a simplistic conceptualization of the Transition from dictatorship to democracy, which leads them to hold only imprecise perceptions of the process and prevents them from understanding it as a period of adaptation of political and social structures, for which the negotiation of agreements and the consensus between political forces are essential. This assumption is based on the idea that cognitive limitations on the understanding of history are not only an issue of maturation related to age, as has been established by studies about progression (Lee, Ashby & Dickinson, 1996; Lee & Ashby, 2001), but they are also connected to deficiencies related to teaching processes and methods. In particular, a recent study demonstrated how the Transition is portrayed in the curriculum in Chile as a poorly defined episode, meaning that teachers, who are always reluctant to include recent historical events in their classes, pay it scant attention (Muñoz & Aceituno, 2011).

Research methods

To undertake the survey 616 secondary school students (15-16 years old) were selected using a non-probabilistic system by quotas, proportional to the various social groups within Chilean education system. The different types of secondary schools in Chile are represented by a) private schools for fee paying students attended primarily by students from the higher socio-economic groups, b) private schools funded by the State (generally Catholic Faith schools) attended by students from the middle to low socio-economic groups and c) public schools funded by local authorities which are often poorly equipped, with low staffing levels and high numbers of students per class, normally attended by students from the lowest socio-economic groups.

Consequently, six schools were identified in the main Chilean cities [La Serena (LS), Valparaíso (VL), Santiago (SA) and Concepción (CN)] to provide a proportional representation of the three types of schools (Tabla,1). All of these institutions are mixed gender schools enabling observation of any differences in the way the students articulate their understanding of recent historical events (the Transition), according to their socio-economic status and their gender.

School type	Private – fee paying		Private – State funded		Local Authority funded		Total students
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
La Serena	5	4	33	41	29	0	112
Valparaíso	4	6	74	35	2	10	131
Santiago	12	23	58	62	1	37	193
Concepción	18	15	35	46	46	20	180
Totals	39	48	200	184	78	67	616
%	6.3%	7.8%	32.5%	29.9%	12.7%	10.8%	100%

To obtain the data, the students were asked to explain freely what they understood by the Transition from dictatorship to democracy. Their responses were analysed using a process for analyzing content, based on a system proposed by Biggs and Collis (1982). They created a system of classification of student responses called SOLO (Structure of the Observed Learning Outcome) which enables the level of thought in relation to a piece of knowledge to be measured. The framework comprises five levels (prestructural, unistructural, multistructural, relational and extended abstract), which range from no or meaningless response (prestructural) up to highly structured responses which incorporate a variety of perspectives from which a piece of knowledge can be approached (extended abstract). This generic scale has been adapted to the particular nature of this survey in relation to the historical events related to the processes of transition and the complexity of the relationships between them (Table 2).

Prestructural	The student gives no response, they may answer “I don’t know” or “I’m not interested” or say things that are absurd or simply not relevant to the issue.
Unistructural	The response refers to some of the elements relevant to the Transition but which on their own do not explain it. They may make reference to some aspects such as the change of political regime, the exercise of power, respect for rights and freedoms, elected government, etc.
Multistructural	The response contains fragments of relevant information which are connected and relate to the change in the political regime, the exercise of power and the notion of government by the will of the majority, but which are not correlated to produce a high quality reply.

Relational	The response includes the idea of a process leading to a change of political regime over a period of time during which a change takes place from an authoritarian to a democratic government as a consequence of a complex series of pacts and agreements. Specific features of the process are analysed and the aspects of a democracy that were achieved are highlighted, such as the freedoms and rights of the people.
Extended Abstract	The response conceptualizes the definition as a process of political change (changes in customs, practices, values and procedures) which has social consequences. The responses can be considered in terms of the bibliography which in this case distinguishes between different types of transition depending on who determines it; the existing regime, the opposition or the people themselves. Replies can focus on procedural aspects of the process such as the notion of pacts (social and political agreements) or a break-up (the collapse of the existing regime) in order to explain their opinion.

Table 2. The SOLO taxonomy applied to the concept of Transition

The complexity of the concept of Transition

The responses from the secondary school students were classified in accordance with this framework. Only three types of responses were identified, all relating to the three lower echelons of cognitive development (Table 3). This indicates that the Transition is a very difficult concept for the students to articulate as none of their responses demonstrate an integrated understanding of the relationships between the different historical aspects (relational level) nor, as anticipated, did they reflect different historical perspectives (extended abstract level).

Level of SOLO	N° of responses
Prestructural	299
Unistructural	284
Multistructural	33
Relational	0
Extended Abstract	0
Total	616

Table 3. The results of applying SOLO. The levels of conceptual complexity

We can see therefore that almost half of the students' responses are at a prestructural level as they either make no response or they are incapable of providing any valid information relating to the concept in question (Diagram 1). Their explanations contain none of the necessary elements which describe the historical process, as typified by the following examples: "it's complicated, as the people wouldn't trust anything and wouldn't have faith in politics" [Respondent ES/LS/A-62]; "I'd describe the change from Dictatorship to Democracy like moving from heaven to hell" [Respondent ES/VL/ A-139].

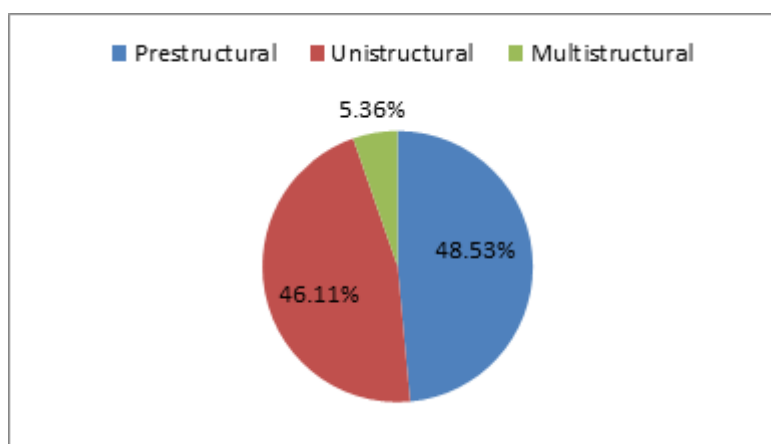


Diagram 1: Percentage spread of SOLO results

We can see from the above that the valid results are concentrated within the unistructural level, containing within their definition some of the key elements of a transition without explaining it thoroughly. The elements mentioned by the students are generally focused on issues such as the right to vote, government by majority and the recovery of freedoms. This is exemplified by the following students: “You vote to decide the president who used to be a dictator” [Respondent ES/VL/ A-194]; “The change from a closed government where you had no right to an opinion to a system of freedom of thought” [Respondent ES/ST/ A-327]. These responses show how the students have a conceptualization of events that lacks complexity in that even those that do make a response are scarcely able to articulate any of the characteristics of the issue in question without establishing significant historical relationships.

The opinions of the students at the multistructural level are in the minority and only hint at two or three related ideas, generally to do with the change or the end of an authoritarian type of government and the opening up of a period of participation by the population, valuing the right to determine based on the vote of the people as well as the freedom of the population as fundamental elements which enable the effective development of a democratic system. This is evidenced by the following responses: “The Transition from an Authoritarian Government which basically violates human rights to a democracy where the Government is chosen by the people who elect their representatives” [Respondent ES/CN/A-524]; “It’s a change from when one person alone has absolute power and then it’s divided and spread and there’s more freedom of expression and the leaders are not elected by their power but chosen by the people themselves” [Respondent EM/CN/A-605]; “Living in a Dictatorship is living under oppression, without your own opinions etc. The change to Democracy means you live more freely and can express your own thoughts without fear of being arrested or even killed. You can choose your leaders, for example the president, members of parliament, etc. in a more transparent way” [Respondent ES/VL/A-187].

To summarize, the use of the SOLO methodology enables us to prove that, as expected, the cognitive representation of the Transition in the mind of the students is very fragile, irrespective of their gender and the social background, as no significant differences were found for these variables. As suggested by Barton (2008) students show a tendency to simplify the historical content and they fail to acknowledge the complexity of situations in the past, although this has nothing to do with their age but rather with the limitations of their education.

The Transition as a clean break

From the perspective of the historical attributes of the concept of Transition we were very interested in analyzing the duration and the importance attributed to the process as they relate to the fundamental nature of it: the existence of a period of time which enabled social, institutional and political changes to take place as a result of agreements and consensus. During this quite lengthy period the various political and social groups each promoted their own objectives in an attempt to determine the future rules of the game in the subsequent democracy. This involves power being lost by one party whilst others renounce their own demands in an attempt to achieve compromises to bring about a Democratic era. In the words of O'Donnell & Schmitter (1986: 37) "such arrangements permit a polity to change its institutional structures without violent confrontation and/or the predominance of one group over another".

Bearing in mind that the respondents have reduced by half (from 616 to 317) because the other half were unable to make any valuable responses at all (prestructural level) we can see that a large number of respondents perceive the return to democracy as something that happened suddenly, rapidly and automatically. This perception is shared equally by male and female students with no significant difference between the genders. However, it is more prevalent among students attending private rather than local authority controlled schools (Table 4).

Variables		Nº of responses	% of those who responded	% of the total sample
Gender	<i>F</i>	64	37.42%	21.40%
	<i>M</i>	56	38.35%	17.66%
School type	<i>Local Authority funded</i>	19	30.64%	13.10%
	<i>Private State funded</i>	76	38.19%	19.79%
	<i>Private fee paying</i>	25	43.85%	29.73%
Totals		120	37.85%	19.5%

Table 4: The Transition perceived as a clean break

These responses, which are found among the 36.61% at the unistructural level as well as among the 48.48% at the multistructural level of our classification, suggest in their explanations that the dismantling of the dictatorial regime was like a house of cards being destroyed by a gust of wind and replaced by a new totally opposite system. There is no intermediate situation, there is no process to assess what might be possible, as recognized by Aylwin, the first president in the post-Pinochet democracy. The following two students demonstrate this perfectly: "A dramatic political, social and economic change abandoning tyranny and violence and returning to a democratic system, people get back their right to vote and to choose their own representatives" [Respondent EM/CN/ A-600]; "A huge advance for the country, moving from a totally corrupt Dictatorship to Democracy, a government allowing freedom of expression and which includes everyone" [Respondent ES/VL/ A-209].

In some of the explanations the confrontation between the dictatorship and democracy is expressed in a very forthright way using phrases such as the following: "It's the change from

a cruel and strict military government to equality for all and peace, which is the total opposite” [Respondent ES/ SN/ A-369]; “I’d describe it as a radical change, going from white to black, as they are very different forms of government, in one the people are in charge, they choose their representatives, there’s freedom of thought and expression, but in a Dictatorship there isn’t” [Respondent ES/VL/ A-204].

As is evident from the above examples, in these explanations the Transition does not exist in its own right but rather is defined in terms of the differences between a dictatorship and a democracy. The students clearly state that under a dictatorial regime there is oppression and you cannot express personal opinions; whilst democratic systems allow for the development of freedoms and you can choose your leaders in a transparent way. This established the importance of and expressed a positive view (somewhat idyllic) of democracy as a way of life and of government, whilst acknowledging that there was a previous system of government that restricted it but it has now been recovered thanks to the struggle of the people.

The Transition as an historical process

There is another group of students, though, that produce arguments in which, implicitly or explicitly, the notion of a process can be detected. This perception, seen in 22.18% of the unistructural responses and 54.54% of the multistructural responses, is more prevalent among students from the most disadvantaged social class which attend the Local Authority run schools but is also found slightly more often among females than males (Table 5).

Variables		Nº of responses	% of those who responded	% of the total sample
Gender	<i>F</i>	49	28.65%	16.38%
	<i>M</i>	32	21.91%	10.09%
School type	<i>Local Authority funded</i>	23	37.09%	15.86%
	<i>Private State funded</i>	47	23.61%	12.23%
	<i>Private fee paying</i>	11	19.64%	12.64%
Totals		81	25.55%	13.10%

Table 5: The Transition viewed as an historical process

As with the previous explanations the majority of the arguments presented attribute to the transition the notion of a positive transformation towards a better political system in which the people become the main protagonists through exercising the right to vote and choosing their own representatives. This demonstrates a clear difference with the previous regime which is characterized by oppression, the lack of freedom and the violation of fundamental rights. The following examples from three students clearly demonstrate this: “It’s a process in which bit by bit Democracy is constructed, but it starts with listening to the people and holding elections for people to decide their representatives” [Respondent ES/VL/ A-175]; “It’s a delicate process because you are facing a stronger power. The people decide to hold an election to decide the system of government, if Democracy wins then you go back to having elections and freedom of expression” [Respondent ES/CN/ A-514]; “A slow change which goes from a system that

represses the people to another system that allows freedom of expression and respects the opinions of the majority and not just those of a single person" [Respondent ES/LS/ A-48].

Some of the responses in this category also include explanations of the causes that have led to the changes. For example, they refer to the dissatisfaction of the people or, from a much more politically aware perspective, the struggle of the people who were able to fight against the dictatorship and secure a return to democracy. The students viewed the popular movement very positively, especially the role of the people against the oppression and injustices of the military government, as exemplified by the following statements: "I think this sort of change is brought about because the population is unhappy, especially the working class, with inequality, because people were classed by their economic situation and this creates instability in the nation, a divided society where the government has to bring about change in order to bring unity and social equality to the country" [Respondent ES/LS/ A-202]; "I think that to move to a Democracy there has to be discontent among the people and a desire for freedom as they are the ones who have to create a change of mentality to say that they are the ones that want to take control and decide how things are done. It also means some violence as you have to create pressure to get a dictator to give up power and if you just use peaceful measures (like with demonstrations) you don't get what you want or as quickly" [Respondent ES/CN/ A-531].

The Transition as a negotiated historical process

On the other hand we can see that among the responses that interpret the Transition as a process only a small fraction put its success down to the combination of individuals and situations that bring about a particular set of historic circumstances that together encourage compromise and tacit agreement [8]. These points are important, especially given that from a political science perspective the Transition in Chile was negotiated, as the Transition pact is central to every reference to the agreements reached between the military government and the opposition in 1980 to reform the Constitution and initiate the process towards democracy (Godoy, 1990; Hidalgo, 1992; Cañas-Kirby, 1997). This tacit pact required the opposition to accept the involvement of the Armed Forces in the political process, parliamentary privilege for Augusto Pinochet (as a senator for life) and the vagueness of the law of amnesty as established by the military regime.

Among the small number of students that mentioned the notion of an agreement to bring about the transition we find it articulated in a variety of ways. Aside from those that allude to it in a very generic way we can also identify some contrasting arguments in terms of the relative importance given to the different parties to the agreement. Some see it as the result of the actions of the people themselves or of the opposition, whilst on the other hand some see it as a result of concessions made by the dictatorship, as reflected in the following statements: "It requires the force of the people and their representatives, as all change needs violence and dialogue to achieve a resolution" [Respondent ES/ LS/ A-35]. "It's when the Dictator relinquishes some of his powers and asks the people if they agree he should carry on, but if their answer is no then they go back to having elections where the people choose their leaders and so the country returns to Democracy" [Respondent EM/VL/ A-208].

The definitions given by another small group of students [15] who perceive the Transition as a negotiated process are also very interesting as they link the general concept of transition to the concrete experience in Chile. It becomes evident that the internalized concept or the mental image that every individual has of an object, an element or a process is strongly linked to their personal experiences and to the context in which they occur. Therefore, despite the question about the Transition in our survey being set at a general conceptual level, we have

seen in some cases that students have defined it, explicitly or implicitly, in terms of the specific historical features of the Transition that took place in Chile, for example referring to the Yes or No referendum of 1988.

We know that the importance of this vote was vital to the process in Chile. As confirmed by Alcántara (1992), following Pinochet's defeat in the referendum the democratic opposition in Chile negotiated major reforms to the 1980 Constitution which were approved in the new referendum in July 1989; four months later the first democratic president, Patricio Aylwin, was elected for an exceptional initial term of 4 years together with a new legislative body which had only elected senators in its upper house (pp. 24).

Consequently, it is easy to see that the small number of students that recognized this expressed positive opinions about it, highlighting it as a defining element within the concept of the Transition. The experience in Chile is used to define the process in general terms even though the Transition might have occurred in another country, as per the following explanations: "In order for it to happen the people need to rise up and get involved in the process. In Chile, for example, this happened through a referendum where the people had to choose whether Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship should continue or end" [Respondent EP/LS/ A-3]; "The same as happened here in Chile there were years of fighting when a lot of injustices were committed and a lot of innocent people were killed or exiled and it took a lot to achieve a referendum to say yes or no to whether the military regime should continue or end, until finally the voice of the people was heard and Democracy was established in our country" [Respondent EM/CN/ A-591].

The importance of the referendum within the Transition process was very clear as it meant, according to Aylwin's plan, the legality of Pinochet's Constitution of 1980 was recognized as part of the "silent" agreement between the Dictatorship and the Opposition. The leader of the Christian-Democrats realized that accepting this legal framework was the only viable way to achieve a peaceful path to reestablishing democracy. But to achieve democracy meant "as far as possible" abstaining from making any criticism of the Military Regime and allowing the Dictator to retain a role within the political system as Commander in Chief of the army up to 1998, creating what some have called "authoritarian enclaves" (Maira, 1999). But, for Jocelyn Holt (1999), these enclaves were a vital part of the "game" and the balance of political power, enabling the agreements and pacts to be reached that finally enabled the return to Democracy.

Conclusions and implications for education

To summarize, we can say that almost half of the students surveyed demonstrated a unistructural level of conceptualization of the Transition process. This means they include in their responses elements that do not deliver any clarity about the specific nature of the historical concept. This leads to the development of inaccurate perceptions and ideas about the nature of the process in question which are expressed as ambiguities at the conceptual level. But we should not forget that half of the students did not even reach a unistructural level of awareness as they either did not respond at all or gave responses that did not accord with the historical events. Overall, therefore, the results demonstrate an even greater lack of conceptual awareness than we initially expected.

By focusing only on those that gave valid responses we see that more students understand the change from dictatorship to democracy as a straightforward switch between two forms of government, defining clearly the previous political system (government by one individual, repression, restriction of freedoms) and the subsequent one (suffrage, elected government, freedoms and rights ...) than the remaining students who understood it as a process over a

period of time that was needed to be able to establish the new political, social and economic structures within the new political framework whose objectives and success are far from guaranteed. In relation to this we have not observed any significant disparity in terms of the socioeconomic background of the students, although the students from the lower socioeconomic groups tend to be more likely to see transitions to democracy as processes over a period of time that are connected to the pressure and action of the people.

Very few of the responses explained Transition in terms of a complex process involving pacts between the powerful and encouraged by popular activity, as with the historical events witnessed in Chile. Those respondents saw transitions as fundamentally agreements between political elites. Specifically, in the case of Chile, they saw it as a process starting with the negotiating position of the opposition parties when the popular protests began across the country as a result of the economic crisis of 1982, then progressing to an ever more fervent climate of social unrest. They believe the Transition in Chile was, in part, possible because the democratic opposition conceived a range of pacts and basic premises that would deliver Democracy to the country. The so-called constitutional pact represented the conviction of the opposition, following rounds of discussions, that it would be impossible to achieve regime change without accepting that the 1980 Constitution should remain in place together with all the legal structures created by the military regime that were enshrined within it. This led the opposition to concentrate its focus on the "NO Movement", the massive campaign run by the opposition to get as many voters as possible registered to vote and then encourage them to vote NO in the referendum held by the military regime to maintain General Pinochet as Head of State for a further eight years.

As indicated by Voss, Wiley & Kennet (2004) we have to acknowledge how hard it is for students to recover a coherent body of information through memory recall alone, which suggests that the results may have been improved if we had included recognition memory strategies (such as providing options as a stimulus to the respondents). In any case, though, these young Chilean students demonstrate (since they are not able to recall them for themselves) a failure to internalize some of the key concepts that articulate the processes required for a successful transition to democracy (agreement, consensus, tolerance ...). This highlights both the need to improve teaching methods and also to establish a clearer connection between the way history is taught and citizenship education.

Transitions have been the subject of significant analysis and extensive debate within the study of politics and history but their treatment in schools remains deficient. This means a significant opportunity to encourage democratic practice in classrooms is lost. In the teaching of history it is important to offer alternatives to the traditional chronological curriculum which leaves insufficient time to properly consider recent historical events. History teaching should transcend the event-based approach prevalent in most text books and teaching methodologies and offer a history of the present which connects the events of the past to contemporary educational needs, thereby reinforcing within students the importance of dialogue, consensus and participation.

Correspondence

María Sánchez-Agustí
almagosa@sdcs.uva.es

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TEXTBOOKS, TEACHERS, HISTORIANS AND WORD OF MOUTH: GREEK STUDENTS' IDEAS ON HOW HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS ARE CONSTRUCTED

Kostas Kasvikis, University of Western Macedonia, Greece

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present and discuss research on how Greek Primary and early Secondary students perceive and identify the role of evidence as a base for building knowledge about the past. The research involved 101 semi-structured interviews with students from 10 to 13 years old. Each interviewee studied one of five different historical accounts, all dealing with topics concerning Greek history, and was then asked to explain how we know about these historical events.

Students appeared to encounter difficulties in directly identifying how these accounts had been constructed, mostly stating oral transmission of information or highlighting school textbooks and their teachers as the media of historical knowledge. Furthermore, they only occasionally focused on the role of historians and archaeologists as a source for these historical narratives. Despite the fact that older students appeared to be more able to recognize an evidential base for historical knowledge, an appreciation of the role of historical evidence seems not to be only age related. It appears to be also dependent on the specific historical accounts that had been studied, with students tending to identify more easily the evidential contribution of material culture than any other type of historical sources.

Keywords

Evidence, Greece, History education, Material culture, Primary and early secondary education, Social context,

Introduction

In many parts of the world, education policy towards history education is essentially focused upon an inquiry-based approach that engages students in identifying historical questions or issues through the critical use of a range of sources. This is so that they may create their own historical accounts based on evidence, thus involving them in an active construction of knowledge and understanding of how history is made (Husbands, 1996, pp. 13-26; Kitson *et al*, 2011, pp. 55-64). According to Linda Levstik and Keith Barton, history involves a variety of different activities that serve a number of purposes and their combinations form four distinct "stances" toward the past, one of which is the analytic. The "analytic stance", among other things (understanding causes and consequences, developing generalizations), includes the ability of students to realize how historical accounts are constructed as a result of working with primary sources, comparing conflicting sources and reaching evidence-based conclusions (Barton & Levstik, 2004, pp. 7-10; Levstik & Barton, 2011, pp. 1-2).

One of the presuppositions for an effective usage of various types of historical sources is the identification of students' perceptions about them (Barton, 2001a), which entails the ability to appreciate the interpretive nature of history through evidence, to know what kind of evidence is in use for producing historical accounts, to recognize perspective and to judge relativity inherent in the historical sources. Since the late 1980s a number of research studies focusing on the above issues (Barton, 1997; Foster & Yanger, 1999; Lee, Ashby & Dickinson, 1996; Shemilt

1987) have indicated similarities but also differences between students coming from different countries and participating in contrasting educational systems in their means of conceptualizing the role of evidence in the process of understanding the past. These findings demonstrate the significance of the educational and social context of history learning to students' ideas about the past (Barton, 2001b).

Research methodology

Based on the factors noted above this research was implemented with the aim of exploring how Greek students perceive and identify the role of evidence for explaining what happened in the past. Consideration was taken into account for the Greek educational context of teaching and learning history and the social processes through which historical culture is being produced, represented, disseminated and received by Greek society.

The research included 101 semi-structured interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) with Primary and Early Secondary Education students, aging from 10 to 13 years old. Every interviewee studied one of the following five historical accounts dealing with topics of Greek history:

1. The Mycenaean citadels (14th-12th century B.C.),
2. The Persian Wars (490–479 BC),
3. The construction of the classical Athenian Acropolis (5th c. BC),
4. The Nika riots (514 A.D.),
5. The German occupation (1941–1944).

All of the historical topics presented in these accounts are part of the current History Curriculum of Greek Compulsory Education (Ministry of Education 2003) and are included in the history textbooks of Primary and Secondary Education. Additionally, the selection of these specific historical events was intended to represent varying aspects of military, social, political and economic history. They also involve different approaches in documentation, based on history, archaeology, oral history, ancient Greek literature, or a combination of these. Finally, these events include a variety of different forms of disseminating knowledge to the public, via academic literature, museum exhibitions, books for children, visiting archaeological sites, monuments and museums, popular TV programmes, memorial ceremonies and national anniversaries. It was also attempted for the selected data to be balanced as much as possible

TABLE 1: Distribution of students' interviews according to historical accounts, gender and age.

Accounts	Secondary Education		Primary Education				total
	12-13 years old		11-12 years old		10-11 years old		
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	
1. The Mycenaean citadels	3	1	4	3	1	3	15
2. The Persian Wars	2	4	4	2	2	3	17
3. The Athenian Acropolis	3	3	6	7	4	2	25
4. The Nika riots	2	4	7	6	1	3	23
5. The German occupation	4	5	5	2	4	1	21
total	14	17	26	20	12	12	101
	31		46		24		

against the variables of students' age (10-11, 11-12, 12-13 years old), gender, education level (primary education, early Secondary education) together with an equitable representation of each of the five topics.

In the research 101 students participated, 52 of which were boys (51.5%) and 49 girls (48.5%). As is depicted in Table 1, during the research the majority of them were 11-12 years old (46 students, 45.5%), 31 students were 12-13 years old (30.7%) and 24 students were 10-11 years old (23.8%). The sample includes equivalent amounts of the different historical accounts used in the research, with the "Mycenaean citadels" and "Persian Wars" having a slightly lower frequency of being the starting point of the interview.

The semi-structured interviews were based on a framework of three themes to be explored:

- a. how the given historical accounts were constructed,
- b. who might study the historical events presented in those accounts and how,
- c. the possibility of differing historical accounts being formed from the same data. The aim of the current paper is to present and discuss students' ideas about historical evidence accruing from the first section of the interviews though data from the second key-question will also be used for cross-checking their perceptions about the role of evidence in history.

The results

After studying and discussing with their interviewers aspects and details of the given accounts, students were asked to describe and explain how we know about these certain historical events. The explanations elicited in the semi-structured interviews are quite revealing of the diversity of Greek students' perceptions concerning the creation of historical narratives, as they put forward a number of different theories about how people find out what happened in the past. However, the children appeared to encounter difficulties in directly identifying historical sources as a base from which to derive knowledge about the past. Less than one out of five could demonstrate a more sophisticated understanding of how historical accounts are grounded stressing the role of evidence:

Student: There is historical evidence from written texts mostly.

Interviewer: And how did those writing the texts know these things?

Student: Because history was happening then, like someone who was writing their diary on the day of the events, that's how (Girl, 12-13 y. old, 'The Nika riots').

It is important to note that in the course of the interviews some students, after being aided and engaged by supplementary questions and data, managed finally to express thoughts on the role of historical evidence in creating narratives of the past, like the ones they had just studied:

Because civilization had begun and writing existed, scribes wrote about these things or made paintings. That's how we too know today about these events" (Girl, 12-13 y. old, 'The Persian Wars').

However, even in that way they generally could not describe evidence as evidence, using alternative words or phrases for the historical sources such as 'writings', 'ancient symbols and works', 'some notes and some indications left behind' or 'findings that have been discovered'.

On the other hand, in their immediate answers more than one third of the students regarded school history, history textbooks or their teachers as the principal sources of knowledge for

the historical events depicted in each one of the historical accounts under study. To a certain degree these answers reflect the *modus operandi* of the Greek educational system and a trust in teachers and textbooks as agents of authoritative knowledge. When students were asked to further elaborate on how the authors of their textbooks or their teachers acquired information about these historical facts, almost half of them could not provide any further explanation as to how school history is created. The rest of the respondents suggested that historical knowledge was transferred from older history books, from various types of media, ranging from primary sources and texts to the Internet, or even by oral transmission:

I know about these events from school books, from my teachers and some things I know from my family ... The writers of school books listened to people who lived at that time and recorded the facts (Girl, 12-13 year old, 'The German occupation').

Moreover, many students in the first place indicated that information about the past is transmitted orally or from generation to generation, a perspective supported mostly by those that had studied the story of the German occupation of Greece during the Second World War:

(Those that wrote the history of the German occupation know ...) from their grandmothers, grandfathers, and other relatives ... and they could have learned about those events from their fathers, or from their grandparents who may have taken part in the war" (Boy, 12-13 year old, 'The German occupation').

The perception of transmission by mouth had also been put forward by many students that encountered other historical accounts dealing with more distant events, such as the construction of the classical Athenian Acropolis, the Persian Wars and in one case the Mycenaean citadels which date back to the Aegean Bronze Age:

We know (about the Acropolis) from parents who were told by their parents ... and these from the older, older and older generations, that's how it goes. The earlier people saw them (the events), they described them to others, who then told others and in this way we learned about the works (of the Acropolis) (Girl, 11-12 year old, 'The Athenian Acropolis').

We learned about all of these events from our grandparents, our teachers ... they were told by the grandparents of their grandparents ... and it was transmitted by word of mouth and from generation to generation (Boy, 11-12 year old, 'The Persian Wars').

In many interviews students correlated word of mouth as a way of knowing about the past with the retelling of facts that were witnessed by people living in that period or by ancient historians:

Some people were present during these events and said to others what they had lived, and they passed this on to others and thus it has arrived to our times (Girl, 11-12 year old, 'The Nika riots').

In terms of age differentiations, this research indicates that older students, 12-13 years of age, attending Early Secondary Education, tended to be more capable of identifying an evidential base for historical knowledge, which can be explained by the fact that they are slightly more familiarized with using historical evidence over the course of their years. On the other hand, most of the students aged from 10-11 years old encountered many difficulties in articulating how the historical accounts under study were created, with only a few suggesting, directly or indirectly, an evidential base for telling about past events. This tendency was not wholly

unexpected and through different interviews it was revealed that the appreciation of the role of some types of historical evidence in narrating the past is also dependent on the nature of the accounts available for study. This is apparent in the thoughts expressed by students that were exposed to accounts that involved material culture as the basic primary sources for creating historical narratives. In fact, interviewees that studied the story of the Athenian Acropolis could much more easily define the contribution of monuments and artifacts, under a variety of terms (ancient objects, palaces, graves, bones, sculptures, grave goods, papyrus scrolls), in developing these accounts:

We know about the story of Acropolis from the archaeologists ... they know about the works of the Acropolis because they have found various sculptures and ancient monuments (Boy, 12-13 year old 'The Athenian Acropolis').

Similarly, other students that studied the historical account of the Mycenaean citadels associated its creation with archaeologists and their findings. Most interesting is the fact that even for historical accounts that are not directly based on the evidence material culture, such as the German occupation during the Second World War, the Nika riots and the Persian Wars, a number of students included archaeological findings as an instrument to build knowledge of what occurred at that time:

(We know about all of these facts) from the archaeologists who found old weapons, objects and dead people in tunnels and other dangerous places and gave them to scientists to investigate (Girl, 11-12 year old, 'German occupation').

Students quite frequently focused on the role of historians and archaeologists as a source of the given historical narratives. This perspective is also confirmed by the data gathered through the second theme of the semi-constructed interviews where students were asked to specify who studies the events presented in those different historical accounts and in which way. Students again easily identified historians and archaeologists as the main agents of analysing the past, but in many instances they also attributed authority to teachers, journalists, philologists and architects (mainly for the Athenian Acropolis).

Despite this double recognition of the role of historians and archaeologists, in many instances students faced difficulties in precisely describing their work and the methodologies for studying the past. On the other hand, they were better able to relate historical sources with the work of historians and archaeologists in comparison with their weakness in the first instance of recognizing an evidential foundation for the historical accounts under discussion:

(We know) ... from history books ... written by archaeologists ... that discovered bones, offerings and many other ancient objects (Boy, 11-12 year old, 'The Mycenaean citadels').

Finally, a number of students listed films, books, T.V., museums, national holidays/anniversaries and most of all the Internet as other media for learning about the historical events depicted in the given historical accounts. In many instances oral transmission through generations was established as the basis for the account's creation:

We know (about these things) from schools, movies, school textbooks and national anniversaries ... We know about these events from old times, namely from generation to generation, that's how it goes ... (Boy, 11-12 y. old, 'The German occupation').

Discussion

The results of the research confirmed previous surveys in the educational contexts of the USA, UK and Northern Ireland, mainly findings concerning students' ideas on the role of oral transmission and the contribution of material culture as a basis for constructing historical accounts (Barton, 1997; Barton, 2001a). Additionally, the emphasis of Greek students on school history, their textbooks and teachers as the main source for constructing historical accounts is in line with results from other research suggesting that students, especially the youngest, very often invoke the authority of their teachers and textbooks as valid knowledge about the past (Ashby, 2004, p. 49; Shemilt, 1987).

As already mentioned the role of the socio-cultural context of learning history is considered to be quite influential on students' ideas about history (Barton, 2001b; Levstik & Barton, 2011, pp. 1-9). Based on this perspective, Greek students' ideas on the role of evidence, and the similarities and differences they share with cases in other countries, can be explained by two separate factors. These concern the educational circumstances of history education in Greece and also the current situation concerning the social role of history and its perceptions by Greek society in a period of crisis and strong identitarian repositioning towards the past.

In educational terms, despite the fact that since the 1980s a variety of historical sources have been gradually introduced as a part of the history teaching material, the design and methodological framework of history textbooks, at least in Primary Education, does not favour an evidence based approach for history learning and understanding (Andreou & Kasvikis, 2008; Andreou & Kasvikis, 2015; Kasvikis, 2015). Additionally, the majority of teachers still adopt typical lecture-based teaching, giving priority to the memorization of facts and leaving little space for historical inquiry that involves the analysis and interpretation of historical evidence (Kokkinos *et al*, 2005). As a result, students, even when working with evidence, develop a weak understanding of its potential as a means to create different historical interpretations. They do not easily recognize them as the media through which historical narratives are constructed, but rather perceive them as an alternative source of information about the past.

The second factor that possibly affects the perceptions reflected in this data deals with the fact that students are exposed to experiences in the context of the current historical culture created by how Greek society uses and abuses the past in the present. For example the claim by the Greek government for war reparations from Germany has been the subject of great discussion in the press and television specials over the past two years and provoked much conversation among teachers and students in schools. Students that studied the historical account of 'The German occupation 1941-1944' occasionally connected the sources of information about this event with the broader public interest concerning the consequences of World War II in Greece:

(We know about the events) from books ... and those who wrote the book know about the facts from their studies, the concentration camps that have been found and other books written by other historians. ... Furthermore, they possibly looked for information from people who lived during that period, like the survivors from the villages burnt by the Germans who now tell their stories on TV programmes (Boy, 11-12y. old, 'German occupation').

Additionally students' arguments that employed monuments and artifacts as possible evidence for almost all of the provided historical accounts were presumably influenced either by their familiarization with the practice of archaeology in their local environment or through their exposure to archaeological information disseminated in the public sphere. For example during

this research 10 students living on the island of Crete more easily referred to the role of artifacts in explaining how accounts of the works of the Athenian Acropolis had been grounded. This tendency seems not to be influenced by how history is taught at school, but rather by the fact that the local community of Crete, students included, is very well acquainted with archaeology as a social practice, with positive and negative consequences in many circumstances. Archaeological remains are visible all over the island and rescue excavations very often create tense relations between land owners and the archaeological service concerning property development and licenses for building construction. On the other hand, archaeology, mainly of the Minoan past, is very significant in the formation of local identities and plays a vital role as a source of income, through tourism, for many parts of the Cretan community (Hamilakis, 2006; Solomon, 2006).

Furthermore, the ability of children to stress the importance of artifacts and archaeological remains above other sources as a basis for creating historical accounts is possibly related with recent archaeological discoveries in Amphipolis and the ways in which they were presented to and received by the lay public during the period of this research. The excavation of an impressive manmade hill in the ancient city of Amphipolis, northern Greece, and the uncovering of an unusual funerary building was the major discovery of the year 2014. Nonetheless, it provoked accusations of governmental manipulation of the information and many debates over the excavation methodology and the identification of the buried person or persons found there, concerning age, gender and historical importance, mostly connected with famous historical persons of the epoch of Alexander the Great (Hamilakis 2015). Despite these issues, the huge media promotion and public attention that the Amphipolis excavation acquired familiarized students with archaeological methodology and the role of monuments and artifacts as evidence, often highlighted in their arguments about some of the given historical accounts:

Now, for example at Amphipolis (the findings) are on the news, and people see them and get the information. Archaeologists read old documents, they see that something exists in a place, and then they excavate and find evidence (Boy, 11-12 year old, 'The Athenian Acropolis').

The results of this research indicate that in the case of history education in Greece further fieldwork concerning how historical sources are used in the classroom and on students' ideas regarding the role of evidence for understanding the past is needed, along with a reconsideration of teachers' perceptions and practices concerning the development of students' historical skills in the history classroom.

Correspondence

Kostas Kasvikis
kkasvikis@uowm.gr

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“HISTORICAL CULTURE IN MUSEUMS: THE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN THE ‘HISTORIAL DE LA GRANDE GUERRE’ MUSEUM OF FRANCE & IN THE IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM OF LONDON”

Kostas Korres, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, Greece

George Kokkinos, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, Greece

Abstract

The year 2014 marked a century since the outbreak of the First World War (1914–1918) in Europe. This war “was perhaps the first major trauma of modern Europe” and the womb from which were born the bad consequences that affected the 20th century modern world, according to the historian Jay Winter. Due to the centenary of the Great War, the museums of war of various states in Europe have openings of special exhibitions, using also new technologies as means of informal education of their audience.

In our research, we critically exam the different representations of WW1 and their museological variations in two of the most important museums of war in Europe, the Imperial War Museum in London and the Historial de la Grande Guerre in France.

Furthermore, we examine whether the use of new technologies supports the interdisciplinary approach of history and cultivates a holistic, multifaceted and critical historical culture, which is utilized under the fruitful informal educational environment of the museum.

In particular, the purpose of our research is

- (a) to distinguish the different approaches in the museological representations of WW1 – traditional, modern and postmodern – and*
- (b) to determine their connection to the respective approaches of history and with different educational practices, addressing specific ways of “narrative” and “reading” of that historical period. The methodology is qualitative research, an ethnographic on-site observation in the museums.*

In other words, we are interested especially if the public history that museums offer as historical culture to their audience, converges or diverges from scientifically valid historical truth, and whether it contributes to the completion of the collective mourning process, bringing together the historical truth with universal historical importance fact of WW1 to a new historical awareness and favors the desire for peaceful coexistence of all European people.

Keywords

England, France, Historial de la Grande Guerre-Péronne, Historical consciousness, Historical Culture in Museums, Historiography, Identity, Imperial War Museum-London, Informal Historical Education in Museums, London, Memory representation, Memory, Modernism, Museums, National narrative, Nationalism, New Technologies, Paris, Post modernism, Public History, Representations of WW1 in Museums, Traumatic Memory, World War I

Introduction

History and Memory in modern and postmodern societies

Analytically, according to Olivier Abel, the two types of mass democracy: (i) the modern (mid-19th century up to the present) and (ii) the contemporary “post-materialistic” democracy, are distinguished, among their peculiarities, by the special reference in history and memory. These two types of mass democracy demonstrate different meaning practices for the historical time, different forms of historical consciousness, and have a different balance between memory and oblivion that dominates within them.

In particular, we could argue that specifically modern democracies, in general and unlike our common belief, are characterized by the inflation of oblivion. Being “warm systems”, they produce energy and thus entropy and historical change from the constant surge in the future, by proliferate removal from the closed biosphere of tradition to their progress-centrism and their endless evolution. However, precisely because of their fear of being cut off their “roots”, they accept the notion of a concrete and almost hyper-historical national community simultaneously as a conceptual reference framework as well as an organizational and comforting myth.

Thus in such societies, with a default ethnocentric and rather monocultural conception of historical time, it goes without saying that the idea of historical continuity, homogeneity and exclusion of difference are also approached regulatively, while silencing the rupture points of historical continuity and any elements of endogenous diversity. Simultaneously, anything that affects harmfully the positive self-image and questions the specified perception of the historical mission of the nation is prevented. In this case, as Abel argues, the selective memory or possibly deliberate historical amnesia coexists functionally within the normativity / binding of the almost sacred national narrative. It is a logical consequence that this form of societies constructs historical narratives that focus on the glorious moments of national history and the national heroes by means of which symbolic identification processes are activated, which in turn legitimize the dominant ideology.

On the whole, we would say that nation-states need a past in the form of institutional memory. They build a genealogy and a common cultural heritage that, on the one hand forge the sense of co-belonging and collective identity, while on the other hand, legitimizes the state power. Meanwhile, modern societies expand constantly the distance that separates the space of experience for individuals and collectivities, the biosphere of tradition, from the horizon of their expectations. Their leap into the future becomes increasingly risky and meteoric. The insecurity resulting from this enlargement is balanced by compensating with the imaginary security that provides the ideology of unbreakable historical continuity, the national mythology and the tradition itself.²

In contrast, the contemporary “post-materialistic” democracies, that are penetrated by a universal anthropological crisis” which threatens the human existence to its own foundations”³, are characterized by memory inflation for three reasons: First, as claimed by Hayden White commenting on the work of Paul Ricoeur, they experience a feeling of humiliation due to the

² Mudrovic, M, “About Lost Futures or the Political Heart of History”, *Historiein* 14 (2014), pp. 7-21.

³ Kiourtsakis, J. (2015), *Gyreuontas tin Exoria stin Patrida sou [Seeking Exile in your Country]*, Athens: Patakis, p. 62.

unprecedented violence that swept 20th century history⁴. Simultaneously though, despair and guilt arise from this self-reproving and self-degrading historical awareness.⁵ Secondly, being trapped in their present and “culturally schizophrenic,” according to the term of Lacanian psychoanalysis invoked by Fredric Jameson⁶, while despite being structurally risky, they are almost dominated by a feeling of fear for whatever they risk: however, not only for either what they may more and more lose as they cut off their roots and tradition, as is the case in modern societies, but mainly for what it may, is going to or can suddenly occur (nuclear destruction, ecological destruction, globalization, war of the cultures etc.). Thirdly, precisely for this reason the aim is the feeling of fear be mitigated or counterpoised. This is true with the decision to form zones of deterrence against a possible recurrence of the suffering that already stigmatized these communities in the past (e.g. world wars, totalitarianisms, genocides, ethnic cleansings, Holocaust).

Logically, post-modern humans are not only trapped in a smug, pleasure hunting but also phobic presentism, which marginalises their historical creativity, since it creates the feeling that the present outweighs both the painful past and the uncertain future but also they grow the idea of moral obligation and imperative debt: firstly to the victims of the past and secondly to the future generations.⁷ States legislate for memory safeguarding specific regulatory readings of historical past and generally establish their historical identity and consciousness on two intersected pillars: the first is the awareness of their inability to maintain a living and constantly active memory of the past, while the second is the persistence in the importance of safeguarding the traumatic memory. Besides, it is well known that in these societies the gap of lack of heroes has been covered by the idealization of the victim and the witness survivor. Therefore, these societies construct historical narratives arranged around a centre, which consists of the memory, the historical trauma, the conscience of the victim, the pain and the inherently conflictual nature of historical experience as well as the historical interpretation.⁸

In our opinion, all these elements are captured in an interview with the Colombian writer Juan Gabriel Vasquez who mentions the following:

I write having a small paper card with a proposal of Faulkner opposite me: “The past is not dead, let alone past. I am interested in the way which the past remains with us in the present. My novels explore the unreliability of the past, given the dynamics of being transformed. I think that I have particularly been writing about the past of Colombia because it is full of dark corners, hiding many surprises”.⁹

4 Hayden White, “Enohos tis Istorias: i makra diarkeia tou Paul Ricoeur” [“Guilty of History: the length of Paul Ricoeur”] (first edition in English 2007), in: White, H. (2015), Λογοτεχνική θεωρία και ιστορική συγγραφή [Literary theory and historical writing], trans. George Pinakoulas, Trikala: Epekeina, pp. 259-260.

5 Hayden White, *ibid.*, p. 249.

6 Storey, J. (2015), *Politismiki Theoria kai Laiki Koulтура. Eisagogi. [Cultural theory and popular culture. Introduction]*, trans. Vassilis Ntzounis, ed. Loukas Rinopoulos, Athens: Plethron, p. 280.

7 Elias, N. (2015), *Nazismos kai Germanikos Charaktiras: Dokimio pano stin Katarrefsi tou Politismou (1961/1962). [Nazism and German Character. Essay on the collapse of culture (1961/1962)]*, trans. John Pediotis & John Thomadakis, Heraklion: Editions of University of Crete.

8 Olivier Abel, «Ce que le pardon vient faire dans l’histoire», Usages Publics du Passe, <http://usagespublicsdupasse.ehess.fr/index.php?ld.80> (access October 22, 2014).

9 Gregory Bekos. “Apo ton Marques ston Vaskes.” [“From Marquez to Vasquez.”] The Vima newspaper, Sunday, November 9, 2014, 4/10.

It is about the hidden pasts, but at the same time the volatile and manipulating pasts from the feasibilities of the present. This Faulkneric concept of “eternal present of the traumatic past,” the sinking into a lasting historic nightmare, in a “past that is eternally present”, the sense of a prison of time, not only has not been removed, but it is multiplied in postmodern era.

According to the argument of Philosopher Peter Sloterdijk¹⁰, the contemporary “post materialistic-postmodern” societies give emphasis to victimization and to the promotion of historical traumas, and this is not a primary phenomenon, but probably is the reflection of their embarrassment and perhaps of their disguised guilt for their present welfare and their consumerism, as well as a moralizing illusion of a reason which – even inverted- is referred to the past of poverty, of misery and of destructive wars in the heart of Europe.

Postmodern societies are characterized by generalized financial crisis and partially by the controversy of their own political system. Especially in the societies of the European south forms of historical meaning are shaped, the core of which is arising through jumps in time and historical analogies, as if the repetitiousness of historical phenomena is taken for granted. Typical aspects of this historical signification of the past is, on the one hand, the unambiguous and one-dimensional correlation between the structural crisis of the capitalism of the Interwar Period (Crash of 1929) and the rise of the Fascism and in particular of the Nazism to power and, on the other hand, the correlation –with analogies to the Interwar Period- between the contemporary crisis and the social and political dynamic displayed on the European continent by the xenophobic, Islamophobic and Jewishophobic movements, by the populist radical extreme Right, by the Neofascism and the Neonazism.

In this way a form of victimized historical consciousness of the crisis emerges, which mainly revolves around the historical traumas of the two World Wars. In this sense these experienced traumatic historical events constitute the insuperable mental horizon or the filter through which every reference to the past and thus every connection of the past with the present and the future is refined. In other words, it is like the traumatic past being continuously and persistently present (“the History’s Hell”) prohibiting any major historical change and transcendence, while at the same time it prohibits any historical interpretation which is not based on the canon of the indisputable historical analogy.

The museum as the organic aspect of memory culture & historical culture

“Memory culture” is used [...] as encompassing different aspects and forms of individual as well as collective references to the past, all of which make use of the concept of memory, albeit in different forms, and implicating different normative and emotional, and appellative components, and which are at the same time structured and characterized by social and cultural phenomena as well in that they can be and are groomed and elaborated: remembering, commemorating, mourning, reminding and admonishing but also teaching and learning (Körber, 2014, p. 69).

European war museums are spaces where the visitors can reflect about their personal and collective past, meeting spaces where personal and collective memory melt. Museums are public spaces where the history of war is narrated, and at the same time, museums as significant cultural

¹⁰ Sloterdijk, P. (2005), *’Ecumes*, trans. Olivier Mannoni, Paris: Maren Sell, p. 605 & also the critical examination of his opinions from Zaque Ransier, (2015), *O Hiraftimenos Theatis [The Emancipated Spectator]*, trans. Alexandros Kioupiolis, Athens: Ekkremes, pp. 42-44.

organizations are well respected spaces from public opinion in comparison to other narrative spaces of public history. Thus, museums have important “power” in order to represent the war and to construct the collective memory of their audience.

Museums are public spaces where memory and History meet (Nakou, I., 2009). The museum environment, at least partially, forms a basis for understanding the past in the present, in terms of both the past and the present, and for approaching past meanings and contexts of ‘present’ words (Nakou I., 2006, p. 7).

The theme of our research was chosen due to the centenary of the First World War in 2014 and commemoration events in many European museums of war with the inauguration of new exhibitions. Modern European museums of war, are narrative spaces of public history. Public history is more accessible to most of the people compared to the historical science.

Then, in contrast to the contemporary historical science, public history covers many fields and through the use of new technologies, it is able to alter the relationship that the modern society keeps with history through the historical culture that provides.

Historical culture is defined as ‘the “external side” of historical learning involving schools, governmental bureaucracy, schoolbooks, museums, exhibitions, mass media’ (Rüsen in Erdmann 2008: 31) which as informal educational environments or means of historical thinking (Apostolidou, E., 2015, p. 166).

Different types of museums and selected museums for our research

Museums of war mediate between history and memory in particular ways. While history and memory can never be conflated, the construction of a space between the two – the space of historical remembrance represented in a museum – can change the way academic history is written (Winter, J., 2006, p. 222).

European museums of war can be classified to three types: the “traditional”, the “modern” and the “postmodern”, based on their scientific orientation. This classification is based on the observation that different types of museums form different types of informal education and respective perceptions of History education (Nakou, 2009, pp.18-19). Informal education is

the process by which each person throughout his life, he learns and acquires attitudes, values, abilities, skills and knowledge from daily experience and the influences that receives from its environment (Jeffer and Smith, 1990).

It is the education that results from daily life activities, which is not structured in terms of learning objectives, like learning time or learning support, and as a result it does not lead to formal certification.

In our case, the informal historical education results from the experience of visiting the museum. Therefore, it is important to critically exam to what extent the public history which is offered by museums as informal education, and the use of new technologies, converges to or deviates from contemporary historical science.

Contemporary historical science suggests multiple narratives, interpretations and particular readings of history in public space, which are designed in order to stimulate more questions and in order to enrich historical knowledge beyond prejudices and stereotypes.

The selection of these two specific European museums of war, the Imperial War Museum [IWM] and Historial de la Grande Guerre, was made firstly because they are located in England and France -two of the most directly affected and tormented countries in Europe during the First World War where the trauma of war is still today strongly imprinted on the collective memory, and their historiography and public history as well. Secondly, we chose them because they are two of the most advanced and leading European museums, which emphasize on the public historical informal education and they use it as a primary means of their new technologies practices.

The Imperial War Museum [IWM] and Historial are two contemporary European museums of war and they both use traditional, modern, and, also postmodern ways of approaching and representing the First World War. The IWM was founded during the war in 1917. It was one of the first museums about WW1, created by the British government. Main reasons were the maintenance of national memory and the narrative of national history (Tolson, 2014: 5-8). Until today, it is continuously being to be remodeled and evolving, as one of the most updated and modern European museums of war. It functions like a living adaptable organism.

The Historial, on the other hand, was created in 1992 in northeastern France -on an emblematic place of memory of WW1 where one of the most deadly battles of the war on the western front took place, the Battle of the Somme¹¹. Historial was not created from the French government, but from the municipality of the local city of Péronne and an international scientific group, in order to represent and narrate a different story about the WW1. The initiators of Historial claim that it is a cultural space and memory space and is intended to show how radically the lives of soldiers and civilians changed during the First World War.¹²

Furthermore, the IWM is a representative example of a modern European museum of war, as well as, the Historial is a representative example of a postmodern European museum of war during our times and both of them provide informal education to their audience. In other words, IWM refers to the modern type of mass democracy, and Historial refers to the contemporary post-modern and "post-materialistic" democracy, which are distinguished, among their peculiarities, by the special reference in history and memory.

Methodology and purpose of the research

The research process which we followed is part of the qualitative research, specifically an on-site ethnographic observation on the site of the museums. The places where the research was conducted were the two European museums of the war, the Imperial War Museum in London and the Historial de la Grande Guerre in the city Péronne France. Their selection came after the planning of research and the study of the relevant scientific literature, as a result, we concluded that these two museums are some of the most important representatives types of modern and postmodern important museums of war in Europe, which include both the three types of museological representations in an eclectic way we were interested to study, and at the same

¹¹ The Battle of the Somme was the first battle of industrialized war in world history, and one of the greatest battles during WW1. It occurred with the offensive bombardment of British Army against the Germans' line near the river Somme on the Western Front, and lasted from July 1916 until February 1917. It is estimated that 420,000 British, 200,000 French and 400,000 Germans lost their life. Despite the big loss of the British Army, the Battle of the Somme accomplished a major shift towards Allied Army on WW1, and remains as a heroic battle in the collective British memory until today. (Strachan, H., 2013 : 248-249).

¹² Audoin – Rouzeau, S., Becker, A., Fontaine, C., Prevost-Bault, M. P. (2008), *The Collections of the Historial of the Great War*, Somogy Art Publishers, Paris.

time they both use new technologies as a mean of informal education for their visiting audience. Also another reason for this choice is that these two museums represent the traumatic experience that still exists in the collective memory of both nations, England and France, one century after the WW1.

The research focuses (a) firstly, to the distinction and examination of the different museological approaches and (b) secondly, to the critical examination of the informal historical education that these museums offer particularly through the use of new technologies. By informal education, we defined the actual visit in these museums as visitors and we mean the education which results from activities of daily life activities. It is not structured in terms of learning objectives, learning time or learning support, such as it is the formal education of the school for example.¹³

After carefully studying the scientific literature on the history of WW1 and looking at other ways of representations in Public History, such as documentary film and photographic archive material, we passed to the main part of the research. We visited each museum for a period of 4 days, and we walked through their exhibitions and also through their research centers as visitors. Our data recording tools, along with our direct involvement as visitors of the museum, were our written notes, photographs, video recording of showrooms and exhibits of the museum and discussions with museums' managers and personnel. At the same time, we observed the behavior and the reactions of the public audience at various thematic exhibitions areas and particularly the different ways of using the new technologies. Finally, we collected the appropriate literature from museums' publications on the reports concerning WW1.

Regarding the organization and presentation of our research data, first we chose to keep only the part of that material related to our research questions, and then after a second sorting, we chose the most representative of them for our analysis. Finally, we conducted the critical analysis and the discussion of the results in relation to methods of representation of WW1 compared to the contemporary historiography, as well as, in relation to the traumatic memory of WW1.

Critical Examination of informal education by the two museums especially through the use of new technologies.

I. Representations of WW1 by the two museums

As we have mentioned above, the IWM was established in 1917 as a national museum of war in order to create a sense of national security and unity to the British people, and to support national continuity of Britain. Today even though almost a century has passed, IWM still performs partially its national work, using traditional methods of representation of war, such as the exhibition "Extraordinary Heroes" which presents a large collection of medals for heroism and bravery, displayed by soldiers in wartime. Also IWM with the presentation of a number of powerful weapons and munitions of mass destruction and even impressive war machines such as tanks and planes, such as in the exhibition "Witnesses to War", it offers to the public a heroic image of the war, focusing on the military successes of the British army, through also the use of new technologies.

At the same time, while the main exhibition about the WW1 "The First World War Galleries" follows the national linear chronological narrative and it's being divided into thematic sections in a traditional way, at the same time also modern ways of representing war have been used,

¹³ Jarvis P. (1987), *Adult Learning in the Social Context*, London: Ed. Croom Helm, p. 51.

such as interactive media exhibition of museum objects. We would say that IWM is trying to reconstruct the war just as it had happened, and the museum invites the audience to live the experience of war, for example, by reconstructing a trench and various sounds, flashes and images of war focusing on a sense of historical empathy. Simultaneously it does not avoid touching traumatic and shocking aspects of the war, such as traumatic experiences of soldiers as “shell shock”, and traumatic experiences of civilians as hunger in order to tell the audience what was happening to the civilians away from the front.

IWM also uses postmodern ways for the representation of war, for example, at the ‘Reflection Spaces’ visitors are encouraged to sit down in order to think and reflect on some of the most difficult and traumatic aspects of war. A similar way to represent war is selected through art of 20th century at the exhibition “Truth and Memory”. Contemporary art forms are being used at a small exhibition room space, where a new project on WW1 is exposed every month, which every time it is being created by a modern artist, guest of the museum.

As a conclusion, we should stress that the IWM uses a mixture of representations about the WW1 and a mixture of historical approaches, narratives and readings which aim to enable guests to experience the realistic military experience of war. At the same time, it presents some dark and traumatic aspects of war, leaving some free space for reflection on the meaning of war itself.

The Historial, on the other hand, is a modern European museum of the war and it has selected four different methods in order to represent WW1 and the Battle of the Somme specifically. These methods embody modern and postmodern techniques, which first appeared in European war museums in the 1990s.¹⁴

First (a) the modern architectural design of Henri Ciriani and the choice of the historical site where the building is placed, until the perfectly functional structure of external and internal premises – which allow the visitor to enjoy the exhibitions within an aesthetically beautiful part of the museum (Brieudes, A., 2008).

Then (b) the comparative framework and the presentation of the three protagonists of the Battle of the Somme: France, Germany, Britain, both through the display cases or vitrines on the walls, with the exhibition of cultural history in a tripartite fashion of three horizontal lines, and also through the pits on the floor ground or fosses of the museum filled with valuable objects of ordinary life of combatants in the trenches. In other words the exhibition of military history

14 From the 1980s onwards, when the testimonies of Holocaust victims gradually began to come to the surface, it took place the “memory boom” and public history. There were a plethora of public narratives of the history of war in multiple different ways, particularly through the use of testimonials and the representation of war by various forms of art, or in other words a paradigm shift occurred through social and cultural history (Winter, J., 2006: 1-2, 223). The museums of war mainly in Western Europe could not be absent from the developments in the public narrative of history and changed both the exhibition logic and practice and the themes of the museum objects they choose to represent the war. They began to offer space in art as a way to represent the war, and even the art on the horror and absurdity of war, such as The art exhibition “Truth and Memory” of the Imperial War Museum London <http://www.iwm.org.uk/learning/resources/british-art-of-the-first-world-war>, and the art exhibition “Vu du Front” of the War Museum of France in Paris http://issuu.com/baranes/docs/vu_du_front_extrait_1?e=8319876/9278175, contain visual art in which the majority of artists trying to express the traumatic experience of war through the depiction of death and destruction from the war. Meanwhile, collections of objects from the battlefield and the soldiers began to be used, in order not to represent military greatness and power of weapons in heroic battles, but to show the death and loss of human life caused as I.g. the Museum Historial France <http://en.historial.org/>.

constitutes a breakthrough on the one-dimensional national narrative which is usually applied in European museums of war and also serves to highlight the comparative understanding and the universal significance of the Battle of the Somme in the history of the 20th century (Winter, J., 2012: 159-162).

Also (c) the horizontal thematic axis with the slots/fosses in the floor ground is used to describe the lives of the soldiers in the trenches of the front, and the horizontal positioning maps, real or electronic, are a key contributor to the orientation and multidimensional visitor information.

And finally (d) there is a pervasive freedom that provides to the visitors the ability to create their own routes and representations of war by facilitating the critical historical reflection.

As a conclusion, we should note that the above methods of representation for the WW1, are based on the common assumption of the museum's creative team that "there is no a sufficient way" for the representation of the horror and the irrationality of war. The Historial, in other words, associated with modern and post-modern historical approach and uses different methods of representation for the war in order to bring out how is realized, how is transmitted and inherited the memory of war (Winter, J., 2006: 226-233).

Historial is different from any other European war museum because it is the first multi-national European museum of war, which uses as a dominant way of exhibiting the museum objects the horizontal and comparative axis. By using this type of spatial organization to represent the story of the Battle of the Somme, the first battle of industrialized war in world history, in relation to the cultural history of the civilian population of France, England and Germany it is the main difference of Historial to any other. The historian Jay Winter tells us that,

[...] originally the choice of the horizontal axis came out of an accident. The design of the museum was influenced by the great Hans Holbein painting in the Kunstmuseum in Basle, *Christ in the tomb* (1521). This is an entirely, relentlessly, horizontal portrait of an entirely, undeniably dead man. There are no angels or marias in attendance. This man is realistically portrayed [...], and is celebrated a masterpiece of Reformation. In order to believe in the Resurrection, you need to leave your senses and your experience behind, and simply believe. Salvation is indeed by faith alone. The fact that the designers of the museum were so moved by this painting is in no sense unique or original. It was after seeing this painting that Dostoyevsky's Prince Mishkin told his friends that he saw something that almost made him lose his faith. Almost, but not quite. [...] (Winter, J., 2012: 160).

The designers of Historial chose the horizontal axis representation of mourning. On the contrary most of the museums of war use the vertical axis of hope, in order to describe the experience and the death of ordinary combatants, according to Winter,¹⁵ in order to represent one of the biggest disasters of modern Western civilization, the European breakdown or "useless slaughter" of millions of people, according to the historian Christopher Clark (Clark, C., 2014).

¹⁵ Winter, J. (2008), "On Regarding the Pain of Others", in Audoin – Rouzeau, S., Becker, A., Fontaine, C., Prevost-Bault, M. P (ed.), *The Collections of the Historial of the Great War*, Paris: Somogy Art Publishers, p.160.

II. The Relationship of European museums of war with the science of History

The two modern European museums of war are places of public history and informal education for the public about the history of WW1. The public history is a narrative of the past accessible for the public opinion – such as the representations of the WW1 in European museums of war – which, however, usually but not always does not include the academic piece of historical science and historiography, research and teaching of History (Fleischer, H., 2012, pp. 24-25). In comparison with the academic historiography, public history covers many fields and takes advantage of new technologies, in such ways that can alter the relationship of the modern or postmodern society with the past through the informal education which can offer.

It is therefore important to examine critically to what extent the public history of museums as informal education and with the use of new technologies converges or diverges with the contemporary historical science that fights against the certainties, fixed values and undeniable truths of traditional history and proposes multiple narratives, interpretations and particular readings of history in public space, intended to show off more questions and enrich historical knowledge beyond prejudices (Nakou, I., 2009: 94-97).

Firstly, there is a crucial difference between the two museums regarding their original intentions and the type of the museum's organization itself: the IWM is a national museum of war, while the Historial is an international European museum of war. The IWM is trying to offer to the public a rather collective – but national focused – perspective to “the story of WW1 through the eyes and the testimonies of people who experienced the war in Britain and the colonies of the former British Empire.”¹⁶ While the Historial attempts a non-national but multinational comparative narrative and reading of the First World War, representing, alongside the military history of the Battle of the Somme, the cultural and the social history of war experienced by combatants and citizens of France, Britain, and Germany. In other words, the IWM is based on the national narrative of the war from the viewpoint of Britain and it is based on representations of modern societies, while the Historial is closer to the aims of the contemporary science of history, which seeks to create additional national and the multi-dimensional narrative with transnational nature and museum objects. Exhibits which are not only military ones, but also items which were closely connected to the cultural and social history of these three countries during the war.

Then, regarding the understanding of the causality of historical phenomena -which is one of the main aims of History Education at all levels- the two museums are different again. The IWM does not focus particularly on the historical causes of the war, although it offers an introductory chapter describing the situation in Europe of the empires in the 19th century before the WW1 and uses a three-dimensional video with the preparations of the Great Powers for the conflict, but at the same time, it also describes the social situation in Britain through a video of newsreels of that time. It mostly focuses on the increasing competition and jealousy of Germany regarding the primacy of Britain in the sea, exhibiting even German Kaiser's military uniform at the entrance of the main exhibition and giving primary importance to the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. Also in the last section of the exhibition – “War without End” – it presents the consequences of the war mainly for the British Empire, and the continuation of the war in England, Ireland and the Middle East. At the end of the exhibition, there is a reference to the consequences of WW1 worldwide, with emphasis on the dynamic appearance of Communism and Fascism on the European continent.

¹⁶ Cornish, H. (2014), *The First World War Galleries*, London: IWM.

On the contrary, the Historial uses in all rooms maps in physical and electronic form, which orient visitors geographically and inform them about the progress of the war, the movements of the troops on the western front and throughout Europe. It also devotes an entire room ("The World before the summer of 1914") in order to present the colonial system of major European powers in the 19th century. For example, it presents the everyday lives of the people in the colonies through the colonial perspective of Western people, who considered indigenous populations uncivilized and likened to animals. Also Historial engages the visitor to observe different cultural objects of everyday life in France, Germany and Britain, suggesting that the war did not occur suddenly but gradually through the penetration of militarism and nationalism in the everyday life of European people. In other words, Historial describes the historical context of Europe before 1914, when the growing colonial imperialist competition of the Great Powers for world domination led to the nationalization of the masses and finally to war. Additionally at the last room of the exhibition titled "After the War: Pain and memories", Historial emphasizes not so much the peace conditions that occurred after the end of the war, but the enormous catastrophe and the death of millions of people, combatants and civilians, caused by the war. Finally, the Historial highlights the existence of memorials and commemorates ceremonies for the dead people, for the first time after the end of the war.

Both museums expose over a thousand objects and testimonies of soldiers and citizens, and construct the historical narrative based on the historical documents and testimonies of the real protagonists of the war, combatants and civilians ("history from below"). This method is common also in historical research and historiography from the 1970s onwards as opposed to the previous approach of history, the dominant narrative perspective of "history from above", such as the army officers, the politicians and kings.¹⁷

Then both museums give space to social groups previously excluded from the historical narrative. In IWM for example, we are showed objects and costumes of civilian women, who stayed in the city and replaced the male population as workforce, the same happened in various sectors of production, but mostly women took places as laborers in military equipment production plants, but also in hospitals, transport and administration. Historial exhibits war material, such as brochures, posters, cartoons and books from social groups of left political orientation, who resisted the war and until recently were not even mentioned, but these facts were hidden from the official historical narrative.

In both museums there is a widespread use of new technologies. For example, at the main exhibition of IWM are being used about 60 different digital and multimedia applications. But their use is mainly to entertain the audience, by providing more and diverse information about each historical object or event. It is not intended to offer the museum's visitors an enriched informal education, which would help in the active process of constructing knowledge and to a critical examination of the historical narrative of the museum. Consequently, this would give the ability to create an open framework for the interpretation of WW1. Even interactive applications have a video game character without a fertile user's involvement and without interaction with other users. The aim of new technologies at IWM, is to align completely with the main historical narrative that the museum wants to present. The use of multimedia doesn't seem to broaden the experience of visiting the museum because it does not promote a critical and holistic approach to history. It lacks the offering to the audience a wider spectrum of reading

¹⁷ Lemonidou, E. (2015), "Revisiting the historiography of the First World War", History of 20th Century Historiography, International Conference, 18th-20th June 2015, Athens-Greece, pp. 3-5.

and interpreting different historical narratives, sources and representations, as in the science of history.

Similarly, almost the same new technologies have been used at the Historial, but in a much smaller scale and with a different purpose. There, the target wasn't to overload the visitor with information, entertainment and sensationalism. For example, the film about *The Battle of the Somme* by Laurent Véray, which is displayed at the projection room of the museum, was creating both excitement and also an 'open' framework for the interpretation of the historical context of the WWI. That kind of projection¹⁸ could raise new questions and queries to the public, a characteristic feature of informal education and simultaneously a teaching goal of historical education. Also the use of newsreels through the rooms of the museum is distinctive and complementary to the museum's exhibits, contributing to a better understanding of the past.

Last but not least, of course we have to stress that both museums offer a modern and a postmodern representation of the WW1, far from the traditional one-dimensional, ethnocentric and militaristic history of the war, which unfortunately even today offer most European museums of war with the positivist narration of History, for example, as it does the War Museum of Athens and the HGM Heeresgeschichtliches Museum of Vienna.¹⁹ Finally, the research centers on the two museums, which have a dual important role: a) the spatial organization of the exhibitions is interactively connected to the representation of historical truth, b) the assisting information and the research resources, which could contribute to the audience's further historical education.

III. How the public history of museums is related to the traumatic memory of the First World War

According to Paul Ricoeur, the memory is the matrix of history, and their relationship will never cease to be dynamic and sometimes competitive. The emergence of history from the memory is achieved due to a safe distance that history takes from the memory, to empathic, critical and investigative look that the first turns to the second in order to investigate the past (Kokkinos, G., 2010: 33 -34)

Nowadays, the boundaries and the functions of history and memory are not obvious, and there is an increased strength of the trend of substitution of the history with memory in the public sphere, due to the multiple facets of the public history. According to the historian Pierre Nora, during our times we experience

¹⁸ Apart from the extraordinary content of the film, both its technical construction, and the way that is presented to the visitors of the museum, differ from ordinary films and cinemas and it's not just an ordinary projection film, offering an 'open' framework for the interpretation of the historical context of the WWI.

Specifically, the technical construction of the film contains a clear reference to the pictorial tradition used in the Middle Ages: the triptych, the clear division of the pictorial space into three distinct and hierarchical panels. The film is projected with the use of three projectors, on a whitewashed blank wall – who according to Jay Winter symbolizes the "impossible" in the faithful representation of the reality of the battle – in the specially constructed projection room of the museum, which it resembles a cinema with a screen greater length. The triptych, although in the Middle Ages were used in order to separate the main sacred place of the images represented in the main frame of the profane images at both extremes of frames, in the film the triptych is used in order to capture the three-nation representation of the Battle of the Somme, according to the logic of the museum exhibition, highlighting at the same time, three different military and cultural representations and perspectives of war by France, Germany and England, in order to meld historiography and museology. (Bellevallette, B., 2008: 117-119).

¹⁹ War Museum of Athens Greece, Retrieved 25 August 2015, from <http://www.warmuseum.gr/greek.html>

HGM Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna Austria, Retrieved 25 August 2015, from <http://www.hgm.at/en.html>

the “tyranny of memory”, as a result of the identity crisis of the post-materialistic societies of late modernity, of the deconstruction of the dominant national narratives, of the historical democratization, of the growing number of testimonies from the “history from below” and of the epistemological, methodological and thematic liquidity that characterizes the historiography after the postmodern linguistic turn of historical studies (Kokkinos, G., 2010: 33-34)

Indeed many historians like Hayden Whyte and Jay Winter, have expressed the opinion that historiography is somehow entrenched inside its’ scientific field and it has lost its reliability. In order for historiography to regain its’ lost credibility it should use any means and any representational technique of public history to historicize the past and create new hybrid forms of historical narrative (Kokkinos, G., 2010: 49-50).

Within this contemporary postmodern context and given the distance of history and memory, modern European museums of war mediate between history and memory, as well as, they represent the traumatic past and through the contact with the public audience, they liquidate the complex collective memory and representation. Above we had examined critically the ways in which the two museums reached the traumatic memory of WW1, and if they managed to contribute to the understanding of the trauma of modern memory, in order to lead their visitors to seek ways to overcome it.

The IWM organized the largest art exhibition for the WW1 ever done entitled “Truth and Memory”²⁰ that offers a modern representation of the war and a fertile informal learning environment. The exhibition is presented in two rooms together with small inscriptions for the art works. In the introductory room of the exhibition there are representational paintings of war, either from previous periods or from the first months of the WW1, in which realism stands. As the WW1 proceeds and it reveals the horrible face of mass death, both the artists change their techniques in radically new ways of painting and presentation of war.

Similarly, and even more emphatically, the Historial places in the heart of the museum, in a sunless room, the artwork of Otto Dix, which portrays the horror and the irrationality of war. Visitors are invited to face and feel the dark, traumatic and horrible face of war. In parallel, the Historial presents, in a discreet way and gradual change the style and artistic trends during the period of war, as in every room is being showed a series of artworks that are linked thematically with the other museum exhibits, favoring the emotional involvement and develop the historical imagination of visitors.

Summary

Summarizing, both the two museums use new forms of representation of memory, so the use of new technologies such as the projection of films, the use of interactive touch screens and other digital media. Exploring the use and content of the new technologies, we found that the IWM makes a far more extensive use of new technologies compared to the Historial. This multiple use of new technologies aims to strengthen the historical memory, the understanding and interpretation of the First World War by the visitors. At the same time it builds up the entertainment dimension of the museum, for example with the realistic representation of the trenches of the Western Front. On the contrary, the Historial doesn’t offer a pseudo-realistic representation of war’s traumatic experience, but brings the audience face to face with multiple

²⁰ Tolson, R. (2014), *Art from the First World War*, London: IWM, pp. 5-8.

museum representations and a wider travel to historical time. Using a combination of a much broader variety of museum objects, which are not mainly militaristic, but also multimedia and art exhibits – especially the series of extraordinary etchings by the German artist Otto Dix at the central room of the museum – gives the freedom to the visitors to create themselves their own representation of the traumatic experience of war. It is the audience that constructs the corresponding images, knowledge, feelings, experiences and thoughts on their individual interests and pursuits.

Correspondence

Kostas Korres
kkorres78@gmail.com

George Kokkinos
kokkinos@rhodes.aegean.gr

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*'TRUMAN OR LINCOLN?' GREEK STUDENTS DEBATE ON COMMEMORATION DECISIONS
MADE BY THEIR COMMUNITY*

Eleni Apostolidou, University of Ioannina, Greece

Abstract

This paper reports preliminary findings on how students perceive public monuments based on an analysis of 136 university students' written questionnaires. Students were called first to comment on the controversies over Truman's statue in Athens that has been vandalised by protesters in different periods. Second, they were asked to choose between three different stances to solve the problem vandalism caused: keep the statue in its vandalised condition, restore it to the condition it was when it was donated and replace it with a statue of Lincoln. The study is informed by previous literature in the field of History Education and Historical Consciousness, both empirical (Seixas & Clark, 2004) and theoretical (Rüsen, 2005), also by studies in material culture (Lowenthal 1985) or in processes of monumentalisation (Choay, 2001).

The question guiding the study is whether students perceive of the monuments as narratives about the past and also recognise their ambivalent and conflictual character. Through the process of analytic induction three patterns were located in students' answers.

- *One, students saw the monument-statue as a relic of the past itself and not as a deliberate construction with a political meaning.*
- *Two, students perceived of Truman and Lincoln as being unidimensional characters, either good or wicked.*
- *Three, students recognised the controversies in relation to historical agents and they described them as representing policies and ideologies and in the context of their political role in the past.*

Finally the majority of the students opted for the replacement of the Truman statue by statue of Lincoln or another figure that would represent more 'positive' values or would prevent reactions on the part of the public. The study confirms the recommendations made by history educators that history lessons should focus more on current controversies and their historicisation, as a means to understand equally past and present.

Keywords

Athens, Cold War, Conflicts, Greece, Historical consciousness, Lee, Material culture, Monuments, Public statues, Rüsen

Introduction: Monuments, Public Memory and Education

According to Choay a 'monument' is 'any artifact erected by a community of individuals to commemorate or to recall for future generations, events, sacrifices, practices or beliefs ... a monument is a deliberate creation whose purpose is established a priori and at the outset', (Choay, 2001, pp. 6, 12, 13). Along the same lines Savage points out to the fact that 'Public monuments do not arise as if by natural law ... they are built by people with sufficient power to marshal public consent for their erection', (1996, p. 135). The question of this paper is whether students and prospective teachers realise this deliberate character of the monuments using the statue of US President Harry S. Truman in the centre of Athens. 'Monuments and memorials

provide an opportunity to question not only the aesthetic merits of one or the other design, but, more importantly the integrity of communities that build and preserve them and the basis for a just social order' (Taylor & Levine, 2011, p. 126). The Truman statue in Athens raises conflictual memories of a divided Athenian and Greek past, during the Greek Civil War. At the same time it symbolises the controversies its erection provoked in 1963 in relation to the American foreign policy in Greece.

Monuments are considered to be aspects of 'public memory' like memorials, parades and other ceremonies. According to Casey (2004, p. 26) public memories emerge in places where people have the opportunity to communicate and interact and this is the reason why public memories are so susceptible to change: they are negotiated all the time, they may be abandoned and resumed or conflict with each other like in the case of the Truman statue. As Tsiara mentions, 'monuments may awaken memories or suppress them no matter what the initial intentions of their creators were' (Tsiara, 2004, p. 19). The Truman statue in Athens had had a whole 'second' life after it was placed in 1963 by the Greek Americans to expose their gratitude for the Marshall Plan and the economic aid Greece received after the II World War. According to Savage, 'Monuments can be ... combated with counter monuments or taken down' (Savage, 1996, p. 143). In the case of the Truman statue all the above happened: it was pulled down many times by people participating in anti-American policy protest marches and finally it was suggested it should be replaced by a statue of Lincoln. Monuments as elements of the history produced in public can play a very important role in history education. According to Seixas and Clark:

Public monuments, along with memorials, school history textbooks, museums, and commemorative holidays, occupy an arena where modern societies define themselves most explicitly in relation to their pasts. They are quintessential examples of what Pierre Nora (1996) has called *lieux de memoire*, sites of memory... the sites become particularly interesting at the moment when they inspire debate and contention. Contemporary historical consciousness is uncovered, not so much by a reading of the *lieu de memoire* itself, as by the analysis of its reception, (Seixas and Clark, 2004, pp. 146-147).

Repoussi also recommends the use of monuments in school history since they are decoded and linked on the one hand with policies that established them as monuments and on the other hand with the memories that are supposed to secure (Repoussi, 2004, p. 83). The focus of the educators on monuments and public controversies about the past stems from the orientation of contemporary history didactics towards what Barton and Levstik call the 'historical contextualisation' of current beliefs and actions (2004, p. 219) or the 'analysis of the present rather than the past' (Wrenn, 1999, p. 22). As Wrenn put it 'pupils ought to be supplied with a range of real, modern interpretations and to explain why particular individuals and groups construct the past differently' (*ibid*).

Public monuments also seem to be a good teaching option for students to realise that interpretations about the past change in time: 'historic sites such as war memorials change constantly because the guardians of the sites respond to new national or popular priorities and feelings' (Wrenn, 1998, p. 25).

On the whole, if the aim of school history today is to familiarise students with the constructed and provisional character of historical accounts, then public monuments, or other elements of history in public, especially controversial ones, constitute a advantageous teaching strategy because they attract students' interest. Students identify with past issues which seem to be part of their present and seem to affect their lives, also relate to their identities (Kitson et al, 2011, pp. 149-154).

'The Truman Statue in Athens': Research Procedures (Sampling, Research Instruments, Methodology of Analysis)

Truman was the president of the USA during the period 1945–1952. Events that characterised his presidency were the dropping of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the involvement of the USA in the Korean War, the foundation of NATO and finally the 'Truman Doctrine'. According to Truman Doctrine USA would support Greece and Turkey to avoid the communist danger, a decision that was interpreted as the beginning of the Cold War. In 1963 ACHEPA (American Hellenic Progressive Association, a Greek-American society and lobbying group) donated a statue of Truman which was placed at the centre of Athens. The statue was accompanied by an inscription making reference to the financial aid given by the USA to Greece under the Marshall Plan. The statue was pulled down during protest marches leading to the American Embassy of Athens in 1971, 1986, 1997, 2007. However, it was put back on the occasion of President Clinton's visit in Greece 1999. In 1968, after the placement of a time-bomb by the statue, a proposal was made by the mayor of Athens to replace it by a statue of Lincoln which was not acted upon. This proposal provided the background to ask a sample of 140 university students of education the following question²¹:

If you lived in the neighbourhood where the Truman statue was placed, what would you decide in relation to the following:

- 1) the statue should remain unchanged (vandalised, broken, painted)
- 2) the statue ought to be repaired and brought back to its original condition
- 3) the statue ought to be replaced with another one (Lincoln or any other). Please explain your opinion.

The above question, combined with a briefing about the statue's history seeks to detect whether students separate the past (the events throughout Truman presidency and the ACHEPA donation to Greek people) from its representation (the statue). In addition, the question probes whether students recognise also the possibility of different interpretations of the past (i.e. those of supporters of American policy in Greece and those of its opponents). It also probes whether students discern that past interpretations might be revised due to circumstances like the 'waves' of antiamericanism in Greece, (Chapman in Davies, 2011, Stradling, 2003). Finally it examines whether students realise that 'the names of streets together with the monuments and memorial plaques ... contribute to the semiotic presence of the ruling ideology; [all this] constitute the place where the structures of the ruling ideology meet up with the practice of everyday life' (Rihtman-Auguštin, 2004, p. 180). In the end, do students perceive of the several public practices of memory as interpretations of the past with a political aim? Do they perceive of the placing of the statue and the people's attempts to remove it as a conflict between the institutional memory and the memories of other social groups²², in our case the opponents of the American policy in Greece?

As since the question set to students relates to a material culture element (the statue) material culture theory was also used as a frame of analysis: objects, places, landscapes constitute interpretations not only of the past but also of the present²³ (Kotsakis in Nikonanou & Kasvikis, 2008, p. 49) they bear 'meanings', they function as testimonies in relation to the past, in

²¹ The students responded on a volunteer basis.

²² 'Cultural' memory, in Drompouki, 2014

²³ Also in Tilley in Pearce, 1994, p. 67, και Ames in Pearce, 1994, p. 112.

consequence their 'truth' is only relevant. Are students in a position to identify the different interpretations throughout time and the meanings attributed to a memory place by the residents of a region?

The methodology in this study is qualitative: 'content analysis' was applied to students' answers while the categories used to describe their patterns of thought originated in my interpretation of their answers (Titscher, Wodak and Vetter, 2000, p.56). The categories describe thought processes, reasoning. The unit of analysis is students' thought or construct. The constructs are named either by the use of students' own words or my description and interpretation of students answers. Quantitative description of the data is also available through the frequency of the several constructs occurrence. A complete presentation of the categories/constructs and the frequencies by which they appear can be found in the table 1 below. This study does not seek to attain a 'representativeness' of sample, rather the most complete possible description of how students perceive of the monuments or the commemorative processes in general (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 214).

Table 1: Frequency of Constructs/Categories

CATEGORIES-CONSTRUCTS		FREQUENCY of APPEARENCE
(A) 'a non-historical methodology'		16
(B) 'the denial of conflict'		85
B1. 'anything for the conflict to be avoided'	19	
B2. 'memorialisation: monuments selections recognised, not questioned'	30	
B3. 'Lincoln and Truman being unidimensional'	36	
(C) 'conflict accepted'.		35
C1. 'Conflict as part of history'	19	
C2. 'Lincoln and Truman in their context'	16	
		136 (students in total)

The constructs: 'a non-historical methodology'

Students' excerpts of the 'non-historical methodology' category follow:

- (1) *It should be repaired and brought to its original condition, because anything connected to the past, like historic buildings or statues, ought to remain as it was initially, Evangelia.*

- (2) *It should be repaired and brought to its original condition* because a statue *helps us to collect a lot of information*, like how they lived, what materials they used, etc., Spyridoula.
- (3) *It should be repaired and brought to its original condition* because it is a question of *aesthetics*, Anna.
- (4) *It should be repaired and brought to its original condition* because it is *not pleasant* to look at, Aikaterini
- (5) *It should be repaired and brought to its original condition* because it will happen again, it costs too much to restore it, Alkiviades.

The students belonging to the category 'a non-historical methodology', do not seem to realise the intentional character of a public monument which traditionally is connected to governmental policies or other interests. Instead they take the monument as a past relic that ought to be preserved in its original condition in order to give as much information as possible. Student in excerpt (1) for example argues similarly about an historic building which was probably built for practical reasons and not as a past account, and a statue which constitutes a commemoration action and is based on selection. Student in excerpt (2) regards the statue as evidence of life in the past but skips its commemorative function.

In the rest of the excerpts (3, 4, 5) the statue is seen outside its context with no reference to the time or the reasons it was erected. The latter excerpts recall what Nakou has described as 'non-historical thinking' (Nakou, 2000, p. 75): 'students describe the past items as if they belonged to the present'.

The constructs: 'the denial of conflict'

The majority²⁴ of students denied the possibility of having two different stances in relation to the monument. They were expressed by the following constructs: nineteen students assessed the conflict itself as problematic suggesting the replacement of the Truman statue by a Lincoln one (option 3) for appeasement reasons (first subcategory 'anything for the conflict to be avoided'). Thirty students suggested that the statue ought to be repaired and brought back to its original condition. In this way reverence would be exhibited to the statue itself and the past it represented (option 2, second subcategory 'memorialisation: monuments' selections recognised, not questioned'). Thirty six students suggested the replacement by a statue of Lincoln with the rationale that a statue of 'faulty' and troublesome personality would be replaced by the statue of another more acceptable historical figure, (third subcategory 'Lincoln and Truman being unidimensional').

Students' excerpts related to the first subcategory 'anything for the conflict to be avoided' were:

- (6) *The statue ought to be replaced by another one* because it provokes anger, not possible to retain it, Georgia.
- (7) *The statue ought to be replaced by another one* in order not to have any other vandalisms, Anna.
- (8) *The statue ought to be replaced by another one* in order to limit tension, Dimitra.

The students belonging to the subcategory 'anything for the conflict to be avoided', excerpts (6), (7), (8), seem to feel uncomfortable in relation to conflict and not to have perceived of the

²⁴ 85 students out of 136 that was the whole of the sample.

public monument as a narrative supporting a specific commemoration option, i.e. of celebrating American involvement in Greek politics within the context of the Cold War. Actually the issue is broader, that of the American involvement in European politics through the recovery scheme of Marshall Plan. They also seem to overlook the severe opposition to American involvement in Greece in the years after the Greek Civil War. In the end students do not seem to discern conflictual politics in relation to the Truman statue, but only violent and annoying episodes that ought to stop.

Contemporary history education expectation is that students can 'understand the nature of historical claims so that they can arbitrate between rival stories on historical grounds' (Lee, 2007: 60). This requires students to realise that narratives are written from various perspectives because they answer different questions and also that there is not 'one reality and one true story corresponding to it' (Gonzalez de Olega, 2012: 249).

The orientation of history didactics today is based upon the argumentation of theorists and philosophers of history who emphasise the perspectival nature of the discipline: Rüsen explains that 'historical knowledge ... owes to narrativity ... qualifications ... [like] retrospectivity, perspectivity, selectivity, particularity ... (2005, p. 66) and Ankersmit asserts that 'many narratios²⁵ lose their internal consistency when robbed of the political or ethical values', (1983, p. 255). In other words, perspectives attribute coherence to the past accounts and they make them meaningful. Therefore it seems that reality (either that of the present or that of the past) would be 'fractal' if people in general, or historians, did not manage to 'assemble the mass of events into meaningful 'chunks'', as Lee put it (Lee, 2007, pp.3 and 15), i.e. if people didn't manage to form plots. Do students understand that 'it is not possible to have a story of everything' (Lee, 2007, p. 15)?

On the other hand, multiple perspectives and differing past accounts may create tension since they are 'anchored in the practical [orientation] problems of the historian's time, [the historian's present]' (Rüsen, 2005, p. 66): for ACHEPA members Truman or the USA protected Greece against communism. For other groups, Greek communists included, American aid was translated into intervention in the country's politics. The students of this group repulsed conflicts as such not thinking of their causes. Apart from two students, all of them opted to replace the Truman statue by a statue of Linkoln, mainly to stop people's reactions. Two of them opted to retain the statue vandalised because that would be the best way to avert other vandalisms.

Students' excerpts of the second subcategory 'memorialisation: monuments selections recognised, not questioned' follow:

- (9) *The statue ought to be repaired and brought back to its original condition* because it would be *irreverence* otherwise, Anna.
- (10) *The statue ought to be repaired and brought back to its original condition* because they helped us (the USA), Lambrini.
- (11) *The statue ought to be repaired and brought back to its original condition*, it is our heritage from the Greeks of the USA, Iliana.
- (12) *The statue ought to be repaired and brought back to its original condition*, since they made it, there must have been a good reason, Dona.

²⁵ 'narratios' as used by Ankersmit.

The students belonging to the subcategory 'memorialisation: monuments selections recognised, not questioned', represented by excerpts (9), (10), (11), (12), used a vocabulary relating to 'origins' and repetitions of obligations' (Rüsen, 2005, pp. 29-30). More specifically, they used the word 'irreverence' (excerpt 9) and they spoke about 'heritage' (excerpt 11). They also spoke of the duty to repair the statue given to Greeks by their benefactors (the ACHEPA, or the Americans, excerpt 9). Students' speech could relate to Rüsen's 'traditional' type of historical consciousness and to Nietzsche's 'antiquarian' type (1997, pp. 72-73). Nietzsche speaks about the 'antiquarian's' type 'veneration' towards the past, while the actual word a student used was 'irreverence', (excerpt 9).

On the other hand, students' focus on the initial event, the donation of the statue by Greek-Americans to Greece, ignoring the political significance of the donators gesture and the changing mood of the recipients because of politics²⁶, implies incapability on the part of students to perceive of the 'historical identity' of the statue, an incapability to realise change in time (Lorenz, 2012, p. 75).

'Objects acquire meanings in time different from their initial historical social context; meanings are broadened from the life of the object in time' (Nakou, 2001, p. 99). Along the same lines Tilley and other material culture theorists²⁷, states that 'the interpretation and the meaning of material culture is a contemporary activity ... [and that there is] the politics of the present ... writing [the past] is a form of power' (Tilley, 1994, pp. 73-74).

In other words, the reasons why institutionalised memory, as represented by national or local authorities, is expressed by the erection of a statue or the creation of a monument, is related more to current politics than to the past the statue or the monument represent. Additionally, the public's reception of the monument, its appreciation or rejection, or what Drompouki calls 'competing civic presents' (2014, p. 149²⁸), also constitute the history or historical identity of a monument, in our case of the statue. Students from this sample seem not to be able to see the statue in its diachrony and remain focused on the moment the statue was created and not to what followed in the context of the post Greek Civil War period or the Cold War period speaking of Europe. Students do not see memory places as 'social texts' and open to more than one 'readings', (Young, 1993, pp. 1-15) and seem to be repulsed by the public's differing reactions to them. They are more interested in stopping the argument than explaining it.

The last excerpt (12) '*The statue ought to be repaired and brought back to its original condition, since they made it, there must have been a good reason*'²⁹, could be read through Nemko's category of 'memorialisation' (Nemko, 2009, p. 38). Students actually see the statues as a deliberate construction made by an authority but they do not feel inclined to question it. Cognitively, this stance could be related to Lee's first category of children's causal explanation in history, where the facts or the giving of information are not distinguished from the explanation itself, and where in the end there is nothing to be explained: 'things just happen', (Lee et al, 1996).

26 The statue was placed where initially erected on the occasion of president's Clinton visit to Athens in 1999 and pulled down many times afterwards.

27 See the Pearce 1994, *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, London and New York: Routledge.

28 At this point Drompouki cites Deborah Stevenson, 'Cities and Urban Cultures', Maidenhead-Philadelphia: Open University Press.

29 Subcategory, 'memorialisation: monuments selections recognised, not questioned'

Student third subcategory excerpts 'Lincoln and Truman being unidimensional' were:

- (13) *The statue ought to be replaced by another one of a real benefactor*, Eleftheria.
- (14) *The statue ought to be replaced by another one of someone more positive*, Constadine.
- (15) *The statue ought to be replaced by another one more worthy to be in this place*, Demina.
- (16) *The statue ought to be replaced by another one because Truman provoked disasters*, Efstathios.
- (17) *The statue ought to be replaced by another one because we must glorify heroes and fighters and not the ones that provoke sufferings*, Agathi.
- (18) *The statue ought to be replaced by another one because statues are models for children and give them messages that will help them in their life*, Irene.
- (19) *The statue ought to be replaced by another one*, possibly Lincoln, because Lincoln is not controversial, Irene A.

The students who viewed 'Lincoln' and 'Truman' as being 'unidimensional' used an absolutist vocabulary that sees humans as intrinsically right or wrong: in this case Truman must have been seen as the wicked one and Lincoln more favourably. There seem to be two implicit ways of thinking here: an overdependence of history on personalities, basically important men and at the same time a tendency to see such important men in a rather Manichaeian way.

Researchers have frequently identified students' tendency to form personalised explanations in history rather than structuralistic ones (Halldén, 1998, Jacott et al, 1998, Lee et al, 1997). On the other hand, since students were actually asked in personalistic terms, i.e. 'Truman or Lincoln', it would be fairer to comment more on their Manichaeian way of seeing things and their implicit dismissal of a more situational analysis in relation to the personalities involved with them overlooking the context and the constraints in which either Truman or Lincoln supposedly acted.

Students' absolutism could be related to their understanding of historical accounts, or of how history evolves, not in terms of interpretations or 'points of view', but in terms of 'information'. 'Stories [accounts] are about the same thing: the story is equivalent to something 'out there' ... stories are fixed by the information available, there is a one to one correspondence' (Lee, 2004, p. 154). Students do not seem to be able to understand the perspectival nature of the historical account and they actually underestimate the role of the historian or whoever accounts for the past. According to students what is done is the accumulation of facts to provide evidence of a worth or value. Facts are black or white: students in this mode cannot understand the opposition to Truman's policy from an alternative ideological stance, Truman's policy is either bad, in which case the statue ought to be replaced, or good in which case the statue ought to be restored.

Finally excerpts (17) and (18) use a didactic vocabulary, for example 'we must glorify fighters', 'statues are models, they give messages'. It is interesting to note that students see authority behind the statues, they recognise their selective character and at the same time they do not question those selections. According to them statues embody lessons, they 'emplot the story of ennobling events, of triumphs over barbarism, and recall the martyrdom of those who gave their lives in the struggle for national existence' (Young, 1993, p. 2). Students do not protest like the First Nations communities in Canada for not being included or represented in a fair way by public monuments (Seixas & Clark, 2004). They object only to the criteria by which national heroes are selected, they have to be the best and most important and none controversial (excerpt 19).

The constructs: 'conflict accepted'

This category is expressed by two subcategories: 'conflict as part of history' and 'Lincoln and Truman in their context'.

Students' excerpts of the first subcategory 'Conflict as part of history' follow:

- (20) *The statue should remain unchanged* for the people to be informed about the conflict, Theodora.
- (21) *The statue should remain unchanged for people to see what changed throughout time ('museum' sample)* Irene.
- (22) *The statue should remain unchanged* because the reasons why the statue was disfigured are equally important, Argyro.
- (23) *The statue should remain unchanged* because it symbolises non-tolerance in relation to the USA foreign policy, Athanasios, K.
- (24) *The statue should remain as it is, vandalised, broken, painted, vandalism is part of its history*, it is important to get to know what forced citizens to exercise violence on it, Argiri.
- (25) *The statue should remain unchanged* because vandalism shows the *other view* Spyridoula.

Students viewing 'conflict as part of history' consider both conflicts and conflictual interpretations of the past as part of history or historical accounts about the past. In Lee's words they realise that the past 'is (re-) constructed in answer to questions in accordance with criteria' (Lee, 2004: 154). A criterion could be an ideological stand point like in excerpt (23) where for some people vandalism against the Truman statue symbolises no tolerance in relation to the USA policy in Greece. Students classified in the 'conflict as part of history' instead of being disturbed by the violent episodes in the city try to explain them, seeing them as the 'other' view (excerpt 25) which is 'equally important' (excerpt 22).

On the other hand, the students who contributed excerpts (21) and (24) seem to have internalised that objects, monuments and landscapes can be 'read' many times and that their readings and uses by people of different time periods, constitute their historical identity. The definition Lorenz (2012) gives to historical identity sounds similar to what the student articulates in excerpt (21) about 'what changed through time'. 'Historicity of objects does not originate only in their links with those societies that invented them, made them, used them, left them, but also with those societies that 'discovered' them or studied them as evidence about the past', (Nakou, 2001, p. 57). Nakou also notes that actually the 'polysemy' of objects or material culture stems from their 'journey' in time. It is encouraging that some of the students, thirty five out of one hundred and thirty-six that participated in the study, appeared to be comfortable with the polysemy of the Truman statue. Students, attempting to contextualise historically and politically the recent conflict around the Truman statue in Athens, seem to have been receptive to diversity both in the past and the present.

Students' excerpts of the second subcategory 'Lincoln and Truman in their context' were:

- (26) *The statue should remain unchanged because Truman was a controversial persona, there were different and conflicting interpretations of his work from an economic or ideological point of view*, Lambrini.

- (27) *The statue should remain unchanged because it is not a question of persons but of the USA foreign policy, people do not care about the statue but about what, they think, it symbolises, Athanasios.*
- (28) *The statue should remain unchanged, vandalism indicates the way of thinking and the ideology of a people about political and national events, it is a conflict of ideologies, even today there are opponents and supporters of the American policy, Aikaterini, O.*
- (29) *The statue should remain unchanged, it is about right and left, Loukia.*
- (30) *The statue ought to be placed next to the Lincoln's statue, the two statues ought to coexist, two different pictures of the USA in the same place, Loli.*

Students in the subcategory 'Lincoln and Truman in their context' realised two very important moves from a cognitive point of view.

- First they manage to see the statue itself in relation to what it represents for the past it refers to and for the people in the present. Nakou defines as 'disciplinary' Historical Thinking the thinking that sees relics in their human and social context while it serves as evidence to form an historical account (2000, pp. 83-84).
- Second, students see the protagonists of this conflict, 'Truman' and 'Lincoln' in their own historical context and as representing mentalities, ideologies and policies. For example excerpt (27) reads 'it is not a question of persons'. Students in this case manage to see historical agents within their constraints: 'actions are to be understood not simple in terms of desires ... but as opportunity *situations* to which actions are responses', (Lee et al, 1997, p. 238). Lee et al also remind us of Popper and his reference to 'social situations' that may defeat individual intentions: 'We may know or understand a man's system of dispositions pretty well; that is to say, we may be able to predict how he would act in a number of different *situations*' (Popper, 2012, p. 13). To conclude students of this sample managed to move from a personalised historical analysis to a more complex one that contextualised agents in their constraining situations, roles, problems and time.

Conclusion

One hundred and thirty six students had the opportunity to contemplate and reflect about the Truman statue in Athens and a related public debate. Only thirty five managed to articulate arguments in terms of historical thinking. The main weaknesses in students' thinking appear to be the following:

- First they overlooked the deliberate character and role of the statue as a public icon, as a selection of historical consciousness and identity made by the country's and the city's authorities.
- Second, they could not interpret the public debate in relation to the statue or the conflicts and the violence around its positioning in the centre of the city. Instead they rather saw the opposition to the statue as an abnormal situation that ought to be corrected by its replacement.
- Finally they interpreted 'Truman' and 'Lincoln' in an individualistic way, outside of their social and political context.

On the whole students were not found aware of the history produced in public within the civic landscape in which they lived and could not make sense of it. The above study supports recommendations made by other studies and history educators in favor of current affairs and

present accounts produced in public about the past, which when contextualised historically, could contribute to the development of students' historical thinking.

Correspondence

Eleni Apostolidou
elaposto@cc.uoi.gr

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LOCAL HERITAGE APPROACHES IN HISTORY EDUCATION: UNDERSTANDING HOW DECISIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE PAST LED TO THE PRESENT

Helena Pinto, CITCEM (Transdisciplinary Research Centre 'Culture, Space and Memory'), University of Oporto, Portugal

Abstract

This paper emphasises the importance of providing tasks and learning activities that instil change on students' preconceptions and improve the interpretation of nearby heritage remains.

Grounded on the idea that progress in historical understanding involves a meaningful and contextualized learning (Ashby, Lee & Shemilt, 2005; Chapman, 2006), there is a reflection on the concepts of History Education and Heritage Education in order to identify convergences related to the use of historic sites and objects as historical evidence.

Some formal educational activities have been proposed in order to understand students' conceptions, especially those related to the use of heritage remains in history teaching and learning, as regards to their relation with the process of making sense of the past (Cooper & West, 2009).

Results of systematic research, within mainly qualitative studies, regarding students' conceptions on local heritage – in northern Portugal – might reinforce the challenge to stimulate young people to think and argue about heritage evidence and the people who built/used it in the past, and ultimately contribute to improve a more advanced historical consciousness (Seixas, 2004) of both students and teachers.

Keywords

Citizenship education and heritage education, Conceptual understanding, Cultural tools, Heritage – cultural, Heritage – symbolic reconstruction of the past, Heritage Education, History and Social Studies, Historical consciousness, History and heritage, History Education, Identity, Local history, Portugal, Site visits, Sites – historic.

Introduction

Concepts of History and Heritage Education are discussed in this paper in order to identify converging points related to the use of historic sites and objects as historical evidence. The way we view the past and the influences it has on identity at national, community and personal levels is intimately related to citizenship, too (Copeland, 2009). Thus we have to consider whether individuals and communities are able to construct pasts, and if so what type of heritage education is required to enable them to do that.

Communities have a past and a memory that identify its members, and in some aspects distinguish them from the others. But if heritage may function as a structuring factor of collective identities while expressing different times of a given setting (Le Goff, 1998), the understanding of more complex relationships between individual or collective identities and heritage needs to be more deepened, at least in the history education field.

If it is true that the conservation movement grew in the last third of the twentieth century, partly through the expanding cultural horizons, and partly as a function of greatly increased rates of destruction affecting a finite heritage, sometimes heritage presentation strategies can be directly and deliberately physically damaging (Baker, 1999): they may wish to serve a particular version of intelligibility by removing things that obscure the period or message chosen for display; or presentation may be manipulated to emphasise a particular aspect for reasons of popularity.

Awareness that heritage is not fixed, but changes in response to our own needs, is no less integral to our creative involvement with history. In realising how we variously affect these linked realms, we learn to relish, rather than resent, our own interventions and even to tolerate those of others (Lowenthal, 2003).

Usually presented as material and symbolic construction of the past, heritage is actually a social construction. Our cultural heritage was constructed with contributions from diverse historical eras, being the most obvious visible in architecture and urbanism. However, heritage would be of little use without proper research, and adequate interpretation. Educators both in formal or non-formal education have a particular responsibility towards this challenge, so they need to reflect on this issue.

Interpreting heritage in formal education

Sometimes heritage can seem rather elusive, but together with History it may well demand profound questions which have shaped our local and national communities. How and where did people work, or worship, or keep their community safe? These are, among others, common and curious questions, the answers to which shaped people's lives, their skills, their prospects and their landscapes. And they are questions that young people ask too.

Making relevant connections between how we used to live and how we live today is at the core of how we approach learning heritage. The everyday routines and choices we undertake offer rich pickings for linking to our history and heritage. There are opportunities to explore not only how attitudes and behaviours may have changed over time, but also to discover how many fundamental aspects of our everyday lives thread into the past. Learning how to highlight these connections, linking directly to history or other social science curriculum, might work both in and out of the classroom.

What makes worthwhile out-of-school activities has long been debated, and we are left in no doubt of their significant benefits. Not only do site visits enrich the curriculum and offer unique learning environments, they can also spark a lifelong interest – the single most important factor in determining whether adults are engaged with heritage is if they visited historic sites as a child.

Out-of-school activities can promote the use of heritage evidence as cultural tools relevant for a consistent historical learning, by

- supporting students' historical learning experiences with tasks challenging their preconceptions;
- helping them to gain awareness of heritage signs as elements relating several segments of time.

Wertsch (2000) reminds us that human action involves an irreducible tension between active agents and the 'cultural tools' they employ to carry out action; thus individuals and groups always act in tandem with cultural tools. Nevertheless, our ancestors made decisions in their

own time that led to governmental institutions, economic structures, or social patterns that we live with today, but they could have made other decisions with other consequences (Barton and Levstik, 2004).

Raising awareness of heritage preservation can be developed with groups of different ages through heritage education activities. The use of local heritage enables the use of learning approaches that foster the development of historical temporality in youngsters, through the mediating action of objects of material culture, which gain historical meanings with the guidance of the teacher/educator. As Hooper-Greenhill (2007, p.34) states:

Today, 'learning' as a concept is not usually used to refer to knowledge or scholarship; 'learning' is used to refer to learning processes, and implicit in the more recent interpretations of 'learning' is the idea that learning processes can occur in many different kinds of locations, and can be very diverse in character and in outcome. 'Learning' is understood as multidimensional and lifelong.

Concerning the educational view of heritage, putting together theory and practice, it is required to keep in mind that heritage is a multidimensional reality, and there are multiple ways of approaching it. In this research area, Fontal (2003) considers that heritage, and particularly cultural heritage, must be understood as a subject matter itself, and heritage education could achieve its own place as a specific curriculum with an integral model as methodology. Other researchers include heritage education approach into the social sciences education (Prats, 2003), or stand that heritage didactic should be included within the educational process (Estepa & Cuenca, 2006) accordingly with the goals recognised by the education system, for citizenship education in general, and for social and experimental sciences in particular. It is argued that the main goal of heritage didactic is to support the understanding of past and present societies, approaching heritage remains as sources to be analysed, and by means of their interpretation one may achieve to know the past, to understand the present and to prospect future standpoints. Furthermore, the understanding of this legacy heartens a more reflective consciousness in relation to our beliefs and identities, and even to other cultures, namely through the sharing of values with other societies.

Techniques and procedures applied by heritage education might be used both in formal and non-formal education contexts, but they should be ruled by specific methodological criteria (Santacana & Llonch, 2012) with a multidimensional focus, relating together social sciences, and artistic and museum education. Approaches designed to provide students with opportunities to engage in meaningful learning should be grounded on experience in context and personally structured knowledge.

Community-based educational activities are a well-established method to move students from ideas which are familiar and everyday life based to broader historical concepts. By using the museum as a resource for learning history, providing opportunities for children to investigate their own roots, challenging their existing conceptions about the past and initiating action, systematic heritage approaches must be considered among educators to provide students the opportunity to understand heritage evidence in multiple perspectives.

The use of educational materials to explore historic sites and objects through curricular and extracurricular activities may also stir to promote heritage preservation awareness and historical consciousness (Rüsen, 2004; Seixas, 2004). Definitely, the significance of historic sites as learning sources has gained increasing recognition over the last few decades for the students themselves (Angvik & Borries, 1997) and materials provided by museums for educational

activities have improved. In fact, the majority of the groups that every year visit historic sites are composed of students attending primary and secondary schools.

Historic sites – as Guimarães, a World Cultural Heritage site in northern Portugal – hold abundant and clear evidence of the past in buildings and structures, and many of them are still being in use, but not necessarily for their original purpose; even though another part might be hidden and techniques such as fieldwork, research, surveying and excavation have been needed to find them. Beyond castles, palaces, medieval walls, cathedrals and Romanesque or Gothic churches, and other buildings which have been distinguished by their monumentality, there is a vast and rich cultural heritage that goes beyond the historical-architectural dimension. Cultural expressions as folklore, gastronomy, religious festivities and crafts, reveal local/regional traditions and might contribute to a sense of multiple identities. Several medieval toponyms may have survived in the street-naming, revealing continuity in the urban space and bringing to life dominant economic activities of the past, or holy protection.

If children approach History on the assumption that it is relevant to them personally, because it is about ordinary people like themselves, then there is a much better chance of them making sense of what they are taught in ways which render it relevant (Shemilt, 1980). Approaching local community issues can involve the school class in weighing evidence, listening to different arguments, making and justifying decisions. Focusing subjects locally might stimulate students to produce reflective and creative accounts, being involved in both practical and theoretical work, as getting them out of the classroom and into the community life. Some schools have not been indifferent to this concern at a methodological level, inside or outside the classroom and its impacting on the construction of youngsters' historical thinking and identities.

Once students have started to think in terms of arguments, with teacher scaffolding, they can start to evaluate historical interpretations with considerable sophistication. As Chapman (2006, p. 9) states, 'the ideas – argument (claim + conclusion), inference (the process of concluding) and assumption (relying on an unstated claim or claims) – can be very easily taught'. So, if pupils are used to thinking in terms of assumptions they can do useful things when they are presented with historical arguments and interpretations.

Historical enquiry, as Collingwood defined (1946), proceeds from specific questions identifying what you know, can guess and what you want to know. And by developing questions to ask of a site, the process of treating the place or objects as sources of evidence is encouraged (Cooper & West, 2009). Students' historical thinking can be fostered by interpreting objects, buildings and sites as historical evidence to make sense of the past (Nakou, 2001; Cooper, 2004; Seixas & Clark, 2004; Apostolidou, 2006; Barca & Pinto, 2006; Chapman & Facey, 2004; Chapman, 2006; Estepa & Cuenca, 2006; Harnett, 2006; Nemko, 2009; Pinto, 2011, 2013). Nevertheless, if there is some accordance about the role of heritage in History teaching and the reasons why this is an important area for children to learn about, the same does not appear to happen in school practices. Concerning the Portuguese picture, only a few schools include Heritage Education as a teaching 'tool', and many teachers have not been introduced to this method by teacher-training.

Currently, Heritage Education is used to complement existing curriculum. If on the one hand, the circumstances of change, namely the results of local and community-based studies, some of them disseminated at academic or professional meetings, make expectable that Heritage Education is becoming part of student's learning experiences, and tentatively recognized in the national curricula; on the other hand, over the last few years Portugal's education system (and other European countries like Spain) has been undergoing a process of change

through the regulation of Curricular Outcomes. These reforms have affected the History and Social Sciences programmes and, eventually, teaching and learning practices. Analysing the conceptualisation of heritage proposed in the new regulations, the prioritised heritage areas, and the goals pursued through Heritage Education in these new regulatory texts (Pinto & Molina, 2015), it must be stated a significant gap between the didactic potential of heritage in Social Sciences subjects, and its presence in the curriculum guidelines revealing a limited and partial view of Heritage Education.

As to reacting to this disquieting picture, it should be stressed the need of approaching teachers and students' education activities in a systematic and consistent process, according to methodological criteria in History, articulating it with History curriculum, providing tasks that can challenge students' preconceptions and improve the interpretation of nearby heritage remains, bearing in mind that progress in historical understanding involves a meaningful and contextualized learning.

Systematic research and classroom experience support the construction of models of progression. These models are hierarchical and describe significant levels in the development of students' thinking over time, as Ashby, Lee and Shemilt (2005, p.165) claim:

there is no such thing as a definitive model for evidence or for any other second-order concept, although all research-based models are – or should be – compatible. They may vary, however, in the number of levels they include and in the emphasis given to different aspects of students' thinking. Nor do these models prescribe or describe the ways in which the ideas of any individual student should or will develop. They are generalizations applicable to the majority of students that appear to be sustainable across generations and nationalities.

Therefore, some formal educational activities have been proposed and implemented in order to understand students' conceptions, especially those related to the use of heritage remains in History teaching and learning, as regards to their relation with the process of making sense of the past.

Understanding how decisions of people in the past led to the present

The research methodology

The study reported here is part of a wider work related to a PhD research on History and Social Sciences Education (Pinto, 2011), carried out at University of Minho within the HICON Project (Historical Consciousness – theory and practices II) granted by Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology. Within a descriptive, mainly qualitative approach based on the *Grounded Theory* (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) it was intended to deepen the understanding about the meanings given by individuals to the need of temporal orientation connected with notions as identities, significance, change and evidence in History, heritage evidence included. This last issue was the focus of this study, which aimed to answer the question: *How do history teachers and students interpret evidence of a historic site?*

Data here reported refer to the responses to specific instruments which were applied to a sample of 87 students, 40 attending year 7 (12/13 years old) and 47 from year 10 (15/16 years old), from several secondary schools of Guimarães, in northern Portugal, taking part in out-of-school history learning activities. The analysis of data from students' answers followed an

increasingly refined categorization process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) in order to find out a model of students' conceptual progression concerning the way they inferred from heritage sources, i.e. 'how do students of 7th and 10th grades make use of historic sites – places, buildings and related objects – as evidence of a changing past?', and 'what kind of historical thinking do students build up when exploring heritage by direct contact?' (Pinto, 2011) It was also a purpose seeking to portray how their history teachers (N=6) made use of material sources to support students' learning experiences.

The questionnaire-guide included questions that were supposed to be accessible and challenging for both groups of 7th and 10th graders, and was structured taking into account a path through some places of Guimarães' historic centre and the surrounding area. A historical context that could be significant at local and national (and international) levels was selected to allow curricular scaffolding, and to outline an approach to history and heritage education that could be a genuine cognitive challenge for students. Each page of the questionnaire-guide presented the task to be carried out by students at a staging point of the activity tour (Fig. 1): a little information and three progressively complex questions – 'What can you know from it?', 'What was its importance to those who constructed it? And to you?', 'Which questions would you like to ask to know this place better'. This set of questions was applied in most of the tasks.



Fig. 1. Group of students answering a task near the Church of Sra. da Oliveira, Guimarães.

Students' and teachers' ideas on evidence and historical consciousness

Students' conceptual model was built on two constructs – use of evidence and historical consciousness which emerged from data analysis. It has focused on students' interpretations of material evidence (specific objects and buildings) answering some proposed tasks of historical learning, and related to results of other studies which were found to be relevant for this analysis (Ashby, Lee & Shemilt, 2005; Apostolidou, 2006; Cooper, 2004; Nakou, 2001; Seixas & Clark, 2004).

Some examples of **students'** answers (whose names are fictional) related to each of the patterns which have emerged from data analysis are presented below:

A) Use of evidence – students' conceptions concerning the way they use information and infer from the 'reading' of heritage sources.

Alternative idea: some students reveal undefined or confusing thoughts when reading sources, or inferences based on common sense ideas which they reproduce in the situation under observation.

Inference from existing details: most of the students regarded written and heritage sources as providing direct information. They have described briefly or more extensively based on a superficial interpretation. Conjectures of several students related to factual or functional details.

Inference from context: several students have contextualised information within a broader set of previous knowledge. Many answers revealed personal inferences based on previous knowledge, setting information in time sequence or establishing some link with the political, social and economic context. Conjectures of several students suggest social and contextual concerns when interpreting heritage sources, as stated by Vasco (7th grade): "I wonder what the thoughts of the tailors were at the time they had made the loudel".

Questioning: some answers revealed personal inferences questioning the context in terms of evidence and time relations, or hypothesising on diverse possibilities, or articulating political, social and economic elements in the same context, or even making conjectures about several contexts in terms of time relations, as Isaura (7th grade) pointed out: "What was the meaning of a church for people of that period, as they built a church and not a shopping-centre? Today this would happen".

B) Historical consciousness – students' conceptions regarding the ways they make sense of the dialogic relationship between past and present, in terms of personal and social significance of heritage by interpreting material sources.

A-historical consciousness: at a less elaborate level, some answers did not mention any kind of significance or reveal stereotypical ideas.

Consciousness of a fixed past: many students evaluated actions of people of the past according to present values. Others saw the past, in generic terms, as timeless. Most of the students conceived the past as image of the present in order to acquire knowledge.

Consciousness of a symbolic past: the way heritage continued into the present, and its preservation, are understood by their meaning as evocation of key events of the past, or by its significance in terms of local or national identity. Some students valued heritage as evoking a 'golden past', as expressed by Irene (7th grade): "They wanted to show their monumental oeuvre and to honour Santa Maria da Oliveira. Because this was a 'golden era' of our community, and I think people are always looking at the past". Others referred to the past as a model for the present, expressing an emotional relation between identity and heritage, or recognising heritage as a symbol linked to a sense of national identity.

Emerging historical consciousness: the relation between past and present is understood in a linear way as regards the use and function of heritage sources and socioeconomic features linked to the past or to the present. Nevertheless several answers revealed an emergent temporal orientation (in terms of function and change/continuity) connected to contextualisation and a sense of diverse paces of change.

Explicit historical consciousness: some answers argued historically, based on the relation between social, economic, political, religious and cultural contexts, recognising the duality change and continuity in the relation to past-present-future, as regards social and personal significance, as stated by Daniel (10th grade):

Due to the remains conveyed by ancestors, the town expanded according to inhabited areas, though preserving important relics which help us to understand life in Guimarães through fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One also keeps in mind that life was much organised at that time.

A more restricted group of answers revealed an awareness of heritage sources' historicity, recognising their contextualised interpretation as essential to historical understanding.

A brief complementing quantitative analysis showed the prevalence of students' ideas of *inference from existing details*, concerning the 'use of evidence', and a level of *consciousness of a fixed past* as regards 'historical consciousness'.

Data analysis also focused on **teachers'** understandings of the use of material evidence to support students' historical learning, accordingly to the criteria of history methodology. Due to the proposal and the extent of this paper, we will present only a few examples of teachers' comments (their names are fictional) on the respective questionnaires.

As to teachers, two constructs – 'Use of heritage evidence', and 'Aims of heritage teaching and making heritage accessible' emerged from data generated by their answers to previous and following activity questionnaires.

C) Use of heritage evidence – teachers' ideas concerning the way they realise their role in the relationship between the past remains and their students' interpretations.

Undefined: some teachers broadly refer to the contribution of heritage activities to students learning, avoiding clarifying how they could use heritage evidence.

From context to evidence: several teachers perceive monuments and sites of a study walk as illustration of information rather than as a conceptual inquiry: "Giving students the opportunity to visit monuments, mainly those in the neighbourhood, helps them to recognize and identify buildings' features which characterize different artistic styles". (Sofia, secondary history teacher). These teachers conferred more relevance to approaching sources after the contextualisation of the issue in terms of contents.

Connecting evidence in context: other teachers do not see the past as assorted fragments, and might consider that the great advantage of observing relics from the past is that they materialise the past, thus they consider their function is to facilitate students gaining more confidence in handling sources as evidence. Mostly, teachers recognised that by interpreting heritage sources students could reach a contextualized understanding of the past.

From evidence to context: few teachers refer to a process of constructing knowledge upon evidence of the past, recognizing the fact that material past relics may provide insights into ways of life different from the present. By the use of a variety of sources, out-of-school activities related to local heritage can allow a multi-sensory approach of the past and provoke a significant historical dialogue between learners and the past, as Eunice (7th grade history teacher) states: "Reflect on the simultaneously of situations in different spaces, but

in the same temporal context – reconstruction of Oliveira’s church and Batalha monastery’s construction”.

D) Aims of heritage teaching and making heritage accessible – how teachers intend to enhance students’ historical understanding through specific learning activities. Thus, they should try to be aware of the historical thinking process, as well as the identity and heritage relationships students construe.

Concerning the way they realise students’ **learning**:

Motivating: some teachers expect students to see the past as something near to their everyday experience, showing a tendency to find the past ‘useful’, leading probably students to see it as similar to the present, thus not providing ways to avoid ‘presentism’ (Lee, 2005).

Reinforcing knowledge: most of the teachers implicitly admit the knowledge reinforcement as the main purpose of contact with material evidence; some suggest that visiting historic places help students to make sense of the past because they can function as affordances to understand history: “It is intended that students acquire competences concerning the specific terminology of the subject which allow them to characterise different types of architecture from common aspects and specific features of local tendencies” (Célia, secondary history teacher).

Building up knowledge: within a more sophisticated type, a small group of teachers consider the construction of students’ knowledge just within a teacher-oriented situation. So they think they should promote students’ dialogue with heritage evidence: “Such activities provide students the opportunity to describe the type of buildings of the period, and then make comparisons with other buildings of the same period.” (Sofia, secondary history teacher).

Regarding the **historical consciousness** dimension, i.e. the improvement of students’ historical thinking in terms of temporal orientation:

Information: some answers revealed general ideas, taking as natural the development of students’ historical thinking as a result of an activity of contact with heritage.

Knowledge in context: several responses recognized the possibility of a contextualized understanding of the past through the interpretation of heritage sources. Teachers realise that historicity can be apprehended by analysing the different parts of a historic site, connecting the bygone functions of heritage relics with their in site organization, as stated by Hermínia (7th grade history teacher): “The observed heritage allows students to collect information on the activities carried out in a certain region and then to understand inhabitants’ living conditions (the houses construction materials, the decoration objects and furniture, etc.)”.

Connecting changing times: few answers indicated an awareness of the historicity of heritage sources which interpretation helps to understand the complexity of past-present relationship in a broader context, recognising the diversity in change: “[helps students’] knowing better the past / present of the city they inhabit or where they were born: toponyms, monuments history, relating local and national history.” (Heliana, 10th grade history teacher).

These patterns that evolved from the data also showed similarities with some types of Rösen’s (2004) typology of historical consciousness. Some teachers’ views could be thought as ‘traditional’ as they seem to consider oneself being restricted by ancestors’ past, which implies commitment to a certain collective identity. Teachers seem to have been orientated

mainly to 'exemplary' stances toward the past, as their relation with heritage reveals a sense of community identity materialized by local heritage, conveying a message for the younger generations.

Only a few teachers have revealed constructs suggesting 'temporalisation' and construction of identities which could be related to Rösen's 'genetic' type of historical consciousness. They recognise that by analysing local heritage evidence students experience opportunities for exploring questions about identity, in a way that the dominant or alternative narratives (rooted in myths about the past and issues of identity) can be checked, validated or refuted, promoting a more sophisticated awareness of the past.

Brief conclusions

Reflecting on the results of this study, it should be stressed the need of approaching formal education activities in a systematic and consistent process, providing tasks that can challenge students' preconceptions and encourage historical interpretation of heritage sources. Furthermore, teachers' systematic reflection on proposals of out-of-school activities can enhance their awareness of the use of heritage as relevant cultural tools related to students' learning and their historical consciousness.

Providing tasks and learning activities that instil change on students' preconceptions and improve the interpretation of nearby heritage remains, connected to national and international history, entails considering that progress in historical understanding demands a contextualised and significant learning.

Thought-provoking young people to analyse and discussing buildings and sites so as to understand them as historical evidence might contribute to a better education in a society where the dialogue between different cultures and communities must be strengthened.

Correspondence

Helena Pinto
E-mail: mhelenapinto@gmail.com

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TEACHING CULTURAL HERITAGE IN CULTURALLY DIVERSE EARLY CHILDHOOD CENTRES IN NORWAY

Yngve Skjæveland, Ellen Holst Buaas and Kari Hoås Moen, Queen Maud University College, Trondheim, Norway

Abstract

This article discusses teaching cultural heritage in culturally diverse Early Childhood Centres (ECCs) in Norway. What type of cultural heritage should be conveyed in an ECC with cultural diversity, and in what ways can this happen? Based on interviews with directors and pedagogical leaders in selected ECCs, staff members' understanding of the concept of cultural heritage and their teaching of heritage in practice is analysed. The findings are analysed within a theoretical framework of cultural heritage, diversity and children's 'formation' (Bildung). The study reveals a lack of consciousness of cultural heritage on behalf of the ECC staff, as well as an absence of criteria for the selection of teaching content. Despite this, the centres have developed a variety of methods and tools in their work with culture and traditions. A critical approach to cultural heritage together with development of competence in the staff is needed. A stronger emphasis on teaching content and on common elements shared by several cultures would strengthen the ECCs' work in this area.

Keywords

Cultural Diversity, Diversity, Early Childhood Centres – 1-5 year olds, Early Childhood Education and Care, Ethnocentricity, Cultural heritage, Heritage, Heritage Education, Norway, Qualitative research, Teaching Cultural heritage,

Introduction

For a long time, Norway has been a relatively homogenous nation from an ethnic standpoint. However, during the last decades, it has gradually become a country with a higher degree of cultural diversity. Encounters between people with different cultural traditions take place in many areas and arenas, and Early Childhood Centres (ECCs) are one of these places. Because most Norwegian children attend ECCs from 1-2 years of age and remain there until the age of 5, the ECC becomes an important cultural meeting place. The early years are fundamental for how the children develop later in life, and what they experience in ECCs is therefore particularly important. The Norwegian Framework Plan for ECCs, which has a status as National curriculum, requires that ECCs convey Norwegian cultural heritage, as well as develop knowledge, understanding and tolerance of other cultures and traditions.

When children encounter different cultures and traditions, the foundation is created for respectful interaction between different ethnic groups. Consciousness about their own heritage and participation in other cultures will help the children to understand other people's way of life (Ministry of Education and Research, 2012, p. 36).

This requirement has consequences for the work with cultural heritage in the ECCs. On the one hand, working with history and traditions can develop the ability to understand and appraise diversity and variety. On the other hand, it can also be used to emphasize common references and create community across cultural borders. A pamphlet on linguistic and cultural diversity related to the Framework Plan expresses clearly how to expect ECCs to approach this work:

When working in a multicultural centre, one has to use all possibilities to expand the content from the traditional Norwegian towards more diversity. That does not mean you have to stop conveying Norwegian traditions, but that you could add something more to it (Gjervan, 2006, p. 21).

As early childhood teacher educators, we have experienced that this strategy is not always chosen in ECCs. We may find many examples where 'adding something more' has turned into 'taking something away'. This means that traditions and cultural expressions are often muted or hidden to avoid the possibility of offending (Gjervan, 2006). We have observed that early childhood teachers experience this as a difficult and increasingly relevant problem, as many ECCs have a larger number of children from different cultures. What type of cultural traditions should be conveyed in an ECC with cultural diversity, and in what ways can this happen? Some teachers also believe that multicultural development can lead to alienation and pose a threat to the teaching of local culture and heritage, and they thereby express a problem-oriented approach to the subject (Lauritsen, 2011).

Little research has been conducted in this area. More research-based knowledge about how the ECCs can meet the Framework Plan goals is required to enable the ECCs to convey cultural heritage in a culturally diverse community in a positive and inclusive way. The ECCs' task is to convey traditional Norwegian heritage and at the same time make sure the children gain knowledge, understanding and tolerance of other cultures and traditions.

With this background, this article will discuss the following research question: How do ECC teachers understand the concept of cultural heritage and how do they teach cultural heritage?

Earlier research

Even though there are some research studies about culturally diverse ECCs and the history and traditions in ECCs, the topic of cultural heritage in culturally diverse ECCs seems to be little examined in general as well as in a specific Norwegian context. In a review of various studies, Ramsey (2006) showed that even young children are aware of ethnicity, culture, social class, abilities and disabilities. However, children may express views that reflect bad attitudes that many adults would like to deny. Instead of denying these, one should, according to Ramsey, help children to explore their assumptions and curiosities about the multiple aspects of the world (Ramsey, 2006). This requires, among other things, that the adults in ECCs allow cultural differences to become a topic of conversation. An extensive research on culturally diverse ECCs in rural municipalities (< 40,000 inhabitants) in Norway shows that most centres prioritised Norwegian culture and to a small degree, included content from other cultures (Andersen, 2011).

Heritage is closely connected to history and traditions. Some research has been conducted on history and traditions in ECCs and on practical experiences in the field. (Cooper, 2002, 2007). Moen and Buaas (2012) found that Norwegian teachers in ECCs to some extent agreed that history and tradition were a priority. They made less use of tangible than of intangible resources in their work, and they had little collaboration with external actors. In another study, the teachers justified teaching history and traditions by the importance of these for the development of children's identity and introspection (Skjæveland, Moen, & Buaas, 2013). According to Lusted (2012), children's (pupil's) beliefs and sense of identity are well formed by the age of five, and learning about culture, history and diversity in the early years is therefore crucial for 'the long-term development of a plural democracy that recognizes diversity and toleration' (Lusted, 2012).

Diversity and Heritage – Problem or Resource?

Although there are some differences among ethnic Norwegian families in regard to values, norms and daily behaviour, most ethnic Norwegian children and their families still have much in common through shared language and other cultural and historical references. Thus, it has been possible to teach a cultural heritage that most people have felt connected to across other cultural differences. However, during the last decades, many Norwegian ECCs have received more children from other parts of the world, with little knowledge and ties to what ethnic Norwegians have perceived as Norwegian heritage. The ECCs have become culturally diverse in other ways than before, and this makes the work with heritage in ECCs far more challenging.

The concept of heritage is difficult to define and is not without controversy (Harrison, 2012), but most people would probably agree that it is about preserving something of the past. This article will focus on how teaching heritage can be continued by including both knowledge and experiences related to 'old days' and heritage from the perspective of today's society; the article will also focus on how the multicultural society has both new limits and opportunities for this teaching.

A distinction is often made between tangible and intangible heritage (Moen & Buaas, 2012). Intangible cultural heritage is defined as 'oral traditions, performing arts, and rituals'. Tangible cultural heritage is physical remains such as monuments, archaeological sites, and sculptures (UNESCO, 2003). Tangible and intangible heritage must be considered from the perspective of constant changes in culture and in ways of living. In an era of the resolution of traditions and cultural dissolution, it is natural to seek for a source of new roots, identity and life orientation. Diversity in culture and values requires an open and dynamic view of culture and heritage, where heritage is shaped and constructed in a dialogue between the present and the past. Heritage is thus not something given and unchangeable, but rather, it should be viewed as cultural experience in use. (Stugu, 2008, p. 138).

The past can be explored by exploring cultural expressions or tracks from the near and distant past. This may be in the shape of clothing, cuisine, art and architecture, toys, buildings or representations and practices such as language, songs, music and stories. Traditions are related to patterns and repetitions that are assigned value. They might also be perceived negatively when they contribute to exclusion or do not give space for innovation. Thus, in a culturally diverse ECC, the staff's awareness of values and their choice of content are very important.

ECCs might use various strategies to handle cultural diversity. A problem-oriented focus primarily involves concentrating on the problems and difficulties that a multicultural community might cause. In contrast, a resource focus strategy involves viewing diversity as a resource and as a source of knowledge, experiences and further development without neglecting the challenges of multiculturalism (Lauritsen, 2011, pp. 59-60). This might also be a useful perspective when studying the work with heritage in ECCs. In addition to analysing the ECCs' practice and understanding of heritage from such a perspective, it might serve as a starting point for discussions about how ECCs might teach heritage that is inclusive and focuses on community and diversity rather than emphasizing culture and traditions as distinctions among groups of people.

Heritage as Part of the Formation Process

The term 'formation' (from the German 'Bildung') is one of four key concepts in the Norwegian Framework Plan together with care, play and learning. Hence, one cannot discuss learning cultural heritage in the ECCs without addressing it in the context of formation. The Framework Plan pinpoints that through a good formation process, children will be able to handle life, develop their ability to be experimental and curious in the outside world and see themselves as a members of a broader democratic community. (Ministry of Education and Research, 2012, p. 15). According to Klafki formation is about learning content and about the development of critical thinking, aesthetic appreciation, moral judgements and one's ability to learn or obtain information (Klafki, 1963; Klafki, Ritzki, & Stübzig, 2013). Formation depends on having learned about something, having learnt from or through something and having gained new ways of thinking as well as new manners.

Løvlie (2003) proposed what he defined as an 'extended concept of formation', adapted to a society characterized by modern technology and cultural diversity. In this concept, he draws a direct link between formation and heritage, and this is also linked to the cultural diversity of society. According to him, formation has three aspects; 'the traditional introduction to heritage, the critical processing or reception of this heritage, and the ability to cope with diversity or difference emotionally and intellectually' (Løvlie, 2003). Together with an understanding of learning heritage, a critical approach to the concept of heritage, might, as a part of the formation process, yield concepts that can serve as analytical tools to analyse the empirical material of this study.

Formation is not only about qualifying the child to be a member of the existing society but also about making the child capable of participation in a renewal of society. This means that formation has to be an active process in which the person not only receives the culture that is being passed on but also acts as a critical and constructive contributor (Broström, Hansen, Gudem, Ulshagen, & Sunde, 2004). The Norwegian Framework Plan states that children have the right to express themselves and influence all aspects of life in the ECC, according to the UN Children's Convention. Formation and participation can be regarded as reciprocal processes in which the children develop a positive relationship with themselves and their own learning. Formation and participation can thus help children to develop respect and understanding for what is different. (Ministry of Education and Research, 2012).

For children ages 0-6 years, formation processes are often part of play, care and learning situations in the home, the ECC or the community. They take place through direct and corporal encounters with the outside world, in which the children explore and marvel, express themselves, make friends, and participate. Children also develop their identity through play (Ministry of Education and Research, 2012). Learning about cultural heritage can also be seen as a search for identity (Harrison, 2012); thus, one can consider the formation process, development of identity and learning about cultural heritage to be interconnected.

Children, parents and teachers, all with different cultural backgrounds, meet in the ECCs. There, they learn to respect each other's traditions, 'yours' and 'mine'. However, they also create something that is 'ours'. Thus, during the multifaceted formation processes that take place in the ECCs and between the ECCs and society, new communities, roots and identities are created.

Methodology

This research has a qualitative design based on interviews with 10 pedagogical leaders and directors of ECCs. They work in five public ECCs in two urban Norwegian municipalities. Nine of them are Norwegian, and one is from another Nordic country. The sample was strategically selected to include centres that have at least some children with non-Western backgrounds. The directors were included in the research because they are the senior pedagogical leaders of the centres and thus might have an overall perspective on teaching heritage in the centres. The concept of a 'pedagogical leader' is the Norwegian term for teachers of a group of children in the centre. The pedagogical leaders also lead the assistants' work with this group of children.

Semi-structured interviews, based on an interview guide with open questions, were conducted in 2013. The participants were asked particularly about how they understand the concept of cultural heritage, how they teach cultural heritage, the teaching methods and tools and what type of principles and criteria this work is based on. The interviews, which lasted for 1-1.5 hours, were recorded using a digital recorder with a subsequent transcription. This resulted in approximately 280 pages of text. The text was categorized according to what the participants highlighted as particularly important, and an emphasis was placed on things that at least two of the participants highlighted.

There will always be possible sources of error and methodological challenges related to collecting data with interviews (Kvale, 2007; Patton, 2002). For example, the participants will be affected by the interview situation and can give answers that they think are expected of them. Parts of the research are based on adults' impressions and interpretations of children's responses and on how staff perceives the different ways in which children might express their understanding. Staff might interpret the children's response based on what they themselves want to hear as feedback. It is also possible to misunderstand or misinterpret the children. The staff might read more into children's expressions than there is reason for, but they might also underestimate children and their ability to understand. There are also great differences in how children respond to experiences and how they communicate this to adults. Children who are active, talkative and have a trusting relationship with the adults will increasingly be noticed, and there is a risk that staff will gain less insight into the understanding of children who are more quiet and cautious. Because of this, it is particularly important to consider the material critically, especially when statements about children's outcomes and understanding are considered.

Results and Discussion

Teachers' understanding of cultural heritage

The ECC is supposed to teach children about cultural heritage. Hence, a natural starting point for our study was to examine the teachers' views on the concept of cultural heritage. A main finding is that the majority of the respondents did not present a strict definition or a clear perception of the concept. With one exception, the director of a Sami ECC, they seemed to lack a firm understanding of the concept of cultural heritage.

The teachers had scarcely any common understanding of the concept of heritage. There were several diverging beliefs, but most of the respondents presented private definitions of the concept, and tied heritage to personal experiences. It was given vague and general or rather obscure definitions; some expressed that heritage is 'the values we have with us from childhood'. They talked about private experiences and their own childhood memories when they tried to elaborate on the content of cultural heritage. They emphasized what they

personally appreciated and not what they experienced to have in common with others. This can be interpreted as lacking a reflective and critical attitude towards cultural heritage. It is an understanding of cultural heritage that is emotionally based and privatized, and there was no common understanding of heritage in the centres. Some of the respondents linked heritage to the *Norwegian* national cultural heritage, but in general, heritage was not seen as an expression of a national culture or as part of a common, shared culture. It was connected to private experiences and memories.

In general, the respondents had a vague concept of heritage. However, there were some respondents who presented a very specific or restricted definition of heritage by trying to connect heritage to concrete cultural elements. They mentioned specific artists, authors or books that they had a personal relationship with in their childhood. However, these were not necessarily Norwegian books or authors; for example, some of the teachers included Swedish children's books written by Astrid Lindgren in their concept of cultural heritage. However, even if they managed to concretise the content in this way, it was not a comprehensive or thoughtful definition; rather, it seemed to be random and personal. Thus, it underlines the main finding, which is a lack of consciousness concerning cultural heritage.

To the extent that concrete elements of heritage were specified, the collection of concrete elements consisted mainly of what can be seen as intangible heritage (UNESCO 2003); these elements were connected to music and literature. This corresponds with earlier research (Moen & Buaas, 2012) indicating that ECC staff express a stronger confidence in working with intangible heritage. However, as will be discussed later, this partly contradicts their practice in the ECCs, which also includes tangible heritage. Overall, the elements of heritage seem to have been chosen uncritically and there were no clear criteria for selection of content.

Methods and tools in teaching cultural heritage

Even though the teachers did not express a clear perception of cultural heritage, this did not mean that the ECCs did not teach heritage. They had developed a variety of methods and tools to teach culture and traditions. Several teachers emphasized that pedagogical activities related to diversity were not limited to shorter projects but were a permanent part of the ECC's activity. However, activities that included learning about heritage and traditions took many forms. Some could be conducted as a project for a few hours, a day or a longer period.

One of the motivations for conducting this study was the assumption that teaching history in culturally diverse ECCs could be problematic. However, the teachers indicated that they had experienced relatively few problems related to the subject, and they expressed a resource-orientated attitude towards multiculturalism (Lauritsen, 2011). They seemed to have little problem with national or religious holidays or feasts. Neither religion nor gender was a topic that challenged the teachers or seemed to cause problems. In connection with St. Lucia celebration and Christmas, several ECCs sent groups of children to the local church, without experiencing any negative reactions from parents. Most centres celebrated both Norwegian National Day, 17 May, and United Nations Day, 24 October.

In the daily pedagogical work with heritage, all of the ECCs to a large degree used resources from the local community. This was dependent on the types of resources that existed in the community, but the ECCs were generally very good at adopting local resources. Examples of these were buildings, public institutions or historical persons with ties to the community. One of the ECCs in this study was located close to the Munch Museum in Oslo, so they felt it was convenient to have a close connection to the museum and to include Edvard Munch and his art into the didactic work in the ECC.

But of course – Munch – is the one topic that is quite like that ... close – the Munch Museum is right over here. We even got a picture – it hangs there – when we opened the ECC (...). But it is easy to use when it is in the neighbourhood. We can walk there; we can go and visit the place where Munch lived once upon a time.

In the local community, the ECC could find culture to which all children had a connection, regardless of cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Thus, the culture of the local community constitutes a 'common culture'. It can connect history and the present, both traditional Norwegian culture and other cultural expressions. Here, the children can become acquainted with both tangible and intangible culture by encountering persons, capitals, buildings, music, literature, theatre and museums. Instead of emphasizing cultural distinctions, through an emphasis on the local community and the shared culture, the ECC is able to teach heritage based on cohesion, diversity and common elements shared by all cultures (Rüsen, 2007). In this way, ECCs can also develop a common identity connected to their common affiliation with the local community. The ECCs did use resources in the local environment, although in many cases, this was done for practical reasons and not as a result of thoughtful planning.

As Moen & Buaas (2012) found, intangible heritage – song, music, dance and stories – are what ECC staff felt most competent working with. These were the most common methods and means of conveying heritage in the ECCs in this study. For the most part, they sang Norwegian songs, a finding that corresponds with another recent study (Andersen, 2011). However, several of the teachers stated that they also sang songs from the home countries of immigrant children, but this was conducted in a rather arbitrary way. Music is a very convenient way for the staff to convey heritage, but it is also an activity that the children can easily participate in. However, according to the Framework Plan's meaning of this concept, music can only be described as 'children's participation' to a certain degree. Participation in this respect does not only mean children taking part, it also means that children and their families should contribute with their own cultural expressions and take part in the selection of content (Ministry of Education and Research, 2012, p. 15).

Several teachers expressed a desire to become better acquainted with the children and their families and wanted parents' opinions on what was being implemented in the ECCs. It was common for the ECCs to invite parents and families into the centre at various occasions. One of the centres had experienced that focus on food had proven to be a good way to gather children and parents. The centre asked parents to present their own country and culture at gatherings called 'parents' coffee' and to bring food from their home countries. The food project made it easy for them to participate and to present their backgrounds.

But some cultures keep very much on to their culture (...) they stick together, so to speak, and that is positive. (...) But we highlight the different nationalities where the kids come from, to have some arrangement around it. Come and talk with parents – how is it – what music do you like? What food are you making? What clothes, everything like that – So we make that kind of gathering.

As mentioned earlier, 'formation' is a central concept in the Framework Plan. However, neither the cultural content of formation nor the requirements in regard to pedagogical work with culture and cultural heritage is very clearly expressed in the plan. In one of the ECCs, there was an example of pedagogical work that could illustrate Løvlie's (2003) concept of 'extended formation' and could support both formation and teaching of heritage and give it a concrete context in a culturally diverse environment.

The centre conducted a project about 'Primstaven', which is an ancient Norwegian calendar stick. These wooden sticks have been used for several hundred years and were engraved with images that depicted the different religious holidays or feasts. The children made sticks, and in addition to the traditional holidays, they also engraved days that meant something special to them. They also included days or feasts that they celebrated from other countries or talked about in the centre, e.g., Chinese New Year. They also made marks for things they had experienced in the ECC, e.g., trips they had been on. The centre took an old Norwegian tradition as the starting point but connected the past and the present, connecting Norwegian traditions with traditions from other countries; they made it something common that all the children could share whether or not they had a Norwegian background.

... we created an annual program that was based on the calendar stick, which is somehow the Norwegian or Norse culture. Then, we could tie both Norse mythology, we can tie into religions and stuff like that. But the idea was not, was not the Norse and stuff, that was one approach, but it was highlighting anniversaries. And instead of taking a calendar stick that is produced ready for use, we would create our own; and so we created feasts and anniversaries, this could be Chinese New Year or Id, or it could be a birthday.

The Calendar stick was developed in dialogue with the children. They created one very long calendar stick where the children marked each anniversary on the stick. In addition, each child also made his/her own smaller personal edition of the stick. The centre tied the calendar stick to the ECC's annual plan, and it was used actively throughout the year.

The example of the calendar stick is exemplary in many ways. This is a way of conveying national cultural heritage to children in a very concrete way. At the same time, it is relevant to the present. The children participated in an active manner, worked with a physical object from Norwegian heritage and made the tradition their own. The children created something new together. It was also made international and connected to the multicultural environment of the ECC. This example thus fulfils all three of Løvlie's (2003) criteria, 'extended concept of formation', as it implies a traditional introduction to heritage, a critical and innovative processing of this heritage, and its actualization for the culturally diverse community.

Cultural diversity as problem or resource

Only to a small degree did the interviewees reflect on the cultural differences between children in the centres. Essentially, they did not consider teaching heritage in ECCs with cultural diversity to be a major problem. They thought it was rewarding to be in an environment with children from different countries. This means they expressed what (Lauritsen, 2011, pp. 59-60) is characterized as a resource-oriented approach that entails diversity as a source of knowledge, experiences and development. The biggest challenge in the staff's opinion was related to language, not as a clash between cultures, but as a practical problem.

The ECCs experiences with cultural diversity varied. Cultural diversity is not a new phenomenon in either of the two municipalities; both have had a diversity of nationalities in the ECCs for some years. Hence, several ECCs have experience with this. It was more challenging in earlier years, when multiculturalism was new. Difficulties and uncertainty related to this have decreased as the ECCs have gained more experience and it has become routine to handle a diverse group of children, as this experienced pedagogical leader expressed:

We do not teach less (Norwegian traditions), but maybe we have other ways of teaching than what we had before. (...) Earlier, we had more of the pure Norwegian stuff because

we had not that many from other countries. (...) So personally, I do not think it has been somewhat difficult to convey Norwegian culture. (...) Now we have become more familiar with the different cultures. In general, society has indeed become more open about it, and there has been more of it, too. (...) And we also have more knowledge about things in a way – it is not so foreign anymore.

Even though the ECCs do not experience this as a problem, the work on cultural heritage lacks a firm basis in specified criteria and principles. In summary, the findings on how the teachers understand and teach cultural heritage is based on three main principles:

1. *An emotional and personal approach to heritage.* Understanding heritage is based on personal experiences, what the teachers remember from their own childhood and what arouses emotions in them.
2. *A situational and arbitrary selection of content.* The content of teaching is not based on firm criteria or on thorough assessments but on what happens to exist in or nearby the centre, such as a museum, a local author, or differences that exists in the ECC.
3. *Concrete activities are the starting point.* The teachers emphasize and prefer concrete activities that are enjoyable and can activate the children. They tend to choose these activities because they are possible or practical to conduct. The content is decided by the method.

The staff has a personal commitment; they take advantage of the centres' available resources and use amusing concrete methods. However, one can say that based on these principles, both content and methods are arbitrary. They lack criteria for selection of content and there is no overall plan or objective of the work. These principles, or one might rather say lack of principles, illustrate a lack of competence in the field. This is supported by studies by Moen and Buaas (2012) and Andersen (2011). The ECC's task is to continue conveying traditional Norwegian heritage while at the same time ensuring that the children gain knowledge, understanding and tolerance of other cultures and traditions. However, the Framework Plan specifies nothing about the content of this learning; this is up to the staff to determine.

One way to overcome this challenge can be through emphasis on Løvlie's (2003) extended concept of formation, which emphasizes traditions, critical assessment and the ability to understand and appreciate diversity. Formation is, as noted earlier, a central concept in the Framework Plan. In Løvlie's concept of formation, cultural heritage cannot be something static; it is dynamic and evolving. This does not mean that the cultural heritage is dissolving. Traditions should be kept alive, but one should also have the courage to discard parts of heritage and renew it.

When selecting heritage content that is being passed on to the next generation, three simultaneous and interconnected processes are involved: repeat, reject and renew. To convey heritage is not just to repeat the old substance but also to reflect upon it and to renew it. This involves knowledge of tradition and at the same a critical transcendence of it. It can also include an emphasis on both the traditional Norwegian cultural heritage and cultures from minority groups. In the ECC, one can give children knowledge and experience during encounters with different cultures. They can gain knowledge in their own traditions and in other cultures as well as an understanding of the similarities and of what is common across cultural borders. This corresponds with Løvlie's (2003) concept of formation. This means taking care of cultural heritage at the same time as one is critical to this heritage and is willing to participate in a meeting between traditions. Lusted points out that 'Education can be a good way of avoiding

the pitfalls of stereotyping.’ (Lusted, 2012, p. 151). Attitudes are formed very early in life. It is therefore important to develop understanding and respect for cultural diversity in early childhood.

Implications for practice

This study shows that there is a need for increased competence and theoretical knowledge among the ECC staff. To improve the teaching of heritage, it is important that the teachers’ emotional and private experiences become subject to critical reflections. Løvlie’s (2003) concept of formation, emphasizing a critical attitude, could be a helpful tool to gain a more comprehensive and fruitful concept of cultural heritage. In this way of approaching formation and heritage, it would be possible to develop a critical attitude towards the selection of content that deals with diversity intellectually and not only emotionally.

Teaching heritage in multicultural ECCs will thus include preserving and maintaining the best traditional teaching of heritage, while the pedagogical work also must be renewed, developed and adapted to more culturally heterogeneous groups of children. The same applies to the content of cultural heritage, which is about placing a value on that which is worth preserving, rejecting or neglecting what has less value, and adding new items.

Children’s participation is necessary to accomplish the goals of ‘consciousness about their own heritage and participation in other cultures’ and ‘respectful interaction between different ethnic groups’ (Ministry of Education and Research, 2012, p. 36). Participation from both children and their parents is needed to gain insight into their own considerations of culture and traditions. Those in the minority have to contribute. It would also be constraining if each ECC community were divided into specific cultural groups and made artificial borders, borders that are not necessarily visible or natural to the children. Rösen (2007) suggests a theory of culture that avoids the constraints of ethnocentrism. ‘Ethnocentrism is theoretically dissolved if the specifics of a culture are understood as a combination of elements that are shared by all cultures.’ (Rösen, 2007, p. 30). This idea of considering common elements will also be an important basis for the ECCs’ work with cultural heritage.

Conclusion

This article discussed teaching cultural heritage in some culturally diverse ECCs in Norway. There is clearly a lack of conscious teaching of cultural content, and the teaching is not based on specific criteria or clear principles. The centres have developed a variety of methods and tools to teach culture and traditions, but the content and methods were chosen rather arbitrarily. Developing competence is necessary, both among teachers in the field and in early childhood teacher education. Although there is a long way to go to obtain a balanced and varied teaching of cultural heritage, this work provides a clear understanding of what is already being done in the ECCs today. As Gjervan (2006) notes, it is not about stopping what is already going on but about adding something more to what is already there.

Correspondence

Yngve Skjæveland
e-mail: yngve.skjaeveland@ntnu.no

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STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF A MORAL AND VALUE BASED LESSON IN RELATION TO THEIR PERSONAL SELVES: THE MASSACRE AT MY LAI

Jeffrey M. Byford, The University of Memphis, Tennessee USA

Sean M. Lennon, Valdosta State University, Georgia, USA

Sarah Smilowitz, South Mecklenburg High School, Charlotte, North Carolina, USA

Abstract

In the past decade teachers in the United States have essentially been forced to limit content and lessons taught due to high-stakes testing. As the testing movement evolves, teachers are forced to find creative and innovative methods to teach inquiry skills and values without removing all aspects of the curriculum. Integrating the cognitive and affective domains through historical empathy, the authors explore the concept of moral dilemmas as one possible method to avoid the "drill and grill" method often faced by teachers.

Key Words

Affective domain, Assessment driven pedagogy, Citizenship, Cognitive domain, Controversial issues, Ethics, Harvard Social Studies Project, Historical empathy, Inquiry, Massacre, Moral dilemmas, Morality, My Lai, Pedagogy, Social Studies, Testing, USA, Vietnam War, Vietnam

Introduction

In the past decade, the United States has experienced a phenomenon in the rise and prevalence of high stakes testing. The increased presence of high-stakes testing has effectively changed the pedagogical landscape of the social studies classroom, with the limited coverage given to non-tested materials. According to David (2011), social studies curriculum taught influences efficiently and illustrates a direct correlation to standardized testing outcomes. As high-stakes testing continues to evolve, the social studies teacher must find creative ways to increase critical inquiry and problem-solving skills to improve test scores without removing all aspects of the curriculum or students diverse learning styles. By integrating both cognitive and affective domains through the use of historical empathy involving moral dilemmas, it is believed students might increase in participation, content retention and student achievement (Smilowitz, 2014). In an effort to combat the stigma faced by teachers 'drilling and grilling' students via direct instruction, textbook readings and worksheets, the authors explored the concept of moral dilemmas and historical empathy as one possible means to improve student interest.

Review of Literature

The concept of measuring students' attitudes and perceptions of historical events and dilemmas is not a new. Researchers found the use of value dilemmas on historical events and the use of historical empathy improved students' ability to think at higher skill levels, discuss issues with peers, and to reflect upon various competing decisions (Yilmaz, 2007; Kellenberger, 2001; Byford & Russell, 2006; McMurray, 2007; Cashman & Young, 2009; and Todd & Beery, 1982).

The term historical empathy or perspective taking is often defined and associated with "the ability to see and entertain as conditionally appropriate connections between intentions, circumstances, and actions, and see how any particular perspective would actually have affected actions in special circumstances" (Lee & Ashby, 2001, p. 25). One possible

misconception of historical empathy is associated with the cognitive skills of the student. Boddington (1980) suggests empathy is a complex blend of thinking and feeling, and the mere notion of empathy itself cannot be achieved without the positive attitude and cognitive skills required to understand other points of views. In fact, historical empathy lies at the core of historical inquiry. To practice historical empathy, students should have the ability to:

- 1) project their thoughts and feelings into a historical situation;
- 2) distinguish the historical period from their own;
- 3) utilize reference materials or sources;
- 4) present the person or situation to illustrate the circumstances of the case or dilemma; and
- 5) can be cognitive of the misunderstanding, conflict or tragedy (Portal, 1987).

One method of historical empathy and moral dilemmas is the wounded prisoner lesson found within the Harvard Social Studies Project. Designed to 'teach high school students of average ability to clarify and justify their positions on public issues,' the 1960s based project specialized in curriculum that required students to examine and analyze historical, moral dilemmas that can develop to social conflict. Project developers, Oliver and Newmann (1969) indicated by exploring a variety of situations throughout history and across cultures in terms of different social science concepts and theories, students might "gain certain powers of analysis that will aid them in discussing value dilemmas on which public controversy thrives" (p.9). Student's study is approached through:

- 1) public controversy in terms of prescriptive, descriptive, and analytical issues;
 - 2) the use of distinct strategies for justification and clarification of one's views on such issues; and
 - 3) systematic attention to the discussion process when dealing with a controversial issue.
- Curriculum materials do not provide students with ready-made, right or wrong answers to social and historical problems. The concept of discussion of value-laden historically related events encourages students to actively engage in the curriculum and issues to become more meaningful and relevant to students' everyday lives (Hess, 2001; Torney-Purta, et al. 2002).

Certain periods in United States history, specifically, the Vietnam War, are covered sparingly on high-stakes tests, often resulting in minimal lectures, readings, and worksheets; suggesting little student interaction or in-depth analysis of significant issues or events (Rapoport, 2006; Smilowitz, 2014). As the current and former history teachers, we found students often had disconnected views toward controversial and historical events throughout the Vietnam War. While students could memorize content through rote memorization, they often lacked the ability to identify, analyze and make values-based decisions when confronted with historically inspired moral and value dilemmas. As a result, by infusing dilemmas into our instruction, we provided students the opportunity to learn at a critical level and to further investigate and react to events encountered in the Vietnam War.

One example associated with a moral reasoning was the massacre at My Lai in 1968. On the 16th of March, 1968, in the Vietnamese village of My Lai, more than 100 women, children and old men were killed by American soldiers of Charlie Company, First Battalion in the 23rd Infantry Division. Lieutenant William Calley, originally from Miami Florida, was in command of the company. It was later charged that these victims were innocent civilians, that they did not put up a fight and that many were lined in a ditch and brutally murdered. Lieutenant Calley was accused of ordering the killing of these people and of personally committing many of the executions himself. The United States Army called the event a 'tragedy of significant

proportions', but was Lt. Calley the sole individual to blame? Alternatively, is there some culpability or even explanation, possibly attributing to the atrocity?

Reports suggest villagers were warned that American troops would be coming through; for this reason anyone remaining in the area could have potentially been considered as a supporter of the enemy. Also, soldiers who fought in Vietnam commonly indicated you could not tell enemies from friends simply by looking at them and that it was common for women and children to carry weapons and sometimes to attack American troops (Lockwood, 1972). Defined as guerrilla style tactics, this is utilised by a weaker military fighting force through unconventional means against a superior military, occupying power. Useful in areas controlled or monitored by an enemy military presence, this strategy utilises soldiers, and civilians, attacking before disappearing back into the civilian population. The term 'asymmetrical warfare' has coined this guerrilla type of insurgency, similar to Vietnam, where there was no clear-cut distinction between friend and foe, or a front line of combat.

Understanding how students' reason and respond to war-related moral dilemmas has the potential to better inform classroom teachers of alternative methods of presenting war-related issues that provides students with a balance of historical and methodical investigation of historical related-events developed through imaginative speculation (Davis, Yeager, and Foster, 2001). For this reason, the principal purpose of this study is to examine students' decisions and actions when presented with a fictional Vietnam related wartime scenario. More specifically, the objective of this study is an attempt to answer the following questions:

- a) How does a student relate or respond to a various actions and decisions associated with the scenario? In addition,
- b) Are there levels of difficulty associated with the affective domain in relation to a student's decision?

Sample Selection

At the time of the activity, 218 students were enrolled in eight United States history classes in a suburban high school outside a large, south-eastern city. Eventually, 197 completed instruments, see below, were returned, providing a 90% return rate. Based on the authors' proximity, knowledge of the school's academic setting, and trustworthiness of experienced veteran teachers, two teachers and their classes were purposely selected to give a lesson titled "The Wasting of a Village" while discussing the political, social and international events during the United States involvement in the Vietnam War. In a single setting, students considered the value of human life during the time of war then asked to fill out a simple questionnaire. This lesson was neither a formative or summative assessment assignment; students were informed they did not have to complete the survey if they found it objectionable and no points or penalties were assigned. The activity was conducted in one 60-minute classroom setting.

Method

After the initial discussion period, students were then asked to read a short fictional narrative (Appendix A) depicting an American, Marine unit under fire from enemy combatants in Vietnam. The squad successfully repels the attack but later finds a wounded enemy soldier. Quickly applying first aid for the man they discover at the same time that a large enemy force is rapidly approaching. They need to return quickly to the safety of their base. After carrying the prisoner, it becomes evident to the commanding officer that his presence is severely slowing them down and jeopardizing their security.

The prompt ends and the students are then asked a series of nine questions, consisting of six simple four-point Likert scales and three, seven-point Semantic Differential scales. Such scales are useful in measuring related characteristics or concepts in a series of units of measurement (Creswell, 2008). For simplicity, the scales, as measured in questions one, three, four, six, eight and nine, are nominal in measurement and are defined by descriptive statistics, primarily of percentages. However, questions two, three and seven have seven choices and are defined as an ordinal measurement as these issues better measure the difficulty in making a decision. Developed between two opposing concepts, the respondents had seven choices, ranging from 'extremely easy' (to decide) as number one to 'impossible' as number seven; providing a continuous scale and stronger probability of the choices being equal in value by defining data in any other way besides descriptive (Creswell, 2008). These scales were placed after the Likert questions where students had been asked to make ethically difficult decisions.

As prefaced in the prompt, the students faced ethical quandaries to rationalize and develop their reasoning. First, is the decision concerning the injured man their responsibility? Second, how does this relate to their fellow soldiers? Do the Marines portrayed equally, or more, or possibly even less to the life of the suspected prisoner? All of these are ethical quandaries or koans, where there is no apparent or truly, 'right' or 'wrong', answer. Also, the students had just finished a discussion of the morality of war situations, presumably priming them for the questionnaire.

Analysis and Discussion

In question one students were simply asked if they would:

- (1) execute the prisoner,
- (2) take the prisoner with them,
- (3) leave prisoner behind or
- (4) just not sure of any of the choices (See Table 1).

For the action of 'executing the prisoner' 20 students, responded yes, which equated to a percentage of 10% of the total. To 'take the prisoner' with the patrol illustrated nine responses for 5%, while 'leaving the prisoner' behind composed 49% of the decisions or 96 votes totalled. 'Not sure' was next with 71 students checking this field for about 36% of the sample.

TABLE 1 – Question One: Which of the following actions would you probably do as the lieutenant in this situation?

	Question/Prompt	Number of responses	Percentage of responses
1	Execute prisoner	20	10%
2	Take prisoner	9	5%
3	Leave Prisoner	96	49%
4	Not sure	71	36%

Leaving the prisoner behind is somewhat surprising as the prisoner knows valuable military information. Students might assume the prisoner will succumb to his wounds before such information is provided to his peers; virtually freeing themselves from the burden of an injured man. They would probably make it home safe with nearly half of all the students polled responding with this option. Equally intriguing is the number of students unable (36%) to make a definitive decision regarding the prisoner. The authors assumed the 70 students might use this as an 'opt out' if the question was either too difficult to determine or avoided the action. However, a small minority, (10%) stated they would 'execute' the prisoner, followed by 5% or nine students taking the prisoner with them. This is an ethically 'firm' stance to take, regardless of the difference in responding to a survey or actually committing the action. This population has been identified in previous research and is worth noticing as the next two questions progress (Lennon & Byford, 2011).

Question two consisted of the first of the seven-point semantic scales with this one asking students the difficulty in making their choice in question one. The range of responses measured from one to seven (See Appendix A). One illustrated the most comfort or ease while seven marked the more difficult or most uncomfortable range for the students in making their decision. Findings suggest the students found the question to be somewhat complicated with a mean score of 3.6, being centred on the scales. The standard deviation was 1.4 with limited skewness on the bell curve, leaning slightly right, or towards the more uncomfortable choice. Sixty-two percent of the respondents registered a three, four, and five in relation to the actions of the lieutenant. For the outliers, only one student indicated the decision was impossible to make (#7), leaving 15 students or almost 8% suggesting their decisions were extremely easy (#1).

Question three added some potential 'weight' to a variable; negatively impacting the prisoner while possibly enhancing the status or numerical value for the Marines. Here, via communication with a higher commander, the lieutenant, is ordered to go ahead and execute the prisoner. The choices for the students following the prompt are:

- (1) execute the prisoner,
- (2) take the prisoner with them,
- (3) leave prisoner behind or
- (4) not sure, but now with the added 'weight' of an order from a superior (See Table 2).

As anticipated this shifted student's responses but not in the direction anticipated.

TABLE 2 – Question Three: If you were ordered by your superiors (over the radio) to execute the prisoner would you:

	Question/Prompt	Number of responses	Percentage of responses
1	Execute prisoner	29	15%
2	Take prisoner	22	11%
3	Leave Prisoner	31	16%
4	Not sure	115	58%

A significantly high proportion (85%) of students self-reported an unwillingness to take this action. Only 10% responded to executing the prisoner in the first question with just 15% for question three. The difference was minimal with just nine added students. The effect did not have any significant impact on students' perceived inclination to execute the prisoner. Instead, it may have added weight towards that of the prisoner. Choice two, or 'take prisoner', saw more respondents with 22 students compared to only nine in question one. This is in confrontation with the superior officer's order as bringing the man back does put the Marines at risk.

Possibly the students answering here are 'rejecting' the order out of moral concerns and by openly defying the order. For the third response, 'leave the prisoner', only 31 students chose this answer, 65 fewer than for question one or a 33% drop between the questions. This was the only response to losing numbers with the difference dispersed among the other three categories. The last, I am 'not sure' response recorded 115 respondents, however, for a positive gain of 44 votes to only 21, increasing in the 'execute prisoner' and 'take prisoner' categories. This last choice was 58% of the total student population. It would appear many students struggled with the moral quandary as defined here with most opting out with the non-definitive, unsure category or choice.

TABLE 4 – Question Four: Would your decision be different if you found the prisoner was a high ranking officer?

	Question/Prompt	Number of responses	Percentage of responses
1	No	27	14%
2	Probably not	88	44%
3	Yes	37	19%
4	Not sure	45	23%

In this question, another layer to the moral dilemma was added though the question differed slightly. Here the respondent is still under the assumption there is an order and some rationale to execute the prisoner or not, but the student is given additional information before being asked if this would change their mind (to how they answered in question three). The additional information that the captive was a high ranking enemy officer could weigh positively towards him. Interestingly though both 'no' and 'probably not' received 115 responses for approximately 58% of the total. For the majority of the students, this new information did not alter their course of action identified in question three. However, 37 students did acknowledge knowing the prisoner's military rank and stature potentially persuaded their actions. Nearly a quarter of the population or 23% responded in the 'not sure' category, indicating a sizeable minority continued to struggle with the question.

Question five consisted of the next seven-point scale. The question asked students if their ideas and concerns were different from their superiors, and how easy or hard would it be for them to disobey an order? This action attempts to correlate the difficulty of the moral choice of execution to that of disobeying an officer (to execute), in the student's minds. The premise examined a recorded difference with the added dimensions of the officer's order and the student's morality to accept or refuse the task. Student responses were similar to question two though with a

slightly higher degree of severity. The mean (4.2) with a standard deviation of 1.5 is similar to question two, most respondents selected categories three, four, and five, totalling 63%. Only nine students found the question extremely comfortable, closely mirroring the ten students who found it 'impossible' to answer.

It is also similar to question two as this issue (5) was found to be statistically correlated to the other by a Pearson Rho (r^0) statistic run by an Analyze-It software analysis program. Determined by the students' t-value to be correlated, the Pearson Rho statistic illustrated a 0.26, or a weak, positive correlation. Students found the level of difficulty to be similar to both questions. They interpreted the difficulty in the basic scenario of what to do with the wounded prisoner as no easier or difficult regardless if the decision was made with or without orders from a higher level or commanding officer.

TABLE 5 – Question Six: Are you willing to risk your life and/or your men's for the prisoner?

	Question/Prompt	Number of responses	Percentage of responses
1	No	20	10%
2	Probably not	10	5%
3	Yes	70	36%
4	Not sure	97	49%

Question six, a nominal four-point scale, asked students if they are willing to 'risk their lives and/or their men for the prisoner' (see Table 5). This question directly asks if the respondent would risk the lives of themselves and their men for that of the prisoner. Conceptually it is similar to question one but with the exception that students are directly asked if he or she is willing to sacrifice lives of their men versus saving an enemy combatant. While similar to question one, by altering the language, 36% more students answered yes, they were willing to sacrifice their lives as compared to only 5% or just nine respondents choosing 'taking the prisoner'. 'Not sure' also increased, possibly indicating greater difficulty in answering the question. Interestingly, 30 students, or 15% responded, with "No" and "Probably Not" in their willingness to risk their men's lives. The population answering to 'leave prisoner' and 'execute the prisoner' compared to 29 votes in a similar situation in question one. Based on student reaction, it appears that the same population of students remained consistent in their views towards their choices.

Question seven is the last of the Semantic Differentials. Here, following the Likert-scaled question asking if willing to risk lives for the prisoner, students are asked how hard it would be to make this decision. Unlike the previous two, the mean registered a 2.9 with a standard deviation of 1.7 suggesting relative student ease in the decision-making process. Only three students found this decision 'impossible' or less than 2%. Statistically student responses were different as well, when compared to question 5, with a Pearson Rho statistic of just 0.06 in addition to no statistically significant correlation.

Of particular interest is the relationship between questions six which asked students their willingness to risk their lives for the prisoner (see Table 5). In this dilemma, respondents had 'not sure' as the highest category with 97 votes or 49% of the population. Almost 46% of the

students answered either yes (36%) or no (10%) with 10% of the population being unsure of how to answer this question. Of interest, approximately 43% of the students found answering this question as challenging as compared with the last three scales in the Semantic Differential.

TABLE 6 – Question Eight: If told to execute the prisoner but you refused and still got all of your men (including the prisoner) to safety; should you be court marshaled (put on trial)?

	Question/Prompt	Number of responses	Percentage of responses
1	No	27	14%
2	Probably not	46	23%
3	Yes	42	21%
4	Not sure	82	42%

Question eight asks students ownership for their decision. In this issue, respondents are asked 'if told to execute the prisoner and refused but got everyone to safety (including the prisoner), should you be court-martialed for refusing an order? Eighty-two responses or 42% of students indicated they were 'not sure' if they should be punished followed by 46 or 23% indicating they 'probably shouldn't' be. On opposing ends of the spectrum, 42 students or 21% indicated their willingness for being held accountable for their actions compared to 27 students or 14% stating that no, they should not

Question nine asked a similar question as eight with the addition that some men had died to get back to their base, should you now stand trial for disobeying a direct order to execute the prisoner? In question eight, 'not sure' was the highest response tallied; now it was the lowest with only 17 respondents or just 9% of the population; illustrating the lowest 'not sure' totaled in the survey. The domain of 'probably not' went from 46 votes to 143 or 23% of the population to 72%. The students rallied around the decision, regardless of which one was made. Of all questions, students were in a near consensus in one particular to 'no', and 'probably not', accounting for 83% of students tallied. Of interest only 22 students stated 'no,' slightly less than in question eight, suggesting their decision was permanent or unwilling to define it adequately, while the 'yes' response rate dropped to only 15 students or 8% of the student population, respectfully.

TABLE 7 – Question Nine: If told to execute the prisoner but you refused, and some of your men were killed; should you be court marshaled (put on trial)?

	Question/Prompt	Number of responses	Percentage of responses
1	No	22	11%
2	Probably not	143	72%
3	Yes	15	8%
4	Not sure	17	9%

In seeming contrast, students struggled in answering question eight and seemingly finding solidarity in question nine. They rejected the option 'not sure', indicating less of a conflict and perhaps of an ethical stance. This option, possibly considered the 'out' for the students, was the only issue that never before illustrated a percentage of respondents under ten percent. Only once, in question four did the feeling of uncertainty drop below thirty percent. Rejecting the order was inconsistent if all participants were safe, but if losses were incurred the students often encountered a perceived level of 'honor' or 'ethics' in the denial of the act.

Conclusion

Overall, the findings from this study suggest students have some difficulty making decisions about value dilemmas; they struggle with critical analysis and lack the ability to think at higher levels. However, they show some interesting surprises in their ethos towards following orders and orders that are morally questionable. They are also reluctant to take responsibility or blame for their actions. There appeared to be a possible moderate, reverse effect of the superior officer ordering the execution as relatively few changed their mind in favor of the act but many more moved to the I 'don't know' category. The authority figure and subsequent order confused them, potentially via the morality and empathetic ambiguity or conflict, making the choices harder than they would like to admit. Despite their choices as to what they would do, the students were correlated in response to the ease of the questions themselves, potentially illustrating the lack of depth of the questioning or reasoning of the student. The first two of these scales did show a moderate difficulty but when it came to the third the students were very emphatic in answering yes, despite this was asking the same question as did question one. It did not correlate to question two, the other scale of difficulty. The difference could illustrate students confusion as to the wording, where question one asked to do an adverse action to a person, albeit a wounded enemy combatant, while six asked if willing to risk their men's lives, a construct not so morally ambiguous as it would seem (at least to them). Students could see the heroic and honour side of the combat scenario but struggled when it was presented with morally objectionable decisions.

The study examined the reasoning process of students in which historical empathy and value dilemmas were integrated into a short fictional narrative designed to foster higher-order critical thinking through classroom discussion and historical knowledge. According to Endacott & Sturtz (2014) the process of engaging students in historical thinking, and with empathy has significant curricular and dispositional benefits in history classrooms. Students lacking in critical thinking ability are unable to make informed decisions, unable to reason logically, and may lack educational motivation. For this reason, it is crucial that history teachers develop students' critical thinking skills to help guide them through the decision-making processes and with critical analysis (Marina & Halpern, 2011). History classrooms and student's stand to be energized by the power of history to foster inquiry, stimulate the analytic mind, shape perception, and deepen students' understandings of the past, themselves, and the contemporary world (Colby, 2008). By implementing lessons that include value dilemmas, historical empathy, and moral reasoning teachers will help foster students' decision-making ability (Taylor, E., Taylor, P., & Chow, 2013).

Correspondence

Jeffrey M. Byford
jmbyford@memphis.edu

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Appendix A

The Wounded Prisoner

Directions: Read the following paragraphs then answer the questions by filling in the appropriate circles.

On a search-and-destroy mission, a Marine platoon surprised a small band of Viet Cong – killing four and capturing one. The platoon leader radioed headquarters for orders. He was told that a large enemy force was moving into his area and that he should get back to his main base. After a few miles, it became apparent that transporting the wounded prisoner was forcing the platoon to move at half its normal speed. The lieutenant feared that they would be overtaken by the enemy force and that the whole platoon would be lost.

At first the lieutenant was considering leaving the wounded Viet Cong in the jungle, but one of his men made a remarkable discovery. The Viet Cong prisoner understood English, and he had heard, during the radio discussions, vital information about American troop placement and strategy. Now the lieutenant was not sure what he should do.

Questions:

- Which of the following actions would you probably do as the lieutenant in this situation?

<input type="radio"/> (A) Execute the prisoner	<input type="radio"/> (B) Take the prisoner with them
<input type="radio"/> (C) Leave the prisoner	<input type="radio"/> (D) Not sure

- How difficult was the last question for you to make? Indicate on the scale below from 1 to 7; left for easy and right for difficult.

●							●
①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	
Extremely Easy						Impossible	

- If you were ordered by your superiors (over the radio) to execute the prisoner would you:

<input type="radio"/> (A) Execute the prisoner	<input type="radio"/> (B) Take the prisoner with them
<input type="radio"/> (C) Leave the prisoner	<input type="radio"/> (D) Not sure

- Would your decision be any different if you discovered the prisoner was a ranking enemy officer with valuable enemy information?

<input type="radio"/> (A) No, I would do the same	<input type="radio"/> (B) Probably would not change
<input type="radio"/> (C) Probably would change	<input type="radio"/> (D) Not sure

*STIMULATING HISTORICAL THINKING IN A COLLABORATIVE LEARNING TASK:
AN ANALYSIS OF STUDENT TALK AND WRITTEN ANSWERS*

Harry Havekes, Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands

Carla van Boxtel, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Peter-Arno Coppen, Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands

Johan Luttenberg, Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands

Abstract

This study investigates how a collaborative learning task in history, designed to trigger domain-specific thinking, can stimulate high quality student talk and answers and how the task, student talk and student answers are related. We developed a collaborative task that was tested in two cycles. Students worked in pairs on an odd-one-out task with additional questions in which they had to construct a historical context. Our analysis of the student talk of 65 dyads, focusing on the collaborative nature of the talk and the discussion of multiple perspectives, gave insight in how the students constructed a historical context. Our analysis of the written answers, focusing on the use of domain-related concepts and the construction of relationships, made it possible to describe what kind of historical context the students constructed. Chi-square tests gave insight into the relationships between the task, the talk and the written answers.

The results show that specific stimuli in the task can lead to different kind of student talk and can help to construct high quality answers. Results also indicate that students have problems with the specialized language of the domain and that the epistemological stance of the students remains problematic, mainly because students do not seem to be aware of the multiple perspectives needed to construct a historical context.

Keywords

Collaborative talk/dialogue, Concepts – domain specific, propositional/substantive, Historical contextualization, Historical thinking – qualitative, Research – grounded theory

Introduction

Domain specific thinking is an important goal for school subjects. Educators want students to use procedures, methods and concepts specific to a domain. Learning domain specific thinking is about constructing and integrating new knowledge into existing knowledge in such a way that it does justice to the nature of the domain. In this sense we follow McPeck (1990) who argued that thinking is dominated by the content and skills of a specific domain and that thinking should therefore be taught through a domain, rather than by teaching general thinking skills. Smith (2002a) among others defines domain specific thinking as the application of domain-specific declarative knowledge (knowing) in a domain-specific task. In this view, domain-specific procedural knowledge is necessary to complete the task. Smith identifies the task as a dominant force in triggering domain-specific thinking.

Domain specific thinking is difficult for students, particularly in ill-structured domains like history, because they seem to lack well-developed insight into what is needed for such thinking (Lee, 2004; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Reznitskaya et al., 2001; Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2004; Wineburg, 2001) (Reznitskaya et al., 2001). Bernstein (1999) characterises ill-structured domains, such as history, as domains with a horizontal knowledge structure, where knowledge has few systematic

organising principles and is context dependent. In these domains new knowledge is constructed and integrated by placing it beside, next to or in opposition to existing knowledge. This calls for a specific style of argumentation where new or alternative knowledge is validated through challenging existing knowledge using specialised languages and domain-specific procedural criteria. According to Smith (2002a), well-designed tasks will help students to learn domain-specific thinking. Reznitskaya, Kuo, Glina & Anderson (2009) maintain that open-ended tasks are suitable for ill-structured domains, however there is no suggestion of what these tasks might look like. Within the domain of history, little research has been done on tasks to enhance historical thinking (Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2013).

In our theoretical study, we have developed design principles for tasks to guide student historical thinking (Havekes, Coppens, Luttenberg & Van Boxtel, 2012). The tasks in this study (see appendices A and B) were both based on these design principles and focus on historical contextualisation as an important and difficult component of historical thinking (Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2012; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; Wineburg, 2001, 2007). For the definition of historical contextualisation we rely on the insights of Wineburg (1991, 1998), about which we elaborate later in this article. Pairs of students discussed three odd-one-outs and two additional questions, triggering collaborative student talk and requiring collaborative answers. The task ended with a whole classroom discussion. This study focuses on how the task guides student historical thinking during the student talk and in the written answers. Our main question is: *How does the task guide collaborative domain-specific thinking in an ill-structured domain like history?*

The tasks were executed in seven classes, in five different schools by five different teachers. A key component of our analysis is the focus on the *process* of reasoning during the student talk and on the *product* of their reasoning in the written answers. We also investigate how specific stimuli in the task triggered specific types of talk and answers. We therefore have sub-questions:

- a) *What kind of student talk does the task stimulate? (process);*
- b) *What kind of historical contextualisation do students construct? (product);*
- c) *What are the relationships between questions in the task, the student talk and the written answers? (process and product relationships).*

This will give us insight into how the design of the task guided student domain-specific reasoning.

We will first address two challenges in learning historical thinking. We will continue with a description and justification of the design of the task to guide historical contextualisation as an important component of historical thinking. In the method section we will describe how we analysed the data and illustrated our coding schemes with examples from the data, retrieved from 38 hours of student talk and 685 written answers. In the results section we will describe which kinds of student talk and written answers emerged as a result of the task. We will finish with conclusions on how the task guided historical contextualisation.

Two challenges in learning historical thinking

There has been a lively academic discourse on domain-specific thinking (Ennis, 1989, 1993; McPeck, 1990; Smith, 2002a, 2002b). Its consequences for student learning have been examined for several domains (Donovan & Bransford, 2005a). Scholars have identified several challenges for learning history (Lee, 2004, 2005; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Lee & Howson, 2009;

Levstik & Barton, 2005, 2008; Monte-Sano, 2010; Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2012, 2013; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; VanSledright, 2002; Wineburg, 1999). In this study we will address two of these challenges, which we consider important first steps in learning to think historically, and vital components of constructing a historical context.

The first challenge involves the use of the specialised language of the domain. Bernstein (1999) has emphasised the difference between everyday discourse and schooled discourse. The former represents everyday common-sense knowledge and is characterised as local, context-dependent and segmented. The latter is organised, structured and uses series of specialised languages that have to be learned. Examples of such specialised language that might be used in the odd-one-out task of this study are, for instance, the terms *renaissance*, *discoveries* and *reformation* as substantive historical concepts, or *cause* and *change* as procedural historical concepts.

Bernstein elaborates on schooled discourse by differentiating between hierarchic and horizontal knowledge structures. Domains with horizontal knowledge structures (such as history) have few systematic organising principles and their domain-related concepts and procedures are context dependent. The concept of 'liberty', for example, has different meanings in different historical eras: in ancient Athens it refers to autarchy, in a Christian connotation in the Middle Ages it related to the Fall of Adam and Eve, and in modern USA it refers to the freedom from state interference with personal life. Concepts that are familiar because they are also used to describe current phenomena can easily lead to misconceptions, for instance that students think of 'liberty' only in a contemporary everyday meaning (political freedom or philosophical free will). Students look at the past 'based on their own experience of how the world works and how people are likely to behave' (Lee, 2005, p. 31). Van Boxtel and Van Drie (2013; 2008) identify the use of substantive concepts as an important component of historical reasoning. In addition they note that student use of historical concepts is very limited (Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2004; 2003). As well as the substantive concepts being context dependent in a domain with a horizontal knowledge structure, the domain-specific procedures are also context dependent (Bernstein, 1999). If, for instance, students discuss the concept of 'liberty' in Antiquity, they need to discuss an economic and political perspective, whereas when discussing the concept in the context of the Middle Ages they need a religious perspective to give it meaning (Wineburg, 1998). The example of 'liberty' shows that learning the specialised language of history differs from task to task. Students need to learn that new (historical) insights are constructed by using the domain-related concepts and procedures relevant for this specific context.

The second challenge also relates to Bernstein's notion of the few systematic organising principles and the context dependency. This character of domains with a horizontal knowledge structure requires challenging existing constructions of the past by discussing multiple perspectives, involving the exploration of several possible solutions. The example of 'liberty' shows this: it might, for instance, be argued that in the Middle Ages the economic aspect of 'liberty' was important when cities want to gain the right to hold a (annual) fair. A single focus on the religious aspect of 'liberty' in the Middle Ages would not be sufficient. Discussing multiple perspectives is important in giving meaning to concepts in a specific historical context. Novice-expert studies have shown that discussing multiple perspectives is one of the differences between novice and experts. Wineburg (1998) describes how experts test several perspectives, instead of sticking with the first interpretation that arises. Van Boxtel and Van Drie (2004, 2012) suggest that novices, in contrast to experts, barely discuss alternative perspectives or answers. Novices tend to rush forward to one single answer. A classroom task should therefore invite students to discuss multiple answers or perspectives.

Both challenges are often reinforced by the epistemic stance of the students. Maggioni, VanSledright & Alexander (2009) identify three kinds of epistemic stance. In the *copier stance* students think that it is possible to make an exact copy of the past. In this stance the past, the specialised language and the domain-specific procedures are fixed and rigidly defined, so no alternative perspectives need to be discussed. In the second stance, the *borrower stance*, students are aware that several constructions of the past can be put forward, but they still believe that when all possible information is available, a professional historian will be able to create a final version of the past. Until that moment, historians use the information at hand to make their own version. Students in this stance sometimes believe that 'anything is possible' as long as you make some sort of valid argument. They start to recognise that multiple perspectives, at least to some point, can be put forward, but they still have difficulties with the idea that the domain-related concepts and procedures are context-dependent and therefore polysemic.

Only in the third stance, the *criticalist stance*, do students recognise that several constructions of the past are inherent to the domain and that validation of these constructions is done through domain-specific criteria, using a specialised language relevant to this specific context or interpretation. Wineburg (1998, 1999, 2001) shows that students do not reach the criticalist stance by themselves. It needs to be learned.

Addressing these challenges when teaching historical thinking

Scholars of historical thinking agree on the idea that tasks that aim to stimulate historical thinking should integrate the use of domain-related concepts and procedures, and must incorporate discussion of multiple perspectives to do justice to the character of the domain and to develop sophisticated epistemic beliefs (Boix-Mansilla, 2005; Howson & Shemilt, 2011; Husbands, Kitson & Pendry, 2003; Lee, 2005; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Leinhardt & Ravi, 2008; Levstik & Barton, 2005; Limon, 2002; Nokes, Dole & Hacker, 2007; Reisman, 2012; VanSledright, 2002, 2010).

As student use of specialised language is limited and they rarely discuss alternatives, it is important that teaching historical thinking should explicitly question ideas and discuss different perspectives (Alexander, 2005). Discussing multiple perspectives and underpinning them, can be stimulated through collaborative learning. Student talk in a collaborative setting is considered one of the best possibilities to stimulate this kind of discussion (Mercer, 2002, 2008; Mercer & Littleton, 2007; Nystrand, 1997; Scott, Mortimer & Aguiar, 2006; Scott, Mortimer, & Ametller, 2011). It is considered 'a way to externalize the internal thinking strategies we would like to foster within the individual' (Kuhn, 1992, p. 174). If a task also stimulates students to use domain-related concepts and procedures, their talk may show the structure of schooled thinking (Pontecorvo & Girardet, 1993).

In our theoretical study we suggested three major design principles to guide student historical thinking:

- 1) challenging student historical knowledge by creating cognitive incongruity;
- 2) stimulating substantiated considerations; and
- 3) scaffolding student learning.

We state that tasks constructed with these design principles should help students to integrate domain-related concepts and procedures, to discuss different perspectives and to develop sophisticated epistemic beliefs, however, it remains unclear how such a task guides student

thinking, as little research has been done into how these kinds of tasks function in everyday classroom practice.

The design of the task

In this study we aim to elicit historical contextualisation in authentic classrooms situations, thus enhancing ecological validity (Perry, VandeKamp, Mercer & Nordby, 2002). Odd-one-out tasks, like the one in this study, are used by the teachers participating in this study in their regular classroom routines. The odd-one-out task also offers good opportunities for historical reasoning and for addressing the challenges mentioned above: it stimulates the use of specialised language through thinking about relationships between concepts or historical persons within a specific historical context and it creates the opportunity to situate these phenomena in time (simultaneity, change) to give historical meaning to them (Wineburg, 1991, 1998). Finally, the odd-one-out task asks for discussion about which is the odd-one-out, thus introducing multiple perspectives and more possible answers.

A suitable topic with which to guide the construction of such a historical context is the era around 1500. It marks important changes in Western Europe (renaissance, discoveries and reformation), but the relationships between these phenomena, occurring at the same time, are difficult for students to grasp. We expect that students will be aware of the relationships of concepts or persons within each separate phenomenon and will realise that these phenomena occurred in a relatively short period of time. The complex relationship between the changing view of the world and humanity, the renewed interest in the classical legacy, the interest in discovering new parts of the world and the new interpretation of Christianity, cannot be explained in terms of linear cause and effect chains. They must be explained using structuring concepts as *change*, *simultaneity*, *speed* and *non-linear, multi-causal relationships*. Constructing such a sophisticated historical context will be difficult for students.

The task, developed by the researcher and the participating teachers in this study, was designed to guide student construction of this sophisticated context in two steps. First, a cognitive incongruity was presented through three odd-one-outs, one for each phenomenon: renaissance, discoveries and reformation (see appendices A and B, questions 1, 2 and 3). Students had to discuss several reasonable perspectives for each odd-one-out, thus stimulating substantiated considerations. We expected students to use domain-related colligatory concepts to describe relationships between the concepts and persons (Lévesque, 2008).

This first step, a contextualisation for each historical phenomenon, was followed by a second contextualisation as two overarching questions that stimulated thinking about relationships between the phenomena (see appendices A and B, questions A, B). In the overarching questions, students had to identify the process of change and explain why the phenomena appeared in such a relatively short period of time. Domain-related procedures, using the second-order concepts of change, time (simultaneity) and cause, needed to be brought into the discussion, stimulating more sophisticated substantiated considerations.

These two steps in the task were meant to guide student historical thinking in Wineburg's definition of historical contextualisation: "*situating information about the past in a historical context of time, location, long term developments, or particular events in order to give meaning to it*" (1991, 1998). They first situated information within a phenomenon (*time* and *location*), followed by a second step, giving further meaning to this historical information by placing it in broader developments (*cause* and *change*).

In this study we use two sets of data, derived from two versions of the odd-one-out task (see appendices A and B). The second version was modified according to the usual techniques of the teachers using the pedagogy of *Active Historical Thinking*, based on their classroom experiences during the execution of the first version. In the analyses we kept these versions as separated datasets, to make comparison possible, where it was advised.

Method and coding frameworks

Participants

A total of 59 students (27 male; 32 female), from three different classes, from three different schools, participated in the execution of the first version. In the second version 93 students (43 male; 50 female) took part, belonging to four different classes and four different schools. The students attended upper general education (age 15-16 years old). Five different teachers participated, varying in teaching experience from four years to more than twenty years. They were all familiar with the design principles of the task. To enhance ecological validity the teachers discussed the era of 1500 as they would normally have done and finished the series of lessons with the odd-one-out task, because a task like this would normally follow a series of history lessons.

As was normal in most of the participating classes, we let students form dyads themselves. We recorded and transcribed the discussion of 65 dyads (randomly chosen out of 76), and collected the sheets with the answers of all dyads (see table 1).

Table 1: Participants in the first and second version of the odd-one-out task

Teacher	School	Teaching experience	Experience with the OOO task*	dataset A		dataset B	
				Students	Dyads recorded	Students	Dyads recorded
T1	I	5-10 years	Since 2004	25	9	-	-
T2	II	3-5 years	Since 2007	18	9	20	10
T3	III & IV	> 15 years	Since 2002	16	8	28	10
T4	I	3-5 years	Since 2008	-	-	26	10
T5	V	5-10 years	Since 2006	-	-	19	9
Total				59	26	93	39

*OOO = Odd-One-Out

Data analysis

The unit of our analysis is an episode from the one odd-one-out or one overarching question. This means that for the first contextualisation (the odd-one-out sets) there are three episodes of talk for each dyad and three written answers in dataset A and nine written answers in dataset B. For the second contextualisation (the overarching questions) we have two episodes of talk for each dyad and two written answers in dataset A and four written answers in dataset B (see table 2). In total 38 hours of student talk and 642 written answers were analysed.

Table 2: Number of episodes and answers analysed

	Dataset A	Dataset B	Total
Episodes of student talk	130	195	325
Written answers	126	516	642

We analysed the student talk and the written answers based on sensitising concepts derived from literature and grounded in the data itself. We used Atlas-ti to code student talk and the written answers. Two researchers worked simultaneously and discussed their initial findings during weekly meetings. During this process of data interpretation, two other researchers acted as peer-debriefers, both experienced in qualitative research and grounded theory and both providing alternative perspectives for the coding and challenging premises. In this way we identified four categories of student talk and four categories of written answers (see below). In addition to this peer-debriefing, inter-rater reliabilities were calculated and averaged 75% for the student talk and 95% for the written answers. The differences occurred when a talk was very fragmented (several questions were discussed at the same time), there was much off-task talk, or a teacher intervention (after a question from the students) was part of the discussion.

Analysing the process: student talk

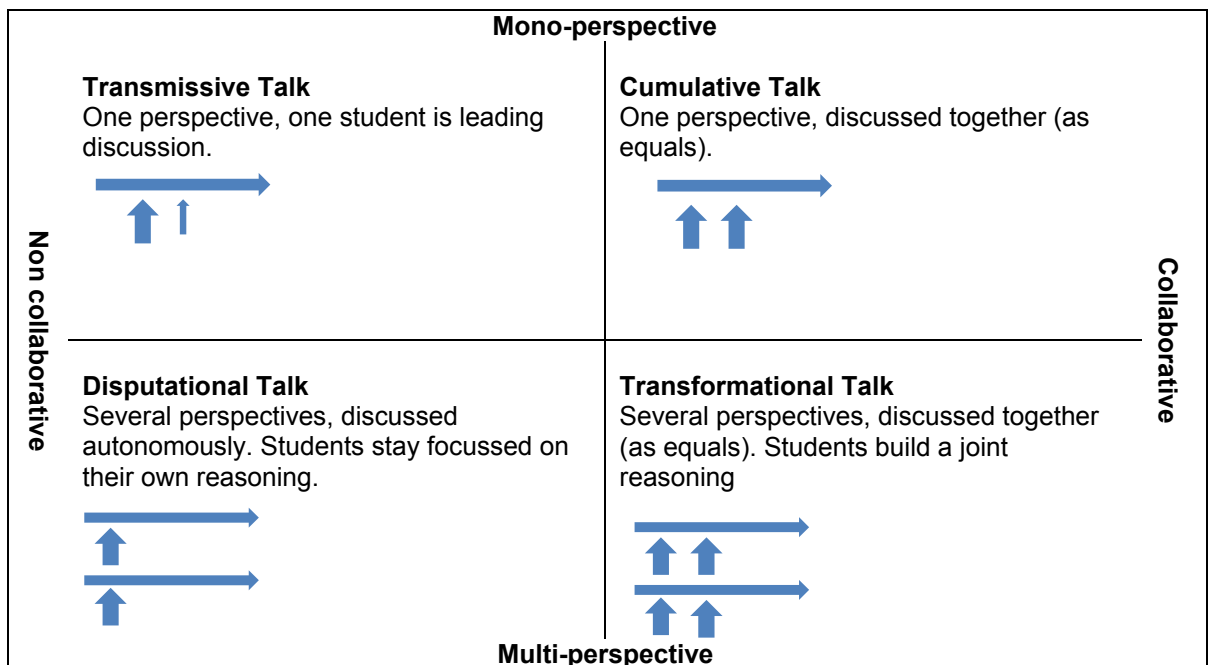
In order to characterise the way students constructed a historical context, we developed an analytical framework based on theoretical insights and grounded on the data itself. In our analysis of student talk we focused on two aspects we considered crucial when stimulating historical thinking: a) whether students collaborate; b) whether students discuss multiple perspectives. In our analysis of written answers we focused on the use of domain-specific language.

According to Mercer and Littleton (2007, p. 25), collaboration between students is characterised as "... participants [...] engaged in a coordinated, continuing attempt to solve a problem or in some other way construct common knowledge". They describe this coordinated, continuing attempt to address a task as both *interacting* and *interthinking*. This corresponds to our intentions to stimulate the students to establish a shared conception of the task and come to some shared, intersubjective answer using substantiated arguments. As a first axis of analysis, we therefore distinguished between the 'non-collaborative' and 'collaborative' nature of the student talk.

Scott et al. (2006) combine interaction and content of the talk, suggesting that there is tension between the (prior) knowledge and the dialogue of constructing new knowledge. This tension

might trigger a cognitive incongruity and stimulate substantiated argumentation. Nystrand (1997, p. 18) argues that a conversation should not focus on what students do not know, but rather on what they do know and that this should lead to a transformation of shared knowledge. To achieve this the students should consider several perspectives, which, as mentioned, is also crucial for historical thinking (Bernstein, 1999) and often problematic for students (Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2004, 2012; Wineburg, 1998). As a second axis of our analysis, we therefore made a distinction between *mono-perspective* and *multi-perspective*. Combining these two axes, we distinguished four types of student talk, describing the collaboration component and the substantive component of the talk (see figure 1).

Figure 1: Characterisation of student talk in an odd-one-out task (process)



The terms used for the four quadrants are inspired by the work of Mercer (2007) and Nystrand (1997). The term ‘transmissive talk’ is derived from Nystrand’s description of a monological discourse between teacher and students, in which the teacher is dominant and the focus is on the transmission of information (Nystrand, 1997, pp. 15-16). This information is not challenged but simply transmitted as fixed information. Applied to student-student talk, this means that one of the students is (strongly) leading and alternative perspectives are not an option. This might occur when a student has better structured prior knowledge, for instance: S19³⁰: ‘Oh I know this. People started looking at ... at the Greeks and Romans and ... People looked back at Antiquity, classical legacy’. It is also possible that one of the students has a lack of prior knowledge (S48: ‘Oh?, it doesn’t mean anything to me’.) and the other student takes the initiative.

The term ‘cumulative talk’ is borrowed from Mercer, who defines it as talk in which speakers build positively, but uncritically, on what the others have said. Partners use talk to construct

³⁰ To anonymise the students we have given them a number. So S19 stands for student 19.

'common knowledge' by accumulation (Mercer & Littleton, 2007, pp. 58-59). Students do not challenge a perspective brought forward by others, but simply use it to enhance and accumulate arguments. By doing so, they ignore other perspectives and remain focused on a single idea. A reaction often starts with conformation: S58: *'These have their own conviction'*. S59: *'Yes, their own conviction, and this one not' [...]* S58: *'Have a conviction?' Catholic. 'Protestant. They are Protestant'*. S59: *'Yes, Luther and Calvin are Protestant'*. Remarks are made to ask confirmation of the idea or suggestion brought forward: S68: *'That's what I think... surely?'*

The term 'disputational talk' is based on Mercers' work as well: it signifies a kind of talk in which there is mainly disagreement and individualised decision making (Mercer & Littleton, 2007). The lack of collaboration results in students more or less individually building arguments for each perspective. Alternative perspectives may indeed be present, but they remain independent of each other. An exchange about the quality of arguments does not occur during this type of talk. S112: *'In the period around 1500 a lot changed. Can you explain what the change consisted of? Renaissance'* S113: *'Yes. But one can also say Willem Barentz. because the others are all Spanish'*. S112: *'Oh yes'* S113: *'Or Portugese'*. S112: *'The Renaissance'*. Often questions are asked but the student does not wait for the reaction of the other student. They answer the question themselves: S59: *'Well Carpe Diem means 'seize the day'. I remember it. That was during the Renaissance, wasn't it? Oh no, it was before'*. This might even go on, as the two students are thinking aloud for themselves and parallel reasoning co-exists: S124: *'Because one of them has discovered America'*. S125: *'No, I think one of them is not an explorer and the others are'*. S124: *'He sailed left³¹, to France or so?'* S125: *'Gama is perhaps the inventor of the Gamma³²'*. In this way students merely mention possible answers, and are not discussing them.

The final term 'transformational talk' is again inspired by the work of Nystrand, who describes talk in which knowledge is shared and is transformed into new shared understandings (Nystrand, 1997). Participants ask each other questions, building on prior knowledge to deepen or enhance insights, but they also bring forward new perspectives or they introduce new relevant information. This type of talk closely resembles Mercers *exploratory talk*, in which partners engage critically but constructively with each other (Mercer & Littleton, 2007), and it also has characteristics of interactive dialogic talk (Scott, et al., 2006), however, we opted for the term *transformational talk*, because it emphasises (as Nystrand does) the transformation into new understanding, in our case the construction of a relevant historical context. S87: *'He was the first one there'*. S88: *'Or ... if they all discovered something, which they did not intend to?'* S87: *'Yes ...'* *'Because, perhaps, Vasco da Gama discovered something that he didn't want to discover. Because this was also the case with Columbus, with this guy too?'* S88: *'But that was the case with this one also?'* S87: *'Yes, that's why. Perhaps all three have discovered something they didn't want to discover?'* The talk resembles a kind of thinking aloud together. The 'or ...' illustrates how one student brings forward a new perspective, which they then explore together.

31 The student points towards the left on an imaginary map, meaning that the explorer sailed east.

32 'Gamma' is a brand of a Dutch do-it-yourself market.

Analysing the product: student written answers

In order to characterise the kind of historical context that students produced in their written answer, we believed the two aspects of the use of the specialised language were crucial:

- a) the use of domain-related concepts; and
- b) the domain-related relationships that were expressed in the answers.

Student use of historical concepts, however, is very limited (Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2004; 2003). They apply everyday discourse to describe a historical concept, such as ‘changes in the church’ instead of *Reformation*. Students often use domain-related concepts, but not the ‘official’ substantive concepts. This is why we focused on the use of domain-related concepts. To characterise the quality of historical contextualisation in written answers, we therefore opted for an axis distinguishing *non-domain related concepts used* and *domain-related concepts used*.

Concepts need to be organised through connected knowledge to give meaning to them. Donovan and Bransford (2005b) assert that this is an important component of learning, and add that students find this hard to do. Historical relationships can be expressed by means of *colligatory concepts* (Lévesque, 2008), such as *Reformation*, or by *second-order concepts*, such as ‘change’ or ‘cause’. Our task tried to stimulate these kinds of relationships in two steps. Students first had to think of the odd-one-out for each phenomenon and then they had to think of the relationships between the phenomena. In the first step, using colligatory concepts may be sufficient to construct relationships within a phenomenon. In this second step students need to combine domain-related concepts using colligatory concepts or second-order concepts to construct a valid answer. In our analytical framework we therefore chose the distinction between *no domain-related relationships expressed* and *domain-related relationships expressed* as the second axis.

Figure 2: Characterisations of the written answers of the students (product)

		Non-domain-related concepts used			
Non-(domain-related) relationship expressed	No historical context	The answer consists of no domain-related concepts, not or only related in a general way.	Empty historical context	The answer consists of no domain-related concepts, related by means of colligatory or second order concepts.	Domain-related relationship expressed
	Blind historical context	The answer consists of domain-related concepts, not or only related in a general way.	Historical context	The answer consists of domain-related concepts, related by means of second order concepts or colligatory concepts.	
		Domain-related concepts used			

These two axes provide us with four types of answers written by the students. The first type we named *No historical context*. In this type of answer, students do not construct any historical context at all. Non-historical concepts are used, or historical concepts are only mentioned, often as an enumeration, without any connection to each other. The first odd-one-out, especially in the first version, triggered answers such as: S7: ‘*Classical heritage is the odd-one-out, because*

the others are in Latin, using a linguistic criterion. We also noted several answers like this example: S93: *'Classical heritage is the odd-one-out, because the other three are all ways of thinking'*. or: S33: *'Bartolommeo Diaz is the odd-one-out, because the other three are more familiar to us'*. These answers reflect little historical thinking and no historical context. For the second and third type, we borrowed the terms 'empty' and 'blind' from the philosopher Kant (Kant, 1781/2011). In his thoughts on dualism he noted that the use of concept without perception is empty and perception without the concept is blind. We use 'empty historical context' for a type of answer in which students use colligatory or second order concepts in their answer, but relationships remain implicit and not elaborated. Although this suggests an understanding of the meaning, it feels like 'name-dropping': historical relationships are not used to connect historical concepts. S12: *'Memento Mori is the odd-one-out, because the other three have to do with the Renaissance'*. or S51: *'They developed from 'memento mori' to 'seize the day'. Renaissance'*. Without elaboration it remains unclear whether the students grasp the meaning of the concept. It is possible that they consider the concept as a relationship, in the way some students see historical facts 'as' cause or change. An answer to the question on 'change' makes this explicit: S101: *'The discovery of new worlds'*. The fact is presented as if this is the change that occurred as a result of the discoveries.

The third type, blind historical context, entails that students mention historical concepts, but do not, or only in a general sense, connect them to overarching ideas. They seem to be blind to the idea that concepts have to be related to each other in some sort of (historical) argumentation. S72: *'Willem Barentz is the odd-one-out, because the other three discoverers reached their goal and Willem did not'*. Or, as an answer to the first question: S95: *'Reformation, one opposed the church'*. As with the empty historical contextualisation, it is often difficult to determine whether the students grasp the concept or historical context at all.

In the last type of answer, students construct a historical context by using historical concepts and connecting them through historical relationships. Concepts and relationships are elaborated on, and often one or more arguments are used to underpin the reasoning, making it more historical. Even procedural concepts, such as change, or elements of time/periodization sometimes occur in the answers. S123: *'Calvin is the odd-one-out, because the other two had less extreme ideas on the church. Calvin taught that people themselves were responsible for their religion and faith. Luther and Erasmus left it up to the king and the church'*. Or S105: *'Erasmus is the odd-one-out, because the other two were more extreme. They wanted to get rid of all rituals in the church'*. Or as an example of the first question on change: S61: *'People's thoughts on heaven and hell changed. People started to think more in the 'here and now'*.

Analysing relationships between questions, talk and answers

We expect that there might be relationships between the questions, the talk and the answers. We particularly assume that students whose talk was coded as transformational would produce a high quality answer. So we ran chi-square tests to determine whether there are relationships between the questions, the talk and the answers. As the results only indicate relationships, whether significant or not significant, we performed additional qualitative analyses of the observed talk and answers to give meaning to these relationships.

Results

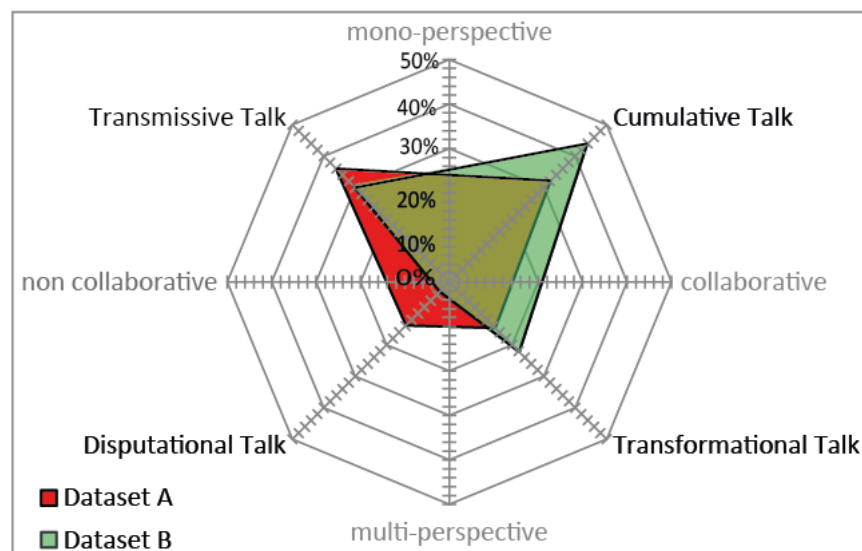
We will now describe the occurrence of the types of student talk and the types of historical contextualisation in the written answers. We will show the relationships between questions, talk and answers.

Occurrence of the types of student talk

Figure 3 displays the occurrence of the different types of talk in both datasets. In dataset A more than half the episodes were mono-perspective (68.5%) and 31.5% were multi-perspective. In dataset B, 74.7% of all episodes were mono-perspective, and 25.3% were multi-perspective. More mono-perspective talks in dataset B can be attributed mainly to more cumulative talk (43.8%). Although fewer episodes in dataset B were multi-perspective, it needs to be noted that transformational talk, in which students discuss several perspectives, was 22.2%. Disputational talk in dataset B is only 3.1%.

In dataset A the balance between collaborative and non-collaborative is relatively equal (52.2% non-collaborative; 47.8% collaborative). In dataset B, 66.0% of the episodes were collaborative, and more cumulative (43.8%) and more transformational episodes (22.2%) particularly took place. Non-collaborative episodes in dataset B decreased to 44.0%.

Figure 3: Percentage of the occurrence of types of student talk for all episodes in datasets A and B

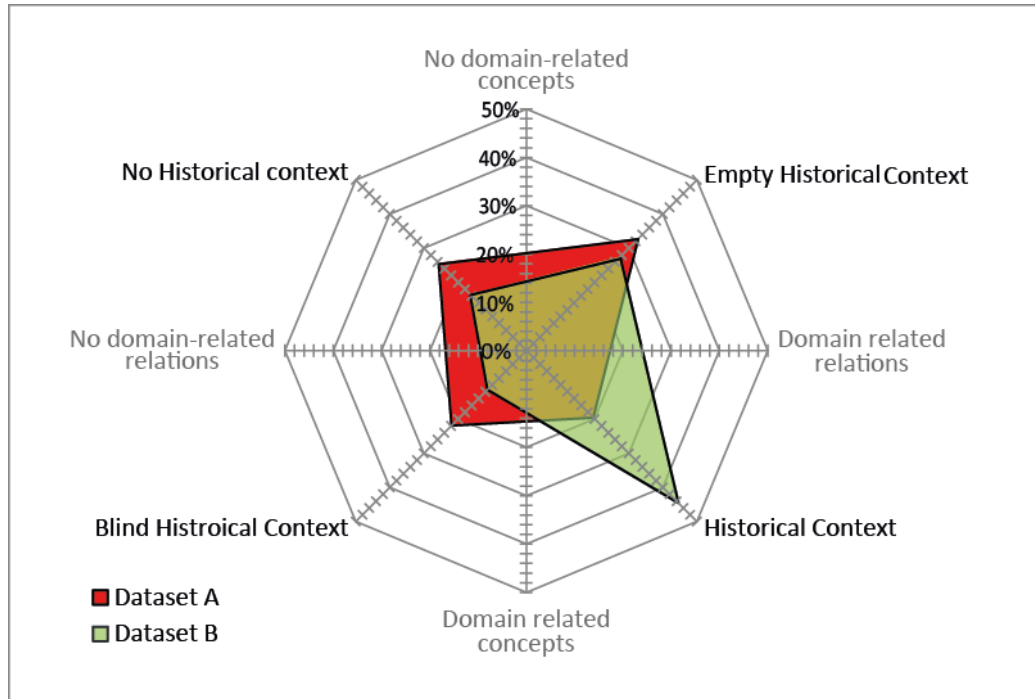


Occurrence of the types of historical context

Figure 4 displays the occurrence of the different types of historical context in both datasets. In dataset A, 58.5% of the students did not use domain-related concepts. In 41.5% of the answers domain-related concept were used. In dataset B, 44.0% of the answers showed no domain-related concepts and 66.0% of the answers used domain-related concepts. In dataset B there were more 'historical context' answers (44.6%).

In dataset A, 47.6% of all answers showed no domain-related relationships and 53.4% showed domain-related relationships. In dataset B, 27.9% of the answers did not show domain-related relationships and 72.1% showed domain-related relationships.

Figure 4: Percentage of occurrence of types of historical context for all episodes in datasets A and B



Relationships between the task, student talk and answers

To further explore how the questions in the task might be related to the types of student talk, and how the questions might be related to the types of historical context, we performed several chi-square tests. We expected that students whose talk was coded as transformational would produce high quality answers (historical context), so we also ran a chi-square test to explore the independence of the student talk and the written answers. We interpreted the findings through additional qualitative data.

The chi-square test of independence of the questions in the task and the student talk, showed no significant relationships in dataset A ($\chi^2(12) = 6.82, p = .87$). None of the questions in dataset A triggered a specific kind of talk. In dataset B we did find a significant relationship between the questions in the task and the student talk ($\chi^2(8) = 84.30, p = .00$)³³. The odd-one-out sets particularly seemed to trigger more collaboration (see tables 3 and 4). Additional qualitative analyses of the episodes show that in dataset B most dyads were drawn into another interaction pattern. Students did discuss several perspectives during their talk, not simultaneously, but sequentially. Our coding protocol required us to code this kind of talk as cumulative talk instead of transformative talk, as they collaboratively reasoned one perspective, followed by collective reasoning of another perspective, instead of collaboratively reasoning several perspectives simultaneously.

³³ We dismissed the ‘disputational talks’ from our calculations, because there were too few (n=5) to obtain a valid calculation.

Table 3: Absolute and relative occurrence of collaboration in relation to the questions, in datasets A and B

	Dataset A		Dataset B	
	Non-collaborative (Transmissive & Disputational Talk)	Collaborative (Cumulative & Transformational Talk)	Non-collaborative (Transmissive & Disputational Talk)	Collaborative (Cumulative & Transformational Talk)
OOO Renaissance	11 (45.8%)	13 (54.2%)	10 (25.6%)	29 (74.4%)
OOO Discoveries	13 (52.0%)	12 (48.0%)	10 (25.6%)	29 (74.4%)
OOO Church reform	12 (46.2%)	14 (53.8%)	15 (39.5%)	23 (60.5%)
Question A – Change	12 (46.2%)	14 (53.8%)	13 (41.9%)	18 (58.1%)
Question B – Simultaneity	17 (68.0%)	8 (32.0%)	9 (45.0%)	11 (55.0%)
Total	65 (51.6%)	61 (48.4%)	57 (34.1%)	110 (65.9%)

Table 4: Absolute and relative occurrence of discussing perspectives in relation to the questions, in the datasets A and B

	Dataset A		Dataset B	
	Mono-perspective (Transmissive & Cumulative Talk)	Multi-perspective (Disputational & Transformational Talk)	Mono-perspective (Transmissive & Cumulative Talk)	Multi-perspective (Disputational & Transformational Talk)
OOO Renaissance	20 (83.3%)	4 (16.7%)	26 (66.7%)	13 (33.3%)
OOO Discoveries	17 (68.0%)	8 (32.0%)	20 (51.3%)	19 (48.7%)
OOO Church reform	19 (73.1%)	7 (26.9%)	31 (81.6%)	7 (18.4%)
Question A – Change	16 (61.5%)	10 (38.5%)	29 (93.5%)	2 (6.5%)
Question B – Simultaneity	17 (68.0%)	8 (32.0%)	20 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Total	89 (70.6%)	37 (29.4%)	126 (75.4%)	41 (24.6%)

In a second chi-square test we explored the independence of the questions and the written answers. The test indicated that the questions and the type of answers are not independent in either the dataset A ($\chi^2(12)=67.00, p =.00$) or dataset B ($\chi^2(8)=23.74, p=.00$)³⁴.

In the first version we found that one specific odd-one-out triggered specific answers. In the first odd-one-out (Renaissance) 57.7% of all answers are of the type 'no-historical context' (see tables 5 and 6). It appears that the design of this odd-one-out determined this kind of answer: three concepts were in Latin and one in Dutch (see appendix A), thus triggering a linguistic comparison. In the second version (see appendix B), this issue was resolved by using only Dutch concepts. In dataset B, only 28.2% of the answers was coded as 'no-historical context'. Whereas in dataset A, 7.7% of the answers contained a 'historical context', in dataset B this was 49.7%. Students now used historical concepts and related them through colligatory concepts: S43: *'We leave classical heritage out, because the other three all have to do with the era of the Renaissance'*. The answer given most often in dataset A, that classical heritage is Dutch and the others are Latin, no longer appears. The re-design using only Dutch concepts for this odd-one-out seems to be the logical explanation for this shift.

Table 5: Absolute and relative occurrence of types of answers in relation to the odd-one-out and additional questions in dataset A

	No historical context	Empty historical context	Blind historical context	Historical context	Total
OOO Renaissance	15 (57.7%)	9 (34.6%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (7.7%)	26
OOO Discoveries	8 (30.8%)	16 (61.5%)	2 (7.7%)	0 (0.0%)	26
OOO Church reform	5 (19.2%)	9 (34.6%)	2 (7.7%)	10 (38.5%)	26
Question A – Change	3 (11.3%)	3 (11.3%)	13 (54.2%)	5 (20.8%)	24
Question B – Simultaneity	2 (8.3%)	5 (20.8%)	10 (41.7%)	7 (29.2%)	24
Total	33 (26,2%)	42 (33.3%)	27 (21.4%)	25 (19.8%)	126

³⁴ It needs to be noted that we had to combine 'blind' and 'empty' historical context, because there were too few 'blind' historical contexts (n=60) to obtain valid calculations.

Table 6: Absolute and relative occurrence of types of answers in relation to the odd-one-out and additional questions in data set B

	No historical context	Empty/Blind historical context	Historical context	Total
OOO Renaissance	33 (28.2%)	26 (22.2%)	58 (49.6%)	117
OOO Discoveries	29 (23.4%)	57 (46.0%)	38 (30.6%)	124
OOO Church reform	17 (15.4%)	21 (19.1%)	73 (66.3%)	111
Question A – Change	7 (5.4%)	77 (59.7%)	45 (34.9%)	129
Question B – Simultaneity	1 (2.9%)	19 (54.3%)	15 (42.9%)	35
Total	87 (16,8%)	200 (38.8%)	229 (44.4%)	516

The two questions A (on change) and B (on simultaneity) in the first version triggered a high percentage of 'blind historical context' (respectively 53.8% and 41.7%) as the answer. Question A on 'change' triggered the use of domain-related concepts, but students often mentioned only these concepts, without any effort to relate them, just enumerations. We also encountered this itemisation and naming of concepts in question B on simultaneity. In the second version (see appendix B) we revised these questions. We expected students to pay more attention to the concept of *change*, by explicitly asking them to describe change in question A, for each phenomenon. In question B we explicitly introduced the concept 'change' in the question, to evoke thinking about relationships between the phenomena, hoping to trigger the concepts causality and/or simultaneously. The modified task question A showed 34.9% 'historical context' answers (in dataset A, 23.1%) and question B 42.9% (in dataset A, 29.2%). At the same time question A in the modified task showed 5.4% 'no-historical context' (in dataset A, 11.5%) and question B showed 2.9% (in dataset A, 8.3%). We noted that the answers did not contain as many itemisations. It has to be noted, however, that even with these revisions, 'blind historical context' answers remain the most frequent (question A: 59.7%; question B: 54.3%).

As we could not use a chi-square test to explore the independence of the student talk and the written answers, because more than 20% of the cells had an expected count of <5, we returned to our data and conducted an additional analysis of the last part of each talk in both datasets, since we expected that this phase of the talk would most clearly show how students closed their discussion and decided upon the answer they had to write down. Based on the literature on interaction, we expected that transformative talk would be related to 'historical context' answers.

We noted that students engaged in a transmissive or disputational talk rushed to an answer and did not seem really motivated when discussing other alternatives. Often they simply produced an answer: S48: *'Just write something down'*. As a result the answer does not reflect the thinking in the talk. Even in a transformational talk, where we expected the students to explicitly reason about the best answer, it remains unclear how they determined the best answer. They were aware that they had to choose an answer: S88: *'But which one is it going to be?' 'I think Columbus, because ...'*. But the talk rarely reveals explicitly why they choose the answer they finally wrote down. Only in a cumulative talk, as students formulate the answer together, completing each other's sentences, is there a more visible relationship between the talk and the answer: S58: *'So, because the other two wanted to preserve things and ...'*. S59: *'Calvin*

wanted everything changed'. Contrary to expectation, only in the cumulative talk did we note a relationship between the student talk and the written answer.

Conclusion and discussion

We expected that student construction of a historical context would be stimulated through the use of an open-ended task, triggering cognitive incongruity and engaging students in collaborative thinking. We expected that this task could guide two challenges in learning domain specific thinking: first, the use of the specialised language of the domain by using domain-related concepts, relating them to each other through colligatory concepts and through second-order concepts (such as change, simultaneity, cause), as part of the domain-specific procedures; and second, discussion of multiple perspectives as an important procedural component of historical thinking. We think such tasks are helpful to nudge the epistemic beliefs of the students into at least the borrower stance. The results show that only some of our goals were achieved.

The first challenge, the use of the specialised language, is demonstrated in the written products of the students, as they formulated relatively few answers within a historical context, especially in dataset A. Blind, empty and non-historical contexts are given frequently. In dataset B we noted an increase in answers with a historical context. This might be explained by the design of the revised task, asking the students to come up with more than one answer. This guidance might have enhanced the use of prior knowledge, triggering the students to use more domain-related concepts and triggering them to think about placing them in time, using second-order concepts such as change, simultaneity and cause. So apparently carefully constructed questions help students to use the specialised language.

A lack of understanding of the polysemic nature of historical concepts, as part of the context-dependent nature of historical thinking, also seems present in the products of the students. Although the questions stimulate students to identify characteristics of the concepts, the students mostly use every day concepts to describe them. They seem unaware of the historical context of the concepts. This can be explained by the lack of differentiation between everyday discourse and schooled discourse. An explicit scaffold from the teacher might be helpful, such as addressing the polysemic nature explicitly during the instruction or during personal interventions in the student talk. This can take the form of introducing new relevant concepts, knowledge or by activating unused prior knowledge of the students.

The second challenge, discussing multiple perspectives and answers, and addressing the epistemic stance needed for historical thinking, is visible in the process of student thinking during their talk. Relatively few student talks involve discussions of several perspectives simultaneously (transformational talk). In both datasets students open the discussion by mentioning one perspective. In dataset A this is often replied to from another perspective from the other student. These talks regularly evolve into a disputational talk, where the students continue putting forward arguments from their own perspective.

In dataset B we see another pattern. After the first and second perspectives, the students start exploring the possibilities of the first perspective together and then explore the second perspective together, thus discussing perspectives sequentially. It seems that the revised task stimulated the exploration of multiple perspectives, because there was no need any more to push their own opinion forward, as more perspectives had to be written down.

Sequential cumulative talk does seem to help students to construct multiple 'historical context' answers. This indicates a tension between the collaborative reasoning during the talk and the need to write down an answer. The collaborative talk and the odd-one-out task are open-ended and offer possibilities to discuss multiple perspectives. Thinking of multiple answers coincides with the borrower and criterialist stance and the open ended format seems to open the door for students to think at this epistemic level. This corresponds to the insight of Ge X and Land (2004) and others that there is a relationship between collaborative talk and the level of reasoning. Writing down an answer seems to close the door and seems to throw students back into behaviour reflecting a lower epistemic stance, as it suggests one correct answer. Being forced to write down two possible answers seems to help to some extent, but not enough. Ge X and Land suggest that a scaffold from the teacher is useful. A teacher might explicitly address this tension, thus promoting the specific reasoning that is needed.

The results also show that even with a well-designed task, it seems difficult to encourage the use of specialised language. Triggers in the task, as cognitive incongruity and a carefully structured answering sheet, implicitly point the students in the right direction, but these are not sufficient. Even though the students in this study had instructions regarding the concepts used, historical persons and phenomena in the odd-one-out, they still might not have enough (prior) knowledge to apply to the task, or they might have enough knowledge, but the task may not be strong enough to trigger use of this knowledge. Further research should investigate how students' prior content and procedural knowledge plays a role, or how the task can be reinforced to stimulate the use of the specialised language. It might also be that more scaffolds are needed to stimulate their metacognition, such as explicit attention to the process of historical thinking, most probably initiated by the teacher.

These findings raise questions about the relationship between the design of the task, peer-interaction and cognitive development of the students within historical thinking. Our results make clear that the design of the task helps students, but this also calls for a balance between a suitable amount of guidance in the task itself, without oversimplifying the process by providing a step-by-step model. It is also clear that a well-designed task can guide students to discuss multiple perspectives, but it is not clear whether this also helps students to develop a more sophisticated epistemic stance.

The chi-square tests, especially in dataset B, seem to support the idea that the design of questions asked in the task, the quality of student interaction and the quality of their answers are related, but Kuhn, Shaw & Felton (1997) have argued that a discussion in dyads merely leads to adding knowledge to existing knowledge, instead of constructing new knowledge. This adding of knowledge is not in itself bad in a domain with a horizontal knowledge structure, but our results show that scaffolds are needed to guide the students to evaluate the quality of this knowledge, for example by considering the quality of the specialised language.

Our findings also raise questions about the role of the teacher in providing extra scaffolds when the task is executed. Havekes et al. (2012) argue that the teacher is needed to scaffold student thinking by explicitly focusing on specialised language and procedures of the domain, but the teacher is also needed to facilitate the pace and rhythm of the assignment, for example through brief whole-classroom discussion during the peer-interaction. In any case, it remains unclear what these scaffolds initiated by the teacher should look like if they are to be effective in stimulating domain specific thinking.

Correspondence

Harry Havekes,
h.havekes@docentenacademie.ru.nl

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THE PERDURATION OF MASTER NARRATIVES: THE 'DISCOVERY', CONQUEST AND COLONISATION OF AMERICA IN SPANISH HISTORY TEXTBOOKS*

* Indefinite continuation

Raquel Sánchez, Universidad de Murcia, Spain
Laura Arias, Universidad de Murcia, Spain
Alejandro Egea, Universidad de Murcia, Spain

Abstract

The significant use of textbooks in the history teaching practices in Primary and Secondary Schools requires us to focus our attention on the analysis of these sources and their contents. This is particularly necessary in cases where they relate to specific periods and historical facts which are surrounded by controversy concerning their interpretation and reflection in later literature, such as the so called discovery and the conquest and colonization of America.

The purpose of this paper is to identify the changes and continuities of contents associated with this particular historical 'fact' and the personalities involved in such a process and to point out the stereotypes that still persist. That is especially important once stereotypes, prejudices and the so-called master narratives have a noted presence when teaching history in schools. With this main purpose a specific sample of textbooks, within the period developed between 1939 and 2009 were analysed. The sample includes History textbooks of three different educational models: traditional model (1936–1970), technocratic model (1970–1990) and critical model (1990–2013). This study will be developed through qualitative analysis of contents and data, using linguistic and critical discourse analysis, and of the iconographical repertoire. As a result, we can outline an evolution of the selected subject through the last 70 years and describe its relation to the political context.

Keywords

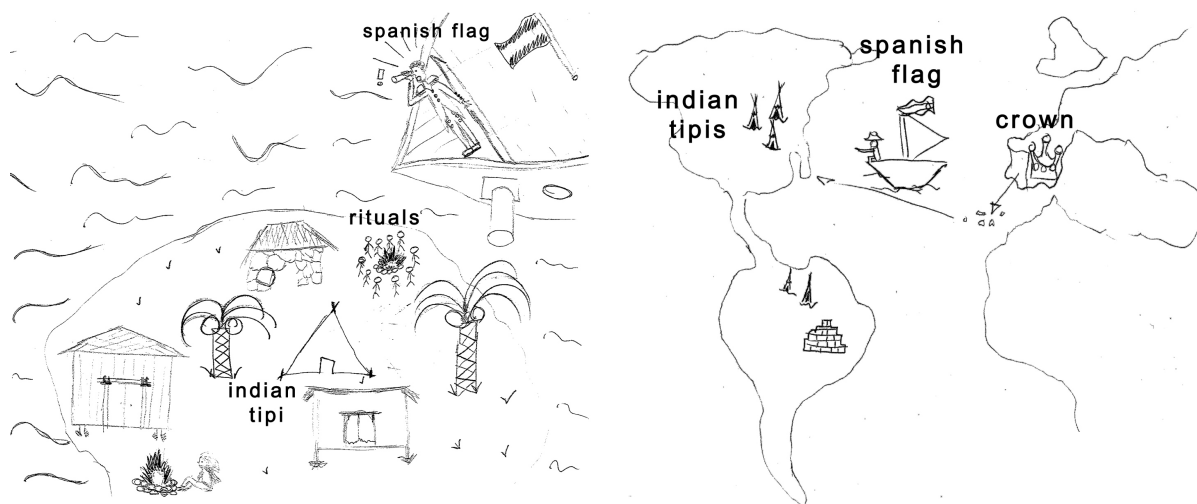
Americas – Discovery & Colonisation, Catholicism, Conquest – colonial, Critical discourse analysis, Culture, Discourse Analysis, Franco, History curricula – national, History Instruction, History, Master narrative, Narrative – national, Memory & identity, National catholic ideology, National identity, National narrative: Personalisation, Science Education, South America, Spain, Stereotypes, Textbook content, Textbook, Transmission of identity

Introduction

Identity and nationalism are two concepts that have been linked to History from its origins as not many others have been before. From the 19th century, the narration of historical events with educational purposes has barely been able to be separated from the ideological interest in transmitting a determined national identity model. The development of a new line of research focused in the study of ideological influences in the curricular materials through the analysis of textbooks has been favoured by this fact. Now, it has a large development in America (Ossenbach & Somoza, 2001) and Europe (Borre, 1993; Choppin, 1992; Genivesi, 2000; Radkau, 1996).

The present work follows this line of research and approaches the transmission of a Spanish national discourse through the analysis of the content of a range of History textbooks edited between 1939 and 2009.³⁵

The selected content was the so called 'Discovery' and Conquest of America since it is an historical event remarked in the frame of the imperialism of the Modern history and because of its controversy in historiography. Our interest in this content was increased due to the fact that some interpretations and stereotyped views of the events were still nowadays in the narratives of the university students of Primary Education (Arias, Sánchez & Martínez, 2013), who drew the mentioned content in a very particular way, where the presence of the conquerors are quickly related to Spain as nation and the unknown and barely sketched natives resemble the stereotypical images of the North-American Indians (cf. Fig. 1 and 2). It was necessary to analyse the trajectory in the construction of the aforementioned narratives in order to know their implication in the image that contemporary society has of certain chapters of national history



Figures 1 and 2. Sketches made by a student (2013), after being asked to draw a quick drawing of their image of the 'discovery' and conquest of America.

Therefore, the objective of this work is to require the significance of the ideological influences in the curricular materials and to identify the changes and continuity of content associated with particular historical facts and personalities within this period, together with the aim of pointing out the stereotypes and possible prejudices inherent when teaching history in schools, which still persist.

Methodology

The specific sample selected to be analysed includes History textbooks intended for different schooling periods, specifically for students between six and sixteen years old. Fourteen

³⁵ This study is part of the research project *Imagen y Educación: Marketing, Comercialización, Didáctica (España, siglo XX)* [EDU2013-42040-P] developed by *Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa (CEME)* of the University of Murcia (Spain) and "La evaluación de las competencias y el desarrollo de capacidades cognitivas sobre Historia en Educación Secundaria Obligatoria" (EDU2015-65621-C3-2-R) supported by Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad (Spain)-FEDER.

textbooks have been selected for this study. They were published according to the curricular contents from the National Decrees of three different educational models: traditional, technocratic and critical educational models, present in Spain between 1939 and 2009.

This study is developed through qualitative analysis of the contents and data, using linguistic and critical discourse analysis. Methodology used turn to the content analysis of the textbooks, from the estimates given by Bardin (1986), Krippendorff (1990) and Van Dijk (1983). Just the first results of the investigation in process, derived from the qualitative analysis of the contents, are going to be presented in this paper. This analysis is based on the semantic study of the narrative about the discovery of America and the identification of the units of register, categories and concepts, which are essential for the construction of a Spanish national and historical discourse. Due to all the aforementioned reasons, this article is framed in those published in the last few years by Carretero (2002, 2012, 2014), Álvarez (2013, 2011), Pérez (2000), Pozo (2000), Tiana (2000) and Valls (2007 and 2009) in Spain.

The 'Discovery' of America in textbooks from the traditional model (1939–1975)

Between 1939 and 1975 Spain was a mostly rural country with a high level of analphabetism (illiteracy – unable to read and write) and a working population essentially agrarian which had just suffered a Civil War (1936–1939). In the political area, those were the years of the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. The regime of Franco was a totalitarian one whose priorities concerning education were indoctrination in the principles of national-Catholicism and single-gender education (Escolano, 2002). The structure of the educational system was divided in three stages: Compulsory Primary Instruction (from six to twelve years), Middle Education (from thirteen to eighteen years) and Superior Education or University studies. The Francoist regime approved four educational laws (1938, 1943, 1953 and 1969) in order to indicate teachers and students which were the principles that they should follow. In the preamble of the Law on Middle Education Ordinance, it was indicated that “From the beginning of the National Movement, it has been a constant concern of the State, the enactment of juridical rules which guaranteed intellectual and moral formation to the Spanish youth in service of the ideas of Catholic Faith and the Motherland” (BOE 58, February 27th 1953, p.1119).

Besides the legal frame, the educational system was also influenced by the Francoist dictatorship through diverse mechanisms such as the supervision of the teachers hiring or the editorial control of textbooks through censorship. Due to this reason, the national-catholic ideology is accurately reflected within the six textbooks analyzed, published between 1939 and 1964. Some basic principles needed for the explanation of historical facts such as duration, chronology, or simultaneity are not present in them. Neither can the contents of these books be categorised as an expert story with positivist features as the one written in the 19th century. Instead of these characteristics, we are facing narrations where milestones led by historical characters succeed or by personified concepts as nation, motherland or Spain. For example, the Discovery of America appears in textbooks through narrations in third person where the subject is frequently Spain or the Spanish people, or even the first person plural, in an attempt to make the reader participate in the story. It should also be remembered that the mere use of the term Spain is mistaken or ambiguous since the Discovery of America was a task undertaken initially by Castilla (García, 2011).

That is why America is the daughter of Spain and the nations in America call Spain, Mother (Serrano, 1943, p. 65).

For the Columbian expedition to be completely Spanish it would be enough not just the fact that it was actually Spain who organised and assembled it (Edelvives, 1950, p. 220). The success of the discovery owes to the Spanish people, the authentic author of that great venture (Comas, 1964, p. 22).

Along with the Spanish nation, the Providence acquires a fundamental role in the Discovery and conquest of the American continent. It has reached the point of affirming that the divine intervention fosters such a large venture.

It is already "one" in the outside and in the inside: one in the Earth and in the Faith. Now, as that unity has been achieved in the name of God and in defense of its doctrine and the glory of its name, God is going to reward it by making it "big" (Instituto de España, 1939, p. 136).

[Columbus] is immersed in the fact that Castilla is the destined by the Providence to carry out the civilising mission of giving new lands to the globe and the Christendom (Edelvives, 1950, p. 220).

According to the texts, this divine intervention was fostered by the piety and mercy of Isabel the Catholic and her evangelist mission, described as great, original and colossal (Edelvives, 1950, p. 218). The evangelist and civilising objectives which always accompany the discovery are constantly highlighted and legitimise the Spanish action in the American lands.

And the best among the Spanish people were there to teach them how to speak, pray and live, as we speak, pray and live (Serrano, 1943, p. 64).

Afterwards it was changed [the objective] when they saw that actually in those lands, if they were a representation of Asia, there were people of little civilisation who needed to be evangelised and turned into cultivated people (Edelvives, 1950, p. 220).

Along with these characteristics, the Christian values and attitudes of the main characters of the conquest and colonisation of America are highlighted. In the ensemble of texts consulted for this period, only once it is admitted, in a veiled way, that 'there were some exceptions of abuse and cruelty' (Instituto de España, 1939, p. 169).

Catholicism is also present, on purpose, through Church representatives as friars and missionaries or priests with an important role as leading subjects of historical discourse.

The three arms of the Spanish nation: the people, the kings and the clergy, constituted with their actions a page of glory so appropriate, so original and so great, that I do not doubt when affirming that it is, in its gender, the only one among all lands (Edelvives, 1950, p. 218)

But its civilisation, even though it was undertaken since the very beginning with enthusiasm and perseverance, it would cost long and awful work to thousands of missionaries and Christian gentlemen, and up to a good number of governors and magistrates' (Edelvives, 1950, p. 218).

In most textbooks there is an abundant use of literary language in the historical narration, above all in those from the Primary Instruction. The use of epithets is frequent in order to reinforce the nature of milestone or legend given to the historical facts.

Almost all the children know, as episode, the immense fact of the discovery. But this is not enough: they have to know it as the most intense, the greatest, the most brilliant epopee in the history of the world (Serrano, 1943, p. 62).

On the other side, if we analyze the presence of the native people from America within the consulted texts, they are identified in generic way, without geographical neither cultural referents, but with neutral terms such as 'indigenous', 'naturals', 'people' and 'habitants' and, when they come with adjectives, those are pejoratives as 'backward people', 'poor people', 'savages' and 'ferocious'(Serrano, 1943, pp. 63 and 64). Even in some books, the image of the American settler is associated with the one of a black half-naked man (Serrano, 1943, p. 65) (cf. Fig. 3).

Figure 3. A missionary shows a half-naked black man how to farm (Serrano, 1943, p. 65)



The 'Discovery' of America in textbooks from the technocratic model (1975–1990)

After the dictator's death, in the last third of the 20th century, a period known as the Democratic Transition begins in Spain, and it culminated with the approbation in 1978 of the Spanish Constitution and the establishment of a parliamentary monarchy. During the last years of dictatorship, the educational system was marked by the General Law on Education enacted in 1970. A period where the effects of industrial advance were already evident, and the touristic opening of a country with a middle class population in development. A technocratic educational model was established in this context, which objectives were the consideration of education as a public service, free scholarship until fourteen years, and a non single-gender education. The plans of study were nearer to a technician conception of education and the teachers could obtain access in their university studies to the historiographic trends developed in Europe (French School *Annales*, the British Marxist historiography, etc.). Besides, the Spanish publishers (Vicens Vives, Santillana, Anaya, SM) started to get rid of the national-catholic doctrine and showed a greater concern about didactic content adapted to the ages of the students with more space dedicated to activities and the explanation of historical vocabulary.

Regarding the narrations about the Discovery and conquest of America, this new approach can be observed, although there is still a clear predomination of a Spanish nationalist discourse. Spain and the Spanish people are the usual subjects in the narration.

Despite this fact, the use of language is less charged with epithets and intensifiers, and narrations are no longer composed as historical-literary stories with barely any temporary references but articulated in a diachronic discourse of history, where chronology has a more important role.

In times of the Catholic Monarchs, Spain discovered America (Santillana, 1983, p. 99).

Spain discovers America (Equipo Aula 3, 1984, p. 140).

We would like to highlight a novelty in the construction of the historical discourse in this period: the appearance of Europe and the Europeans as historical subjects.

When Columbus was talking to the Catholic Monarchs in Barcelona, he had just made the most important discovery among all the ones made by the Europeans: the discovery of America (Santillana, 1983, p. 99).

This great European expansion was owed to economical, ideological and technical causes (Santillana, 1983, p. 110).

Europeans spread their culture. The language, the way of administration, the laws, art and religion of each metropolis were spreading to the conquered territories (Santillana, 1983, p. 113).

This opening up regarding the identification of the conquerors does not appear to have applied to the population of the American continent. Terms such as Indians or indigenous still have a predominant role in narrations and it still remains the civilising character of the colonisation of America.

Although the legends speak of great richness, the truth is that, in the first years, Spanish people just got in touch with people from the Caribbean islands and Central America, poor and backward (Equipo Aula 3, 1984, p. 141).

In summary, according to Valls (2009, p. 58) 'we cannot speak about a breakup, nor pure continuity in relation with the previous period.'

The 'Discovery' of America in textbooks from the critical model (1990–2014)

From 1990 to 2014, four educational laws have been enacted in order to regulate the stages of the compulsory Primary and Secondary education in Spain. The Organic Law on the Education System General Order [LOGSE] in 1990, the Organic Law on the Quality of Education [LOCE] in 2002, which was not applied, the Organic Law on Education form 2006 [LOE] and the Organic Law on the Improvement of the Educational Quality [LOMCE], recently enacted in 2013. Although there are significant differences, the common nexus is their interest in reinforcing the teaching of procedural and attitudinal content in all the subjects, in line with the importance given to the competence-based teaching at a European level, an objective on which the 2006 LOE insists.

Another common characteristic within the subject of History is the predominance of a diachronic curriculum, whose central axis is chronology. In the teaching of History, the narration of political facts prevails, even though each time social and cultural aspects of past societies fill a bigger space in textbooks. But the excessive concision used to narrate facts merely situated in a timeline and hardly referenced to structures or relations between them constitutes a disturbing issue.

Regarding the Discovery and Conquest of America, generally it appears as a section inside the unit dedicated to Spanish Modern History, which reduces its explanation to the chronological succession of facts. Sometimes, concision is excessive as in the simple mention of the date of the Discovery of America in 1492 inside the theme of a course which explains the Spanish Modern History in two pages: 'Modern History began in 1492 with the Discovery of America and came to an end with the French Revolution' (SM, 2010, p. 184).

This fact makes it difficult to explain the historical process and the understanding of changes and continuities in history. On the other side, most people leave in the background the interrelationship of societies and cultures. A simple example would be in the history taught to students the treatment given to the Discovery of the Americas, where we still find the Spanish and pro-European focus which argues American civilisation started in 1492. An example of this is their denomination as 'pre-Columbian cultures.' Nevertheless, narratives about this topic increasingly frequently explain some aspects of the three great cultures: Maya, Inca and Aztec. In relation to this, we highlight the important presence of these cultures in a 1996 edition of a book from the publishing house Santillana by including an extension to the chapter of geographical discovery as an additional chapter entitled 'Life in America in 1492'.

But, despite its importance in the text, the consequences that the discovery, conquest and colonisation had upon these cultures are treated in a kind and positive way, by showing the contributions the mentioned venture meant to those people. They give an account of these civilisations from a social and cultural view, including some issues linked to the national and political actuality, such as divorce, by pointing out that Aztec people could divorce, or the role of the Aztec woman at home, at work and in the city (1996, pp. 56-57). The presence of thematic elements which historically legitimise ideological currents and political actions is present in the official narratives (Carretero, 2014).

After the conquest, these people [Maya, Azteca, Inca] adopted the traditions and language of the Spanish people, as well as their religion: Christianity (Santillana, 1995, p. 54).

These aspects will also begin to be present in later editions. In this way, the teaching of attitudinal values is supported in the use of historical sources, which narrate the exploitation of American civilisations after the arrival of the conquerors, above, in books published in the 21st century. Maybe it would be inconvenient if the afore mentioned content appears, generally, as part of the final activities of the unit instead of being a part of the historical discourse found within the study sections.

The travels made by the navigators of the 15th century entailed the encounter with people from different cultures. Which attitude do you think that favors the cohabitation of some people with the others? (SM, 2004, p. 134).

Current textbooks show a historical narration covered with more objectivity with less narrative and literary discourse, with an absence of epithets, evaluations and a greater precision in the

subjects. Still, it can be appreciated that a limited modification of content and the introduction of elements could generate a true renovation in the learning process. We find it disturbing the excessive presence of stereotyped representations, repeated ad nauseam, and the absence of activities which promote the understanding of historical process and the contrast between views of the history, which favours critical thinking through the analysis of diverse historical sources.

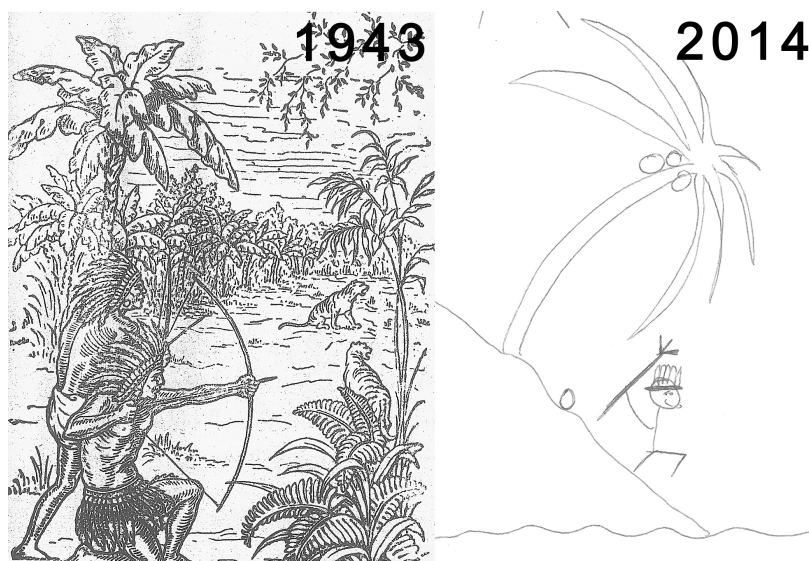
Conclusion

In conclusion, if we attend to textbooks published according to the curricular contents expressed in the State Royal Decrees, it can be proved how, through the last sixty five years, the history that has been taught is mainly national history of Spain. There is still a diachronic focus of history and a predominance of political history.

Content associated to the discovery, conquest and colonisation of America, has evolved from a position of national exaltation to a discourse which, looking for the objectivity of historical narration and the lack of literary elements makes it, in this way, more sober and less opulent. Together with the aforesaid, we observe an evolution in the subject to develop understanding of the historical situation. The personality-centered identity indoctrination has been reduced. This is why the narration in the first person plural where the allusion to the Spanish people was a constant has given way to a narration centered in specific characters and their actions.

If we attend to the presence of the indigenous component, we can appreciate how, since the 1990's, it is included in the textbooks, but still in the background of the analysis of American civilisations. The negative and pejorative allusion to these cultures has been lost, but the understanding and knowledge of these civilisations have not been fostered. Regarding the consequences of the process of conquest, this has been generally relegated to enrichment texts and/or activities without foster a critical focus about the conquest and the derived actions of this action.

Figure 4. Sketch made by a student (2014) that reminds the image shown in a textbook of 1943 which illustrates the natives' way of living at the time of Columbus arrival (Serrano, 1943, p. 61)



Nevertheless, we consider that, if we pretend to generate a critical and reflexive teaching of history, free of any nationalist and stereotyped component, then the modifications found are not really significant, especially once checked against the strong presence of these images in the historical narratives of our university students. Most of them are in the discourse shown in textbooks published in the 1930s and 1940s (cf. Fig. 4). We could say that the ancient teaching of history might have lost legitimacy but not its validity (Valls, 2007; Carretero, 2014).

The narrative discourses used are really powerful and they have been transmitted easily through numerous generations since the 20th century, moment on which the first national stories began. These narratives have been really claimant when the teaching of history has suffered an important reduction regarding its dedication, but not at a legislative level with the reduction of the minimum contents to be taught. The historical discipline has shared its space with diverse disciplines such as Geography, by creating the subject Social Sciences (1970), with Natural Sciences and Geography, creating the subject of Knowledge of the Social and Cultural Environment (1990), and, again, with Geography within the new educative reform (2013).

The said cohabitation would have been productive if it had not been translated into a sharing in the dedication to each of these subjects, without looking for a real complementarity of their contents. Thus, contents from two or three disciplines have been added in the time range dedicated to a subject, without looking for common points among them. This has caused the teaching of history to be reduced to a mere relation of periods, cultures and facts, many times without even a connection, that will just provide a chronological grounding to the student body, where images have increasingly obtained more presence. In numerous occasions, explanatory texts have been removed to achieve a visual explanation given by these images created with that purpose. Indeed, these images are the ones that can contribute the most to the persistence of stereotypes if they are not used properly.

Due to all of these reasons, we consider that insisting on the idea of the textbook as a basic curricular material of great importance is fundamental, but teachers are still the key element in the teaching-learning process. In this sense, a special emphasis must be made in their formation in the historiographic and didactic ground, centered in the analysis of different sources and using methodologies which stand for the development of critical and reflexive thinking (as cases study, teaching based in problems, project-based learning, etc.) from early ages. The introduction of varied and diverse activities focused on the analysis of the stereotypes that have been detected will allow us to instil in the students a sense of critical awareness of the history. This will help them to reach a better understanding of the past and present society and to progressively create a new historical discourse free of such stereotypes and prejudices. According to this, the inclusion of historical sources in textbooks for the teaching of the historian method would be a key element in the development of a new narrative, as it already happens in textbooks from other countries (Brusa, Guarracino & De Bernardi, 2014). The mere use of adapted historical texts in the classroom as fragments of Bartolomé de las Casas, the Codex Duran or the Requirement of the Spanish Crown (Requerimiento de la Corona Española) just to mention some of the most famous, will enable the student to know this period in a more reflexive and critical way.

Correspondence

Laura Arias
larias@um.es

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FOSTERING CREATIVITY IN SIXTH GRADE HISTORY EDUCATION THROUGH A STORY-TELLING DIGITAL GAME: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY³⁶

Elias Stouraitis, Ellinogermaniki Agogi, Research and Development Department, Pallini, Greece

Abstract

This paper presents the results of an innovative conceptual framework called C2Learn [Fostering Creativity in Learning Through Digital Games], a European research project in Technology-Enhanced Learning. This project aims to foster co-creativity in learning through digital gaming activities. The challenge was to implement these activities in history education, which remains a subject of memorization of historical names and events. History education in Greece does not develop students' imagination in an historical context. As such, students believe that history has nothing in relation to their lives and they face it as a given subject. In this research, students optimized teachers' stimuli so as to develop their imagination in an historical context. Our hypotheses related to the following questions:

Do students actually believe that history is a creative subject?

Does this implementation give students an historical sense?

Does digital gaming develop students' imagination and afterwards their creativity?

Do students acquire historical knowledge through this procedure?

Sixty-eight students 12 years old derived from a rural private school in Greece voluntarily took part in this research. A storytelling game based on digital cards was developed for the history course in the sixth grade primary school. A story full of challenges was created based on contemporary history events set in Greece in the 19th century. Students completed open-ended questions about history and creativity before and after the pilot implementation and they made judgments and justifications. The research findings give answers to the research questions and provide a basis for equivalent teaching history approaches in future.

Keywords

C2learn, Creative emotional reasoning, Creativity in history, Digital gaming, Co-Creativity, Historical imagination, Historical thinking, History teaching, Information and Communications of Technology [ICT], Technology enhanced learning

Introduction

Considering Plato's Ideal Republic and his detestation of imitation, the idea of creativity in the Arts has his roots in ancient Greek philosophy. Actually, creativity always remains a desideratum in pedagogical practices and particularly in postmodern societies. In addition to creativity, 21st century's societies are overwhelmed by consumers and also producers immersed in digital technology (Craft, 2013:2). Global impact encompasses local or regional societies creating rapid and unpredictable changes. These changes affect societies' understanding about the past, their lives and the upcoming future. How can creativity empower individuals' thoughts? Transforming the idea of what is to what might be could be a first step to think differently. This

³⁶ The C2Learn project has been supported by the European Commission through the Seventh Framework Programme (FP7), under grant agreement no. 318480 (November 2012–October 2015).

differential thought gives a person's mind the strength to think not as usual in a lateral and common sense way but prepares it to face the unexpected. Some young people are already possibility thinkers without understanding it via social networking, through digital games and their creative manipulation of data. (Craft, 2012:3). The theoretical background to the concept of possibility thinking fosters pedagogical practices which generally generate novelty and particularly different way of thinking and the notion of thinking the unthinkable.

Permeating new era school education is engagement with change. Especially history education that operates as an umbrella subject to the unpredictable changes in our lives. In Greece, the aims and the values of history education in the primary schools are now characterized by the development of historical thinking and consciousness. (Greek History Curricula, 2003): two different but interdependent meanings that are Greece's main focus in history education. However, the reality is far from these two core curricula notions. On the one hand, there is a one and only narrative derived from the one government textbook and on the other hand, the limited teaching training in history pedagogy and teachers who are not dedicated to teach history in schools, such as foreign language teachers, sociologists etc. Both weaken the two goals of the Greek history curriculum. Students' ability to create or to express their opinion on historical events or persons is usually restricted and the potential usage of them depends on teacher's discretion. (Andreou, 2005, Apostolidou, 2010, Cavoura, 2014).

The paper concentrates the content of an innovative research project in Technology Enhanced learning called C2Learn [Fostering Creativity in Learning Through Digital Games]. This project aims to foster co-creativity in learning through digital gaming activities based on theoretical foundations in the field of creativity in education. This paper seeks to explore and bring together two sets of terms; creativity and history. History is considered as a given subject. Students usually underline their indifference on it and their argument are based on the memorization of historical events and figures as well as how far are all these from their current lives (Kokkinos, 2005, Apostolidou, 2013, Cavoura, 2014). History remains a "close" subject which focus on great persons, wars and political events.

Co-creative thinking as a core concept of embracing creativity in education

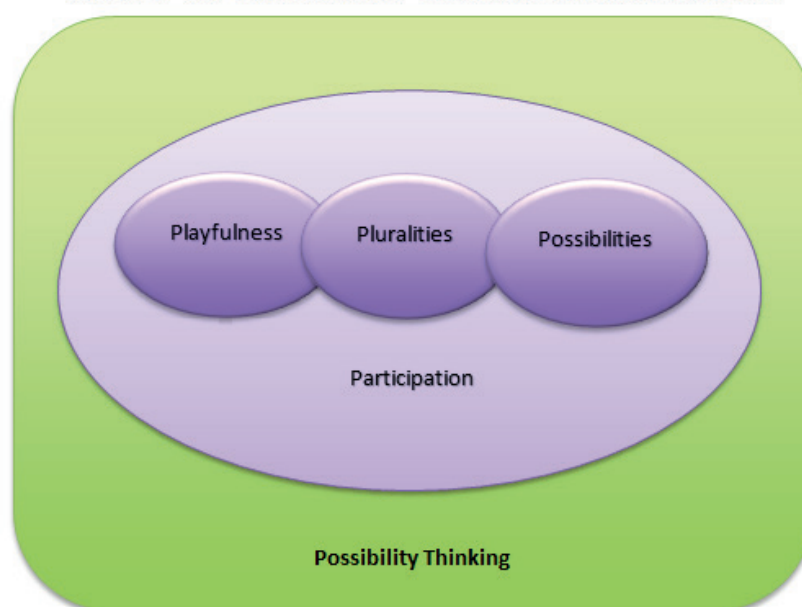
At the beginning of the 21th century, creativity as a term in education has returned as a main desideratum. This change derived from societies' needs to make citizens more active and responsible for their actions as wells as capable to operate non-driven situations. (Carretero et al, 2016) Creativity as a definition has many interpretations which are prominent and many times idealistic. In this paper I highlight the term of possibility thinking as a core concept which emerge from random participation, pluralities, playfulness and possibilities. Anna Craft carried out a numerical study of creativity in education which focused on possibility thinking and distinguished between little c creativity and big C creativity that also connected small c to the big C creativity (Craft et al, 2012: 539).

According to the previous rationale developed through the C2learn project, co-creativity focuses on learning. Learners, both individually and collaboratively as well as communally, come up with new thoughts and ideas. What do we mean by new ideas and how these can be fostered? Pedagogical procedures change the standard and given notion of traditional learning when teachers ask 'what if' and 'as if' questions and they use stimuli in their pedagogical process. Students share ideas and actions in an immersed dialogic rather than hierarchical and oriented pedagogical environment. The theoretical core of this creative learning is the development of co-creative thinking, which is developed by the possibility thinking and the creative emotional reasoning (Scaltsas et al, 2013:9).

Creative Emotional Reasoning is an umbrella term and refers to the theory of non-linear thinking techniques which promote the notion of co-creativity. Non-linear thinking means different types of thinking processes which emerge through stimuli derived from communal or school processes (Scaltsas et al, 2014:11). The most important meaning of this theory is the term “disruptor”. As mentioned, disruptor techniques give teachers the opportunity to create an open-ended, not closed, circumscribed lesson. As such, digital games using random cards and random words operate as a disruptor which trigger students’ interest, imagination and creativity.

The role of imagination (Craft et al, 2012:543) is connected to this notion of creativity. Imagination contributes to possibility thinking as a manifestation which provokes new ideas and possibilities recognized by the others concerned. The role of **4Ps**, (Fig. 1)

Figure 1: The 4Ps of Possibility Thinking which Spark Imagination.



is extremely important to develop imagination which enabled by the plurality of different identities (activities, places, and people), the notion of possibility awareness (what might be), and the engagement through playfulness and participation (through dialogue and different perceptions) (Craft, 2013:7). Imagination is articulated through the 4Ps key features of changing and particularly by the definition of the pluralities in which students come across new perspectives and different perceptions. Involving also playfulness in a digital or not play-space enhance students’ possibility of new context’s generations which might have produced by possibilities through “what if”, “as if” questions. As such, participation brings together pluralities; possibilities and playfulness enable students as leader persons to their educational environment. (Craft, 2013:10)

When students collaborate and share or generate new ideas and identities, then ‘wise’ humanizing creativity is securely grounded. Wise, humanizing creativity is defined as an active process which leads to change when shared value emerges through collaborations (Chappell et al, 2012:3). People develop new ideas when they engage in collaborative thinking and share their actions. Actually, individual ideas in comparison with communal interaction lead to creativity. Of course, this procedure includes communal conflicts which reinforce people’s

contribution to humanizing creativity. Humanizing creativity is about being communally mindful of the consequences of our creative activities and engaging in personal change. The term “wise” is used in order to emphasize people’s responsibility in terms of the consequences of their thoughts and new ideas. Humanist writings encompass the idea that humans can have a rational worldview, and that through progress and science they are in control of and can make a better world (Gray, 2002).

Permeating creativity in History subject

In 1970s, Pierre Nora and Jacques Le Goff were the beginners of the “new history” (the French name is “nouvelle histoire”). Before then, writing history was focused on the great political events that many called “great men” history. Individuals’ intentions are now also considered in this new rationale of historical narration as well as people’s histories. (Iggers, 2005) This movement has amended the teaching of history which is focused on interpretations of historical events. Rogers (1979) explained what this form of history involves. The new school of history could be characterized as a shift from dealing with specific events to the collective imagination (Laville, 2014:172). Extensive opposition faced this movement in schools but nowadays the great majority of European countries has accepted it. Students’ cognitive development converts them to being active thinkers as they become accustomed to historical methodology. In addition to this, students point out their interpretations of historical events, people and narrations as well as developing their understanding of the differences between their current lives and the practices of people of the past. Empathy developed as a core term of this kind of history teaching in many countries of Europe.

Empathy in history could be characterized as an attempt to understand people’s motives, ethics and notion of the past. This terminology was changed by Dickinson, Lee and Ashby, as they asserted the term of rational understanding which means the capability of perceiving people’s aims and activities in the past. Empathy’s term has been confused by many teachers who just asked students to imagine how they would be in another historical era. In addition to this, some students develop an affective dimension of their cognition through empathy (Lee and Ashby, 2001).

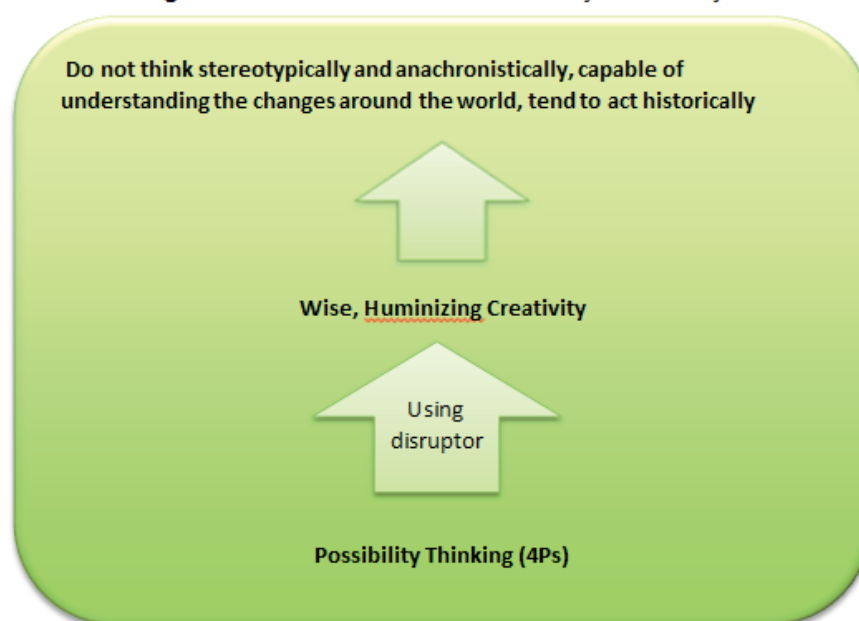
The misunderstanding of historical empathy created detestation for this movement as its opponents argued it meant that students did not learn about historical events and people. But the main problem was an unawareness of developing historical imagination through understanding an historical context and based on historical study. Students reconstruct the past in relation to their imaginations and knowledge of the historical period, its conditions and prevailing mentalities. At the end of the 20th century, the term “multiperspectivity” is core in history education and is based on human products (resources) rather than understanding peoples’ lives of the past as empathy usually does (Stradling, 2003). Political and social changes all around the world gave multiperspectivity the possibility to operate in these changes and more recently the term historical consciousness as students use the past understanding and solving problems of current affairs as well as planning the future (Rüsen, 2005).

The philosopher of history, Jörn Rüsen has proposed a scheme of historical consciousness and people’s identities towards their historical narrations. He argues four types of narrative construction of history. The first one is the traditional type in which the events of the past have an immediate meaning of the present; the exemplary type, in which past events are distilled into laws; critical type opposite to the previous two types which means that I do not accept the previous rationales but I do not exactly interpret the historical changes in people’s lives and finally the genetic type in which people understand the historical change and they point out

that this change is not a threat but may also bring possibilities with it (Kölbl and Konrad, 2015: 18-19) The last type of historical consciousness is approaching pedagogically the rationale of empathy.

In this paper, I strongly support the combination between New History didactical strategies with the definition of creativity and especially possibility thinking and wise, humanizing creativity. Imagination and empathy are two core concepts which enforce students' interpretations and reinforce the notion of New History. However, these concepts should be used in a concrete historical context so students do not think stereotypically and anachronistically (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: The Relation between Creativity and History



Methodology

A qualitative methodology was adopted as an inquiry in this small scale research. The rationale behind this methodology was the mapping of what teachers and students argue in terms of history and creativity and afterwards highlighting the changes which might happen after the game-based implementation. Sixty eight students at the sixth grade of primary private school near Athens took part in this implementation. The private school was chosen as a place where students experience many innovative projects and teachers are interested in enhancing students' active participation during their history lessons.

Teacher expressed through interviews their notions in terms of the way they teach history and whether they define the term creativity in their teaching methods. Three teachers from this private school pointed out that they prefer students to express their opinion during their history teaching and they do not choose to narrate historical information to them. This asserted their attempt to make many projects throughout the educational year so as to enhance students' personal appreciation of history.

In addition to this, teachers claimed students' collaboratively learned through either their history projects or their history lessons. Teachers also characterized their teaching as creative

due to students' active expression through their projects. They defined the notion of project as an activity in which students construct elements of the past, search sources from the past and interactively learn from their constructions or their personal interpretations. There was no specific answer of what the meaning of creativity is and how they attempt to introduce it in their history lessons but they just only expressed general thoughts in terms the activities they realised in their projects.

On the other hand, students answered anonymously four questions before and after teaching implementations. These four questions related to the meaning of history and the notion of creativity. The first one was about the value of history in their lives. Students could express their feelings about what is history for them and the significance of learning history today. This question accompanied the next one which referred to whether they thought of history as a creative subject. There was no related question about the meaning of creativity so it was an opportunity to discover their spontaneous thoughts. The third question referred to whether they collaborate with each other in order to learn history in their classrooms. This question could reveal if they collaborate in learning history as teachers told us in their interview. It was a checkpoint for us to understand if they could collaborate easily during the pilot's implementation. Finally, the last challenge was if they could respond to the following question: "*what if the Greek revolution had not happened*". This last question could inform us whether students could react to a hypothesis in history and whether students could be creative in relation to the past.

Working Procedure

Teachers attended a training course by C2Learn [Fostering Creativity in Learning Through Digital Games] researchers to acquire the notion of creativity as the European project had developed it. Teachers experienced possibility thinking, the wise, humanizing creativity and creative emotional reasoning so as to create their educational scenarios and develop a non-hierarchical pedagogical environment in history. Those teachers teaching in the sixth grade chose the historical era in which Greece was under the Ottoman Rule. Their choice was not random as the main theme of this sixth grade historical curriculum is centralized at the Greek revolution and how Greeks lived under Ottoman rule. Teachers thought that students should work better in small teams. Game play was across one session and one class of year 6 children, using digital and paper prototypes. The classroom was divided into 4 groups. Each group consisted of three teams of two players.

4scribes is a story-making game. The main objective is to collaboratively create a story, while each player tries to steer the narrative towards their own secret ending. At the end, players anonymously vote which story ending was the best. The premise of the story is given by the teacher (but could also be decided by the students-players). Elements are not meant to be interpreted literally, but there are an idea and an archetype that should spark the imagination of players. 4scribes uses creative elements (cards) as disruptors sparking players' imagination.

The request teachers made was "*Life in Tripolitsa under Ottoman Rule!*". The related general students' task was: "*Facing the economic and social constraints imposed on your region by the Ottomans, how will you live under them?*" The specific, related challenge the students faced gave them a specific, empathetic role: "*You are a farmer who has just paid the 10% tax on your crop. You feel wronged because the wheat that the tax collector withheld was more than your proper dues. You decide to seek audience with the Pasha and present your problem. The Pasha listens to you and ...*"

Researchers observed teachers' lesson before the project began when the teachers would teach the project lesson and prepare students for the empathetic, role-play challenge through the digital game. The observations recorded teachers' traditional teaching of the Ottoman Empire. They did not change their way of teaching. They presented through narration the topic and students had to assimilate the related knowledge. Students did not collaborate much in this lesson and they did not engage in dialogue sufficiently to acquire the desideratum knowledge. And, let us underline the absence of any resource usage during their lessons. By the end of this lesson, the teachers had prepared students for the next lesson and thus its digital game-based challenge. Two days later, there was a two-hour lesson in which students responded to the teachers' challenge through a digital game. They were very impatient to discover/experience what was going to happen. Findings are detailed below.

The pilot's implementation was followed by a discussion between teachers and students to ascertain and evaluate each teams' stories created during playing the game. Teachers based on the rationale of Socratic Dialogues elicited thoughts and information both in terms of how teams made their stories and also whether they optimized the random cards and ranged across the historical era of the game. These Socratic Dialogues operated as a means to fully understand how students collaborated with each other as a team; how they had already perceived the historical era and the people who acted in it; and the way they optimized understanding through using their imagination. Students freely expressed their opinion and disagreed about the winners they voted for as well as over the context of their stories. It is also important to highlight this occurred during the game playing and also during the discussion between teacher and students.

Findings

1. Students' opinion before the implementation

From analyzing students' answers to four questions, a large number of findings emerged related to students' beliefs in terms of creativity and their understanding about history. The questions were about:

1. the value of history in their lives
2. whether they thought of history as a creative subject
3. whether they collaborated with each other in order to learn history in their classrooms.
4. how would they respond to the question: "*what if the Greek revolution had not happened*"?

Responses to the four questions were combined to produce the responses to the following categories:

a. Students' perception on creativity towards their orientation of the past. Students' answers in terms of their opinion about history were analyzed using Jörn Rüsen's theory as well as how students expressed their understanding of history in relation to the past. Students' responses fell into two main positive categories with a third category that reflected a passive, negative view of history.

The first positive category covers an understanding of history as tradition or as an example of what people ought to remember. The first category can be characterized as a traditional or exemplary view of the past.

The vast majority of students (49/68) fell into the first traditional and exemplary category formed by their prior cultural experience or their school environment. Some examples from two boys are:

'I respect those who made Greece better'. 'We learn about our ancient Greece' 'Greeks have so significant history and this is significant to me today'

The first category of students does not believe that history is a creative subject as previously defined. They have a narrow, concrete view of creativity that concerns only their own country, as a girl wrote *'History is a creative subject because you learn your country's civilization'* or that creativity only concerns big events that happened in the past as a boy stated: *'It is a creative subject because it contains battles, conflicts and plans of great men!'*

The second category describes history as a change continuum that some students argued does not harm their lives. Some of them understood changes during previous centuries but they could not explain what had happened. Conversely, the second category (12/68) sees the development of a critical or genetic type of consciousness.

These students saw the past not in a linear way. They pointed out the changes which happened during their lives or in general in centuries: *'History inspires my life now and in the future'* one girl wrote, *"History is so significant as you can understand the changes through time and prepare accordingly your life"*. These students pointed out that history can also be creative as earlier defined under certain circumstances: *'History makes you think, imagine'* a girl wrote and a boy mentioned *"through history, you can imagine what people from another era lived and simultaneously imagine your life in future"*

Finally, there were passive, negative students who were indifferent to the past and they underline it or they just say it and they do not argue: *'No, because everything has passed'* a girl wrote, *'No, I like to talk about contemporary issues'* a boy wrote. In terms of creativity, they did not express or they underline that there is not any creative process during history subject: *"There is no creativity in this subject. You only have to learn past events"* a boy wrote.

b. Students' attitude on collaboration and participation in history. Students' answers on whether they collaborate with each other during history lessons were extremely revealing. The vast majority of students answered they did not collaborate with each other in history subject: *'It is forbidden to talk in history'* 12 years girl wrote, *'Our teacher only narrates history, there is no collaboration'* 12 years old boy wrote, *'It is forbidden by the subject to collaborate'* 12 years old girl narrated, *'Our teacher forbid us to collaborate in history'* 12 years old boy mentioned.

Students expressed completely different views from their teachers in terms of the extent of collaboration in the subject. Researchers also observed before the implementation of the project that students only narrated. Teachers did not allow students to collaborate with each other or to express themselves enough during their narrations.

Two categories emerged in terms of collaboration and students answers. The first category included students' beliefs that history was a forbidden subject for any kind of collaboration (32/68). The great majority of those in this category were from those who experience a traditional and exemplary type of history (25/32) with a few from the critical and genetic second history category (7/32).

The second category included students who asserted that they could not collaborate because of the teachers' teaching method (36/68). These students equally believed in the traditional/exemplary type of history (19/36) and the critical/genetic type of history (17/36).

c. Students' reaction on the unknown. In terms of the question: "*What if the Greek revolution did not happen?*" students reacted in a different way. The great majority of students pointed out that this question had a given answer and Greeks would be under the Ottoman rule. They cannot imagine another solution or give another option in that case (58/68). These students were included both traditional/exemplary and critical/genetic type. A few students (10/68) answered it was a very difficult question and they have to think more seriously in order to respond. They didn't give any specific answer but they express their dilemma on what might be in that different option. These students belonged to the critical/genetic type category.

2. Students' outcomes from 4scribe game

Students created stories which were fiction- rather than history-oriented. Many students took their stories out of the historical context which the teacher had embedded in the scenario: '*farmer's wife gave birth a son and pashas was affected and gave him permission to do whatever he wanted*'. The disruptors (random words on the cards) operated as stimuli to students, who used them to advance the story (and steer it towards their secret ending), but not always within the context that the teacher had defined. Some students seemed not to understand completely the notion of the game and some others could not engage with the historical context. Some engaged with a different kind of narrative types. This gave the opportunity to present their notions during their stories. However, the great majority of students simply drew upon their simplistic imaginations.

3. Video and audio analysis

During this pilot, teachers acted as facilitators and moderators, structuring the activity for students to start playing 4Scribes, avoiding intervention in the playing. They followed researchers' rules and they triggered students' interest so as to play appropriately. Students were generally engaged in the action. They appeared to focus upon pure play rather than playful learning. Interaction and dialogue among students was rich, sometimes relating to conflict and managing conflict, but generally not overtly/directly related to possibility thinking. Random cards made them feel uncomfortable because they did not know how they could continue the story and simultaneously to think historically. In general, conflicts emerged due to students' strong characters rather than the historical context.

4. Student's opinion after the implementation

Students answered again the same four questions after playing the game. Students did not seem to change their opinion in terms of the significance of history in their lives and whether history is a creative subject. As it is normal, the previous types maintained without any change. On the other hand, the next two questions pointed out a different opinion on behalf of students and especially what students derived from traditional or exemplary type of narration. These students expressed their understanding in terms of collaboration in history subject learning. They asserted that when they began to collaborate it was an important process. Most students reported that they used the random cards so as to create a creative story. They found it tricky in order to create their stories within the limitations posed by the random cards while simultaneously having to lead the story to their secret ending: '*We listened to each other and it was the first time we collaborated in history*' a girl wrote, '*We collaborated with each other and we constructed a story about an historical era*' a boy commented. '*It was extremely different from any other history lesson before*' another boy wrote. In addition to this, they responded positively to the previously unknown 'what if' question writing that it could be examined seriously

or that there were many options like: '*Greeks should create a small state consisted of Greek islands*' as a boy wrote, or '*Greek could find another solution such as a huge orthodox state.*'

5. Socratic Dialogue Method

After the pilot implementation, a Socratic Dialogue technique was applied in the classroom. A one-hour discussion (Socratic Dialogue) enabled student reflection upon their stories and what they believed they had learned. Teachers triggered students to express their thoughts. During the Socratic Dialogues students expressed conflicting views about the outcomes. They criticized their own team members about their stories and also the others in terms of their anachronisms, the misunderstanding of random cards and the stories which were fiction and not history oriented. At the end, each team freely stated which team should be the winner. The developing debates among teams inspired them to find which story is the ideal. This reflective session made students think seriously about their outcomes, understand the opposite to their own and make critical judgments. As well as an evaluative process this reflection worked simultaneously as a teaching and learning method for their developing their creativity through the digital game.

Discussion

This short pilot implementation was a first step towards understanding whether a History class could become more creative in a playful pedagogical space using the C2Learn [Fostering Creativity in Learning Through Digital Games] approach. Co-creativity developed through students' collaboratively working on making stories related to a Greek historical event. Students changed their way of developing historical understanding as they created stories that they had to critically examine at the end of these sessions.

Controversies which emerged through the Socratic Dialogue method of evaluation of their creativity operated simultaneously as a method of understanding of what they created and why. Each teacher operated as a facilitator and not as a person who just gave the historical information. This made the teachers understand that students can be more mature in their acquisition of historical learning acquisition than they believed.

On the other hand, students did not assert that history is a creative subject after this implementation. There was no evidence that this could be happen through this small-scale implementation. A large-scale implementation in accordance with a wide range of activities should help us understand what could change in students' perception towards history and how creativity could be an element during historical learning.

Further research will give us better insights into how creativity works in this subject area and the kind of educational scenarios and teaching practices needed to foster creativity. What if, for example, teachers use primary or secondary sources in order students make their stories? In addition to this, students could also create their stories under the lens of multiperspectivity. This could be pretty challenging. The digital game and especially its disruptor (random cards) operated accordingly to the research goal as they stimulated student development through confronting them with the unexpected to which they had to respond.

Further investigation involving students with different cultural orientation and understanding could enable us to assess the different potential changes arising from how they can react during such games.

Conclusion

C2learn implementation in history subject in the lens of improving students' history imagination underlines the significance of both the collaborative method of 'playing' games and the rational for an empathetic dimension. Indeed, students clearly engaged in playful collaboration, but not closely following the history context defined by the teacher. This means that students can be creative during an historical context. Historical context does not mean that students' imagination or creativity is restricted.

On the contrary, the historical context can trigger students' creativity in responding to another historical era, indicating whether they have understood it. Students can test their ability to express their understanding of a book's information about an historical era and create stories related to it. This enables them to understand the different ways people lived in the past contrasted with their own current lives; their different ethics and, finally, it helps avoid anachronism. Considerable added value to the activity is generated through post-play class reflection on students' creations (stories). Games trigger students' motivation to create and reflect on what they have learned.

Correspondence

Elias Stouraitis
email: stouraitis@gmail.com and estouraitis@ea.gr

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF HISTORY TEACHING METHODS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION THROUGH THE USE OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY (ICT)

Anastasia D. Vakaloudi, Department of Teachers' Supervisors (Inspectors) in Secondary Education, Ministry of Education, Thessaloniki, Greece

Vasileios Dagdilelis, Department of Educational and Social Policy, University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, Greece

Abstract

This paper presents the findings of research which had, as its primary purpose, the examination of the effectiveness of teaching, but also the improvement of the very teaching of History by utilizing Information and Communication Technology (ICT). The traditional methods of teaching History, which are put into practice in Greek schools, do not achieve substantial results, as shown by a wealth of research. Thus, the goal of our research was to investigate the possibilities provided by ICT, so as to improve this teaching. The research was carried out for two years and was based on the interdisciplinary teaching of History, with the utilization of ICT, in High Schools of Thessaloniki Prefecture (Macedonia-Greece).

Keywords

ICT, Learning by doing, Collaborative activities, Research, Evaluation of information, Cultivation of speech and writing, Social awareness

Introduction

The problem with the teaching of the subject of History in the Greek educational system is that the traditional methods of teaching History, which are applied in Greek schools, do not achieve substantial results, as shown by a wealth of research.

This paper presents the findings of research which had, as its primary purpose, the improvement of the very teaching of History with the utilization of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), compared with other more traditional methods of teaching.

In the course of this paper, we will present some problems with the teaching of History in Greece, the theoretical framework of the research, a brief description of the research, stating its objectives and methodology, the educational software and ICT tools that were used in the teaching, the findings obtained and the conclusions reached.

Some problems in the teaching of History in Greece

In the Greek educational system, the subject of History is very important. The problem with its teaching is that the traditional methods do not encourage critical thinking, which is necessary for an understanding of history, because the teachings are typically based on the following:

- narration by the teacher
- the limited use of teaching aids
- the emphasis on memorization and the individual examination of each student

- the assessment of students using a numerical scale and the consequent obsession with getting high grades.

All of these elements contribute to the view of history as a collection of facts, names, dates and events which the student is asked to memorize but not to connect, study or examine critically.

In addition, an important problem of the *History Curriculum of Secondary Education* concerns the closed curriculum, with a voluminous syllabus of material, which is determined by specific page numbering and is fragmented into discrete and almost independent parts. In this way, the students' knowledge is not established within a unified corpus, which could be examined critically. The *History Curriculum of Secondary Education* promotes the linear juxtaposition of events, which does not permit students to access and use primary historical material. The students, moreover, due to memorization, are not able to correlate historical data (Barton & Levstik, 1996). It is observed that there is difficulty with understanding the continuity and sequence of history, which in the students' minds is represented as a juxtaposition of disconnected historical periods.

Teaching is limited to the "dishing up" of ready knowledge (i.e. the supply of information), to the memorization and subsequent absence of meaning, to the cultivation of parroting skills and to the execution of standardized activities, which, of course, neither promote critical thinking, nor help the students acquire an historical and cultural identity.

An example of the lack of understanding, appreciation and critical thinking of information is indicated in the National Higher Education Entrance Examinations, in which students are unable to combine information from the school textbook (which is known) with information from historical sources (which is provided at the time of the examination). There is, generally, confusion in the students' minds about places and events in history.

The inappropriateness of textbooks, which are characterized by excessive amounts of information and the absence of historical sources, also contributes to this problem.

Theoretical Framework

The Teaching of History

The Teaching of History is defined as the students' cultivation of skills and abilities, which a historian has, such as historical understanding, adaptation, analysis, synthesizing (Levstik & Barton, 2001:246-261; Peck, 2005). Contemporary teaching highlights, as the primary objective of History, historical understanding which is based on knowledge of the content of history, the methods of approaching historical fact and the understanding of concepts (evidence, cause, explanation, empathy, etc.) that seem to play a crucial role in historical understanding (Ashby & Lee, 1987; Limón, 2002).

Therefore, in teaching History, a crucial role is played by:

- 1) comprehensive History (New History, Microhistory, Oral History, etc.)
- 2) the experiential relationship with the past through meaningful communication, collaboration, common reflection and pursuit, interaction, cognitive conflict within existing knowledge and knowledge which is being acquired
- 3) a critical approach to sources and historiographical works
- 4) historical interpretation which is based on logic and facts (Levstik & Barton, 2001:246-261; Vakaloudi, 2003:30; Peck, 2005).

The contribution of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in teaching History

The basic precept of constructivism is that learning is achieved via the mediation of tools and work (Engeström, 1987; Duffy & Cunningham, 1996). ICT as a tool for teaching History can substantially alter the way that students access, gather, analyse, reconstruct, present and convey information. There are at least 5 main reasons that advocate the integration of ICT in the learning process and they relate to the support and reinforcement of: (a) learning; (b) teaching; (c) the socialization of the child; (d) the social inclusion of children with learning difficulties; (e) the creativity and effectiveness of the educators (Poole, 1997).

In particular, ICT can substantially contribute to the teaching of History because:

- 1) It can provide access to primary and secondary sources;
- 2) It can cultivate a kind of experience in students, with simulations, videotapes, sound recordings etc., which make the understanding of historical terms, concepts and facts feasible;
- 3) It favours the creation of an exploratory and collaborative learning environment;
- 4) It offers rich visual material to the teacher, which complements the material in the school textbooks (Sutherland et al., 2004).

Description of the research

The objectives of the research

The following overall objectives were set in the research that we carried out:

- a) to promote the general aims of the subject of History;
 - the development of critical historical thinking and historical consciousness;
 - understanding and respect for different cultural identities;
 - understanding of “the other”, awareness of the concept of otherness;
 - an interdisciplinary approach to historical content, as well as the ability to use material and teaching media which cultivate autonomous learning and promote collaborative teaching and learning;
- b) the students:
 - to engage with the material used by historians, i.e. with every kind of historical source, to acquire the ability to understand historical sources, to process them critically, to analyse them, to evaluate them and to come up with historical conclusions;
 - to select and reorganize information and comments using various techniques, forming their own opinion about the events with the help of various ICT tools and to accomplish specific tasks, e.g. to compose written, multimodal or oral text (Shannon, 2008:14-20; Poitras & Lajoie, 2012);

Research methodology

Utilized in the organisation of teaching were:

Critical social theory. The reflexive dialectical perspective of critical social theory tends to see practice from the perspective of the insider group, whose members' interconnected activities constitute and reconstitute their own social practices, in the *first person* (plural) (Carr & Kemmis, 2000; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005:572). Following this method, we collaborated with the teachers and students who participated in the research, with discourse and critical reflection (Ngwenyama, 1991). Critical social theory was taken into account in the participatory

action research (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005:572). This action research is a methodology that is considered a model of critical social theory because it espouses the same views.

Educational action research is an alternative type of action research that teachers themselves conduct, either alone or in collaboration with others as part of a research team. In this particular research, therefore, we implemented **techniques of educational action research**, i.e. the participation of teachers was equal in the decision-making process, in the selection, design and development of the entire action (Elliot, 1991; Altrichter et al., 1993; Posch, 2003).

Computer Supported Collaborative Learning (CSCL). This theory is concerned with the improvement of teaching and learning with the assistance of ICT (the promotion of collaborative interaction between the members of a group and the facilitation of the sharing and the dissemination of knowledge) (Anastasiou, 2009:11; Satmari, 2009:42-43).

In this manner, teaching was carried out via the investigation of a topic, the project method (research plan), interdisciplinary teaching and the utilization of ICT in all phases of teaching. The students were divided into groups; each group member undertook particular duties/roles (e.g. coordinator, computer operator, etc.). Each lesson included worksheets with activities and research questions. Teaching began with discussion between students and the teacher in relation to the aims of the lesson, the methodology, the activities and the students' tasks that were contained in the worksheets. Subsequently, the students engaged in the investigation of the topic, elaborated on the data that they found either in educational software or websites, either in material that had been created by the teacher (in presentation software), with the help of the school textbook, dictionaries, other printed material, discussed and recorded the information. Then the groups either orally supported their perspectives (using their notes) in relation to the topic in the open plenary session of the class or composed, using their findings, assignments with a word processor or presentation software, which they presented in the open plenary session of the class, with commentary and discussion.

The objective was the study of the teaching process and learning outcomes which emerged from the teachings and how that changed because of student involvement in the topic, the project method, the interdisciplinary approach, group/collaborative effort and the help of ICT. Another objective was the study of the abilities, skills, attitudes and behaviours that were cultivated and developed by the students and teachers within a learning environment with the above-mentioned features. Through this, we reached the findings that we present.

ICT was used in addition and supplementary to all the phases of teaching, for information searches with regard to a particular topic, through texts, pictures, videos, artwork, maps inter alia, for the processing of information and the preparation of work. Various ICT tools – such as educational software, office applications or the internet – constituted auxiliary tools in the exploratory process, so as to process, organise and present information in an oral, written or multimodal account and contributed to the elicitation of historical conclusions with the aim of historical understanding. The students, in groups, dealt with, discussed, thought out, considered so that they could draw conclusions from the findings, consulting their notes and arguing through oral discussion and/or written as well as multimodal text. They substantiated and presented their work in the open plenary session of the class.

For the **collection and analysis of data**, techniques of **content analysis** were used, among others. The basic aim of analysing content is the method of categorization. Categorization is created through observing objects, things, situations, which have a certain number of common

characteristics by qualitative criteria and constitute “categories” (Burr, 1998; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Therefore, following this procedure, we observed and analysed:

- The data from lesson transcripts, i.e. the participation of students in exploratory activities for the collection of their material, in problem-solving processes, in participatory and collaborative activities, in activities for the creation of their assignments, the things they declare that they themselves felt and experienced, as well as the informal discussions with the teachers and teacher-spectators that were observing the lessons.
- The worksheets, which entailed different activities, therefore different choices in processing the material for each group, and categories of questions for the exploration of historical material through ICT. For example, through setting appropriate research questions and processing activities in the “ABAKIO-E-SLATE. Microworld Mycenae” educational software, by observing archaeological items, categorizing them (vases, tools, jewelry, weapons, figurines, frescoes, tombstones), recording their explanatory data, the students were asked to make inferences about the professions, art, religion, script, clothing and occupations of the women and men in Mycenaean cities. We observed, therefore, in the worksheets, whether the questions, activities and management of ICT tools facilitated the investigation and understanding of historical material.
- The oral and/or written assignments that the students presented in the open plenary session of the class and namely the ways of expressing and presenting their results. For example, in one lesson, the students synthesized and incorporated, in presentation software, the curriculum vitae of various artists (the process of creating a curriculum vitae is taught in the subject of Modern Greek Language), which they supplemented with the artists’ work in order to substantiate their arguments about the inclusion of those artists in the Renaissance period. Through the artwork they critically presented the characteristics of the historical-artistic period. In another lesson, after studying articles relating to the Second World War and the atomic bombings, the students undertook, in groups, to write a **summary** about the article that they studied (the creation of a summary is taught in the subject of Modern Greek Language), or, after reading a poem on the internet, to compose a poem of their own on the word processor. One group of rather high-spirited and indifferent students were set the task of putting together a software presentation with images representing the topic with captions, for the school festival. The teacher of the class was impressed by the willingness with which the group members worked and the fine result of their creation. In another lesson, two groups of students, who were assigned the same topic (“conditions that helped in great discoveries”), devised different ways to express their perspectives and compose their work, by making use of the word processor. The first group came up with a **dialogue** between two imaginary people in order to develop their argument, while the second group cited the information in sequence, composing a **text**.

We counted how often a category of data was reiterated. By counting the frequency of each category (its reiteration, i.e. by different people), aggregated results arose. From the process of repeated readings and synthesized categories, we ended up in data categories, which were grouped according to their interconnections and properties, in this way shaping a basic theoretical frame of thematic axes that formed the basis of the final findings.

Educational Software

The educational software used was:

- **Historical Atlas-Centennia** (<http://www.clockwk.com/download.html>). The students can choose a particular country, city or date, which they would like to study. The corresponding map then appears with additional informative material, embedded in the software. The students also have the opportunity to submit questions regarding historical figures, places and events and relate to the corresponding map that they are studying (Vakaloudi & Dagdilelis, 2013b; Vakaloudi, 2016:195 ff., 320 ff.).
- **ABAKIO. E-Slate. Microworld “Mycenae”** (<http://www.e-slate.cti.gr/Microworlds.htm>). This educational software is a *Microworld*, i.e. it doesn't “teach”, but proposes a range of activities that incite the active participation of students and inquiry-based, collaborative learning (Romme, 2002; Rieber, 2005). Its purpose is the study of Mycenaean civilization through the observation of archaeological findings (Vakaloudi & Dagdilelis, 2013c; Vakaloudi, 2016:177 ff., 320 ff.).
- **Educational History software “The Discoveries”, of the Ministry of Education and the Pedagogical Institute** (http://www.pi-schools.gr/software/gymnasio/istoria_a_b_c/). This software contains links between historical and geographical material.

With this, a range of other ICT tools such as MS Office applications and WebQuests were also used (Dodge, 1999; Brown Yoder, 1999; Vakaloudi & Dagdilelis, 2013a; Vakaloudi, 2016:192 ff., 321 ff.).

Findings

The most significant findings from the analysis of the data, which was collected in the course of these lessons, can be summarized as follows:

During the lessons students investigated, either in groups or individually, the relevant educational material and analysed historical topics with the help of the worksheets with different activities, hence different options for processing the material for each group.

Investigation as a means of utilizing historical sources was also chosen. The students worked with primary and secondary sources, based on the fact that the value of historical sources for the teaching of History is significant (Mattozzi, 2006).

In addition, the internet was utilized, which is a potential reservoir of digital content. For example, in the lesson about “Great Discoveries” through searches for information on the internet and WebQuest, some groups were to study the biographies of seafarers and present them, via their biographical data, in the open plenary session of the class; others had to find basic information about the Aztec, Maya and Inca civilisations and present them to their classmates with a short, representative text; others had to study source-texts on navigation techniques and orientation, and the demographic and cultural consequences that the discovery of today's Americas by the Europeans ultimately had for the indigenous populations, statistics for the imports by Europeans from the new lands etc.

At the same time, the students were brought to understand concepts such as place and time by using maps as tools for studying history for the elicitation of historical conclusions.

Barton and Levstik (2004) define historical empathy as being a “process of understanding people in the past by contextualizing their actions”. In a historical context, the concept of empathy is a deep understanding of the circumstances and concepts surrounding the event. Therefore, there would need to be an idea of the time and place in which the event occurred (Hoepper, 2009). With the understanding of place and time and the use of maps, students realized the essential relationship of History and Geography and that the map itself provides basic information as to *time* and geographical *place* in which narrated historical events take place with which we are able to study and interpret some of the historical events (Hoepper, 2009). For example, in the lessons with the educational software “ABAKIO. E-Slate. Microworld Mycenae” the students initially made a journey through time and space, in order to then move on to an archaeological research site. First, they were instructed to determine the “timeline” (Fig. 1), the chronology (e.g. 1500 B.C.) and to delineate their archaeological research in this chronological “visualization of time”.

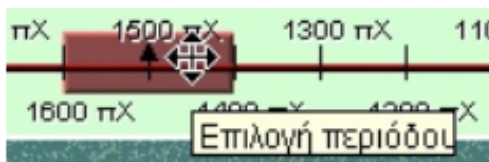


Fig. 1

Time is a decisive factor in an historical event. At the ages of 11 to 12, effort should be made to assimilate chronological order. Early consolidation of conventional chronology is essential because without it, even the basic organization and structure of historical knowledge is impossible. Activities such as placement on a conventional, linear time axis, which is accomplished in this lesson with the help of software, makes sense out of, as far as it is possible, abstract time in this evolutionary process.

Then students searched for, and found on the map, Mycenaean centres *Mycenae* and *Pylos*, as well as Mycenaean tombs *in the Mycenae area*. They confined their research, by group, to this site, using the icon “journey to another area” and “circumscribing” the relevant area on the software (Fig. 2).

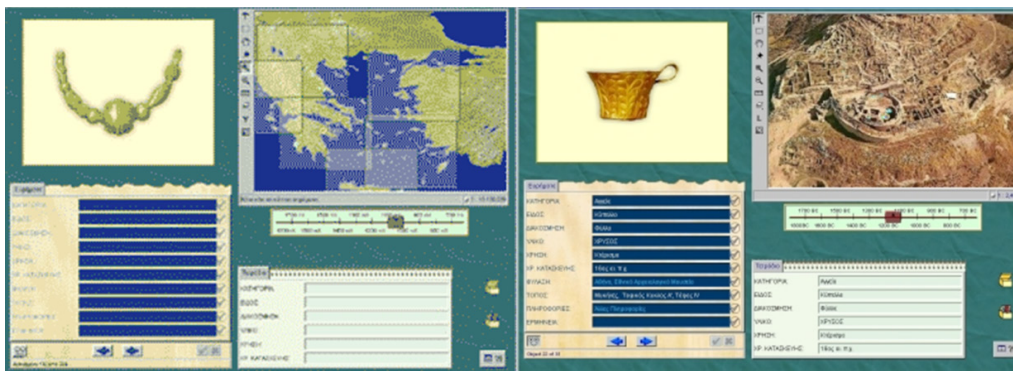


Fig. 2

In the lessons using software “Historical Atlas – Centennia” the students chose specific countries, cities or dates and examined on the corresponding map the border change in a particular geographical area, in different time periods that they chose each time, according to the historical research question that they were studying. In this way, they were in a position to compare the border modifications in a particular geographical area during different time periods. In addition, the software provided students with the possibility of processing information in conjunction with the study of maps, and/or formulating questions in relation to people, regions and facts, the answers to which referred to the corresponding map (Fig. 3).

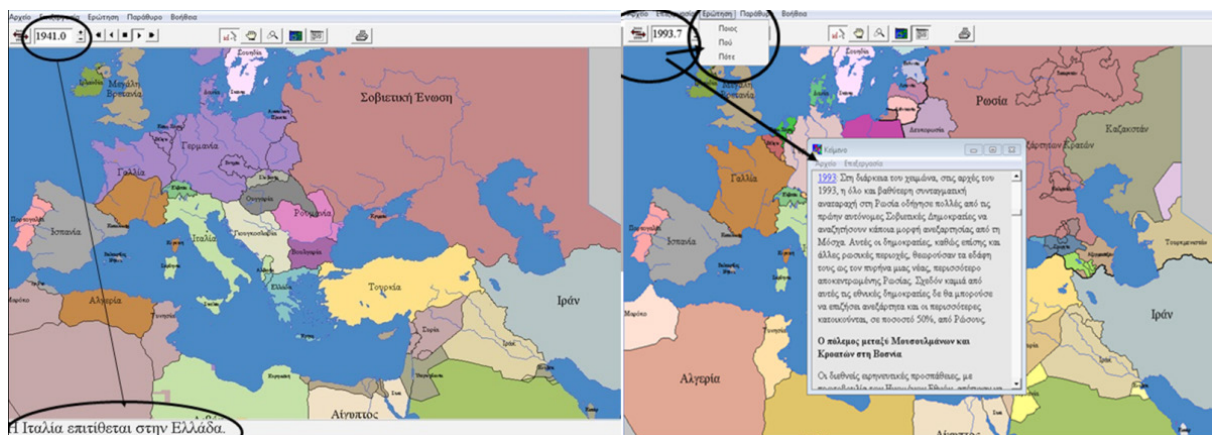


Fig. 3

For example, the students examined the changes on the map of Europe and Northern Africa during the Interwar period (1919–1939), by typing in the chronological facts from 1919 up to 1939.3, in order to study the expansionary tendencies of some countries and the territorial changes that were carried out mainly toward the end of the First World War and to correlate them with the emergence of oligarchic regimes. At the same time, they put to use the informational material from the software, from which they chose information which related to the historical question in order to form their conclusions.

In the lessons of the Second Class of Senior High School, relative to the *Age of Exploration and Discovery (15th – 16th century)*, one group of students was assigned the activity of conducting research via websites or with search engines (using key words) and collecting information about the *Treaty of Tordesillas* and maps which depict its terms (Fig. 4). The “visualization” of the Treaty through the maps helped the group members understand and present more fully, the terms and their consequences, to their classmates. The students highlighted that Pope Alexander VI mapped out a virtual demarcation line on the map, with which he delimited the regions of the two colonial empires: Spain-Portugal, to avoid conflicts (1494).



Fig. 4

Map showing the line of demarcation between Spanish and Portuguese territory, as first defined by Pope Alexander VI (1493) and later revised by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). Spain won control of lands discovered west of the line, while Portugal gained rights to new lands to the east. (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/599856/Treaty-of-Tordesillas>)

Subsequently, the students comparatively presented a change to a land allocation agreement which that had already learned, the “Partitio Imperii Romanæ”, the statutory map of the new Latin Empire of the East under establishment. The students reported that in the context of historical development of the Fourth Crusade (1201–1204), in March of 1204, after the Fall of Constantinople by the Crusaders, the Byzantine Empire was broken up and its territory was divided up among the conquerors (Fig. 5). The students pointed out that “Partitio Imperii Romanæ” begins with the phrase “In the name of Christ we must take Constantinople by force” and continues with that immediately after the occupation, the spoils would be divided in accordance with the previous agreement, and a 12-member committee would

be set up (six Venetians and six French), who “would elect a new Emperor from among the Latins that would serve the country better, for the glory of God, the Holy Roman Church and the Empire”. In the agreement on the dividing up of the spoils, Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) who had called for the appointment of the Catholic Patriarch Tomaso Morosini (from Venice), was installed as first Latin Patriarch of Constantinople.



Fig. 5 The feudal states founded by the leaders of the Fourth Crusade on lands captured from the Byzantine Empire (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_Empire)

The comparative presentation of the two treaties by the group was interspersed with dialogue between group members and the teacher, as well as relevant points. Part of the dialogue went as follows:

Teacher: *How does it seem, then, that in both cases the contenders divided up territory that they didn't own yet? Develop your positions.*

Student-representative of the group: *Both agreements were made by the Popes, with religious content, we mean they were made with religious purposes.*

Teacher: *Were the purposes sincere, or were they supposedly sincere?*

Student-representative of the group: *Supposedly!*

Researcher: *Therefore, what role did the Heads of the Churches essentially play?*

Students: *They were playing the role of the "General". In the end they occupied various territories in order to serve either economic interests or political interests.*

Teacher: *So, when we talk about colonial policy, we ultimately mean that we treat other countries like our colonies, whereas we don't even occupy their territory yet. You explained everything very well!*

The representation of the concept of time and place in conjunction with the consideration of sources helped the students better interpret the historical material that they had at their disposal and to structure their historical thinking. By synthesizing and recomposing historical information to deal with or create their own new representations, they established a more coherent picture about the historical past and conceived that historical knowledge is not fixed, but is formed according to the evidence that the historian has at his disposal and new data that arises (Donovan & Bransford, 2005; Prakash, o.D.).

The students showed interest, enjoyment, dealt with their topic, discussed, thought, considered, created original work which they substantiated and presented in the open plenary session of the class.

The students used educational software, websites and search engines (with key words) for the investigation of historical topics, electronic dictionaries in order to look up the definitions of various concepts, electronic tools for recording notes such as "Notepad," conceptual maps for the graphic correlation of concepts, "Electronic Text Corpora" to find texts relevant to the research topic. They practiced organizing and categorizing data in databases. With data from the internet, they analyzed artwork, i.e. they interpreted it based on the characteristics of the art it represented (e.g. Renaissance or Romanticism). For the interpretation of artwork, they used corresponding concepts (in the case of Renaissance art "Mythology, Christianity, Beauty, Humanism", etc.). They selected the appropriate visual material to support the oral part of their presentation, or their written statement creating an original script and/or multimodal text. In all the lessons, the students' pleasure and satisfaction in the learning process was evident.

The teachers were impressed that when teaching using ICT, the groups participated in an attentive, quiet way and worked together flawlessly. In particular, they were impressed by the fact that the groups studied their material, choose the appropriate data and composed their work based on conclusions from the critical processing of data they had collected. In other words, they did not merely copy whatever they saw.

Teacher A declared: *“Most of the students took action and worked together harmoniously in order to process the worksheets that they had undertaken. They showed as much interest in the search for information as in the elaboration of sources that they had been given. Particularly encouraging was the response of students who are generally characterized as ‘indifferent’ or ‘weak’. Finally, the majority of them rather enjoyed the atmosphere during the lesson and the experience of a ‘different’ kind of teaching. Also, most of them produced very interesting work”.* Teacher B mentioned: *“All students take action. The performance of indifferent, ‘weak’ and dyslexic students improves. Stimuli are provided for the search for information, enrichment, knowledge and communication.”*

A particular aspect of satisfaction for the students of the Second Class at the **3rd Junior High School of Menemeni** (80% of the students are Romany children with a lot of family, financial and learning problems) from the lesson with the educational software “Historical Atlas-Centennia” was the keen interest in finding out *“how well they did”*. The teachers informed them that they were very pleased. In another lesson, in the Third Class, with the same software, the researcher observed that:

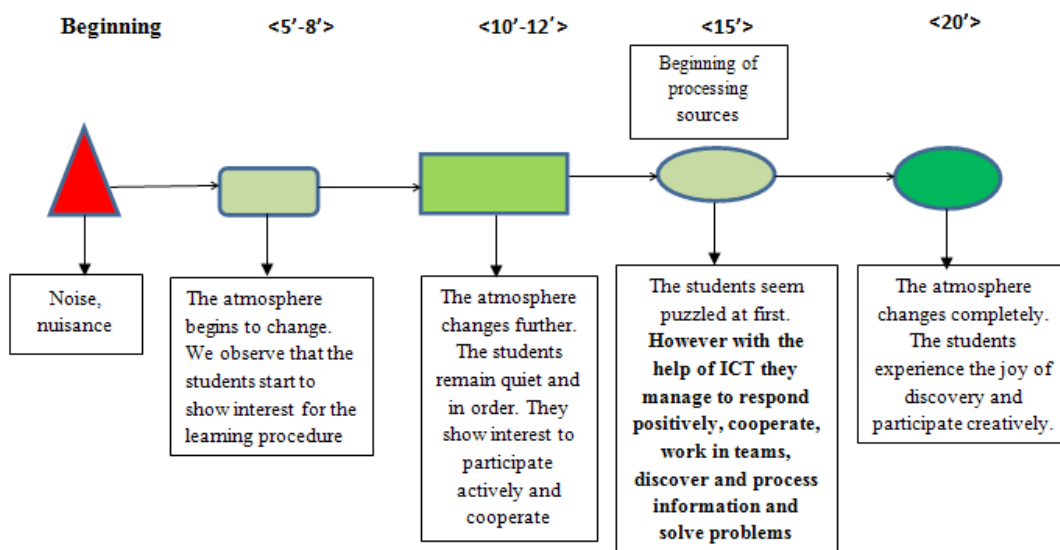
Really great work was done. There was critical reading of information and recording of the most important points, from a lot of information. The group that worked on (General) De Gaulle couldn’t find the relevant information and did thorough research until they found it.

In another lesson, in the Second Class, a teacher-spectator who was watching commented that:

“The lesson was very good. We were impressed that there was order in the classroom, the children searched, discussed, wrote and we marvelled [...] In any case, the children were very active and they enjoyed it, especially X [mentioning the surname of one student], who stood up to talk about the group’s point of view, he spoke very well!”.

The students’ “journey” is significant up to the start of the essential part of the lesson (versus teaching time). Diagrammatic Table 1 (which follows) is cumulative and concerns, in other words, all the schools.

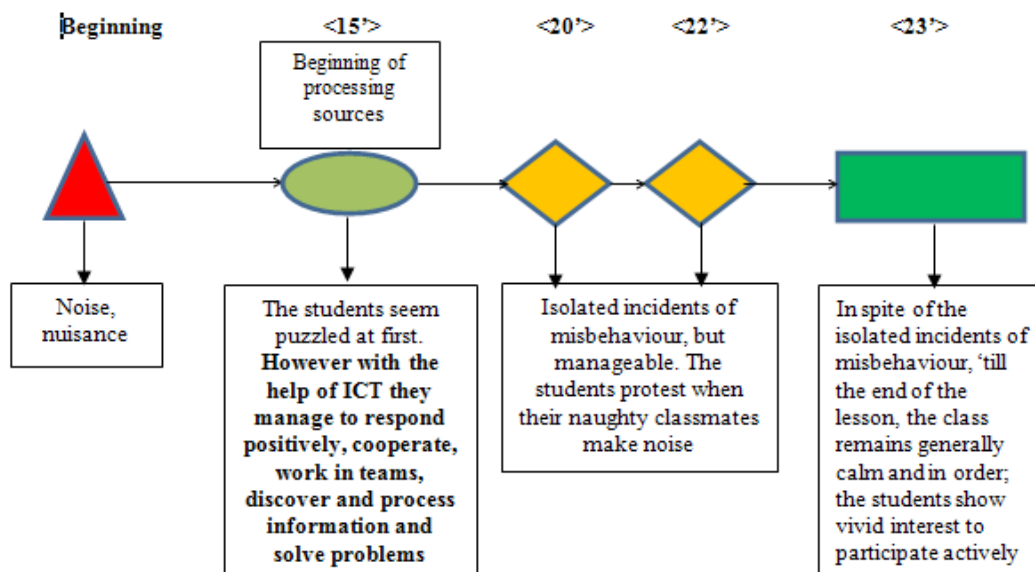
Table 1



It was observed, specifically, that the teaching method which was applied made a difference in the learning climate from the 5th to 8th minute. Silence and order start to prevail in the class. The students are interested and participate. In the 9th minute, a commotion which lasts a few minutes is noted. The students are unfamiliar with group collaborative, inquiry-based learning and thus require a period to adapt. However, their active involvement in the learning process is observed. Hesitation is minimized and they try to make use of their vocabulary in order to willingly participate, expressing their points of view and opinions, through the observation of maps, archaeological findings, artwork and texts that were processed. In the 10th to 12th minute, the atmosphere changes and there is silence, order, the students' interest is stimulated in order to actively participate and work together. We observe a change in the students' attitude to a collaborative, exploratory one. In the 15th minute the processing of sources begins. The students are accustomed to the exam-based method. They are fully responsive to asking why and giving mechanical, memorized answers to questions. In this way, they appear to be momentarily puzzled in relation to the learning process of investigating and solving problems. However, with the help of ICT, which provided the possibility of inquiry-based, individual and/or collaborative learning, the students actively participate in the process. From the 20th minute the atmosphere changes completely. The students experience the joy of discovery, participate creatively and observe that the verification of information via personal research leads to different pathways of choosing tack and gives various possibilities for the interpretation of historical data.

In a microanalysis of one school, we observe that in the 20th and 22nd minute, isolated incidents of misbehaviour arise. However, they are manageable. Even the students resent and complain about the fuss that their classmates make. In one case (in one segment of the First Class at the **7th Junior High School of Stavroupolis, a school of students in which 70% are immigrant and Romany children**) the researcher suggested to an unruly student that he leave the class if he wanted, but he refused. It should be noted that, students usually do not hesitate at all to leave the classroom. Aggregate Diagrammatic Table 2 follows the course of teaching in these individual cases.

Table 2



A role-play was put into practice, which was enjoyable and creative for the students.

In one reality simulation (an exercise on ways to do historical research), the students:

- Took on the role of an archaeologist who is carrying out an excavation or a historian who is poring over historical sources, in order to reach historical conclusions (e.g. through the observation of material but also the representations of Mycenaean discoveries – copper, silver, gold, clay, rock crystal, amber, hunting, boats inter alia – and the study of their explanatory data, they reached conclusions related to the occupations of the Mycenaeans and their trade relations with other peoples).
- Took on the role of an art or literary critic, in order to study the artistic or literary themes in combination with the corresponding historical period (e.g. since they searched for information and artwork on the Renaissance, they then critically presented representative works of their chosen artists, identifying and analyzing, through them, the elements of Renaissance art). In another lesson, through the analysis of paintings of Eugène Delacroix, they studied the characteristics of Romanticism in art, the French Revolution of 1830 and the “involvement” of Delacroix with his famous painting “Liberty Leading the People” and the offer of Philhellenism to the Greek War of Independence in 1821 against the Ottoman Empire (examples in Fig. 6). In this case, the students practised, with the help of ICT, the study of visual sources as historical sources. In this lesson they achieved; (a) Clarification of historical terms, understanding of historical events; (b) Awareness in relation to the oppression and exploitation of peoples by authoritarian regimes (in this case, the French population by the monarchy and the Greek population by the Turkish occupation) and the interpretation of causes that lead to armed rebellion/revolution (indignation that arises in populations due to the oppression); (c) Interpretation and understanding of how a human-ethical and socio-political event stimulates art and is connected to it (in this case, the artistic, socio-political theme of Romanticism and the socio-political phenomenon of Philhellenism).



Fig. 6 1) *Liberty Leading the People* by Eugène Delacroix (<http://www.eugene-delacroix.com/liberty-leading-the-people.jsp#prettyPhoto>). 2) *Greece on the Ruins of Missolonghi* by Eugène Delacroix (<http://www.eugene-delacroix.com/greece-on-the-ruins-of-missolonghi.jsp#prettyPhoto>)

- They took on the role of a writer or journalist (e.g. since they had studied texts related to the Second World War and the atomic bombings). They then commented on the topic as journalists or composed literary texts inspired by the events, etc. In this way, they activated their imagination and empathy (Davis Jr. et al., 2001. Lee & Ashby, 2001).
- In addition, they took on roles within the group, in order to coordinate and carry out assignments. The students had to conduct their own research, identify the areas in which they would concentrate their research on and to achieve this, they had to work together in groups (every group chose a coordinator who coordinated the processes, a 'secretary' who kept notes about the data they found, a computer operator), to manage the computer and ICT generally, in a variety of ways. All this was aimed at furthering the research.

There was a significant difference in the behaviour and participation of students and the understanding of concepts between the two teaching methods, the usual teacher-centered one and the one that we recommend.

Example: The 3rd Junior High School of Menemeni (80% of the students are Romany children): The co-teaching of three classes of the First Class of Junior High School, because, due to the high dropout rate, very few children attend each class. The lesson took place in the library of the school, where students used dictionaries to search for and interpret historical terms. It appears from the extracts that the students have many different problems and their cognitive level is very low. Some even struggle with reading. They have very low self-esteem. Other students have problems with their vision, which haven't been dealt with by their families in an appropriate manner, i.e. glasses. With the use of ICT in the lesson, there also seems to be a gradual change in the atmosphere and performance of the class.

Researcher: Listen to what we're going to do today ...

Male Student: We don't know how to read!

Male Student shouting: We don't know how, Miss!

Researcher: It doesn't matter. You don't need to know a lot.

Male Student shouting: We're boneheads, we're dunces.

.....

Researcher: Now we are looking at the family tree, in other words, the ancestors of Alexander the Great, as the Macedonians used to say. Who was the first? Read to us.

Male Student: [The student cannot read. The other students laugh. The researcher directs the question to a female student, who reads from the presentation slide]

.....

Male Student: Miss, where is that exactly?

Researcher: Vergina? (= modern Vergina is the city Aigai, the first capital of the ancient kingdom of Macedonia).

Another Male Student: I can't see Miss, because it's too far away.

Female Student: Miss I can't see clearly.

The extract in the 10th minute of teaching shows that the atmosphere in the class is beginning to change. The students show interest in observing and participating.

Male Student: *Don't change it, Miss.* [Meaning the presentation slide]

Researcher: *I'm not changing it.*

Female student to the other members of her group: *I want to write the things that are written there. Stop talking!* {The extract indicates a change in atmosphere. The students stop making a fuss and being unruly and become interested in participating and taking notes. Note-taking by students is a supportive practice, especially for students with learning difficulties. It teaches them how to organise information into a more understandable and useful format}.

.....
Researcher: *Your teacher is going to give you dictionaries to find the words "satrap" and "satrapy". Let's see which group finds them first.* [The teacher-librarian who loans out books at the school distributes the dictionaries]

Researcher: *The first group will find the word "satrap" the second group will find the word "satrapy", etc.*

One group shouts: *What are WE going to find?*

Other groups shout: *We found it! We're amazing!*

Researcher: *Tell me, what is the original meaning of "satrap"?*

Students: *The governor of a province in Persia.*

Researcher: *... According to the second meaning of the word, how would this man, the "satrap" have ruled his province?*

Female Student: *Despotically, tyrannically, arbitrarily, arrogantly.*

Researcher: *... Write, then, in your notebooks the word "satrap" and its meanings next to it.*

[One student in every group dictates, the others write. At the same time they see other words and their meanings in the dictionary, which impress them and they comment on them]

{The extract shows the joy of discovery, autonomous learning, cooperation, the understanding of historical terms and the connection with modern language (interpretation of terms from the dictionaries of the school library)}.

During the teaching process, teaching methods suitable for children with learning difficulties were applied and reinforced an important part of their education, their self-confidence.

Most of the schools where the lessons took place have the following characteristics:

- a) A large percentage of immigrant children;
- b) A large percentage of Romany children;
- c) A large percentage of students (Greek, Romany and immigrant children) from the lower economic and social strata.

All of the above-mentioned students have problems learning, family problems, are lower-level learners. Their problems learning *are similar to* those of children with learning difficulties.

Consequently, the lessons were specifically aimed at supporting these students, as well as students with learning difficulties. So topics were dealt with by asking questions, skills were cultivated for collaborative learning and the value of group collaboration and teaching among peers (peer teaching) emerged. They were assigned tasks with pictures, without many details. The information was presented in written format, with maps, tables, pictures, to increase their

ability to understand and memorize the information. The students could use alternative ways, e.g. they could do their writing on the computer, which has been proven to help children with learning difficulties (Panteliadou & Antoniou, 2008; Vakaloudi, 2012:268-269). They used assistive technology (e.g. spellcheck and the computer's dictionary), recorded their notes; the method of recording notes teaches them to reorganise information into a more understandable and useful format. Note-taking is a cognitive skill of active learning. Group readings were organised, the main points of the topic were highlighted as a comprehension exercise (Vakaloudi, 2012:59, 269-270. Patsiademou, o.D.:A61, Darvoudis, o.D.:C77, C87-C90). The tasks had to be realised within a set time period, by delegating parts of the work to group members. Particular attention and emphasis was placed on boosting the self-esteem of students, mainly by presenting their work in the open plenary session of the class, either orally or in writing.

The contribution of ICT to learning, for children with learning difficulties, is highlighted by the teachers in their evaluation of their lessons.

Teacher A declared: "... *Particularly encouraging was the response of students who are generally characterized as 'indifferent' or 'weak'*. Teacher B mentioned: "... *The performance of indifferent, 'weak' and dyslexic students improves.*"

After collecting, observing, categorizing and studying the material, the groups were asked to discuss and to draw conclusions from their findings, by consulting their notes and making arguments through oral, and/or written, multimodal expression.

The students used MS Office to compose a historical calendar of events or to fill in a mind map and to then compose a short text for publication in their school newspaper for the presentation of Maritime archaeology, to take notes commenting on oral historical events, to categorize in databases archaeological findings according to specific criteria, to create multimodal texts and so to present the answers to the exploratory historical questions with the data and information that they collected, etc. With presentation software, they organised historical information and correlated them with others (text-map, map-data table, text-picture, etc.). They grasped, in this way, the array of historical sources and their combined study, in order to extract historical conclusions.

There was a substantial change in the role of teachers.

The teaching practice of the teachers was one that highlighted the added value of ICT and support for the students, to reconstruct historical facts and construct their own historical interpretations. The teachers had the role of coordinator/mentor, designer of activities. Initially they organized the lesson, set goals, prepared research projects, planned WebQuests, the scope of activities, the worksheets with different activities, therefore different processing options of the material for each group. Then, they implemented collaborative learning in groups, which worked flawlessly. They organised the class into two-member, three-member or four-member groups, and presented the material in electronic format. The questions that were posed by the teachers were aimed at "forcing" the students to deal with, discuss, think, analyse, the goal was to further the research. Learning was transformed from a behavioural to a cognitive process, from a static situation to a dynamic one.

Summary and Conclusions

The data that we collected shows that the students had much greater personal involvement in the processing of the topic that we proposed, than what they would have had in traditional teaching. The objectives that were accomplished were:

- to carry out group-collaborative exploration of information given by the school textbook, through Information and Communication Technology (ICT), to make it more understandable and accessible to children;
- to make the students aware: (i) that maps are tools for studying History, from which we can draw historical conclusions; (ii) the essential relationship between History and Geography and (iii) that the map itself is intended to provide, in addition to *time*, basic information about geographical *place* in which the narrated historical events take place.
- In the lessons, experiential learning was applied (learning by doing):

An atmosphere of interaction was created, by using objects and tools, tangible (e.g. educational software, the internet, digital tools, worksheets) and symbolic (language, communication, interaction, cooperation between teachers and students, and students amongst themselves). Depending on the educational environment, investigation and learning are enabled through action and are interactive (Pattiz, 2004; Fosnot-Twomey & Perry, 2005). The students practised types of historical research with role-playing games. Through the observation and study of various materials, students drew conclusions, which they used to make arguments, responding to different research questions, either orally or in writing, in collaboration with others in group projects.

- The research highlighted a variety of problems:
 - i) There are serious operational problems in school infrastructure (lack of computer terminals and video projectors, problem-ridden IT labs, the inability of teachers of other subjects, other than the IT teacher, to use the computer labs, etc.).
 - ii) In the lessons, it emerged that the teachers should have sufficient knowledge in relation to the possibilities offered by ICT. In the evaluation of her lesson, Teacher A notes: "*planning one lesson with the use of ICT requires long preparation by the teacher...*". However, a lot of teachers are not familiar with the use of ICT.
 - iii) There is a serious lack of supporting digital material for History.All three elements seriously hinder the use of ICT in teaching of History.

Consequently:

- i) Resources need to be found, to eliminate operational problems and to improve the infrastructure and to properly set the schedule for use of computer labs at schools.
- ii) The educational system should provide continuous training and support to teachers and the teachers should consistently and continuously utilize ICT in their teaching. The teachers who carried out these lessons were sufficiently familiar with the use of ICT tools via their studies in the project "**B-Level in-service training of teachers in the utilization and application of ICTs in the teaching practice**" (<http://b-epipedo2.cti.gr/en/the-project/about-b-level-in-service-teacher-training-in-ict-eng>) and therefore dealt with any problems.
- iii) Digital educational material, appropriate for the support of History should be produced.

Correspondence

Anastasia D. Vakaloudi
anvakaloudi@yahoo.gr

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Appendix A: first version – dataset A
Odd-One-Out: The time of Explorers and Reformers

Names: _____ and _____
Nr. camera: _____

Your task

- Work in dyads
- You may **not** use your textbook or notes.
- Below you will find three lines with concepts or persons.
- Choose, in every line, one concept or person that is the odd-one-out.
- Explain what the other concepts or persons have in common.

1.	memento mori	carpe diem	uomo universalis	classical heritage
2.	Christopher Columbus	Bartolomeo Diaz	Vasco da Gama	Willem Barentz.
3.	Erasmus	Luther	Calvin	

1. _____ is the odd-one-out, because the other three _____

2. _____ is the odd-one-out, because the other three _____

3. _____ is the odd-one-out, because the other two _____

Question

- A) A lot changed around 1500. Can you, using the concepts and persons above, describe what the change consisted of?

- B) Can you give an explanation why many of the developments about 1500 occurred in a (relatively) short period of time?

Appendix B: Second version – dataset B
Odd-One-Out: The time of Explorers and Reformers

Names: _____ and _____
Nr. camera: _____

Your task

- Work in dyads
- You may **not** use your textbook or notes.
- Below you will find three lines with concepts or persons.
- In each line you will twice choose a concept or person that is the odd-one-out.
 - Mind: You can choose the same concept or person twice, but then you have to give another argument.
 - Then you have to choose which one of these two is the final odd-one-out.
- In conclusion you have to answer the two questions on the back.
 - We will end the assignment with a whole classroom discussion.

1.	reminder of mortality	seize the day	polymath	classical heritage
2.	Christopher Columbus	Bartolomeo Diaz	Vasco da Gama	Willem Barentz
3.	Erasmus	Luther	Calvin	

1. _____ is the odd-one-out, because the other three _____

_____ is the odd-one-out, because the other three _____

2. _____ is the odd-one-out, because the other three _____

_____ is the odd-one-out, because the other three _____

3. _____ is the odd-one-out, because the other three _____

_____ is the odd-one-out, because the other three _____

Questions

Answer these questions after the odd-one-outs.

- A) A lot changed in the era of 1500. Describe this change for (each of) the odd-one-outs.

Row 1: _____

Row 2: _____

Row 3: _____

- B) The changes you described in question A occur in a relatively short period. What is the relationship between these changes, through which they occur at more or less at the same time?

If you have finished everything, you can wait for a moment. The odd-one-outs and the questions will be discussed with the whole class.

QUALITY INDICATORS FOR TEACHING PRACTICE OF HISTORY AT UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA

Danijela Trskan, University of Ljubljana – Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Abstract

Procedures for external and internal (self)-evaluation are extremely important for assessing and improving the quality of educational programmes. At the Faculty of Arts (University of Ljubljana), school-based teaching practice is a constituent part of all educational study programmes. In order to be able to determine, monitor and improve the quality of student training during teaching practice, we tried to define the quality indicators which would be applicable to all educational study programmes, not only to the History programmes.

Based on the interviews and questionnaires with students, mentors at schools and faculty coordinators (in 2013 and 2014), we tried to develop the fields and subfields of self-evaluation, quality indicators and corresponding quality standards relating to the teaching practice performed by students in schools in different subjects.

The final result is a wide selection of quality indicators for teaching practice, which can be used for internal evaluation of individual study programmes and for the evaluation of the work of all who are involved in teaching practice. The quality indicators were divided into six fields. The first five fields were devoted to the roles and tasks of those involved in teaching practice (students, mentors at schools, mentors at the faculty, the faculty coordinators and school coordinators), and the sixth field was devoted to the organisation of teaching practice. In the case of all six fields we took the subfields of self-evaluation into account, namely planning, implementation and evaluation, and in the case of fields one and six also the results of teaching practice. All quality indicators include the prerequisites for the implementation of teaching practice, the activities connected with teaching practice and the interaction between all possible participants.

The self-evaluation of teaching practice at the Faculty of Arts (University of Ljubljana) shows that the expectations and needs of all the participants are extremely important and that they present the main criteria for evaluating the participants' final satisfaction and fulfilment of their expectations.

Keywords:

Evaluation – Self, Evaluation, History, Indicators – quality, Ljubljana – University of, Quality indicators, Self evaluation, Slovenia, Teacher Education, Teacher training and professional development – initial, Teaching practice, University of Ljubljana

Introduction

The Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana is the largest Slovenian institution, which educates students for the teaching profession at primary and secondary schools. It offers the largest number of double-subject master educational study programmes (Andragogy, English, Philosophy, French, Geography, Greek, Literature and Culture, Italian, Latin, Literature and Culture, German, Pedagogy, Polish Studies, Comparative Literature and Literary Theory, Russian studies, Slovak Studies, Slovenian Studies, Sociology, Spanish and History), as well as one subject master educational study programmes (Andragogy, English Studies, German, Pedagogy, Slovenian Studies, School Librarianship and History).

Each educational study programme includes an educational module in the amount of 60 credit points (ECTS). It consists of two parts: a joint part at the level of the faculty (24 ECTS in the first year) and special part of the individual study programme (36 ECTS in the first and second year). The joint part includes: Psychology for Teachers, Didactics, Pedagogy – Theory of Education, Andragogy, Observational Practice (Observational Practice in Psychology, Observational Practice in Didactics, Observational Practice in Pedagogy or Observational Practice in Andragogy) and one educational course by choice (Slovenian Language for Teachers, Humanities and Social Sciences or Research of the Learning Process). The special part includes special didactics and educational teaching practice, as well as other educational subjects linked with the field. (Trskan, 2009; Peklaj, 2006).

All educational study programmes have a subject, which is usually titled Teaching Practice (for a certain school subject) in the first and second year. Teaching practice takes place at primary and secondary schools or in other educational organisations (organisations for adult education, language schools, etc.). Faculty teachers or internal mentors determine the number of observation lessons, number of independent student lessons and number of additional activities at schools with regard to the specifics of a school subject and the number of credit points for teaching practice, which the students have to obtain during the practice. Teaching practice lasts from three (double-subject educational study programmes) to six weeks (single-subject educational study programmes).

The Faculty of Arts has a joint coordinator and department coordinators for practical training, who oversee the teaching practice. In teaching practice all teachers – mentors at schools participate voluntarily on the basis of cooperation agreements between the schools and the faculty.

Presentation of Research

One of the key activities of the project: Quality of University of Ljubljana from 2012 to 2015 was the establishment of good practices for university staff, in which the Faculty of Arts was included in 2013 and 2014.

Teaching practice is an important element in the initial training of students – future teachers.

Quality of practical training depends on many factors, such as: duration or amount of practical training; appropriate organisation and interaction with other educational components; students, who are prepared for practical training and for evaluating acquired experience; educational workers, who are willing to work together; qualified mentors, who are able to perform their responsibilities as mentors; cooperation between the schools and faculties, which educate educational staff, etc. (Valencic Zuljan, 2011, p. 121).

Today the focus is on the professional development of students, where mentors at schools – external mentors and mentors at faculties – internal mentors play a significant role as facilitators in this professional development.

It is important that students appreciate any feedback or advice during teaching practice; that they are willing to learn, change and innovate, as well as constantly improve. (Valencic Zuljan et al., 2007, p. 18–19).

The research had two goals for evaluation and development of the quality of teaching practice at the Faculty of Arts. On one hand the goal was to determine the quality of teaching practice and to provide suggestions for improvement in planning, implementation and evaluation of teaching practice and on the other hand to propose quality indicators for teaching practice to be used for all educational study programmes at the Faculty of Arts.

Research took place in four stages.

- In the first stage, we prepared a research plan for analysing the quality of teaching practice at Faculty of Arts. Based on the gathered information on existing state we defined the tasks of all those involved in teaching practice.
- In the second stage, we prepared quality indicators, which were divided into fields and subfields for self-evaluation and proposed quality standards for individual subfields. We also included interviews with faculty department coordinators for practical training at the Faculty of Arts to complete the quality indicators.
- In the third stage, we produced evaluation questions for mentors at schools – outside mentors, for the students and also checked the selected indicators with evaluation questionnaires at the faculty for internal mentors. We surveyed the students, school mentors and faculty mentors, who were involved in the teaching practice in the academic year 2013/14.
- In the fourth stage, we analysed the results of the responses, which on the one hand showed the level of quality of the teaching practice, carried out in the academic year 2013/14 as part of educational study programmes. On the other hand the questionnaire was built in such a way to show also potential disadvantages and improvements at the Faculty of Arts in the future.

The questionnaires and responses helped us determine the final quality indicators for teaching practice, which may be used for self-evaluation of teaching practice for different school subjects or for self-evaluation of teaching practice in a majority of teaching educational study programmes at the Faculty of Arts. (Trskan, Komidar, Hrovat, 2015).

Quality Indicators for Teaching Practice

Self-evaluation can be described as a process where the employees themselves (or with the help of external guidance) in an educational organisation gather, interpret and evaluate data and information, which become the basis for determining future action. (Musek Lesnik, Bergant, 2001, p. 118).

This type of self-evaluation is also known as internal evaluation or internal quality assessment (Mozina, Klemencic, 2008, p. 242).

Implementation of quality assessment and quality improvements in higher education is an important part of evaluation, both external and internal (self-)evaluation, focusing on the quality of educational programmes, their objectives and contents, and on the quality of the education itself and on the staff that educates (Quality Assurance in Teacher Education in Europe, 2006).

Quality indicators were based on the OQEA Model (*Offering Quality Education to Adults*), developed by the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education. The model is one of a few in Slovenia, which systematically presents and performs educational self-evaluation by quality indicators.

Successful and quality teaching practice requires eager cooperation from the school mentors – external mentors, the faculty mentors – internal mentors, the faculty coordinators and the school coordinators.

We defined six fields for self-evaluation, which determine the quality of teaching practice at the Faculty of Arts:

1. Role, tasks and competences of a student.
2. Role, tasks and competences of a school mentor – external mentor.
3. Role, tasks and competences of a faculty mentor – internal mentor.
4. Role, tasks and competences of a faculty coordinator.
5. Role, tasks and competences of a school coordinator.
6. Organisation, management and evaluation of teaching practice at the level of the faculty and school.

The first five fields relate to roles, tasks and competences of all participants; those of a school mentor – external mentor, student, faculty mentor – internal mentor, faculty coordinator and school coordinator. Faculty mentor – internal mentor is a faculty professor, subject holder or professor of a subject, which includes teaching practice. The faculty coordinator is the main coordinator, who covers educational practical training in study programmes and also teaching practice at the Faculty of Arts. The school coordinator is the person, who coordinates the practice at the level of the school, where students come for teaching practice. In this field we can also list coordinators in other educational organisations (e.g. adult schools or language schools). The sixth field includes general indicators, which relate to the entire faculty or school organisation for teaching practice.

For each field we determined subfields or narrower aspects for self-evaluation, which more precisely define the activities for evaluation in teaching practice. This is how we determined three subfields: planning of teaching practice, implementation of the teaching practice and evaluation of teaching practice. Learning outcomes/student achievements were added to the first field. The results of teaching practice were added to the sixth field. We wanted to determine the tasks of all participants before, during or after teaching practice. Here, we considered their active inclusion, communication and interaction and took into account planning, implementation and evaluation of teaching practice, and finally the achievements of students. We included initial, continuous and final reflections and satisfaction of all participants.

Satisfaction relates to expectations and level of fulfilment, experience and also the evaluation of teaching practice. Awareness of the expectations and needs of participants is important for the quality planning of the educational process. At the same time expectations and needs give the participants certain standards for appropriate evaluation, fulfilment of expectations and satisfaction after completed teaching practice (Mozina, 2007, pp. 8–9).

In determining subfields or narrower aspects for self-evaluation we took into account three different quality factors: entry factors (planning and preparation for teaching practice), process factors (performance or implementation of teaching practice) and exit factors (results and learning outcomes of teaching practice) (Mozina et al., 2013, pp. 31–33).

Entry, process and exit quality factors are also influenced by transverse quality factors (management and organisation of teaching practice at the level of faculty and school), which were included in the sixth field of self-evaluation. For transverse quality factors it is typical that these are activities and processes, which cannot be classified only as process or exit factors,

but include all factors. Among important transverse quality factors are management and leadership both from an organisational standpoint and in terms of content at different levels and in different processes (Mozina et al., 2013, p. 33).

Afterwards, we determined quality indicators for subfields, which are directed to activities, procedures and processes in teaching practice. We chose them in such a way that they are appropriate for all teaching practices at the faculty.

In determining the quality standard for a selected quality indicator we tried to answer the question what we want to become or what we want to achieve in the context of a given indicator.

Table 1: Example of quality indicators for the first field: Role, tasks and competences of a student for the Faculty of Arts of University of Ljubljana (Trskan, Komidar, Hrovat, 2015, pp. 103–105)

	SUBFIELDS		QUALITY INDICATORS	QUALITY STANDARDS
1.1	PLANNING OF TEACHING PRACTICE	1.1.1	Knowledge of the educational study programme	The student is familiar with the educational study programme.
		1.1.2	Knowledge of the curriculum for teaching practice (content, objectives, competences, intended learning outcomes, assessment methods)	The student is familiar with the subject curriculum, which includes teaching practice (content, objectives, competences, intended learning outcomes, assessment methods).
		1.1.3	Knowledge of guidelines and rules for teaching practice	The student is familiar with guidelines and rules for teaching practice.
		1.1.4	School visit (visit to the principal, school coordinator and mentor)	The student visits the school (principal, school coordinator and mentor) prior to the beginning of teaching practice with the purpose of obtaining consent for the practice and to determine the beginning of teaching practice.
		1.1.5	Communication with the school mentor	The student has the possibility to communicate with the school mentor prior to teaching practice.
		1.1.6	Communication with the faculty mentor	The student has the possibility to communicate with the faculty mentor prior to teaching practice.
		1.1.7	Planning the time schedule for teaching practice with the school mentor	The student is able to plan the time schedule for teaching practice and to distribute the tasks, set by the faculty mentor, together with the school mentor.
		1.1.8	Time planning of teaching practice and coordination of tasks at the faculty	The student is able to plan the teaching practice in such a way to coordinate the tasks of the teaching practice with those at the faculty.

1.2	IMPLEMENTATION OF TEACHING PRACTICE	1.2.1	Regular and on time attendance of teaching practice	The student regularly and on time attends teaching practice. He/she takes into consideration the time schedule of tasks during teaching practice.
		1.2.2	Lesson observations	Student observes lessons and makes notes.
		1.2.3	Lesson plans and carrying out lessons	Student prepares written lesson plans prior to lessons and independently performs lessons.
		1.2.4	Getting involved in school activities and learning about the teacher's work	Student is involved in different school and out-of-school activities during teaching practice. He/she is familiarised with the diverse work of a teacher.
		1.2.5	Communication with the school mentor	During teaching practice the student is able to communicate with the school mentor about observation lessons, work of the mentor, independent student lessons, etc.
		1.2.6	Preparing the report on teaching practice and reflection	The student prepares the report on teaching practice throughout the practice (notes on observation lessons, notes and reflections on school activities, meetings, etc.) and carefully prepares self-evaluation and reflection.
		1.2.7	Respect for advice and instructions of the faculty mentor	The student appreciates advice and instructions from the faculty mentor in carrying out the teaching practice.
		1.2.8	Respect for advice and instructions of the school mentor	The student appreciates advice and instructions from the school mentor in carrying out the teaching practice.
		1.2.9	Respect for school guidelines and rules	The student appreciates school guidelines and regulations for safety at work, protection of personal and school information.
		1.2.10	Coordination of teaching practice and student tasks at the faculty	The student constantly coordinates tasks of teaching practice with those at the faculty during teaching practice.
1.3	EVALUATION OF TEACHING PRACTICE	1.3.1	Satisfaction of the student with the educational study programme and the subject curriculum for teaching practice	The student is satisfied with the study programme, which includes teaching practice and with the subject curriculum, which includes all elements of quality teaching practice.
		1.3.2	Student satisfaction with faculty's initial information	The student is satisfied with initial information, guidelines and material presented by the faculty mentor prior to teaching practice.
		1.3.3	Student satisfaction with the preliminary visit of the school and meeting with the mentor, school coordinator and school principal	The student is satisfied with the preliminary visit and meeting with the principle, school coordinator and mentor prior to the beginning of teaching practice.

		1.3.4	Student satisfaction with tasks during practice and the duration of teaching practice	The student is satisfied with the number of hours for teaching practice and number of hours for individual tasks (observation lessons, independent lessons, school activities, meetings with the mentor, writing reports, etc.), which are determined in the subject curriculum. The tasks for teaching practice are in accordance with the acquired credit points (1 ECTS = 25–30 hours). The duration for teaching practice is appropriate for achieving the objectives and competences of the subject curriculum for teaching practice.
		1.3.5	Student satisfaction with the school mentor	Student is satisfied with the mentorship of the school mentor. The school mentor provides the student with necessary information prior to teaching practice and prepares the time schedule for all tasks. During teaching practice the mentor encourages the student and motivates him/her for the teaching profession, acts with respect and kindness, offers assistance and professional mentorship, enables monitoring and cooperation in other school activities, regularly offers feedback, is open to questions, encourages the student to self-reflect and constantly evaluates the student according to the evaluation criteria, prepared by the faculty mentor.
		1.3.6	Student satisfaction with communication with other teachers and workers at the school	Student is satisfied with communication with other teachers and workers at the school.
		1.3.7	Student satisfaction with school, school facilities and equipment	Student is satisfied with school, school facilities and equipment.
		1.3.8	Student satisfaction with the faculty mentor	Student is satisfied with the mentorship of the faculty mentor. The faculty mentor offers the student support in finding the school and school mentor, gives professional help during teaching practice, visits the student at school if required, offers feedback upon the completion of practice and completes a final evaluation meeting of the students.
		1.3.9	Student satisfaction with the obtained grade for teaching practice	Student is satisfied with the grade for teaching practice and evaluation criteria, used for evaluation of student work during teaching practice.
		1.3.10	Student satisfaction with the time schedule of teaching practice	Student is satisfied with the time schedule of teaching practice and time distribution of tasks.
		1.3.11	Student satisfaction with coordination of tasks at the faculty	Student is satisfied with coordination of tasks during teaching practice with those at the faculty.

		1.3.12	Student satisfaction with obtained knowledge and skills	Student is satisfied with the knowledge and skills obtained during teaching practice (student has learnt about school organisation and documentation, has familiarised with the teaching profession, has tested didactical-methodical and professional subject knowledge in practice, has learnt how to plan tasks, how to make a critical analysis and self-reflection of his/her work and progress...).
1.4	LEARNING OUTCOMES/ STUDENT ACHIEVEMENTS	1.4.1	Achieving competences (general and subject-specific) in the educational study programme	In accordance with the goals of the study programme the student (self)-evaluates the extent of achieving competences (general and subject-specific), which are foreseen in the educational study programme.
		1.4.2	Achieving objectives, competences and intended learning outcomes in the subject curriculum for teaching practice	In accordance with the subject goals for teaching practice the student (self)-evaluates the extent of achieving objectives, competences and intended learning outcomes in the subject curriculum for teaching practice.
		1.4.3	Preparing the report on teaching practice and reflection	Student produces a report on teaching practice with reflection of his/her work.
		1.4.4	Final presentation of teaching practice with reflection to other students – colleagues	Student presents his/her reflection on teaching practice to other students – colleagues.
		1.4.5	The number of students, who successfully complete teaching practice and their grades	All students, who complete teaching practice, pass it successfully and receive a positive grade.

Implementation of Quality Indicators for Teaching Practice of History

Following, we have chosen the master double-subject educational study programme of History to present the implementation of teaching practice.

Teaching practice in History is graded with 6 ECTS, which represents up to 180 hours of student work. The course requires that students complete 10 hours of observation of History lessons, 10 hours of independent student lessons, 10 hours of cooperation with the mentor, 15 hours of additional activities at school and at least 60 hours of work at home (preparing lesson plans). They also have to produce a report on teaching practice (30 hours). As part of the course students have to complete the group practice preparation, where they receive the required documentation and guidelines (10 hours), individual consultations during teaching practice (10 hours) and a group evaluation after teaching practice (10 hours). (Trskan, 2009, pp. 130–131).

In the academic year 2013/14 students performed teaching practice in History for the first time under the Bologna study programme. To evaluate the teaching practice we prepared two questionnaires to collect data. The questionnaires were prepared with the help of quality indicators. We obtained the responses from the students together with the report on teaching practice (students had to complete the questionnaire and attach the mentor's questionnaire as well). In the 2013/14 academic year 13 students performed teaching practice in History.

13 mentors scored the learning outcomes of students on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 – insufficient, 2 – sufficient, 3 – good, 4 – very good, 5 – excellent). Because the number of surveyed mentors is small, we present only the arithmetic average of scores for individual statements.

Table 2: Mentor's score for learning outcomes of the student (Trskan, Komidar, Hrovat, 2015, p. 91)

Mentor's score for student's learning outcomes	Arithmetic average
<i>Student is qualified for observing and producing notes on the learning process.</i>	4.9
<i>Student is qualified for independent preparation of lesson plans.</i>	4.9
<i>Student teaches history content in an adequate, explicit and systematic way.</i>	4.9
<i>Student encourages pupils and adequately includes them in the learning process.</i>	4.9
<i>Student appropriately uses teaching forms, methods and techniques, teaching equipment and aids with regard to the teaching content.</i>	4.9
<i>Student uses appropriate examination tests with regard to the set learning goals and special needs of the pupils.</i>	4.8
<i>Student leads efficient classroom communication.</i>	4.9
<i>Student conducts appropriate transitions among stages and different teaching activities.</i>	4.9
<i>Student sets behavioural and discipline rules in the classroom.</i>	4.7
<i>Student is animated when teaching and displays a positive attitude towards working with pupils.</i>	4.9

Mentors rated high the qualification and learning outcomes of students for teaching practice in History, whereas they rated lowest the statement that students had learnt how to set behavioural and discipline rules in the classroom, albeit this was a marginal difference.

13 students evaluated the following statements, which relate to the evaluation of teaching practice on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 – I strongly disagree, 2 – I disagree, 3 – I neither disagree nor agree, 4 – I agree, 5 – I strongly agree). Because the number of surveyed students is small, we present only the arithmetic average of scores for individual statements.

Table 3: Student's evaluation of teaching practice (Trskan, Komidar, Hrovat, 2015, p. 92)

Student's evaluation of teaching practice	Arithmetic average
<i>We have a satisfactory offer of external institutions – schools for performing the teaching practice.</i>	4.9
<i>I received help from the faculty – the internal mentor in finding teaching practice.</i>	4.0
<i>I was given accurate instructions on how to perform teaching practice.</i>	5.0
<i>The internal mentor offered me good guidelines prior to teaching practice.</i>	4.9
<i>The internal mentor mentored me well during teaching practice.</i>	4.9
<i>The internal mentor offered me feedback after teaching practice completion.</i>	5.0
<i>The internal mentor cooperated well with the mentor at school.</i>	5.0
<i>The school mentor provided me with good information prior to teaching practice.</i>	4.7
<i>The school mentor mentored me well during teaching practice.</i>	4.9
<i>The school mentor offered me feedback after teaching practice completion.</i>	5.0
<i>The way teaching practice was carried out was appropriate.</i>	4.2
<i>The duration of teaching practice was appropriate.</i>	4.0
<i>I adequately improved my professional knowledge and skills in the selected study programme during the teaching practice.</i>	4.9
<i>I learnt how to:</i> - make annual and daily plans (lesson plans), organize and execute regular history lessons; - use different teaching forms, methods and motivational techniques at various educational levels; - use history teaching means and IT technology for lesson plans, written assignments, notes, personal folder; - observe, monitor, evaluate and self-evaluate the teaching process; - show responsibility and positive attitude towards educational work.	4.9

Students rated highest the faculty teacher – the internal mentor for receiving accurate instructions for the teaching practice, feedback and for their cooperation with the mentor at school. Students rated lowest the faculty teacher with regard to his/her help in finding the school for teaching practice. They also rated low the duration of teaching practice and the way it was carried out.

Student responses have shown that students on average required 14 hours for preparing lesson plans. The range for preparing one lesson was between 5 to 25 hours. Students invested from 10 to 72 hours (on average 38.5 hours) in the teaching practice report.

Students gave several suggestions on how to improve teaching practice. To have more time or more weeks for the practice, to have less observation lessons, to have more additional activities (also more observation lessons, more repeated independent student lessons), to produce a shorter report on teaching practice.

We can conclude that the self-evaluation of the three-week-long teaching practice in the academic year 2013/14, in which 13 students and 13 mentors participated, has shown several disadvantages:

- Teaching practice in content does not fit the value of 6 ECTS, because the students invested more hours of work than anticipated by the credit points;
- Teaching practice has to be coordinated with other double-subject study programmes. We have to enable those students, who cannot perform their obligations in three weeks, that they perform their tasks in a longer period with agreement with the school;
- Additional activities at the school may be diversified;
- The faculty teacher has to place more attention to the theoretical preparation to prevent inappropriate behaviour in the class;
- The faculty teacher has to be more involved and offer advice and help the students in finding and selecting the school.

Based on the findings of self-evaluation of teaching practice in History for the academic year 2013/14 we have made certain changes. We lowered the number of observation lessons and independent student lessons and adjusted the number of hours for student obligations in the course to the credit points. We will try to include all other suggestions from the students and mentors at schools in preparing better guidelines for mentors at schools and students. We will use the proposed quality indicators for self-evaluation of teaching practice also in the future.

Conclusions

We have determined that at the Faculty of Arts of University of Ljubljana teaching practice is a special course for master educational study programmes at the second level of Bologna studies. It provides for the students to observe lessons in selected school subjects systematically, to become qualified for planning, carrying out and evaluating lessons and to perform lessons independently with constant self-reflection of their own lessons. At school the mentor has an important role, whereas students also cooperate with other teachers.

Quality assurance in teaching practice on the one hand requires an accurate and systematic plan for the teaching practice and description of tasks for all participants and on the other hand demands satisfaction surveying of tasks of all participants.

We think it is extremely important that determining, following and assuring quality of teaching practice includes the possibility of adding quality standards regarding the needs and specifics of teaching practice at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana. The proposition of quality indicators for teaching practice is used to determine, monitor and provide quality of the teaching practice in such a way that the users use them to prepare questionnaires, interviews or other ways of gathering data. It presents the basis to complete the quality indicators also for other types of practical training at other faculties and universities.

Correspondence

Danijela Trskan
danijela.trskan@ff.uni-lj.si

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- capital letter first word, lower case throughout
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- single space above and below

Sub-sections

- 11 point, Arial
- capital or lower case letter for first word, as appropriate
- bold
- single space above, no space below

Sub-sub sections

- 11 point, Arial
- capital or lower case for first word, as appropriate
- bold
- text runs on from title of sub-sub section

Text

- 11 point, Arial
- no justification to right
- start paragraphs flush with left border

Quotations

- blocks of text – indent .63cm. no quotation marks. A block of text is 3 or more lines of text
- quotations inside the text – use quotation marks, single quotation mark at start and end of quote

References in text

single reference

- round bracket – open (
- surname: capital letter then lower case
- comma
- date
- comma
- page or pages p. or pp.
- page or page numbers
- round bracket – closed)

double or multiple references, and, author named in text

- semi colon between list of references
- two authors cited within a set of brackets – and is &
- author named in text, date of article follows in brackets

Numbered explanations in text

Put these as endnotes at the end of the article before acknowledgments

Figures

Mentioned in text as Fig. number, i.e. Fig. 1

- Fig. with full stop after Fig
- space before number, i.e. Fig. 1
- caption – capital letter first word, rest lower case, not bold
- 11 point
- running numbers in text from 1-n.
- figures inserted immediately after paragraph, or as is best for publishing, i.e. if a full page figure

Tables

Mentioned in text in brackets, (Table 1)

- capitals for TABLE
- running number plus full stop
- inserted in text as soon as appropriate before or after mention
- caption – capital letter start, rest lower case
- 11 point, Arial

Capitalised Abbreviations

- Give abbreviation after first full use of term within the text
- Use square brackets for abbreviations

References [end of paper]:

Harvard procedures:

- surname, comma,
- initials caps followed by full stops,
- brackets around date of publication,
- article in inverted commas, no comma after
- italicised title,
- number of edition,
- number of volume in brackets,
- page or pages p. or pp.
- ISBN if given
- full stop at end of reference
- layout – line 1, indent 0 cm., line 2 and subsequent lines, .63cm