



**Volume 12.1**

---

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF  
HISTORICAL LEARNING TEACHING AND  
RESEARCH

*December 2013*

[www.history.org.uk](http://www.history.org.uk)

In association with



University of  
**Cumbria** 

December 2013

## **International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research**

### **EDITORS**

**Hilary Cooper**, University of Cumbria, UK

**Jon Nichol**, The Historical Association, UK

**Robert Guyver**, University of St. Mark and St. John, Plymouth, UK

### **ASSOCIATE EDITORS**

**Terry Epstein**, City University, New York, USA

**Katherine Burn**, Institute of Education, London, UK

**Arthur Chapman**, Edge Hill University, UK

### **EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD**

The revised membership of the Editorial Advisory Board will be published in the next edition, IJHLTR, 13.1.

**International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research** is subject to a peer review process and is published twice a year: May/June and October/December.

**Editorial correspondence should be addressed to:**

hilary.cooper@sky.com and IJHLTR@history.org.uk

### **Submission of articles**

Full details of the form, layout and referencing conventions for articles to be submitted are included at the end of this edition.

### **Advertising**

Full page/half page: enquiries to - telephone: [+44] 020 7820 5985

### **Annual Institutional subscription**

This will be for individual institutions. In 2013 the Historical Association will publish details of institutional membership for its on-line educational journals and related resources, including IJHLTR.

### **Annual personal subscription**

Personal subscription to the Historical Association includes access to IJHLTR current and previous editions. To join the Historical Association please go to: <http://www.history.org.uk/member/register.php>

### **Back issues**

These are posted on the Historical Association website [www.history.org.uk](http://www.history.org.uk) and are downloadable for Historical Association members. Delegates to the History Educators International Research Network [HEIRNET] annual conference receive a complimentary downloadable copy of the journal.

## CONTENTS

---

<b>Editorial</b>	pp 03 - 04
<b>Sweden</b> <i>Ethical Values and History: a mutual relationship?</i> <b>Niklas Ammert, Linnaeus University (Kalmar)</b>	pp 05 - 15
<b>Australia</b> <i>Teaching History Using Feature Films: practitioner acuity and cognitive neuroscientific validation</i> <b>Debra Donnelly, University of Newcastle</b>	pp 16 - 27
<b>Greece</b> <i>The Difficult Relationship Between the History of the Present and School History in Greece: cinema as a 'deus ex machina'. Results arising from research with students</i> <b>George Kokkinos, University of the Aegean (Rhodes, Greece)</b> <b>Panayotis Kimourtzis, University of the Aegean (Rhodes, Greece)</b> <b>Elli Lemonidou, University of Patras (Patras, Greece)</b> <b>Panayotis Gatsotis, University of the Aegean (Rhodes, Greece)</b> <b>Petros Trantas, University of the Aegean (Rhodes, Greece)</b>	pp 28 - 58
<b>United States of America</b> <i>Social Studies Use of Film: a research study</i> <b>William B. Russell III, Joshua Kenna and Cyndi Mottola Poole, University of Central Florida (Orlando)</b>	pp 59 - 70
<b>Croatia</b> <i>The Role of Visual Tools in the Process of Teaching and Learning History: an analysis of Croatian Humanistic Secondary school Text Books</i> <b>Rona Bušljeta, University of Zagreb</b>	pp 71 - 86
<b>Hungary</b> <i>The Image of the Arabs in Hungarian History Textbooks and History Teaching</i> <b>Csaba Fazekas, University of Miskolc</b>	pp 87 - 106
<b>Spain</b> <i>Eurocentric History in Spanish Textbooks</i> <b>Manuel Pousa, Instituto de Educación Secundaria Ies (IES) de Mugardos (A Coruña) and Ramón López Facal, University of Santiago de Compostela</b>	pp 107 - 120
<b>Portugal</b> <i>Challenging Students' Ideas on Historical Evidence by Using Heritage Remains in Field Activities</i> <b>Helena Pinto, CIEd (Centro de Investigação em Educação [Centre for Research in Education]), University of Minho (Braga)</b>	pp 121 - 136

- Portugal** pp 137 - 145  
*Portuguese Primary School Pupils' Ideas about Historical Evidence using Old Newspapers as Sources*  
**Glória Solé, University of Minho (Braga)**
- The Netherlands** pp 146 - 168  
*Discussing Historical Significance in the Class room: 'But why is this so important?'*  
**Jannet van Drie, Carla van Boxtel and Brenda Stam, Research Institute of Child Education, University of Amsterdam**
- United States of America** pp 169 - 178  
*The Dilemma of a Divided City: students' solutions towards the Berlin debate*  
**Jeffrey M. Byford, University of Memphis**  
**Brian K. Horn, Colorado Mesa University (Grand Junction)**
- United Kingdom (England)** pp 179 - 198  
*A Critical Comparison of the 2013 draft English Curriculum with Current High School Practice*  
**Joe Smith, Edge Hill University (Ormskirk)**

EDITORIAL

Jon Nichol, Historical Association, London, UK

---

What we teach in history, and how we teach it remains at the top of a world-wide discourse, national agenda, school education and children's development as young citizens. It is equally significant for the orientation and education of their teachers, and for that of their parents, their communities and the wider society.

**Values and history – Sweden**

The *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* Vol 12.1 begins with Niklas Ammert's research investigating what is meant by 'values', why students in Sweden are interested in ethical values, how they see values as related to history. He also examines how values are presented in Swedish textbooks in ways which connect present, past and future.

**Film and History – Australia, Greece, Florida**

The following three papers explore the ways in which feature film can be used effectively in History Education. Debra Donnelly reports on research into the ways in which cognitive neuroscience affirms and develops teachers' use of historical feature films in Australia. Such films were found to be an engaging and memorable basis for later debates. Neuroscience explains how the multimodal and multi-sensory experience of film relates audio and visual memory in different ways and how multiple representations stimulate higher order thinking. However, her research also identifies the need that many teachers have for further understanding of how to analyse the semiotics of film, which manipulate the viewers' experience, before they are able to use this medium to intervene, discuss and resolve conflicts portrayed in film with students. The paper discusses ways in which, based on neuroscience, teachers can learn this understanding through a 'cognitive apprenticeship framework', and so develop their students' historical skills.

In Greece the research of George Kokkinos and his colleagues (Panayotis Kimourtzis, Elli Lemonidou, Panayotis Gatsotis, and Petros Trantas) also investigates the ways in which film can contribute to History Education, which are endorsed by neuroscience. They argue that history must include the use of new technologies and also that the study of the past must continue until the present. They show how audio-visual technologies generate critical, oral and visual literacy, which makes it possible to engage with the past in a variety of new ways. After tracing the historical narration of the past in German and French cinema since World War II they investigate the extent to which cinema, blended with other techniques, can promote students' historical understanding.

William B. Russell III and his colleagues (Joshua Kenna and Cyndi Mottola Poole) also argue that, although the use of film can promote students' historical understanding in many ways, teachers need training in how to use film to teach history. They explore the ways in which Social Studies teachers in the United States use film and find a statistically significant difference between teachers who had formal training on how to use film, compared with teachers who had no such training. The nature of appropriate training and its objectives is discussed, drawing on a review of literature on the use of film in social studies

**Textbooks and history – Croatia, Hungary, Spain**

The following group of papers analyse and evaluate textbooks in Croatia, Hungary and Spain, both the selection of different kinds of content, the ways in which it is presented and critical evaluation of the ways in which it is used by teachers.

Rona Bušljeta emphasizes the importance of visual images in textbooks. She explores their role in synthesizing mental and emotional associations which extend pupils' active learning and suggests criteria for selecting visual images which can extend pupils' historical understanding. Based on these criteria she evaluates Croatian history textbooks.

Csaba Fazekas analyses Hungary's textbooks, in order to investigate the ways in which post Communist textbooks aim to develop toleration, through a positive view of 'the others', and in the context of this paper, of Islamic culture. This involves learning to understand Islamic culture using different kinds of sources. They suggest that this approach should apply to other subjects and include the media and life outside school. Their research investigates the representation of Islam in the most widely used secondary school textbook, based on specific criteria.

Manuel Pousa and Ramón López Facal similarly consider ways in which current history textbooks in Spain broaden the dimensions of history education and encourage students to view the past and changes over time from wider perspectives. They focus on how textbooks explore the relationship between Europe and Imperialism, Colonialism and decolonized populations.

### **Sources and history– Portugal**

The next two papers from Portugal, by contrast, are concerned with primary school pupils' construction of historical knowledge from historical sources. Helena Pinto focuses on sites, buildings and objects and Glória Solé on newspapers. Helena Pinto makes connections between history and heritage education, links this to the concept of historical consciousness and explores ways in which students' existing knowledge, which is relevant to them, can be developed within this framework, through experience, participation, investigation and sharing, in order to understand different perspectives. Glória Solé identifies the historical knowledge and skills and also the literacy skills which were promoted through using old newspapers as sources to find out about Portuguese history.

### **History and Significance – The Netherlands, Memphis and Colorado, and England**

Jannet van Drie, Carla van Boxtel and Brenda Stam consider, with their students, the reasons why people in the past might be significant and therefore relevant to them. They investigate the ways in which and extent to which reasoning about historical significance can enhance students' historical reasoning. Jeffrey Byford and Brian Horn also help students to form reasoned arguments about the relative significance of economic, social and political factors in the construction of the Berlin Wall. They research the effects of active and collaborative learning on students' understanding of these abstract concepts, related to the Cold War. Finally Joe Smith analyses the significance of and rationale for the content of the draft English National Curriculum for History and the ways in which teachers can mediate national curricula in different ways to assert alternative significances.

The first paper considered the role of values in history education. The next section explored ways in which students could discuss values through the medium of film, followed by explorations of the ways in which the past can be explored through different kinds of historical sources which enable students to make links between past, present and future. The final paper was a fitting conclusion, because in a way, it reiterated what was at the core of all the preceding papers: the importance of teachers having the pedagogical expertise to mediate between textbooks, statutory curricula and sources in ways which engage students, which students see as relevant and which enable them to question, discuss and reason in history, as an informed foundation for contributing in positive ways to their communities and beyond.

**ETHICAL VALUES AND HISTORY: A MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP?**  
Niklas Ammert, Linnaeus University, Sweden

---

**Abstract**

*In the last two decades, ethical values in the form of reconciling with the past and recognizing victimized groups in history, have become more common themes in history books and in history teaching, like a 'moral turn' in the writing of history. History didactics research points out that values issues and moral questions clarify issues and contexts, stimulating thinking over time and activating people's historical consciousness. Previous research, however, often only states that there is a relationship. In this article, I describe and analyze on empirical grounds, first how values are approached, and have been approached, in Swedish history textbooks, and how history and values relate to each other. Thereafter, I describe how 15-year-old students in Sweden express the relationship between values and history. Central to the analysis is how the historical context can clarify values and at the same time, how values can function as an interface creating meaning and bringing together knowledge between the past, the present and the future.*

**Keywords**

Ethical Values, History, History textbooks, Ninth-grade pupils, Surveys, Sweden, Relationship, A bridge over time.

History explains how events and processes are linked in significant contexts creating meaning. One way of creating meaning has its base in narratives that highlight issues of good and evil, right and wrong. Ethical values, however, do not stop at illuminating or stating something, but they make up the foundation of our relationship to history. The historian Wolfgang Mommsen sees this as obvious when he points out that

[t]he historian deals constantly with values, ideological positions and different normative systems – these are the very fabric of what he studies, and their mutual confrontation constitute in a way, the dynamism of the historical process.

(Mommsen, 2000, p. 48)

Ethical values issues can thus be assumed to bring knowledge and stimulate students' historical consciousness. There are two explanations. First, studying values and the violation of them involves students' perceptions of and attitudes toward right and wrong (Rüsen, 2001, pp. 252-254; Bøe, 1999, pp.19-23). Second, the issues surrounding the values of democracy and freedom have been the actual driving force behind the changes in society.

This article deals with how history and ethical values relate to each other and to the reader of Swedish history textbooks in the latter half of 1900 and the beginning of 2000, and how students in the final year of compulsory school describe how they see the relationship between history and ethical values.

In the continental philosophical history didactics tradition, the concept of historical consciousness appears as the past and the future being present in the now. An assumption is that values constitute an important channel of the time-transcending meaning-context. Bernard Eric Jensen states the importance of history instruction also relating to everyday issues about life outside classroom history teaching, because these deal with what is near and current for students (Jensen, 1990, pp. 158-160; Bryld, 1999, pp. 183-186). Values

issues are always current and are probably experienced as meaningful by students and should therefore be able to stimulate thinking over time, and through time. Jörn Rüsen also emphasizes the importance of values when he writes that '[s]ocial values vitalize historical consciousness and give the representation of the past the cultural power of orienting present-day human life towards the future' (Rüsen, 2000, p. 61; Gergen, 2005, p. 101). In Karl-Ernst Jeismann's (1979, p. 42) definition of the concept of historical consciousness, the words *experience*, *connection*, *interpretation*, *understanding* and *perspective* are central. This shows that the approach to different time dimensions and the relationships between them are fundamental. These relationships are manifested in Rüsen's interpretation of values above (Spiegel, 2007, pp. 1-4; Fine, 1988, p. 9). In other words, there is a theoretical connection between values and historical consciousness.

### History Education – values – history

Classroom instruction and the learning materials often used, have a dimension characterized by ethics, morals or values. The content in a textbook makes an ethical judgment just by the authors' selection and by the way they present events, phenomena and persons. History textbooks have traditionally been a clear values-conveyor to the reader, which is natural considering they handle people and society and the relationships between them.<sup>1</sup> In addition, as expressed in the Swedish curriculum, school education has the duty of fostering, which means that history textbooks differ from the traditional scientific ideal that history should be written with a neutral perspective and a cold analytical approach. History research has mainly stated *that* the writing of history has been, or is, ideologically-charged. However, no empirical studies have been carried out in Sweden on the link between history and values, and history didactics lacks the tools for this undertaking.

How do you recognize values in history textbooks when you see them? First, we must answer the question of what a value is. Values, according to the philosopher Jan Patočka (2006, p. 99), mean something is meaningful, and just searching for meaning can be an explanation why values and the violation of values throughout history can be fascinating (Taylor, 2003, p. 3). A value refers to a state of desirability or non-desirability, something one desires to have, acquire or do. In the curricula and syllabi that have guided Swedish schools since the 1960s, mainly ethical values are described. The set of value concepts expressed are largely the same throughout the period up until today. Under the umbrella concept, *democracy*, the following values make up the school's underlying value base: *respect for human life, individual freedom and integrity, equality for all people, equality between men and women, and solidarity with the weak and oppressed* (LPO 94, 1994, p. 5). To achieve consistency and comparability over time, I use these value concepts when I identify an incidence of and perception of these values in textbooks and in student answers. I study both the value concept and the content description of them, as the potential valuation lies in the descriptions.

---

<sup>1</sup> Andolf, 1972, Lundquist, 1988 and Tingsten, 1969. An international view shows the same result. See also Stradling 2001 and Virta, 2007, p. 17. For a wider view of recent history textbook research considering moral values see Ammert, Niklas, "To Bridge Time: Historical Consciousness in Swedish History Textbooks", in *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society*. No 2 2010, Dutceac Segesten, Anamaria, "Nationalism in Romanian Textbooks" in Törnquist-Plewa, Barbara & Stala Krysztof (Eds.), *Cultural Transformations after Communism: Central and Eastern Europe in Focus*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press 2011, Apple, Michael & Linda Christian-Smith (eds.), *The Politics of the Textbook*, London: Routledge 1991, and Ahonen, Sirkka, *Coming to Terms with a Dark Past: How Post-Conflict Societies Deal with History*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012.



### Two perspectives in History textbooks

The results are based on a study of ten Swedish history textbooks for compulsory secondary school for the years 1970 through 2009.<sup>2</sup> The relationship between history and values in the textbooks can be clarified and systematized in the form of two perspectives (Ammert, 2008, pp. 183-201). The first perspective implies that history functions as a values-carrier and that historical representations thus constitute a contextual framework able to explain values and their growth, content and significance. This type of description often occurs in certain historical eras. Antiquity, like democratization in Sweden at the turn of the last century, is a historical framework for democracy.<sup>3</sup> In the book, *Historien pågår (History is going on)*, the authors describe and explain the historical conditions which explain that the Swedish popular movements were important for democracy, because they were a lesson in democracy:

In the popular movements one organized meetings, wrote protocols and chose a governing board – just like one does in politics. Thus the popular movements taught how democracy functioned. (Hedin & Sandberg, 1999, p. 172)

Democratic activities are given fundamental meaning and definition. The description that follows shows chronologically how representative government emerged over time.

The communist ideology idea of a utopian society is described as a motive when books describe the different experiments in China with Mao wanting to create a “new people” and the consequences, for example in the form of the Cultural Revolution (Hildingson, 1983, p. 310; see also Almgren, 1999, p. 225). The example shows how values are violated as a result of radical change. In the textbooks there are also examples of circumstances where people are not considered to be of equal value given the context of societal patterns or traditions. Here South African apartheid politics is an explanation in history textbooks, where the governing political party in the land wanted to preserve the economic, political and social structure that existed (Hildingson & Husén, 1970, p. 99). Regarding prevailing conditions, the textbooks also show how in the 1800s in the USA and in pre-revolutionary Russia, slavery existed. The society was formed so that certain people belonged to an owner (Modie & Moen, 1971, pp. 230 and 244; Hildingson & Hildingson, 2003, pp. 435 and 471). The society’s economy was built on such a system and the state leadership saw no reason to change it. Thus, historical context should be able to help people understand values and see whether they remain important over time or if they change.

The historical context not only provides an explanation, but also functions as a values-creating community. This is seen in what happens behind democracy and freedom. It is the common approach to events or conditions in the past that gives us our common values today (Gustafson, 2003, pp. 173-215). An example of this is that today EU countries in fact are required to denounce the Holocaust and other genocide. Discussions seldom appear, however, about the substance of the value, for example, democracy in the past. What did people want to achieve? Why was democracy worth striving for? It is our present-day understanding and our current issues that give context in the textbooks. The past perceptions are rarely placed in examples with legal texts or court statements, that could have described how the issues were actually seen and handled. This can be problematic for students when they are supposed to be able to familiarize themselves with and understand the conditions that prevailed in the past. Nevertheless, the perspective describes history book values over time, which shows the history of values.

---

<sup>2</sup> To avoid time bound formulations and perspectives in the recent books I have analyzed books from the last 40 years. In that way I can identify more nuanced examples for the relation between history and ethical values.

<sup>3</sup> Almgren et al. 1998, p. 73; Almgren et al, 1999, pp. 234-236; Kahnberg et al, 1973, p. 44 and Modie & Moen, 1971, pp. 16-17 and 209-211. Note, with *often occurs* I mean often among the examples there actually are.

### Values convey history

The other perspective is linked to the one described above, because often it is our present-day understanding and our present-day issues that give context in the textbooks. It is how the description of the values can be an interface that connects the reader to the past, or a future, time. Gerald L. Bruns interprets Gadamer's expression of the merging of horizons as the values and their character being defined by other people's or society's perceptions of the values, even if they are not present in the moment. Thus it deals with a dialogue between the present and other times (Bruns, 2003, pp. 46-47).

A clear example of how change can be seen through values and their meaning is when a concept, and the interpretation of it, is placed in a historical context. Kahnberg and his colleagues show that the concept *tyranny* among ancient Greeks did not have the same bad connotations that it has today (Kahnberg et al., 1973, p. 35). The concept is explained based on the time's context, but also from the time when the book was written. The historical changeability of the concept explains for students how society changes and that today's political perceptions and language usage have not been valid at all times and are probably not going to valid be at all times. Concepts historian Reinhart Koselleck (1985, pp. 41-46) sees even the changeability of central concepts as a governing role of the actual historical process in that people interpret and act based on the significance they give a concept in that instance. Thus, concepts such as democracy, dictatorship and tyranny can say something about a certain time. This assumes, however, that the interpretation and the reflection are clarified. The reader may have the opportunity to increase her understanding of the past through analyzing what importance and interpretations was placed on the meaning-conveying value concept and, conversely, better understand the concept through interpreting and analyzing the past. When our present-day perception of the value encounters the historical context that suits or challenges that perception, a contact is established that increases interest and facilitates understanding.<sup>4</sup> Values issues, values concepts and the discussion around them historicize the relationships between the present and the past. The reader is placed in the thinking from another time. Some books also stimulate thoughts about struggles, dreams and fears people have about the future. In that way historical consciousness is visible in value concepts.

The frequency of textbook accounts of war atrocities and abuse increases toward the end of the 1900s. In the history of the 1900s, there is a fascinating and paradoxical coincidence between the enormous technological progress and improved living standard for many people, and the cruelty and suffering during wars. People's historical consciousness is activated, states Jörn Rüsen, when sudden or significant events occur (Rüsen, 2004, pp. 19 and 120). In addition, values issues, such as the respect for human life, make up the learning material that speaks to our fundamental perceptions of right and wrong. This stimulates thinking through and between time dimensions. The most prominent examples of such phenomena are about the Holocaust of the Jews during WWII. The connections to (and from) more recent genocide and intentional violation of human life also appear, which stimulates the reader to interpret current events and their consequences in the light of the past. In the textbooks of the last two decades, the civil war in former Yugoslavia is one of the events included. The conflict is described as one of the bloodiest in Europe since WWII with more than 200,000 dead and more than two million refugees. In one of the textbooks for Grade 9, one reads the following:

The result was a series of wars that were so cruel that TV-viewers around the world found it difficult to believe that something like that could happen in Europe at the end

---

<sup>4</sup> The philosopher Per Bauhn highlights just such an opinion about ethical values. An opinion valid at other places and other ages than where it was formulated. Bauhn 2006, pp. 9-18.

of the 1900s: soldiers who murdered and raped, burned villages, concentration camps and mass graves. Few thought that such a thing would be repeated after WWII. (Ivansson & Tordai, 2003, p. 395)

This quotation indicates the position of WWII and the Holocaust in our historical culture today. The Holocaust is a reference according to which other events are evaluated. The Holocaust is also central to our collective historical consciousness.

Values are often seen in contexts in which a current event or a present phenomenon is the starting point. Based on the event, the book authors turn to the past to search for explanatory roots or lines leading up to meeting an issue about the current event.<sup>5</sup> Hildingson & Hildingson reason in such a way about the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York in 2001, when the value *respect for human life* was violated. The authors link the event back in time to the difficulties to solve the conflict between Israel and neighbouring Arab states (Hildingson & Hildingson, 2003, pp. 546 and 550). Al Qaeda's attack is described as an expression of dissatisfaction with the Arab situation and with the American involvement in Middle Eastern politics. Terrorism in the present, with roots in the past, is identified as aiming to change the political situation in the Middle East. By letting an event that violates the intrinsic value of human life be the starting point, the authors allow the motivation of the event to be the channel genealogically binding the present with the past and with thoughts about the future. Given that the text passage incorporates the past, the present and thoughts about the future, then the explanation is also an expression for multi-chronology.<sup>6</sup> The past, the present and the future appear in one context, in which the different perspectives overlap and interact in the contemporary.

### **Students, values and history**

The focus is from now on how students in the last years of compulsory school see how ethical values and history relate to each other. During the winter of 2011, two ninth-grade classes and one eighth-grade class, 63 students in total, answered two questionnaires. The classes come from three schools: one school in a small Swedish town (denoted as I, surveys 1 and 2, respectively, and the students are numbered randomly within each school starting with 1), one school in a medium-sized Swedish town (denoted as II) and one school in a large Swedish city (denoted as III).

This study is based on 112 questionnaires in total answered by 63 individuals. The first questionnaire contains questions about what students think is important in history, if the historical context can explain values issues such as freedom, human equality and democracy, and if values issues are able to explain history. The questions are open, however, and are not tied to any specific material in history instruction. The second questionnaire takes a different format and consists of an excerpt from the book *Ordinary Men* by Christopher Browning. In the quoted section, the reserve police battalion 101 is to evacuate the Polish town of Józefów and send all Jews able to work to Lublin. Women, children and those not able to work are to be taken out into the woods and shot by execution patrols. The commander, Major Trapp, however, gives the soldiers a chance to avoid participating in the murder. Only a few accept the offer. After the text, I ask questions about how the students perceive the text and what questions they want to ask about it. The idea with the questions is to see how the students react to a text where the value of human life is openly violated through innocent people being executed. Do the students consider the

---

<sup>5</sup> Almgren et al, 1999, pp. 206, 257; Hedin & Sandberg, 1999, p. 272 and Hildingson, Hildingson & Husén, 2009, pp. 566-569.

<sup>6</sup> Multi-chronology means that the past, the present and perspectives on the future appear in a concrete context. See Ammert, 2008, pp. 55-56.

historical context as a way to frame the violation of values or do they let the values issues say something about the historical context? The idea is to determine how the students see the relationship between history and values when they encounter a text with a clear context and when the values dimension becomes visible in a story about the past.

### **History and values – a ‘prima vista’ view**

When asked about what is important in history, half of the informants formulate answers that concern values. They are mainly about WWII, the Holocaust, injustice and mass killing. The students take a clear stance when they speak about war and the Holocaust. They state that in our time we should be discouraged by mistakes in the past and atrocities so that they will not be repeated: ‘Learn from the mistakes one made in the past’ (Informant III:1:11). Another example is, ‘Witness the things people have done and are capable of doing’ (Informant III:1:5). Every third student answered an open-ended question saying it is value-related content in history that is important for them.

‘Not to make the same mistakes and that people must be treated right’ (Informant II:1:6). Several students have the opinion that one can learn something from history and that something here primarily implies rejecting war, injustice and violence. In other words, one can learn something from evil. A general impression appears to be that it was worse in the past and it is steadily getting better, which is also what the history textbooks express. Such an idea of continuous progress in history is not uncommon, but rather dominant among the students in this study. The idea of development is also seen in answers stating that one cannot learn anything from history. Informant II:1:3 says, ‘I do not believe so because development is going forward’.

In the questionnaire, students are asked to respond to three questions that to a greater extent than the introductory questions suggest a relationship between history and values. In these questions, it is asked if history can be about values, for example, opposites such as right-wrong and good-evil, democracy, freedom and human equality. In addition, questions are asked about how history can explain values and how values can explain or clarify history. Most students have the opinion that history can be about values. A handful of the students answer that they do not know or they decline to answer. Even when the question is formulated this way, most choose to give Nazism as an example and its view of human beings, together with the Holocaust, dictators and the atom bomb. In some answers the students indicate the French Revolution and the American Civil War as examples of how freedom was sought (Informant III:1:5, III:1:14 and III:1:18). In other words, there is a larger and wider palette of answers, and the answers are not clearly negative in the sense that one only gives examples of disasters in the past.

In the diversity of answers there are examples differing from the usual pattern in that they are based on the contemporary perspective: ‘The winner writes history. Think if Germany had won WWII. Right-wrong, good-evil can change when one reads history from a different side’ (Informant I:1:9). Another student writes, ‘History explains good and bad choices, but it is often oneself that chooses whether one thinks the decision has been good or bad’ (Informant: III:1:12).

Some students express the view that reasons are based on good-evil and other dichotomous value judgments grounded in personal or present-day perceptions. First, this is an obvious example of students expressing their developed historical consciousness, because they show an understanding for how present-day perceptions stand in relation to the interpretation of the past and how the past can be presented. Second, there is the indication of knowledge about source criticism.

Another group of differing answers come from students who write that history may be about evil acts, but that everyone can have their opinion. These students are also focused on the present and emphasize freedom of expression as the overarching message from the past.

Regarding the question about history explaining values, overall, students give nuanced answers and a less homogenous response. There are affirmative answers, such as, 'Yes, through examples and comparisons and using the background for how it was done' (Informant II:1:1). There are a few students who make connections across time, allowing value issues to bear context and content: 'Yes, certainly. That can even explain why what we think is evil today was not seen as evil then or vice versa, for example, with revolution' (Informant III:1:16). Those students who argue that history cannot explain values formulate their reasons with: 'No, history cannot explain what was done wrong' (Informant II:1:8). Or Informant III:1:5, 'No, nothing can explain that. It is only one's own conception that makes sense of it'. Even here, the answers are based on the perception that it is the action that is good or evil, not the value-pair good-evil itself that can be explained. This is a sharp observation that actually goes beyond what I intended when I formulated the question.

The relationship between values and history is further illuminated in another question, where students are asked to say whether there are values that can explain or clarify history. Most students write, Yes, in their answers, but then there is much ambiguity in their motivations. 'The winner writes history and that is why the good always win' (Informant I:1:16). Another example is, 'No, history is too positive toward the winner, for example, the USA' (Informant III:1:4). Even on this question, the given answer expresses a connection between the interpretation of the past and the understanding of the present: 'By explaining why someone thought like that then and what is the difference with today' (Informant III:1:16).

### **A concrete example**

After the students have read an excerpt from Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men*, an excerpt with explicit violation of human life and also with the perpetrators being given the possibility to avoid partaking in the killing, questions followed that are not direct and open in the same way as in the first questionnaire. The questions are of a reasoning character, and the students are encouraged to respond to how they perceive the text and whether it is relevant for them. The answer frequency differs only marginally from the first question set, and some answers are brief and somewhat hesitant.

In the questions about how the students perceive the text and what the text says, the students write that the value of human life and the lack of value for human life are central. Cruelty, tragedy and horrible war are other frequently occurring statements. In the more developed responses, the students emphasize the insight that the soldiers had a choice: 'I thought one was forced to participate and kill' (Informant III:2:8). The majority emphasize that the horror and authenticity are what arouse interest and empathy. One student (I:2:8) states that '(o)ne understands when one knows the background'. Here, in other words, the historical context enables the understanding of the cruelty in the Nazis' actions. Several answers also show that the values are the link between the past and the present. Students write that if one sees from different angles and views, one understands better (Informant I:2:5). One student shows clearly how the present perception frames the interpretation and the understanding of the past: 'If we had not known that everyone, regardless of religion, skin colour, etc., has the same value, we probably would not have experienced WWII as horrible as we do now' (Informant II:2:1). An answer shows a clear indication that values could help students understand history. There is a student in Grade 8 who writes, 'No, they (values) distort the facts' (Informant III:2:17). Though the informant means values override impartiality and objectivity, the answer is an example of the student's opinion that values and value perceptions influence the interpretation and view of history.

To get an idea of how the students perceive Browning's text and in what way they approach history and the violation of values as conveyed in the text, the students were asked to state the questions they would like to put to the text. The answers can be divided into five groups. The first (11 answers) addresses how it was possible at all for the murder of the Jews to happen and why did not more people protest. The second group (9 answers) contains questions about what happened in the village of Józefów. In the third group of questions (7 answers) the students wonder what happened to the soldiers who turn aside when Major Trapp gave them the choice. The fourth group of answers (6 answers) states only the question of why Major Trapp gave the soldiers a choice. In the fifth group, thirteen students put the question of how could the soldiers kill the innocent and how did they feel; 'how can people live with themselves?' (Informant III:2:5).

All five groups of questions assume that human dignity must not be violated and that human life should not be terminated. The students' questions involve causes or consequences in the past, but the questions are based in present-day value perceptions, that is, how the students interpret the content that the text conveys.

The first questionnaire contained questions about whether the students think history can explain values. The same question recurred in questionnaire 2; this time after the concrete example of the Jews had been presented. The students demonstrate examples of the perception that true stories can show good and evil acts: 'Yes, one understands by oneself what is right or wrong' (Informant I:2:7). Another example is, 'One must know what happened and then get to interpret and discuss it' (Informant II:2:9). A smaller group of students (ca. 20%) argue that the issue of values is one's own decision and respond accordingly,

'Maybe not, because it is always the winner who writes history' (Informant I:2:19).

The question is followed up by my asking the students to give their view on whether history and history instruction should deal with values. There is a risk, as several history didacticists have pointed out, that the teaching goes into moralizing and that history only becomes a tool in fostering morality.<sup>7</sup> The majority of the students begin by answering that history should deal with values. Interestingly, they thereafter reason and in several instances, give hesitating answers: 'It is easy to judge though. One must see why the Germans listened to Hitler' (Informant II:2:3). Clear arguments also emerge that history should deal with values: 'It feels more meaningful if it deals with them' (Informant II:2:13).

## Summary

In many contexts history is about issues involving values such as freedom, human dignity, right and wrong. Textbook content is evidence that values are central issues, and catalysts, in society and people's lives and aspirations. In history textbooks, there are explanations of how values-oriented phenomena such as democracy and freedom emerged and in which historical contexts values were violated. Values are often explained in dichotomous opposites, where the good usually wins and leads development forward. Even the reverse view is found, in which values represent a bridge between the present, and the past and the future. Values and violations of values are a reference in time and over time. This perspective becomes increasingly common toward the end of the 1900s and the early 2000s.

---

<sup>7</sup> See for example. Boix-Mansilla, 2000, p. 391.

Sixty-three students demonstrate in 112 questionnaire responses that values and perceptions of values are central and relevant content in history and history instruction. They argue that stories about evil are the most important and that these should be deterrents. The students' answers also show how interpretations of the past are made based on the present and present-day perceptions of values. At the same time, values and violations of values can say something about the past. Values and history, for the students, are closely interconnected, and in several respects, values can be said to be a channel of historical knowledge and values can be the basis for thinking exercises that can develop historical consciousness.

### **Correspondence**

Dr Niklas Ammert, Linnæus University, Linnégatan 5, 391 82 Kalmar, Sweden  
[niklas.ammert@lnu.se](mailto:niklas.ammert@lnu.se)

### **References**

#### **Textbooks**

Almgren, B., et al (1998) *Historia 3 SO Direkt [History 4 Social Studies]*, Stockholm, Bonnier utbildning.

Almgren, H., et al (1999) *Historia kompakt [History compact]*, Malmö: Gleerups Förlag.

Hedin, M. & Sandberg, R. (1999) *Historien pågår [History is ongoing]*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell (Liber).

Hildingson, L. (1983) *Levande historia [Living history]*, Stockholm: Bokförlaget Natur och Kultur.

Hildingson, K. & Hildingson, L. (2003) *Levande historia 7– 9 [Living history years 7-]*, Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Hildingson, L. & Husén, L. (1970) *Historia [History]*, Stockholm: Bokförlaget Natur och Kultur.

Hildingson, K. et al (2009) *Levande historia 7-9 [Living history Years 7-9]*, Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Ivansson, E. & Tordai, M. (2003) *Historia: Ämnesboken [History topic paper]*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Kahnberg, A. et al (1973) *Genom tiderna [All Time (through the ages)]*, Lund: CWK Gleerup Bokförlag.

Modie, P. & Moen, J. (1971) *Historia [History]*, Stockholm: Läromedelsförlagen.

#### **Literature**

Ahonen, S. (2012) *Coming to terms with a dark past: How post-conflict societies deal with history*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Ammert, N. (2008) *Det osamtidas samtidighet: Historiemedvetande i svenska historieläroböcker under hundra år (The Non-simultaneous simultaneousness: Historical*

*consciousness in Swedish history textbooks over one hundred years*). Lund och Uppsala, Sisyfos förlag.

Ammert, N. (2010) 'To bridge time: Historical consciousness in Swedish history textbooks', in *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 17-30.

Andolf, G. (1972) *Historien på gymnasiet: undervisning och läroböcker 1820-1965 [History in Upper Secondary School: Teaching and Textbooks 1820-1965]*, Stockholm: Scandinavian University Books.

Apple, M. & Linda Christian-Smith (eds.) (1991) *The politics of the textbook*, London: Routledge.

Bauhn, P. (2006) *Mänskliga rättigheter och filosofi [Human rights and philosophy]*, Malmö: Liber AB.

Boix-Mansilla, V. (2000) 'Historical understanding: Beyond the past and into the present', in Stearns, P., Seixas, P. & Wineburg, S. (eds.) *Knowing, teaching and learning history*, New York: New York University Press.

Boréus, K. (1994) *Högervåg: Nyliberalism och kampen om språket i svensk offentlig debatt 1969–1989 [A Wave to the right: Neoliberalism and the struggle over language in Swedish public debate, 1969-1989]*, Stockholm: Tiden.

Bruns, G. L. (2003) 'On the coherence of hermeneutics and ethics: An essay on Gadamer and Levinas', in Krajewski, B. (ed.) *Gadamer's repercussions: Reconsidering philosophical hermeneutics*, Ewing, NJ: University of California Press.

Bryld, C. (ed.) (1999) *At formidle historie.[To communicate history]*, Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

Bøe, J. B. (1999) *Å fortelle om fortiden: Fortellingen i historie- og samfundsundervisning [To tell about the past: Narratives in history and civic education]*, Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget.

Dutceac Segesten, A. (2011) 'Nationalism in Romanian textbooks', in Törnquist-Plewa, B. & Krysztof, S. (eds.) *Cultural transformations after communism: Central and Eastern Europe in focus*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Fine, E. S. (1988) 'The absent memory: The act of writing in post-Holocaust French literature', in Lang, B.(ed.) *Writing and the Holocaust*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Jeissmann, K-E. (1979) 'Geschichtsbewusstsein [Historical consciousness] ', in Bergman, K. (ed.) *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik [Handbook of history didactics]*, Band [volume] 1' Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann.

Jensen, B. E. (1990) 'Historie i og uden for skolen. Fordrer temaet et historiedidaktisk paradigmeskift?' [History in and outside school. Is there a need for a new paradigm in history didactics?], in *Historiedidaktik i Norden*, vol. 4, Högskolan i Kalmar: Nordisk konferens om historiedidaktik [Nordic conference on history didactics].

Gergen, K. J. (2005) 'Narrative, moral Identity and historical consciousness: A social constructionist account', in Straub, J. (ed.) *Narration, identity and historical consciousness*, New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books.



Gustafson, K G J. (2003) 'Livshistorien och platserna [History as lived and its locations]', in Johansson A. (ed.) *Platser i livet [Places where history has been lived]*, Kalmar: Klavrekultur.

Koselleck, R. (1985) *Future's past: On the semantics of historical time*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press.

Lundquist, T. (1988) 'Från Gud och fosterlandet till arbetet, freden och världen: Historieämnet i den obligatoriska skolans undervisnings- och läroplaner 1878–1980. En didaktisk studie [From God and fatherland to labour, peace and the world: History in compulsory school 1878-1980. A didactic study]', in *Kronos: Historia i skola och samhälle [Kronos: History in school and society]*, Linköping: Institutionen för Lärarutbildning Avdelningen för Historia [Department of Teacher Education, Department of History].

*Läroplan för det obligatoriska skolväsendet LPO 94 [National curriculum for compulsory school]* (1994). Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet och Fritzes.

Mommsen, W. J. (2000) 'Moral commitment and scholarly detachment: The social function of the historian', in Leersen J. & Rignet, A. (eds.) *Historians and social values*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Patočka, J. (2006) *Kätterska essäer om historiens filosofi (Heretical essays about the philosophy of history)*, Göteborg: Daidalos.

Rüsen, J. (2004) *Berättande och förnuft: Historieteoretiska texter [Narrative and reason: The history theoretical texts]*, Göteborg: Daidalos.

Rüsen, J. (2000) 'Historical objectivity as a matter of social values', in Leersen, J. & Rignet, A. (eds.) *Historians and social values*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Rüsen, J. (2001) 'Holocaust, memory and identity building: Metahistorical considerations in the case of (West) Germany', in Roth M. & Salas, C. (eds.) *Disturbing remains: Memory, history and crisis in the Twentieth Century*, Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute Publications Program.

Skinner, Q. (1988) 'Language and social change', in Tully, J. (ed.) *Meaning and Context. Quentin Skinner and his Critics*, London: Polity Press.

Spiegel, G. M. (2007) 'Revising the past/revisiting the present: How change happens in historiography', *History and Theory*, Theme Issue 46.

Stradling, R. (2001) *Teaching 20th-century European history*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Taylor, C. (2003) *The ethics of authenticity*, Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press.

Tingsten, H. (1969) *Gud och fosterlandet. Studier i hundra års skolpropaganda [God and Fatherland: Studies in one hundred years of school propaganda]*. Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners förlag.

Virta, A. (2007) 'Historical literacy: Thinking, reading and understanding history', *Tidskrift För Lärarutbildning Och Forskning*, no. 4, Theme: Historical Literacy.

TEACHING HISTORY USING FEATURE FILMS: PRACTITIONER ACUITY AND COGNITIVE  
NEUROSCIENTIFIC VALIDATION

Debra Donnelly, University of Newcastle, Newcastle, Australia

---

**Abstract**

*This paper reports on the findings of Australian educational research that investigated the role of historical feature films in secondary history education. The study found that a significant proportion of teachers are drawn to using historical feature films as they engage and motivate today's visually-orientated students and that these films connect them emotionally and intellectually to narrative frameworks. The data revealed that most history teachers developed their film implementation and integration strategies through an intuitive process based on a combination of 'trial and error', professional experience and knowledge of the learning styles and preferences of their students. That being the case, the teacher participants had little or no awareness or acuity regarding underlying cognitive neuroscientific links to their pedagogical practice. However, recent discoveries in cognitive neuroscience offer explanation and affirmation for teachers' classroom observations and propose avenues to further explore the already attested value of historical film as a pedagogical tool. This paper will highlight the research findings in regard to the history teachers' acuities in their use of historical feature film, align these with recent cognitive neuroscience discoveries and suggest further pedagogical pointers for history education stemming from the use of neurological research.*

**Keywords**

History education, Historical feature films, Historical understanding, Cognitive neuroscience

**Introduction**

In a world where communication is instantaneous and global, new technologies and images are altering how the world is encountered and understood. Knowledge is now being explored and constructed in an image-rich environment influenced by a broad range of media and social networking. Writer and critic, Susan Sontag argues that contemporary society's understanding of itself is image based, 'the most grandiose result of the photographic enterprise is to give us the sense that we can hold the whole world in our heads – as an anthology of images' (Sontag, 1979, p.3). Canadian scholar, Martin Lefebvre (1999) maintains that we each possess a sort of imaginary museum, partially comprised of images from historical movies that have left an impression. He calls for historians to examine this image bank/imaginary museum and its influence on society's collective memory.

Using film in the classroom is part of a larger pedagogical shift that broadens the very notion of literacy and the range of skills required for future citizens. What it is to be literate has become a dynamic concept in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and this phenomenon challenges educational systems to remain relevant to their clients. Rapid and dramatic advances in digital technologies and the resulting globalized social shifts require a more wide-ranging set of skills and understandings and mean that competency in reading and writing paper text is no longer viewed as sufficient for contemporary and future citizens (Anstey & Bull, 2007; Cope & Kalantzis 2008; Knobel & Lankshear 2007; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The term 'multiliteracies' has been coined to convey the notion that today's literacy necessitates multiple forms of knowledge and discernment to identify the appropriate social context and the adaption of literate practices in fresh and diverse ways. Australian academics, Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope have extended the pedagogy of multiliteracies and call for a

reflective epistemology in which agency is re-balanced to empower the learner and teacher/student relationships are re-configured to construct learning as 'a dialogue of difference' (Kalantzis, 2005, p. 31). In this transformative approach, learning is negotiated and co-constructed in a 'bottom up' methodology centred on an enquiry based learning model in which knowledge is understood to be contested, complex and negotiated. The platforms of functionality are fluid for the multiliterate with seamless navigation between paper, electronic and live texts and their semiotic systems (Anstey & Bull, 2006; Kress, 2003; Luke, 2003). In this contemporary and ever-changing teaching environment, many history teachers have moved from an almost exclusive use of printed material to integrate multi-modal study platforms including web-based film sources.

This shift from print to multi-modal formats is a major change in teacher practice in history as in other disciplines, and an under-researched field of study. This paper uses the findings of an Australian research project to first highlight teacher insights or acuity in the use of feature film in history teaching, and then validates some of these understandings with reference to recent cognitive neuroscience discoveries. Further, the paper explores pedagogical pointers for history education stemming from the use of neurological research.

### **Feature films and historical consciousness**

It is testament to the power of film that there appears to be a tendency for history and filmic representation to become muddled in the memory and historical consciousness. This phenomenon was observed by the US scholar Sam Wineburg when he interviewed students and their families about their historical identities. Wineburg (2001) reported that popular films, such as *Forest Gump* and *Schindler's List*, were cited as sources that provided supporting evidence for evaluating actual historical events. On the other hand, research from an American group of scholars suggests that there are contradictions about student use of film as historical documents (Marcus, 2003; Paxton & Meyerson, 2002). Students in these studies readily acknowledged the limitations of films and demonstrated a healthy scepticism as to their reliability, citing issues of motive and profit. However, when films were subsequently used in class these same students did not question the filmic presentation and relied on them for their overall impression of the historical narrative. Alan Marcus deduced that this gap between beliefs and practice arose from the teachers' pedagogical approach. This assertion is supported by the earlier work of the Canadian scholar Peter Seixas (1994), who found that students believed that the film *Dances with Wolves* provided a window to the past in its narrative of White-Native American relations until they viewed other films with different perspectives. After being exposed to alternative narratives, the students began to re-evaluate their uncritical view of *Dances with Wolves* and incorporate it into a more complex, nuanced understanding.

In this context, research indicates that history teachers have been slow to appreciate the demands of the 'new literacies.' Marcus's (2005, 2007) research demonstrates the need for teacher expertise in using film and that the lack of the required skills can lead to little or no development in critical thinking and analysis skills. He calls for the development of 'historical film literacy' and argues that the ability to analyse, interpret and evaluate are important beyond the school environment. Marcus, Paxton & Meyerson (2006) found that although the teachers in their study incorporated the films into their teaching programmes, they did not interrogate film in the same manner as other historical sources. Indeed, Afflerbach & VanSledright (2001) coined the term 'Disney effect' to explain the power of film to establish ideas and attitudes about historical events and to warn that teachers need to guide their students to identify the mechanisms of filmic representations and relate this knowledge to broader examination of the historical evidence. Other researchers have arrived at similar conclusions, noting that without explicit teaching, many students accept filmic accounts without question and so the line between history and fiction becomes blurred (Meyerson &

Paxton, 2007; Seixas, 1994, 2006; Wineburg et al, 2000). The Australian academics, Tony Taylor and Carmel Young (2003) concluded that when incorporating feature films into their programmes, teachers need to have mechanisms to detect and manage the compressions, distortions and fictions that are inevitable in historical films.

### **Research design**

The research project investigated the use of historical feature films in history teaching in secondary schools in Australia with the data predominantly coming from New South Wales, Australia's most populous state. The project was undertaken in three phases with a total of 371 teacher and student participants. Initial data was gathered from two surveys about filmic pedagogies in history, one focused on teacher practice, while the other looked at the student experience. The teacher practice survey investigated the use of film in the history classroom in terms of films used, implementation strategies and the conceptual frameworks underpinning pedagogical decision-making. The student survey examined students' experiences with film in history and their attitudes to its place in their learning. The second phase took the form of semi-structured interviews and explored teacher conceptual frameworks and their practice. The teacher interviewees were from a variety of teaching contexts, and had a diverse range of experiences and attitudes with using film to teach history. Case studies formed the last phase of the project. These were selected from the teacher interviewees' group on the basis of exemplifying distinctive approaches to the use of film and being strong examples of methodological approaches that were evident in the data. The project sought to provide Australian base line data of usage frequency and rationales, to investigate filmic pedagogies used in the history classroom and identify models of effective practice. One of the most important findings of the project was the previously unconsidered significance of neuroscientific research for the teaching of history and the development of historical understanding.

### **Research findings**

A single comment from an interviewee, Mr Murray (pseudonym) was the impetus for the cognitive neuroscience avenue of inquiry. 'I use lots of film in my historiography course for Year 12... I think the History Extension course [final year historiography course offered in NSW Secondary schools] actually changes the way their [the senior students] brain works and there's an actual chemical change or something in their brain where they suddenly have an epiphany or their mind is suddenly open that little bit more to say well actually in a way everything is up for grabs, it's very postmodern'.

Cognitive neuroscience is defined as an academic field concerned with the scientific study of biological substrates underlying the ability to acquire knowledge (de Jong et al. 2008). Could research in this scientific field provide support for the utilization of film in teaching history? Were teachers using their observations and experience to capitalize on how the brain learns, albeit unknowingly? As it happened, no other evidence was found that any teacher or student had actively considered how the workings of the brain may lend support to the effectiveness of films, but it became apparent that many teachers intuitively understood the power of film as a teaching resource.

The research found that recent cognitive neuroscientific discoveries provided verification for a number of the teacher insights and practices reported in the data and suggest further strategies for the use of film. The research project concluded that recent cognitive neuroscientific discoveries suggest four broad areas of validation of, and direction for, the use of historical feature film in the secondary history classroom and that these go some way to provide a physiological basis for the power of film as a pedagogical medium. Areas of congruency were found in multi-modal presentation, engagement and memory; implicit and explicit teaching; insightful problem solving; and the role of the affective in learning. The data

from the history and feature film research project and the relevant cognitive neuroscience will be discussed in the next sections.

### **Engagement, memory and multi-modality**

Both the teacher and student surveys presented student engagement as the overriding justification for the use of film in the classroom. The teachers claimed that films created 'student interest' which in turn helped students 'recall' what they had seen, while the students referred to films helping them to 'remember' and 'visualize' the past. The teachers and students agreed that historical feature films were interesting and memorable, and students saw them as preferable to other teaching resources, such as textbooks. A common theme in teacher and student data was that film's 'memorability' was a very useful tool for subsequent class discussions and for comparing the filmic presentations in other evidence. The shared attention aspect of film viewing reportedly added to the cohesion and collaborative atmosphere of the class and provided common ground for further explorations. The survey data overwhelmingly supported the power of film to engage student attention during and after viewing the film. The teachers gave 'to engage and interest' as the most significant usage rationale, twice as popular as the next two reasons, 'present an interpretation' and 'stimulate class discussion.' While 90% of the students agreed that films helped them to remember and to learn in history classes. The multi-sensory dimension of film was cited by both teachers and students as supporting memory and learning.

Research from cognitive neuroscience lends support to the notion of the power of film for learning in that it provides a multimodal and multisensory experience incorporating moving images, camera conventions, such as shots, angles and speed of framing, music, and dialogue semiotics. Cognitive neuroscientific research into the 'modality effect' provides evidence that the participants' behavioural observations had a biological basis as spreading input over auditory and visual modalities (pictures, animations, moving images, music and spoken texts) leads to more positive learning outcomes than a single presentation (Baddeley, 2000; Beauchamp et al., 2004; Crottaz-Herbette, 2004). "Modality effect" is a term used in experimental psychology concerning the fields of memory and learning and refers to the way in which the mode of presentation impacts on learner performance. Dual coding theory (Paivio, 1979, 1986) suggests that recall is enhanced by presenting information in both visual and verbal form and Baddeley's (2000) model of working memory states that there is a central executive and two separate 'slave' systems for dealing with auditory and visual information. Working memory is the system by which numerous items of transitory information are held in the mind and may be compared or integrated. Beauchamp et al. (2004) used magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) technology to observe brain activation during learning and found that when the auditory and visual were presented together brain activity intensified. This observation is supported by the work of Crottaz-Herbette et al. (2004) who found that visual and auditory working memory functions differently in the way that neural signals are generated, processed and routed. They hypothesize this difference as an explanation for the modality effect. Added to this, the research on multiple representation suggests that using material in different modes tends to generate higher order thinking. When learning with multiple representations, the learner must initially understand the particulars of each separate representation and then recognize the interconnections between them. This work supports the proposition that embedding film with other evidence will aid retention and recall and encourage critical thinking and enhance historical understanding (de Jong et al, 1998). This increase of mental agility can be applied to the development of historical understanding skills and to the development of evaluation and judgement skills when working with historical sources and generating historical arguments.

### **Implicit and explicit teaching**

It was discovered that very few teachers in this project had any training in the semiotics of film, filmic methodologies or issues regarding the use of film to teach history. Indeed, only 8% of the teacher participants reported having explicit instruction in teaching history and the use of film. While, many teachers were confident with printed source analysis and interpretation, they were less comfortable with investigating film as an historical artifact or representation. This characteristic comment from an interviewee demonstrated such a lack of understanding, 'I just show the movie and talk about what happened. Then I move on to the sources'. When asked what methods they used to teach using film most teachers referred to discussion and worksheets and, when asked to provide work examples, most teachers presented comprehension type questions about the filmic narrative. The vast majority of teachers in the research project did not analyze, for example, the semiotics of the film or delve into directorial agendas.

There were a few exceptions to this approach, with five teachers commenting on the need for explicit teaching of visual media analysis skills. This comment typified the attitude of this group, 'You can't expect kids to be critical thinkers without some guidance and they need to be taught how film works. Although we are always rushed for time, I like to go through some scenes to look at the way that film gets us in'. This small group of teachers was able to demonstrate their analysis of the techniques used to manipulate the viewer experience and their exploration of film maker's motivations and intentions.

Two of the case study subjects were impressive in their use of the visual for learning and demonstrated clear understanding of the need of explicit teaching of the filmic form. They used visual representations and scaffolds to summarize observations and opinions around specific focus questions. They re-visited important scenes to allow students to collect extra evidence and encouraged their students to argue from a number of viewpoints. One case study subject, Mrs Drew (pseudonym) devoted considerable class time to analysis of filmic techniques and the effects and rationale for their use. She focused her students on the persuasive devices employed by the film-makers to convince the audience to a particular viewpoint. While another case teacher subject, Mrs Warner (pseudonym) tasked her classes with re-writing scenes from alternative perspectives, and performed them for the class. The students provided explanations for their directorial decisions and linked these to other historical sources. This group's classroom practice featured close examination of the film and explicit attention to how the filmic techniques impacted the viewer experience and the historical representation.

In this context, neuroscientific studies support the importance and power of explicit learning over implicit learning as demonstrated by a few of the teacher participants in the research project. In explicit learning knowledge is acquired with an explicit intention of learning and with awareness of the learning process and knowledge of what is to be explored. Research by Saetrevik, Reber & Sannum (2006) found that deducing underlying principles was greatly enhanced by explicit teaching and scaffolding. Neuroimaging studies (Aizenstein et al., 2004; Reber et al., 2003) found significant increases in activation in several brain regions, including the hippocampus and the left inferior temporal cortex when the learning shifted from implicit to explicit. These are components of the brain that are associated with the consolidation of short term to long term memory, learning retention and visual recognition.

Further, Thomas et al. (2004) reported neurophysiological differentiations between adults and children (15 years old and under) such that children required more explicit learning than adults to achieve the same levels of activation and learning outcomes. They speculated that this could be related to the role of prior knowledge and expectations in learning (Sun, Merrill & Peterson, 2001) as adults would likely have more experience of learning than children.

Petitto & Dunbar (2008) found that conceptual change, which is when the learner has to decide to change or maintain their current ideas on the basis of conflicting information, requires instructional interventions and substantial dialogue to activate the learning areas of the brain. They conclude that without this the conflict resolution areas of the brain were not activated and the inconsistent information ignored.

Cognitive neuroscientific investigations support the need for explicit teaching and scaffolding of learning when seeking underlying principles, as is required in development of historical understanding. Several teachers in the research project demonstrated this understanding, but most appeared more comfortable with a narrative approach and did not effectively interrogate the multi-modal sources. The demonstrated need for greater attention to explicit teaching for children and young adults adds weight to this argument.

### **Insightful problem solving and historical understanding**

One of the case studies in this project focused teaching source analysis, both written and multi-modal. This exemplar followed a teaching protocol known as cognitive apprenticeship. This framework of instruction incorporates the traditional and well-established model of apprentice training, based on observation, coaching and imitation, with cognitive modelling protocols (Bandura, 1997). The framework traces a progressive learning design from modelling, to coaching and collaboration, and finally to fading of support, independent problem-based exploration and reflection. The research data supported conclusion that the cognitive apprenticeship framework offered an effective way of teaching source analysis in the history classroom.

Neuroscientific research has some interesting insights for the use of problem solving and implicit/explicit learning, both of which are pertinent to the use of the cognitive apprenticeship framework. Researchers compared problems that can be solved in algorithmic ways to problems that require insight and conceptual knowledge, as is the case with historical understanding. The research demonstrated that brain activity and heart rate were significantly different for insight and non-insight problem solving. Sandkuhler & Bhattacharya (2008) studied four different aspects of insightful problem solving: mental impasse, restructuring of the problem, deeper understanding of the problem and suddenness of solution. They found increase in neural activity associated gamma and alpha band frequencies during the problem-solving encounter. These frequencies refer to the current flows within the neurons of the brain detected in electroencephalographical recording and are associated with cross-modal sensory processing and reflective capacity. The researchers concluded that there were biological reactions at every stage of insight problem solving and that these had an emotional dimension for the learner. This aligns with the research of Schnyer et al. (2005) in which the brain areas involved in feelings of knowing were investigated. They concluded that these feelings of satisfaction and confidence were based on relative familiarity of the recall cue and so emphasised the importance of repeated reference to and application of a conceptual framework.

Cognitive neuroscience also has a number of directional indications for teaching historical understanding and inquiry and supports the tenets of the cognitive apprenticeship framework. The dopamine release and the consolidation of relational memories indicate that students are more likely to remember and understand what they discover themselves (Willis, 2007). The work on insight problem solving discovered that the brain and body responds intensely and emotionally to resolution and stresses the need for the development of 'feelings of knowing' by repeated reference to and application of a conceptual framework. This links with the neuroscientific research on explicit learning as this suggests that deducing underlying principles was greatly enhanced by explicit teaching and scaffolding. In this regard, Petitto and Dunbar's work (2004) on development of conceptual understanding

and the evaluation of conflicting information found that instructional interventions and substantial dialogue was needed to activate the learning centres of the brain. This research highlights the important role of the teacher as a guide through historical inquiry work and provides opportunities for examining the problematic nature of historical knowledge.

### **The affective response**

The research data supported the notion that the affective dimension of historical feature films functions in a close partnership with the intellectual challenge. As the U.S. writer and commentator, Robert Toplin (2007, p.126) has noted, 'movies about the past often provide an emotional hook that pulls audience interest toward a study of the subject .... Movies give audiences a feeling for life in a distant time and place'. It was well attested in the data that historical feature films were powerful vehicles for eliciting emotional responses from their audiences, and several participants commented that the structural and character familiarity of film for contemporary audiences encourages the identification with characters and situations. The definition of the term 'empathy' remains contentious among researchers and practitioners (Yilmaz, 2007). Here the term has been used to denote a process which incorporates an embodied or emotional connection to the past. This empathetic response was seen as a major contributor to historical feature film's utility by the vast majority of teachers and students in this project.

Both teachers and students in this project regarded historical feature films as beneficial because they caused the viewer to care about the characters; aided with notions of legitimately differing perspectives; created an interest in the historical period for many students; and generated an enthusiasm for history as a subject of study and/or lifelong interest. 72% of the teacher survey respondents cited 'encourages empathy' and 'brings history to life and stimulates historical imagination' as the main reasons for film being a powerful teaching tool. However, most teacher participants saw the affective response as limited to the engagement, interest and memorability aspects of film viewing and reported little or no further utilization. It was noted that the many teachers expressed uncertainty when they were asked about empathy in history and many saw a tension between history as an objective study and the role of emotion. As one survey respondent put it, 'empathy can get in the way of analysis'. The data supported a broad appreciation of the importance of empathy for creating memorable and engaging classroom encounters with film, but also revealed that many teacher participants were not certain how best to capitalize on it.

One of the case study subjects, Mrs Warner (pseudonym), exemplified the utilization of historical feature film and empathy to develop skills of perspective taking or the ability to see an event or issue from multiple points of view. To develop these empathetic skills, Mrs Warner had students produce diaries and opinion pieces from the standpoint of various characters in the films. As she said, 'Seeing how the other bloke thinks is an important skill for the students in their lives now and in the future'. 80% of student survey respondents agreed that film helped them develop multiple perspectives and many linked this to being able to 'stand in another's shoes'. A number of students from Mrs Warner's class commented that this emotional involvement enhanced the viewing and learning experience. They saw film as giving voice to marginalized groups and even demonstrated an appreciation of the subtle workings of racism. As one of Mrs Warner's students observed, 'The movies are often made for a certain group of people, often stereotyping other races and cultures and making them look bad'.

Cognitive neuroscience has much to add to the conversation about learning and emotion. The field of affective neuroscience has grown in popularity as it is recognized that social and emotional factors exert a strong influence on learning (de Jong et al., 2008). As the educational paradigm gradually shifts from teacher-directed to learner-centred, more



responsibility for and control over the learning process is passed to the learners. Consequently, affective-motivation and self-regulatory processes become more important (Boekaerts, 2003). This research field provides some significant insights for teaching generally, and more specifically, for history teaching using film. Since the 1950's the crucial role of limbic structures for memory consolidation and emotional processing has been acknowledged (Kolb & Whishaw 2008). Dolcos & Cabeza (2002) showed that emotional events were remembered better than non-emotional events and, as film often presents affective as well as intellectual encounters, this research provides confirmation for the power of film to enhance memory and learning performance.

The investigations of Locke and Braver (2008) go further claiming that changes in motivational state may modulate performance through sustained activity in cognitive control regions of the brain and that interest and attitude to teaching resources and assigned tasks have a major impact on learning outcomes. Feature films are generally considered to have higher interest and engagement levels than static display resources, such as textbooks, and as such this research can be argued to support the inclusion of film and other media platforms into the teaching and learning cycle.

The work of Immordino-Yang and Damasio (2007) argues for a more prominent role of the affective in learning and indeed in social functioning. Their work with brain damaged patients has shown that emotional thought regulates rational cognition and they further hypothesise that emotion-related processes are necessary for the transfer of school acquired skills and knowledge to real-world decision making and agency. If this claim has veracity, then the notion of the study of history developing active and informed citizens is modulated by the affective impact of historical studies. As one interviewee put it 'I think gaining an appreciation and an empathy for the past is also of great importance ... I think it helps them [the students] work out how they're going to engage with the world as well, then I think they have really learned something'.

Film has been widely reported in this study as eliciting emotional responses in history students and subsequent pedagogies need to aim to capitalize on, sustain and enhance these initial affective responses. The cognitive neuroscientific investigations demonstrate that this is the result of information flowing freely through the affective filter in the amygdala, a component of the brain primarily associated with processing of memory and emotional responses (Willis, 2007). The students are more motivated, achieve higher levels of cognition and experience more 'aha' moments in problem solving explorations when engaged emotionally and as well as cognitively. All these enhance the quality of the learning outcomes. Several exemplars of this were studied in this research project but the vast majority of teachers did not take advantage of film's dual appeal to the affective and cognitive.

## **Conclusion**

With little training in the field, many history teachers appear to have developed their film implementation and integration strategies through an intuitive process based on 'trial and error', professional experience and using their knowledge of the learning styles and preferences of their charges. History teachers' attraction to feature film not only testifies to the necessity of engagement for learning, but also to an appreciation of the powerful appeal of the multi-sensory narrative to the historical imagination and the role of empathy in an enacted value system.

The research found that recent cognitive neuroscientific discoveries provide verification for a number of the teacher insights and practices when using feature film in the teaching of

history and that these are indicators for further pedagogical directions and explorations. It was concluded that cognitive neuroscience provides a physiological basis for the power of film as a pedagogical medium and encourages thoughtful utilization in the classroom. Multi-modal presentation was found to be an effective format for enhancing memory and critical thinking skills, both of which are integral to the development of historical thinking skills. This linked with the evidence of the role of explicit teaching and insightful problem solving in the development of understanding, gives practitioners clear guidelines for the presentation of material and the teaching of historical skills. The adoption of a pedagogical framework, such as the cognitive apprenticeship model, for the teaching of the historical understanding and other multi-faceted concepts, is strongly supported in the neuroscientific research. This research also lends a focus on the role of the affective in historical thinking and learning and calls teachers to engage their charges on an emotional as well as a cognitive level. This utilization of empathetic responses was found to encourage sustained interest in and commitment to the study of history.

With rapid change in technology and resource formats, all teachers are being called on to rapidly renovate their classroom practice to remain authentic and relevant. Despite reports of regular use of feature film in the history classroom, 92% of Australian history teacher participants in this project had no formal training to aid this integration and this project found little awareness of the cognitive neuroscience. This study suggests that teacher understandings and skills would be enhanced by knowledge of the neuroscientific implications for the teaching and learning of history. The project concluded that initial training, and subsequent professional development, agendas need to include strategies for the analysis of multi-modal sources as historical evidence and representations. Attention to these areas of neglect would improve the quality of classroom instruction and consequently learning outcomes. Mr Murray, the only history teacher interviewee to mention cognitive neuroscience, was right. Cognitive neuroscience has much to offer history educators and this intersect is a fertile field for continuing research.

### **Acknowledgement**

The author would like to thank Associate Professor Tony Taylor of Monash University, Melbourne, Australia for his helpful suggestions on an earlier draft of this article.

### **Correspondence**

Dr. Debra Donnelly  
School of Education,  
University of Newcastle  
Callaghan 2308  
NSW Australia  
[debra.donnelly@newcastle.edu.au](mailto:debra.donnelly@newcastle.edu.au)

### **References**

- Afflerbach, P. & VanSledright, B. (2001) 'Hath! Doth! What? Middle graders reading innovative history text', *Journal of Adolescent and Adult literacy*, vol. 44, no. 8, pp. 696-707.
- Aizenstein, H. J., Stenger, V. A., Cochran, J., Clark, K., Johnson, M. & Nebes, R. D. (2004) 'Regional brain activation during concurrent implicit and explicit sequence learning', *Cerebral Cortex*, vol. 14, pp. 199-208.
- Anstey, M. & Bull, G. (2007) [1997] *The literacy labyrinth*, Frenchs Forest, NSW: Pearson.

Anstey, M. & Bull, G. (2006) *Teaching and learning multiliteracies: changing times, changing literacies*, Kensington Gardens, SA: Australian Literacy Educators.

Baddeley, A.D. (2000) 'The episodic buffer: A new component of working memory?', *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, vol. 4, pp. 417-423.

Bandura, A. (1997) *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Beauchamp, M. S., Lee, K. E., Argall, B. D. & Martin, A. (2004) 'Integration of auditory and visual information about objects in superior temporal sulcus', *Neuron*, vol. 41, pp. 809-823.

Boekaerts, M. (2003) 'Toward a model that integrates motivation, affect, and learning', *British Journal of Educational Psychology Monograph Series*, II, pp. 173-189.

Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (2008) 'Ubiquitous learning: An agenda for educational transformation', *Proceedings of the 6<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Networked Learning*, [Online], Available: [http://www.networkedlearningconference.org.uk/past/nlc2008/abstracts/PDFs/Cope\\_576-582.pdf](http://www.networkedlearningconference.org.uk/past/nlc2008/abstracts/PDFs/Cope_576-582.pdf) [Feb 10 2010].

Crottaz-Herbette, S., Anagnoson, R. T. & Menon, V. (2004) 'Modality effects in verbal working memory: Differential prefrontal and parietal responses to auditory and visual stimuli', *NeuroImage*, vol. 21, pp. 340-351.

de Jong, T., Ainsworth, S., Dobson, M., van der Hulst, A., Levonen, J. & Reimann, P. (1998) 'Acquiring knowledge in science and mathematics: the use of multiple representations in technology based learning environments', in Someren, M.V., Reimann, P., Boshuizen H. & de Jong, T. (eds.) *Learning with multiple representations*, Oxford: Elsevier Science.

de Jong, T., van Gog, T., Jenks, K., Manlove, S., van Hell, J., Jolles, J., van Merriënboer, van Leeuwen, T. & Boschloo, A. (2008) *Explorations in learning and the brain*, New York: Springer.

Dolcos, F. & Cabeza, R. (2002) 'Event-related potentials of emotional memory: Encoding pleasant, unpleasant, and neutral pictures', *Cognitive, Affective & Behavioural Neuroscience*, vol. 2, pp. 252-263.

Immordino-Yang, M. H. & Damasio, A. R. (2007) 'We feel, therefore we learn: The relevance of affective and social neuroscience to education', *Mind, Brain and Education*, vol. 1, pp. 3-10.

Kalantzis, M. (2005) 'Elements of a science of education', *The Australian Educational Researcher*, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 15-31.

Knobel, M. & Lankshear, C. (eds.) (2007) *A new literacies sampler*, New York: Peter Lang.

Kolb, B. & Whishaw, I. Q. (2008) *Fundamentals of human neuropsychology*, New York: Worth Publishers.

Kress, G. (2003) *Literacy in the new media age*. London: Routledge.

Kress, G. & van Leeuwen, T. (2006) *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*, New York: Routledge.

Lefebvre, M. (1999) 'On memory and imagination in the Cinema', *New Literary History*, vol. 3 no. 2, pp. 479-98.

Locke, H. S. & Braver, T. S. (2008) 'Motivational influences on cognitive control: Behavior, brain activation, and individual differences', *Cognitive, Affective & Behavioural Neuroscience*, vol. 8, pp. 99-112.

Luke, A. (2003) 'Literacy and the other: A sociological agenda for literacy policy and research', *Reading Research Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 132-141.

Marcus, A. S. (2003) *Celluloid blackboard: Teacher practices with film and students' historical understanding* (Unpublished dissertation, Stanford University).

Marcus, A. (2005) "It is as it was": Feature film in the history classroom', *The Social Studies*, vol. 96, no. 2, pp.61-67.

Marcus, A. S. (2007) 'Students making sense of the past: "It's almost like living the Event"', in Marcus, A.S. (ed.) *Celluloid blackboard: teaching history with film*, Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc.

Marcus, A. S., Paxton, R. J. & Meyerson, P. (2006) "The reality of it all": History students read the movies', *Theory and Research in Social Education*, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 516-552.

Meyerson, P. M. & Paxton, R. J. (2007) 'Stronger than the classroom: Movies, texts, and conceptual change (or lack thereof ) amidst sociocultural groups', in Marcus, A.S. (ed.), *Celluloid blackboard: Teaching history with film*. Charlotte NC: Information Age Publishing,

Paivio, A. (1979) *Imagery and verbal processes*, Hilldate, NJ: Erlbaum.

Paivio, A. (1986) *Mental representations*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Paxton, R. J. & Meyerson, P. (2002) 'From *Birth of a Nation* to *Pearl Harbor*: The influence of a movies' perspective on students' historical understandings', *Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association*, New Orleans.

Petitto, L. A. & Dunbar, K. N. (2004) *New findings from educational neuroscience on bilingual brains, scientific brains, and the educated mind*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Graduate School of Education.

Petitto, L. & Dunbar, K.N. (2008) 'Educational neuroscience: New discoveries from bilingual brains, scientific brains, and the educated mind', *Mind Brain Education*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 185-197.

Reber, P. J., Gitelman, D. R., Parrish, T. B. & Mesulam, M. M. (2003) 'Dissociating explicit and implicit category knowledge with fMRI', *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, vol. 15, pp. 574-583.

Seixas, P. (1994) 'Confronting the moral frames of popular film: Young people respond to historical revisionism', *American Journal of Education*, vol. 102, pp. 261-285.

Seixas, P. (2006) *Benchmarks of historical thinking: A framework for assessment in Canada*, Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, University of British Columbia.

Saetrevik, B., Reber, R. & Sannum, P. (2006) 'The utility of implicit learning in the teaching of rules', *Learning and Instruction*, vol. 16, pp. 363-373.

Sandkuhler, S. & Bhattacharya, J. (2008) 'Deconstructing insight: EEG correlates of insightful problem solving', *PLoS One*, pp. 1-12.

Schnyer, D., Nicholls, L. & Verfaellie, M. (2005) 'The role of VMPC in metamemorial judgements of content retrievability', *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, vol. 17, pp. 832-846.

Sontag, S. (1979) *On photography*. New York. Dell Publishing Co,

Sun, R., Merrill, E. & Peterson, T. (2001) 'From implicit skills to explicit knowledge: a bottom-up model of skill learning', *Cognitive Science*, vol. 25, pp.203-244.

Taylor, T. & Young, C. (2003) *Making history: A guide for the teaching and learning of history in Australian schools*, Australian Commonwealth Government, Canberra, [Online], Available: <http://www.hyperhistory.org/images/assets/pdf/complete.pdf> [Mar 2 2010].

Thomas, K.M., Hunt, R.H., Vizueta, N., Sommer, T., Durston, S. & Yang, Y. (2004) 'Evidence of developmental differences in implicit sequence learning: An fMRI study of children and adults', *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, vol. 6, pp. 1339-1351.

Toplin, R.B. (2007) 'In defense of the filmmakers' in R.Francaviglia and J.Rodnitzky (eds.) *Lights, camera, history: Portraying the past in film*, Texas A7M University Press, College Station.

Willis, J. (2007) 'The Neuroscience of joyful', *Educational Leadership*, vol. 64, [Online], Available: [http://www.district287.org/clientuploads/287Staff/SEL/ME\\_PrereadingJudyWillisEdLeadArt.pdf](http://www.district287.org/clientuploads/287Staff/SEL/ME_PrereadingJudyWillisEdLeadArt.pdf) [Mar 2 2012].

Wineburg, S. (2001) *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts: Charting the future of teaching the past*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Wineburg, S., Mosburg, S. & Porat, D. (2000) 'What can *Forrest Gump* tell us about students' historical understanding?', *Social Education*, vol. 55, no. 1, pp. 55-58.

Yilmaz, K. (2007) 'Historical empathy and its implication for classroom practices in schools', *The History Teacher*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 331-337.

*THE DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HISTORY OF THE PRESENT AND SCHOOL HISTORY IN GREECE; CINEMA AS A “DEUS EX MACHINA”?; RESULTS ARISING FROM A RESEARCH PROGRAMME WITH STUDENTS*

George Kokkinos, Professor of History and History Didactics, University of the Aegean (Rhodes, Greece)

Panayotis Kimourtzis, Associate Professor of Educational Policies, University of the Aegean (Rhodes, Greece)

Elli Lemonidou, Assistant Professor in Modern and Contemporary History, University of Patras (Patras, Greece)

Panayotis Gatsotis, Professor of Secondary Education, Doctor of History Didactics, University of the Aegean (Rhodes, Greece)

Petros Trantas, Doctor of Educational Research, University of the Aegean (Rhodes, Greece)

---

**Abstract**

*An historical education that helps students understand the present and contributes to their civic and political training should, in our opinion, include treatment of ‘sensitive’ and controversial historical facts, that generally correspond to defeats or traumatic situations suffered by the nations and are usually rejected by the collective memory.*

*As for the approach to these historical facts in the frame of a history class at school, it obviously cannot have any real result without efforts to build a proper educational environment, based on a new learning methodology. Cinema could probably be part of this new methodology as it is considered to be a constructive teaching tool and provides wide possibilities for the teacher.*

*We have carried out and described in our paper a research programme with our students that identifies the extent to which the participants have familiarized themselves with the ways of decoding the messages of cinema as a medium, as well as demonstrating the ability to connect these messages with the difficult issues of constructing collective memory and historical truth. Based on this theoretical perspective, our research intends to: a) define the extent to which the participants, who have received systematic historical education, have a comparative advantage to those who have not; and b) define the effectiveness of cinema as a medium of learning, blended with other methods for in-depth teaching.*

**Keywords**

‘Vichy’ syndrome, Cinema, Cinema, Citizenship, Digital Age, Film, Folk Memory, France, Germany, Historical Education, Holocaust, Identity, Jewish persecution Master Narrative, Myth, Narrative, National identity, Nationalism, Political education, Public history, School history, Trauma, Vernacular History

**Introduction**

The Western type of academic historiography is increasingly the dominant paradigm in the whole world. With its dominance, it destroys the peculiarities of the national historiographies. Nevertheless, this dominant historiography is under the accelerating pressure of, on the one hand Public History, and on the other hand the general democratization of historical thought. Therefore, it gradually stops to either monopolize or take the initiative in producing historical meaning. But also in a wider sense, it stops being the leader in historical communication. As

Peter Burke remarked, 'Neither memories nor histories seem objective any longer. In both cases [...] selection, interpretation and distortion is socially conditioned'<sup>1</sup>.

The reaction of academic historiography to this challenge is one-way: converting Public History and the multiple readings of historical past into an object of research. Within this framework of reconstructing academic historiography in this direction, it is necessary to redefine the research and teaching value contained in some media, which are proven to be of wider acceptance (e.g. cinema, the historical novel, virtual reality, the Internet). More specifically, the study of new technologies is resignified and it becomes widely acceptable that these new technologies can produce and discuss important historical meanings. They create, either types of 'meta-memory' (when their subjects watch representations of events experienced by their ancestors), or types of 'prosthetic memory' (in cases of events that are familiarized without having a lived experience reference, not even transgenerationally). As we already highlighted, since academic historiography does not want its social and cultural influence to shrink even more, it has to avoid grumbling like Lowenthal, Nora and others, while try to utilize the new ways of signifying the past and the new technological media that contain them. At the same time, all its actions must aim to create representational and/or didactic instruments, to serve its own purposes and, most importantly, historical truth and equity.<sup>2</sup>

We admit that historiography is not the only way of researching, representing and interpreting the past, but we consider that it is the most rational and comprehensive way to do so. We consider that it is the way which affords the more adequate array of resources in order to evaluate reliability, validity and completeness of the socially produced historical meaning.

Accepting the previous views carries, as a consequence, the need to re-orientate historical education. Pupils and students should now be educated in such way in order to become: a) users of the media, b) critical bricoleurs of images and information – constructing from a diverse range of things, and c) as active and autonomous decoders of messages about the past as possible, as well as of the relationship between present and past.<sup>3</sup>

### **The History of the Present Time**

The history of the present time, a field that was structured in France at the end of 1970s<sup>4</sup> is balanced between two deviant regulative rationales and two research strategies: the first one, the conventional, prefers the chronological dimension of the approach and studies the recent past in the light of whether it continues to have a definitive influence of the present. The second one, which we follow in our research, with Henry Rousso<sup>5</sup> as its most emblematic representative, talks about creating a new self-contained historiographical field or trend, studying mainly within its framework:

- a) the past that continues as an obsession in a society or a social group,
- b) the traumatic past, as well as
- c) the public and symbolic socio-political and cultural conflicts about the past.

However, such an approach does not, under any circumstances, denote that it is only the recent past that can create such disputes and symbolic conflicts, since it is known that critical historical events, or periods of the canonized national discourse, continue to remain an interpretative risk for both the competitive collective subjects and the historians.

The basic distinctive epistemological features of present time history are:

First of all, the radical rejection of the positivist illusion, on the basis of which the total withdrawal of a historical period from the recent past and present is an efficient and necessary condition for making it an object of study. Without such withdrawal it is not possible for the historian to be detached, objective and to be able to evaluate it impartially.

A second epistemological feature concerns the effort to withdraw historiography from causal fatalism ('défatalisation' du passé), according to the perceptive remark by Paul Ricoeur, and therefore, from searching regulative causal relationships that covert historical phenomena, events and/or the individual and collective action agents into marionettes or instruments of prefabricated explanatory schemes.<sup>6</sup> Under this prism, the history of present time re-attributes the complexity, fragility and uncertainty to historical interpretation.

A third epistemological feature refers to the anxiety and the watchfulness of the historians that serve it, with respect to the need of lifting the presentational regime of historicity, in the framework of which the present is thought of as a 'synchronic a-chronicity', as Jean-Pierre Rioux so graphically describes it.<sup>7</sup>

Lastly, a fourth epistemological feature concerns its mutual acceptance of oral history, a fact that entails the need for re-thinking the conditions, the framework and the limits of the oral witness instrument, as well as for the role of the historian as a listener-recorder of evidence and therefore as a secondary witness of the story.<sup>8</sup>

It seems that the situation characterized by incomplete familiarization with the history of the present is the result mainly of the strategic choices in historical education in Greek schooling. This cannot become more complete and functional, not even within the framework of history courses in Universities' pedagogical departments (e.g.), where the future teachers of primary education study. When comparatively accessing the content of the study curriculum of all pedagogical departments in Greece, where, for obvious reasons, the history of education is dominating, we are led to the conclusion that they do not include – with only a few exceptions (e.g. of the University of the Aegean, e.g. of the University of Western Macedonia) – courses (mandatory, practical exercises, selective), which are either relevant or have a relevant topic. Where such courses exist, either under the umbrella of modern Greek history (e.g. of the University of Athens, e.g. of the University of Patras) or under the umbrella of European history (e.g. of the University of Thessaly), the investigating perspective is dramatically reduced to the end of the period between the wars, meaning that WWII and the postwar era remain 'untouchable'.<sup>9</sup>

## **Cinema in Learning, Cinema in Education**

### **Learning: words and/or images**

Within an audio-visual environment, the viewer is able to interact with the characters and share the action, the experience and their feelings. More specifically, cinema, via the interactive processes it produces, enables individuals to enrich and practise their accumulated knowledge as well as strengthen the experience they have acquired from the environment. Ultimately, it helps individuals to construct their personal cognitive space. Audio-visual language, to the extent it allows interconnection with reality, is an advanced tool that develops sensitivity and perception. However, the combination of audio-visual language and scientific language creates a more remarkable dynamic, enhancing exceptionally the field of learning.<sup>10</sup>

The ultimate aim of education is *literacy*. Literacy is a term that, when educational systems in societies were very limited, was also a very limited one. It was defined as the skill of reading and writing.<sup>11</sup> However, since educational systems, at a global level, have included



the majority of the citizens and the knowledge offered increasingly expands and becomes more complex, the term literacy has gone to the other extreme. From being a very limited term, it has become exceptionally wide. Consequently, literacy is defined as the ability of individuals to act efficiently in various environments and communication situations, using texts of written and oral speech, as well as non-verbal texts (such as: images, maps, charts, diagrams, etc.). It is obvious that aural and visual literacy also become components of literacy.<sup>12</sup>

During about the middle of the 1990s, the debate about the most appropriate tool for achieving learning was intensified and started to bear fruit. Both educational psychology and critical pedagogy contributed in order for the discussion to shift from searching just 'one and only' appropriate medium, towards defining the appropriate 'blend of instruments', which would answer more adequately to the questions of 'how', 'when' and 'in what way' learning is best promoted. According to Giroux, it was high time for pedagogy to suggest that students should be enlightened and cognitively empowered to start understanding, determining and becoming aware of the dominant ideologies, the institutional and power control, the common standards of thinking, the different language codes, the social myths and social values, the traditional clichés and rituals, all of which define social roles and the relationships between people.<sup>13</sup>

This framework helped in methodically developing studies that focused on researching for this 'blend of instruments'. From those studies, the ones which used a blend of images and speech become more advanced.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, it was ascertained that the interconnection between the two works additionally accelerates learning. The learning process, when it is supported by speech and image, becomes a focus of concentration not only for the advantages claimed by the verbalisers' approach but also for the advantages claimed by the visualisers' approach.<sup>15</sup>

In light of all that is mentioned above, one can conclude that the expectations set by critical literacy, are served by using cinema as an educational medium. Indeed, the analysis of a film's theoretical framework raises thoughts, questions and debates, which refer to the same thoughts, questions and debates raised by critical literacy.<sup>16</sup>

There are some indicative correlations:

*The time and place of the plot.* When watching a film, the viewer tries to analyse the social, political, economical and cultural conditions he/she is watching. Firstly, the viewer is 'placed' in a structure that allows him/her to understand these conditions and, using them as a starting point, to understand the ideological framework suggested by the creators of the film. But, at the same time, he/she is not [should not be] "confined" within this structure, but [needs] to try and develop his/her own perspective and provide his/her own interpretations.

*The main idea, the obvious and main topic of the film.* The viewer's critical attempt is equivalent to the ability that he/she will develop in order to understand and interpret the film and its perspectives. The extent to which he/she will process the film's data ranges from his/her mental awareness during watching the film to his/her subsequent ability to correlate everything he/she watches with his/her pre-acquired knowledge and ideas. Therefore, the extent of processing the data allows the viewer a wide range of choices between accepting and believing to objecting and deconstructing the messages the film sends.

*The boundaries between truth (accuracy and reality), myth and fabrication.* The film stimulates the viewer to distinguish between real and believable data; or even to distinguish between the visible truth and the concealed truth of the conditions described by the film. Critical literacy is exceptionally favoured by our effort to identify how the truth is expressed in the film, how the truth is concealed in something that is not clearly said, how daily and familiar practices are related to or deviate from theoretical topics that are part of our wider knowledge. The viewer has to constantly detect the opinions upheld and the opinions that remain in silence. The viewer ought to seek not only whatever he/she perceives directly, but also to become aware that there are gaps to fill in, issues that are not adequately covered and even distortions that are significant.

*Objectivity and the impartiality of the opinions featured.* This case raises another debate about whether the film version corresponds to common sense, whether it concerns an alternative perspective, whether it attempts to submit ideas and situations for uncritical acceptance or if it remains open to multiple 'readings' and interpretations.

*The attitude towards ideologies, stereotypes, values as well as issues such as certainty/uncertainty and authority.* Whatever the film shows is subjected to the transformational power of learning. Therefore, the viewer, with his/her mental abilities, can

a) detect prejudices and stereotypes, b) question positions and investigate convictions and, lastly, c) criticize and interpret on the basis of his/her own value system.

## **Education and Cinema**

Films provide wide possibilities to the teacher. They facilitate the process of approaching multiple topics, approaching issues under many perspectives, promoting obscure dimensions and perspectives, familiarizing students with multi-dimensional and complex issues, as well as helping them practice observation, evaluation, interpretation and, finally, critical thinking. The fact that cinema can stimulate thoughts and ideas concerning experiences that students could not have had otherwise (e.g. the behaviour of the bourgeois in Europe during the 19th century, the decay caused by poverty and extended unemployment, the specialized technological demands of a globalized economy, the discouraging consequences of discriminations within people and many more), is of equal importance.

Indeed, theoretical and experiential research in cognitive neurosciences has made a decision regarding the use and application of cinema: they declared it as a constructive teaching tool.<sup>17</sup> Its value lies in the fact that it is able to activate verbal, visual, aural and emotional processes. It can engage both hemispheres of the brain (logical perception and intuition region). It stimulates the limbic system (which is connected to problem-solving and logic) and the brain's neocortex (the birthplace of thinking) in order to detect the nature of sounds, to provide emotional responses to visual representations and to music, as well as to mentally evaluate them. Finally, it soothes or stimulates students' brainwaves.<sup>18</sup>

Berk's analysis is particularly interesting regarding the learning value of the use of audiovisual applications in education. We include a summary and description in the following table (Source: Processing and categorization of 20 learning outcomes suggested in Berk.<sup>19</sup>

**TABLE 1. Learning value of audiovisual applications in classrooms**

Affects emotions, creating a favourable disposition	Encourages the student	Contributes to the learning process	Encourages further learning
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stimulates or soothes</li> <li>• Activates free expression</li> <li>• Creates the appropriate mood</li> <li>• Decreases stress and tension during dealing with difficult issues</li> <li>• Creates a sense of predictability</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attracts interest</li> <li>• Encourages interest for learning</li> <li>• Encourages concentration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creates a positive attitude towards the essence of learning</li> <li>• Supports relationships among students and with the teacher</li> <li>• Improves memory in terms of the learning content</li> <li>• Increases perception</li> <li>• Increases deeper knowledge</li> <li>• Functions as a co-operation mechanism</li> <li>• Makes learning a pleasure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stimulates imagination</li> <li>• Supports creativity</li> <li>• Helps the stream of ideas</li> <li>• Inspires and motivates students' curiosity</li> <li>• Creates memorable visual impressions</li> </ul>

Today's students belong to the so-called 'Generation Y', which includes people born after 1980.<sup>20</sup> The same generation are also referred as millennials, Generation 2000 and baby-boomers. Its members navigate comfortably through cyberspace. There, they connect to each other and are 'projected' to others. They are 'addicted' to innovation, while they are usually multitasking.<sup>21</sup> They experienced the birth of independent TV channels as well as cable TV. They go to the cinema often and watch films of their generation. They have the necessary requirements for a higher 'visual' literacy, when compared to previous generations.

As students, they learn through activities which are not included in their curriculum,<sup>22</sup> they are used to intensive programmes and, that is why, quite often, they become demanding towards their teachers.<sup>23</sup> But also they get bored easily, recognize education as a 'product' which allows them to accumulate 'credit units' and expect to achieve academic success with a minimum effort.<sup>24</sup> Lastly, they are educated within the framework of systems that are not designed for them, and by teachers who – in the best case – did not inherently learn how to use new tools for communicating knowledge.

Consequently, the 'community' of a Generation Y students' class has many common features. These features make this generation 'solid' regarding its attitude towards technology and its applications in education. The advanced, hyper-modern and multitudinously connected digital generation has been eminently 'stigmatized' regarding this attitude. Prensky<sup>25</sup> reminds us that this generation consists of 'digital indigenes', who comprehend the language of computers, of Internet and image, while, on the other hand,

modern teachers are 'digital immigrants', for whom 'digital' is the second, not the 'mother' language. Therefore, established teaching methods are not compatible with the needs of this 'over-exposed' to technology generation and require readjustment.<sup>26</sup>

However, the 'addiction' of Generation Y to technology does not mean that they are impressed by any of its applications. Its members want educational tools that would directly attract their interest. Tools that would be appealing, as far as their content is concerned, even when such things happens in unorthodox ways.<sup>27</sup>

Thus today, Generation Y calls for limiting the boundaries between image and text, as well as promoting their dialogical relationship in such a way in order to a) relate theory with action, b) use a new way to approach scientific knowledge so that, by using creative, innovative or even revolutionary ways, they can approach all topics, especially the boring, common or stereotypical ones, and c) serve the complex and elaborate nature of learning in a better way.

### **National Histories and Politics of Memory in Cinema. Indicative Cases**

Cinema was born at the end of the 19th century, at the same time as nation-states were born and established in Europe as the basic form of social organization. The chronological, historical and ontological relationship of the nation with cinema – which does not apply, at least not in the same way, to other kinds of art – explains the national way of organizing cinema industries all over the world (national cinematographies), the stable national source and the national content of the films, from the time that cinema first appeared until our modern era, which is characterized by the gradually increasing movement of people and globalization.<sup>28</sup> The ground-breaking cinematographers used as subjects for their films the national histories of states. The first propaganda fiction film, for example, was shot in 1898 in America and concerns the outbreak of the war between the USA and Spain about Cuba's sovereignty.<sup>29</sup> From that moment on and for all the 20th century, national discourses supply the cinema, and the cinema, in turns, undertakes to make public all these important historical events, sometimes even with masterpieces: we can remember *Battleship Potemkin* (Sergeï Eisenstein, 1925), which refers to the Russian Revolution of 1905 and *The End of St. Petersburg* (Vsevolod Poudovkine, 1927), a film that talks about the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, to *Farewell my Concubine* (Chen Kaige, 1993) about the Chinese cultural revolution and *Underground* (Emir Kusturica, 1995) about the war in the former Yugoslavia.

Therefore, historical moments as well as historical peculiarities and features of every nation-state intermediate the cultural management of the past. A typical example is offered, as we shall see next, by the German cinema about Nazism and the Holocaust; another example is offered by the French cinema, playing a role as a basic channel for historical awareness of the French Postwar society.

### **Holocaust and Nazism in German Cinema**

During the Postwar period only 10-20% of cinema audiences in West Germany were attracted by the local productions of West Germany cinema industry.<sup>30</sup> Even though feature films were filmed having Nazism and the Holocaust as a subject, right after the end of WWII (e.g. *Lang ist der Weg* 1948), they did not attract the attention of the German audience or, in some cases, they were even responded to with hostility. The later ones were occasionally re-released in cinema theatres.<sup>31</sup>

Also, we should not forget that in 1979, before the release of the particularly successful American TV series *Holocaust* (1978) in German television, only a 51% of the German

public did not consider Hitler's assassination attempt in 20th July 1944 as an act of betrayal. This impressive finding proves – with all the precautions that are possible to be expressed and considering the changes that have taken place since then in the collective representations and the self-image of the German people – the deep polarization of the modern German society regarding its controversial past, that is, the incomplete collective trauma process and the continuous influence of the defence mechanisms that gravitate to historical amnesia, balancing the suffering, the self-victimization, and, at the end of the bottom line, the removal of guilt.<sup>32</sup>

In reality, the substantial activation of powerful critics and the self-critical reflexes in West-German society (against anti-semitism and the Holocaust), appear only during the 1960s. In any way, it is connected with the international – let alone the German – interest created, on the one hand, by the arrest, the trial and the execution of Eichmann, and on the other hand, the trials taking place in Frankfurt against those responsible ones for mass crimes (December 1963-August 1965).<sup>33</sup> It also refers to the questioning movement of the German youth that escalated towards the end of the 1960s, as well as to the birth and the dynamic of the new German cinema (Oberhausen Manifesto, 1962).

The directors of this trend gave a particular emphasis to stories of escape and the salvation of Jews or to stories of the self-sacrifice of Germans, members of the resistance. This means that the mass execution practices of the Nazis continued to stay out of the light and had not yet caught the attention of German directors and the cinema industry. Typical examples are the film by Rolf Busch *Wie ein hirschberger dänisch lernte* (1968), the plot of which is about the effort of a group of Danes to save Jews in their occupied country, the film by Ottokar Runze *Stern ohne Himmel* (1980), which describes the rescue of a Jewish boy from a concentration camp, the film *Blutiger Schnee* (1984), in which Christians hide Jews, or the film by Anthony Page *Versteckt* (1984), which is based on a true love story between a Jewish woman and a German man. Another film that is worth mentioning is Zivovad Mitrovic's *Zeugin aus der Hölle*, as well as the series titled *Heimat* (1984), directed by Edgar Reitz, in which, paradoxically, the German countryside seems untouched by National Socialism and is described only as a war-victim.<sup>34</sup>

Nevertheless, the fact that many of the new German cinema films continue to present an ideological and partial, by definition, perspective of WWII, is impressive. According to this perspective, Germany is approached exclusively and only as a victim of history. This strategic choice becomes reality either via using women for protagonist roles in the films' plots or via the allegoric attitude towards Germany, which is treated like a vulnerable female body, undergoing violence, the burden of history.

However, such a strategic choice of representation and interpretation 'does not allow for other victims in history', does not allocate responsibilities and does not distinguish between the individual group-victims.<sup>35</sup> In particular, Fassbinder's *Lili Marleen*, has a special historical significance, arising from the way it deals with the controversial and traumatic past. This film features an inverted leftist racism against the 'once again powerful Jew', who is portrayed in the film as being more powerful, ultimately, compared with the Nazis; like a victimizer-victim, that is, like the one who, despite the attempt at his radical execution at the Nazi death camps, not only does survive, but also dominates, being the substantial (and not only in a moral way of thinking), always, according to Fassbinder, winner of WWII. The winner-survivor Jew next becomes the dominating figure in the then democratic Federal Germany.<sup>36</sup>

The interest for these issues escalates in the mid 1980s, when testimonies of victims of national socialism start getting systematically published, which occasionally created a

framework for writing cinema scripts.<sup>37</sup> Generally, from the end of the 1980s, there is a tendency for grief observed on the part of the German society for Jewish victims of national socialism, an element that shows the shift of memory practices from the abstract category 'victims of fascism', dominating during the 1950s and 1960s, towards the specific victim-group, the Jews, a shift that signals a emerging ability to invert roles and therefore historical empathy.<sup>38</sup> However, after the mid-1990s, the Jews disappear again suddenly from the German cinema despite the fact that Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993) was watched by over 6,000,000 Germans. Within this framework, the film by Heinz Schirk, *Die Wannseekonferenz* (1984) is of special importance, since, with respect to historical evidence, there is for the first time an attempt to represent, on the big screen, the processes that led, in January 1942, to the decision for the industrialized and bureaucratically organized execution of the Jews of Europe and to the ways in which to do this. The special importance of this film lies to the fact that the Holocaust is now at the centre of public discussion about national socialism.<sup>39</sup>

After Germany's re-unification, the German films whose subject-matter is focused on the approach of national socialism and the Holocaust are the following: a) *Mutters Courage* (1996) by Michael Verhoeven, the audience of which was particularly small; b) *Auf Wiedersehen Amerika* (1993) by Jan Schutte, about the repatriation from the USA of two Polish-Jewish immigrants who continued to fear and hate anything German; c) *Leni* (1994) by Leo Hiemer, regarding the painful fate of an adopted Jewish boy who, under the encouragement of the Catholic priest of the area and the stranglehold of the local society, ends up, despite the will of his German parents, in the death camps; d) *Aimée und Jaguar* (1998) by Max Färberböck, a film based on the novel by Erica Fischer and, paradoxically for a German production, was watched by over 1,000,000 viewers. The film is about the expelling of Jews from Berlin during the war, having as a background a love story between a Jewish woman and a German mother who is a strong supporter of the national socialist ideology and finally, e) *Der Untergang* directed by Oliver Hirschbiegel and based on two books: *Inside Hitler's Bunker: The Last Days of the Third Reich* by the conservative German historian and journalist Joackim Fest and the *Bis zur letzten Stunde* (Until the Final Hour), the journal written by Hitler's last Secretary, Traudl Junge (1920-2002). The film was released in cinema theatres in September 2004 and gives the impression that in German society there is not any radical dissolution between the dominant moral code during the period of national socialism, the axon of which was the concept of political loyalty (blind obedience and dedication to the charismatic leader, discipline, dedication to the idea of the Third Reich, as well as to German ideals and the idea of national purity and superiority), and the moral code of postwar German society. At the same time, this film proves that the mechanisms of silencing controversial events are still in place. It is typical that Hitler's personal doctor, professor Ernst Günter Schenk, is presented in this film in one dimension, that of a supporter of collective good, which demands that Germany should not be destroyed totally for the sake of total dedication to the 'Führer'; and not under the dimension that he was also one who committed 'chilling perverse experiments' with prisoners of Mauthausen's concentration camps as his victims, crimes for which he was later sentenced.<sup>40</sup>

### **National Identity and Cinema in France**

Born during the Third Republic, cinema in France would serve the national narrative that is constructed at the end of the 19th century, the 'national myth', that is founded on the principles of unity and continuity, of the grandeur of the nation-state, transmitting to the nation its 'real' historical memory.<sup>41</sup> This 'national myth' will not be questioned in terms of its nature before the 1990s, when, in the wake of important political, social and ideological upheaval (decolonialization and the war in Algeria, post-colonial immigration, collapse of important ideological traditions and the European perspective), the idea of the nation as a

sacred entity starts to give way to a differentiated, secular society of citizens and the single historical national memory starts to be replaced by a series of individual memories, the carriers of which are the social groups. Cinema has a leading role in these changes: from the 1970s it deals with the taboo-subjects of French history, such as the Vichy Regime, the fate of the French Jews during WWII and the war in Algeria, stirring memory. In that way, cinema will clash substantially with the nation and will contribute to the public dialogue about shaping a new French national identity.

Concerning the 'Vichy syndrome',<sup>42</sup> the collective trauma of the French people that was born after the end of WWII, due to the Vichy Regime and its co-operation with the occupier, was, during the first Postwar years, and for at least three decades, a dark past that the French people seem to want to forget, adopting the Gaule-Communist Resistance-centric myth, which considers national resistance against the Germans unquestionable. In a similar way, cinematic production of that period aims at reinforcing the heroic self-image of the French people: all films describe episodes of the war or of resistance in a heroic way, without mentioning the dark parts.<sup>43</sup>

This environment changes at the end of the 1960s. The sociopolitical and cultural movement of May 1968 and General de Gaulle's departure from politics a year later lead to the beginning of a new era. This change is signalled with the release, in 1971, of the film *Le Chagrin et la Pitié* by Marcel Ophuls. The action takes place in the 1940s in the small town of Clermont-Ferrand. It records the testimonies of 34 people. The official version of the story and the emblematic figures of the politics of the era are absent; the ones who have a say are 'simple' French people, people of the resistance or co-operating with the Nazis, victims or victimizers. All the facets of the Occupation that until that time were eliminated from the national narrative, revived through the interviews: the bitter civil war of 1940, the polarization and breakup within the resistance, the conscious co-operation with the occupier, the wide and enthusiastic acceptance of Marshal Pétain, the French anti-semitism that did not derive from the Nazi anti-semitism, but was connected with the official state policies and the traditional anti-semitism of French society, the barbarism of the French Milice<sup>44</sup> and its contribution to hunting and arresting Jews.<sup>45</sup>

The film was shot between 1967-1968, but it was released in April 1971, initially in a small cinema in the Quartier Latin and then, in a second, larger cinema theatre in the Champs-Élysées. With a much greater delay of 12 years, it was showed on public French television.<sup>46</sup> However, despite the obstacles, its consequences on the collective mentalities of France were massive. Its influence was confirmed during the following years with the production of a series of films within the framework of the *rétro* cinema movement: between 1974 and 1978, 48 films were produced, that is, more than the ones produced during the whole previous decade, that were inspired by WWII and in which the event of the war is analysed in its essence.<sup>47</sup>

In parallel with the 'Vichy Syndrome', another 'syndrome' seems to haunt the collective consciousnesses in Postwar France, relevant to recognising the responsibility of the French state about the dislocation and execution of the French Jews in the Nazi death camps of WWII. The emergence of the Holocaust memory in the public sphere and the recognition of the responsibility would take place gradually.<sup>48</sup> From 1945 till the 1960s, the memory of the Jewish genocide does not seem to exist anywhere in the world, while cinema abides by this rationale of suppression. Besides, the Cold War would interrupt film production about Nazi crimes, not only in France, but also throughout the Western world.

With the trial of Adolf Eichmann which began in Jerusalem in 1961, the event of the Holocaust breaks into the public sphere of France and elsewhere – Germany, USA, Israel –

while, at the same time, it loses its individuality, gaining a more universal and ecumenical dimension. This change is reinforced in France even more by the revelations about the Vichy Regime's responsibilities towards the French Jews' suffering. Thus, in the cinema of the 1970s, there is a wave of new films about the Holocaust, talking about issues that were "forbidden" until then, such as Milice's role in the hunt for Jews (*Les Violons du bal* by Michel Drach, in 1973, and *Lacombe Lucien* by Louis Malle, in 1974), or the mass concentration of 12,884 Jews of Paris in the winter cycling stadium of the city by the French Police, in July 1942, in order to be sent to the death camps (*Les Guichets du Louvre* by Michel Mitrani, in 1974 and *Monsieur Klein* by Joseph Losey, in 1976).<sup>49</sup>

In 1985, the classic documentary by Claude Lanzmann, *Shoah*, about the execution of European Jews was released. The intellectuals of France praised the documentary from the first time of its release. The film is exclusively based on the representation that comes up from the memories and the oral evidence provided by survivors of the camps, while there is no photograph or image of the period.<sup>50</sup> From the 1990s and onwards, the Holocaust penetrated widely in the cinematic culture but the films of the last two decades do not promote an in-depth knowledge of the event, the understanding of its truth and essence.

In contrast to the 'Vichy Syndrome' and the issue of the French responsibility on the execution of French Jews, another traumatic event, the war in Algeria,<sup>51</sup> seems not to be able, until today, to find its place in the national history and memory, in the national cinema of France. In order to avoid internal conflict that would jeopardize national unity, the French state, after the end of the war in 1962 and until the beginning of the 1990s, adopted a suppression policy, a 'therapy of amnesia',<sup>52</sup> which was accepted without protest by the French society of post-colonial era.

During the war, a few directors decided to talk about the issue; after all, censorship lurked and went after anyone wanting to represent this 'battle', about which there is disagreement in dealing with it in France.<sup>53</sup> However, after the end of the war, almost 40 fiction films were produced on this hot issue. Nevertheless, with a more careful look, one could see that these films do not analyze the subject of war in its essence, but only present it with hints, or as a general historical framework of the action. Furthermore, the significance is given exclusively to the emotional state of the French heroes, while they do not mention the fate of the Algerians.<sup>54</sup>

The first essential cinematic representation of this huge colonial battle in North Africa will come from elsewhere, not France: it is the film *La Battaglia di Algeri* (1966) by the Italian director Gillo Pontecorvo. The film was praised, awarded in Venice and was nominated for the Oscar in the foreign film category,<sup>55</sup> while in France, despite its belated and blocked release,<sup>56</sup> it signalled the beginning of a change concerning cinematic representation of colonialism. The movement of questioning, which escalated with May 1968, contributed to this change, as well as the influence, at the beginning of 1970s, of the war in Vietnam. Thus, the French cinematographers engage themselves with the war in Algeria, this time to denounce their country's colonial politics and spread an anti-military message: *Le Pistonné* by Claude Berri (1970), *Avoir 20 ans dans les Aurès* by René Vautier (1971), *RAS* by Yves Boisset (1973), *La Question* by Laurent Heynemann (1977).<sup>57</sup> However, these French productions (in contrast to Pontecorvo's 1966 film) continue to exclude the presence of occupied Algerians as well as the Algerian scenery, undermining the realism and the credibility of the result.<sup>58</sup>

In the 1990s, the representation of the war in Algeria remains problematic. In France's public sphere, antagonist collective memories that are related to the war start to come in violent conflict for domination.<sup>59</sup> The multiple, suppressed and conflicting memories will flood



cinema production. The film *Outremer* (1991) by Brigitte Rodan, accounts for the traumatic memories caused by the end of the war in Algeria and the return to France of three women, *pieds-noirs*,<sup>60</sup> while in the next year, 1992, Bertrand Tavernier filmed *La guerre sans nom*, which also proves to be a great kaleidoscope of deviant and traumatic memories about the war.<sup>61</sup>

It is typical that until today, fifty years after the end of the war, French people do not seem ready to go from the individual traumatic experience to the shock of collective viewing, through the cinema. This is at least proven by the commercial fiasco of the films produced between 2005-2007 that show important innovations in the way of representing the event: the fate of *harkis* (Algerians who fought on the French side) and the drama of consciousness they had to deal with during the war are featured (*La Trahison* by Philippe Faucon, 2007), the miserable welcome to France after the end of the war (*Harkis* by Alain Tasma, 2006), the battle of Algiers itself, the violence, the torturing and the tragic end of the war (*Mon colonel* by Laurent Herbiet, *Cartouches gauloises* by Mehdi Charef, *L'ennemi intime* by Florent-Emilio Siri, all produced in 2007).<sup>62</sup> The audience is still not able to look at events straight into the eyes, since memories continue to 'bleed'.<sup>63</sup>

### Research Design, Methodology and Conclusions

"The sense of history in a film is diffused through the director's individual prism".<sup>64</sup>

The great film directors Paolo and Vittorio Taviani have declared in an interview that all filmic representations of Jean d'Arc (Dreyer, Rossellini, Bresson) are equally true, since the story, the film direction and the acting create de facto a new and equally 'real world', based on the 'truth of the original artwork'; they also state that the aim of at least their cinema is not the search for the historical truth, but the search for the truth of the art<sup>65</sup>.

However, since their cinema, an aspect of public history which stems from their own perspective of the past or from coherent ideological or historiographical readings, shapes anyway the collective receptions by an entire society or by specific social groups, which may coincide or may be incompatible with each nation's official historical narration of the past, we have to study the materials with which they constructed their own narrative and its inner cohesion, as well as the impact it has had on specific groups of spectators, shaping their own historical education and historical consciousness. We also have to show the divergences or consistencies of their cinematic narrative – especially when it searches for the historical verisimilitude and uses historical data – in comparison both with the official historical narrative and with what the academic historiography considers valid.

As Susannah Radstone pointed out recently '[...] much of the research on cinema as memory that has emerged since the 1990s has focused particularly on cinema's relation to national catastrophe, victimhood and trauma [...]'<sup>66</sup>. [...] The question of how cinema might prove adequate to the remembrance and mourning of traumatic experiences has supplanted that focus on the politics of memory that drives much of the criticism of nostalgia and heritage films'.<sup>67</sup>

The four movies chosen for our Research, *Downfall*,<sup>68</sup> *Anonyma*,<sup>69</sup> *The Last Metro*<sup>70</sup> and *The Pianist*<sup>71</sup> have a common topic: they focus generally on WWII and more specifically, on the Occupation and the Collaborators, the Holocaust and, lastly, Berlin's siege by the Soviet Army, its conquest and the suffering undergone by its female population following the above events. However, they can be divided into two categories:

- a) The first category includes *Downfall* and *Anonyma*. These two films support their justification mainly on the grounds of realistic representation, that is, the accuracy of representation as well as the experiential and historiographical validity. Obviously, the level of fiction in these films falls short (but is not eliminated). As a conclusion, we could say that the aforementioned films are founded on the epistemological condition of the so-called “representational cinema”.
- b) The second category includes *The Last Metro* and *The Pianist*, films, which, without reducing their referential role regarding the historical period and the events raised as topics, choose fiction as their organizational framework.

All four films, which incidentally, do not stand out for their reflective power regarding the conditions and the limits of cinematic representation of the past, attempt to compete with the dark pages of recent European history. Of course, they cannot escape the deep dark trap hole of the ongoing wars on memory during the last quarter of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, since each film chooses a specific point of view and a clearly defined interpretative perspective. In other words, the films talk, indirectly but clearly, more about the multiple and self-conflicting ways by which the present approaches the painful and traumatic past, constituting perspectives of articulated memory policies, rather than the past itself.<sup>72</sup>

- *Downfall* depicts the victimizer’s point of view, under the observation angle of the events taking place at the higher levels of National Socialist hierarchy.
- The film *Anonyma* also documents the perspective of the victimizer, or the ‘unsuspected’ companion who is transformed into a victim, under the observation angle of the everyday life person.
- The film *The Last Metro* is infiltrated by the victim’s perspective (and secondarily by the Collaborationist’s perspective), under the observation angle of a theatre company in German-occupied Paris.
- Lastly, *The Pianist* also reflects the victim’s perspective, under the observation angle of the escape and paradoxical salvation of a Polish-Jewish musician.

## Research Description

### Research intention and/or working hypotheses

The research identifies the extent to which the participants have familiarized themselves with the ways of decoding the messages of cinema as a medium, seen as one of the most critical dimensions of Public History, as well as the ability of connecting these messages with the difficult issues of constructing collective memory and historical truth. Based on this theoretical perspective, the research intends to:

1. Define the extent to which the participants, who have received systematic historical education, have a comparative advantage to those who have not.
2. Define the effectiveness of cinema as a medium of learning, blended with other methods and techniques of in-depth teaching.

### Research period

This research was conducted during Spring term 2011.

### **The research cohort**

The population of the research consists of students from the Pedagogical Department of Primary Education, University of the Aegean, students from the Cultural Environment & New Technologies Management Department of the University of Western Greece, postgraduate students from the Pedagogical Department of Primary Education, University of the Aegean as well as Rhodes' Primary Education teachers, who attend a training programme organized by 'Alexandros Delmouzos' Teacher Training College of the University of the Aegean.

### **Research sample**

The creation of a sample for the research was based on students' voluntary participation (undergraduate and postgraduate) as well as teachers who are included in the specific target-groups (see Population of the Research). The sample was made up from 115 research units, categorized into two groups. The basic criterion for this categorization was systematic teaching of topics about WWII and, more specifically, about National Socialism and the Holocaust.

The first group consists of 54 research units of the University of the Aegean, senior students of the Pedagogical Department of Primary Education, who have been taught systematically topics about National Socialism and the Holocaust, during the last two years of their studies, within the framework of second and third phase practical exercises of the module 'History and its Teaching'.

The second group consists of 61 research units who have not been taught the respective topics and therefore any foggy knowledge they may have on National Socialism and the Holocaust comes from school and Public History.

### **Type of Educational Research**

It is a descriptive research methodology, applying the method of reviewing data.

### **Data Collection**

In order to collect data for the research, a questionnaire has been used. The questions of the questionnaire were 'closed' (with the possible answer of 'yes/no') and 'multiple choice' (based on an interval verbal rating scale).

The 37 questions of the questionnaire were broken up in seven parts, in order to be completed partially and immediately after each research interference-film projection, in the following categories:

1. Questions of social and educational background (quest. 1-8),
2. Questions regarding the film *Anonyma* (quest. 9-12),
3. Questions regarding the film *The Pianist* (quest. 13-17),
4. Questions regarding the film *Downfall* (quest. 18-21),
5. Questions regarding the film *The Last Metro* (quest. 22-26),
6. Questions regarding the participants' cognitive structures (pre-existing knowledge) and the narrative perspective of the four feature films (quest. 27-30)
7. And lastly, general questions regarding historical skills and the general historical culture of the research's population (quest. 31-37).

### **Data Analysis**

The statistical process of data, as they were codified and recorded by the answers-opinions of the participants of all groups and subgroups of the sample, was carried out by S.P.S.S. software.

Statistical analysis showed comparative results for both basic groups of the sample, as well as for the subgroups of the second group (not systematic teaching of topics), which is basically subdivided into students and teachers.

Statistical analysis of the research data aimed at revealing:

1. The frequency of the answers (in absolute numbers and/or quantitative distribution) and
2. The correlations arising from recording the similarities and differences between the main variables.

### **Categorization of observations – Conclusions**

Investigation of the first working hypothesis: 'if and whether those with systematic historical education (that is the first group) have a comparative advantage in decoding the messages of cinema against the ones who have not (that is the second group)'.

In conclusion, considering the number of the answers that correspond to the dominant historical version, but also to the dominant view concerning the interpretive perspective of the films, one discovers a limited comparative advantage of the first group against the second one, which is somehow lower than what we expected.

This discovery raises issues regarding the efficiency of 'systematic historical education', in which the first group was involved. It also poses the question of revising its methods, in order to familiarize the participants with the ways of decoding cinema, as well as with the complexities of constructing collective memory and historical truth.

Investigation of the second working hypothesis, that is, the extent of cinema's effectiveness, as being a particularly critical facet of Public History.

In conclusion, the (unifying) effectiveness of cinema becomes visible and, in turn, allows for other differences, regarding pre-existing knowledge and cognitive structures, to emerge in less than the 1/3 of the questions. This discovery explains why the variable 'systematic historical education' did not play any decisive role, as discovered above, despite our expectations.

Within the framework of a more qualitative approach, and by focusing on the general questions regarding historical knowledge (quest. 31-37), we could conclude by following:

First, it is particularly positive, in our opinion, that the vast majority of all groups (students 'who have been taught systematically', students 'who have not been taught systematically' and teachers) agree on the need for historians to interpret controversial and disputed events of the past. The majority also agreed to get involved in the conflicts of the present, regarding the past. However, a significant percentage of all groups – but not the majority – seems to be cautious since, in another question, they express the belief that a similar involvement can possibly influence an historian's scientific objectivity in a negative way.

Secondly, the group 'who has been taught systematically' believed that in history, the same causes do not always bring the same results and, therefore, we cannot interpret the present proportionally to the past. These views are also supported by a significant part of the majority of the group 'who had not been taught systematically'. An optimistic result of our study is, in our opinion, the fact that the students and teachers in training are not prisoners of an exemplary form of historical consciousness: they don't believe in the eternal repetition

in history, they don't approach history learning as a moral practice, and they are not considering the past, mainly the national past, as a canon.

We have to say that it would be particularly interesting, if we had the opportunity, to have these specific questions answered by the same groups before and after watching the films. This would help us, relying on the answers, to promote an in-depth study of the cinema's influence on the perceptions of the audience, regarding the role of historical science and the historian in the public dialogue about the interpretation of the past.

### Correspondence

George **Kokkinos**, Professor of History and History Didactics / University of the Aegean

e-mail: [rgk@otenet.gr](mailto:rgk@otenet.gr)

### Annex I

#### Questionnaire

##### A) Preliminary facts

1 Date of completion: ... 2\_Gender: ... 3\_Age: ...

4 Where does your family come from?: ...

5 Place of residence: ...

6 Circle only one of the following choices.

6a Education level of your father:

a) Elementary                      b) Intermediate                      c) Higher                      d) Master / PhD

6b Education level of your mother:

a) Elementary                      b) Intermediate                      c) Higher                      d) Master / PhD

7 Circle only one of the three following choices.

Where do you study?

a) Under-graduate course                      b) School of Languages                      c) Post-graduate course

8 Circle only one of the two choices (YES / NO) in each of the points (a, b, c).

Do you have special knowledge – because of your studies – regarding:

a) the Second World War?                      YES / NO

b) the Holocaust?                      YES / NO

c) the handling of the painful, traumatic memory of the two precedents  
(a, b) in the post-War period?                      YES / NO

The next set of questions regards the four films (*Anonyma*, *The Pianist*, *Downfall*, *The Last Metro*).

Circle only one of the six choices (a, b, c, d, e or f) under each proposition (the choices are given only at the first question of each category – they are the same for all following questions):

**B) Questions regarding the film *Anonyma*:**

9 It would have been better if the author of the diary, upon which the film *Anonyma* was based, had not kept the traces of so many events which were painful and traumatic, as well as divisive for her country.

- |                  |                     |                   |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| a) I agree       | c) I disagree       | e) I don't know   |
| b) I fully agree | d) I fully disagree | f) I don't answer |

10 It would have been better if the author of the diary, upon which the film *Anonyma* was based, had published names, so that legal action could be taken and all people responsible for crimes during the capture of Berlin by the Soviets could be brought before justice.

11 The German female heroes of the *Anonyma* film, victims of rape, had no possibility to choose how to react after the capture of Berlin by the Soviets.

12 The *Anonyma* film offers a view of daily life of the Berliners at the specific time, which is very useful for the historians.

**C) Questions regarding the film *The Pianist*:**

13 The Pianist, the main character of the film, was a brave, courageous person.

- |                  |                     |                   |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| a) I agree       | c) I disagree       | e) I don't know   |
| b) I fully agree | d) I fully disagree | f) I don't answer |

14 In the film *The Pianist* the Jews who collaborated with the Nazis are presented as traitors.

15 The projection on the cinema screen of images of cruel Nazi violence, like the ones in the film *The Pianist* by Roman Polanski, is not compatible with today's peaceful and humanistic values.

16 The Jews resisted to their arrest and deportation from the Nazis.

17 The German officer who helped the Pianist in the end was a member of the SS.

**D) Questions regarding the film *Downfall*:**

18 In the film *Downfall*, Hitler is presented with a human face, as he is collapsing corporally and psychologically.

- |                  |                     |                   |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| a) I agree       | c) I disagree       | e) I don't know   |
| b) I fully agree | d) I fully disagree | f) I don't answer |

19 In the film *Downfall* the last days of Hitler are given with historical accuracy.

20 The film *Downfall* depicts the psychology of the Nazi leaders, who are losing the war, their power and their sense of reality.

21 In the film *Downfall* the German population is incriminated.

**E) Questions regarding the film *The Last Metro*:**

22 The film *The Last Metro* highlights the heroism of some inhabitants of Paris, who sheltered the Jews of their city.

- |                  |                     |                   |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| a) I agree       | c) I disagree       | e) I don't know   |
| b) I fully agree | d) I fully disagree | f) I don't answer |

23 In the film *The Last Metro* we don't see any German with an anti-Nazi attitude.

24 In the film *The Last Metro* we don't see any anti-Semite French.

25 In the film *The Last Metro* the French people who collaborate with the Germans are presented to be few, exceptional cases.

26 The film *The Last Metro* didn't have as its main intention to depict realistically the plights of the occupation of Paris by the Nazis.

**F) Supervisory questions regarding all four films:**

In the following questions (24-27), please circle one or more or none of the choices (1, 2, 3, 4):

27 The viewpoint of power and official ideology is covered by the film/s:

1. *Anonyma*
2. *The Pianist*
3. *Downfall*
4. *The Last Metro*

28 The viewpoint of the ruled people, who are challenging the power exercised upon them, is covered by the film/s:

29 The viewpoint of internal focus, through active observation and personal involvement, is covered by the film/s:

30 The viewpoint of zero focus, where the omniscient narrator places the partial stories or aspects of reality in a wider, holistic composition, is covered by the film/s:

**G) General questions regarding the historical knowledge**

31 History has to explain the traumatic and disputable events of the near past.

- |                  |                     |                   |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| a) I agree       | c) I disagree       | e) I don't know   |
| b) I fully agree | d) I fully disagree | f) I don't answer |

32 History has to consider the current social, political and cultural conflicts regarding the past, such as the dispute on the content of school textbooks.

33 In history the same causes bring always the same, similar or proportionate results.

34 We can explain the present in proportion to the past.

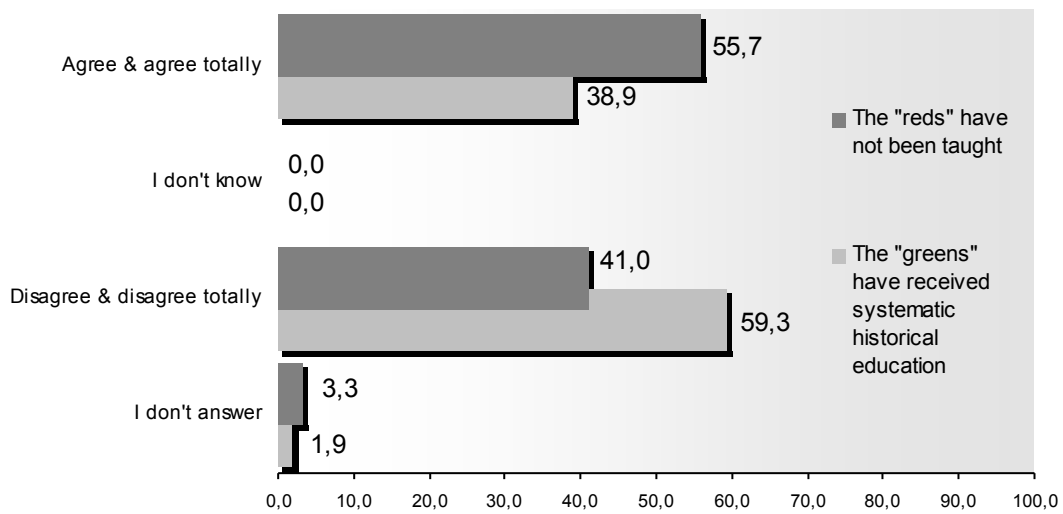
35 The historian must not take part in the ongoing public disputes about the past, so that his/her objectivity as a scholar can remain unaffected.

36 The historian has to throw light on the traumatic and disputable events of the recent past, so that for each case responsibilities can be fairly attributed to the eventual culprits.

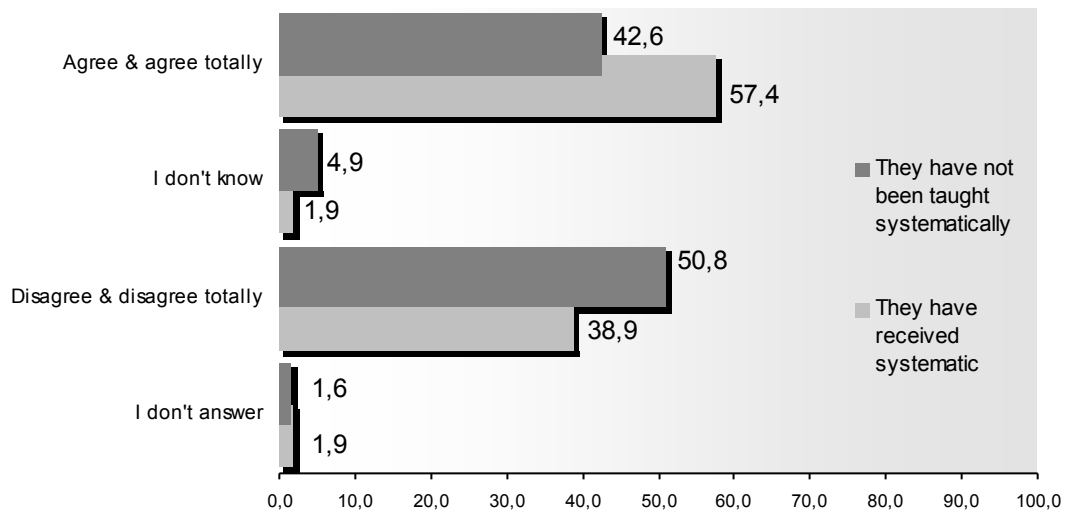
37 Do you adopt the argument "I was following the orders of my superiors..." which was used by Nazis, slaughterers in the extermination camps, during their trial?  
Annex II

**Some examples and their outcomes**

1st example. Question n° 13 (in relation to the movie *The Pianist*): "The Pianist, the basic hero of the so-called movie, disposed a courageous, militant character".

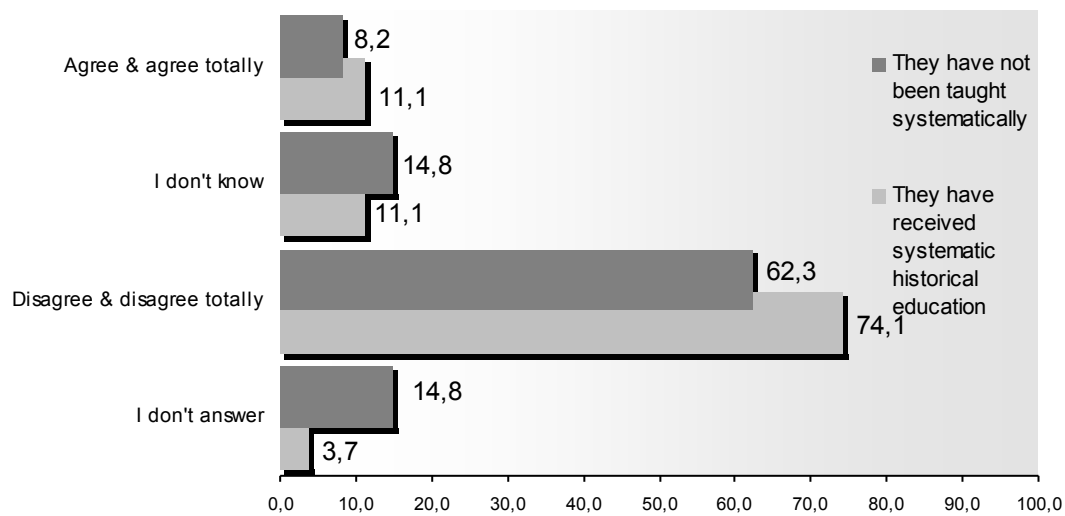


2<sup>nd</sup> example. Question n° 16 (in relation to the movie *The Pianist*): “The Jews resisted their arrest and displacement by the Nazi”.

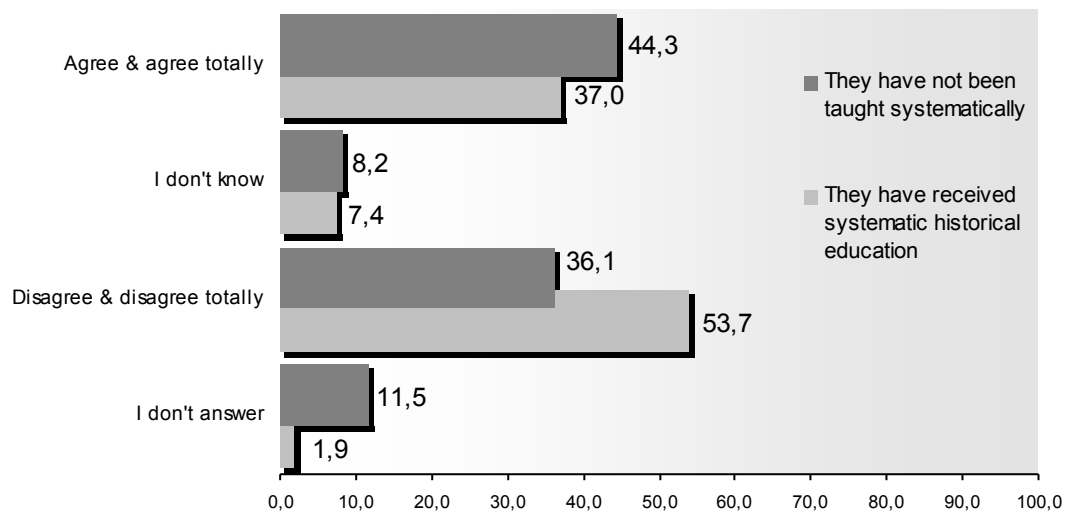


3<sup>rd</sup> example: Question n° 24 (in relation to the movie *The Last Metro*): “In the film *The Last Metro* we don't see any anti-Semitic French”.





4<sup>th</sup> example: Question n° 25 (in relation to the movie *The Last Metro*): “In the film *The Last Metro* the French people who collaborate with the Germans are presented to be few, exceptional cases”.



### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Burke, P. (1989) 'History as social memory', in Butler, T. (ed.) *History, culture, and the mind*, p. 98, New York: Basil Blackwell. See also: Macmillan, M. (2009) *The Uses and abuses of history*, New York: Random House, and Fleischer, H. (2008) *Oi polemoi ths mnhmhs. O B' Pagkosmios Polemos sth Dimosia Istoría [The Memory wars. The Second World War in Public History]*, Athens: Nefeli.

<sup>2</sup> Harlan, D. (2007) 'Historical Fiction and the Future of Academic History', in Jenkins, K., Morgan, S. & Munslow, A. (eds.) *Manifestos for history*, p. 121, London & New York: Routledge.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 122.

<sup>4</sup> About the historiographical approach of present time history in France, see Delacroix, C., Dosse, F. & Garcia, P. (2003) *Histoire et historiens en France depuis 1945*, pp. 254-258, Paris: ADFP, selected extract from the article by Bédarida, F. (1997) 'L'histoire du temps présent' [The history of the present

time], *Sciences humaines*, vol. 18, pp. 31-32 (September – October 1997). For an overview of issues concerning history of the present time see also Kokkinos, G. (2012) *I skouria kai to pyr. Prosegizontas ti sxesi istorias, travmatos kai mnimis* [Rust and fire. Approaching the relationship between history, trauma and memory], pp. 57-74, Athens: Gutenberg. For a description of the conditions, the national specifics, the asymmetrical development (great in France and Germany, multivalent in Italy, timid in Britain) and the academic and social dynamic of present time history in European countries see Ventoura, L. (2002) 'Advocacy for modern history or "present time history"', *Mnimon*, vol. 24, pp. 369-386. See also Garton Ash, T. (1999) *History of the present: Essays, sketches and dispatches from Europe in the 1990s*, London: Allen Lane.

<sup>5</sup> Rousso, H. & Conan, E. (1996) *Vichy, un passé qui ne passe pas*, Paris: Gallimard. See also Rousso, H. (1990<sup>2</sup>) *Le syndrome de Vichy: de 1944 à nos jours*, Paris: Seuil, and by the same author (1998) *La hantise du passé*, Paris: Textuel.

<sup>6</sup> Dosse, F. (2006) *Paul Ricoeur, Michel de Certeau. L'Histoire : entre le dire et le faire*, Paris: L'Herne, 117.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 119.

<sup>8</sup> See Wiewiorka, A. (1999) *L'ère du témoin* [The era of witness], Paris: Plon, as well as LaCapra, D. (2001) *Writing history, writing trauma*, p. 87, p. 98, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

<sup>9</sup> Data come from the PhD under preparation by Nikos Apostolopoulos, titled *Mihanismoi Diamorfosis tis istorikis pedias kai synidisis ton fititon kai fititron ton Pedagogikon Tmimatou* [Mechanisms for shaping historical education and students' consciousness at Pedagogical Departments], Pedagogical Department of the University of the Aegean.

<sup>10</sup> Arroio, A. (2010) 'Context based learning: A role for cinema in science education', *Science Education International*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 131-132.

<sup>11</sup> For Greek terminology, *literacy* is a relatively new term with relatively new meaning as well. The older definition and term for literacy referred to the substantial skill for reading and writing. It is the change in historical educational data that led to the creation of a new term along with a new definition.

<sup>12</sup> For the principal place image holds in shaping human perception and social organization, for the domination of vision in the modern Western world, for the under-examined, despite its importance, social, cultural and communicative significance of sound and listening acts, one can refer to the accredited work of Ong, W. (1997) *Proforikotita kai Eggramatosini* [Orality and Literacy], Heraklion: Panepistimiakes Ekdotis Kritis [Cretan University Press]. See also Boumbaris, N. (2003) 'Analyontas tin akousmatiki empeiria – pros mia politismiki koinoniologia tou ihou' [Analysing the acoustic experience – Towards a cultural sociology of sound], *Epistimi kai Koinonia* [Science and Society], issue 10 (Spring 2003) [also available at: [http://www2.media.uoa.gr/sas/issues/10\\_issue/mpoumpar.html](http://www2.media.uoa.gr/sas/issues/10_issue/mpoumpar.html)].

<sup>13</sup> Giroux, H. (1994) 'Slacking Off: Border Youth and Postmodern Education', *Journal of Advanced Composition*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 347-366,

<sup>14</sup> Mayer, R. E. & Moreno, R. (2002) 'Animation as an aid to multimedia learning', *Educ. Psychol. Rev.*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 87-99.

<sup>15</sup> Plass, J. L., Chun, D. M., Mayer, R. E. & Leutner, D. (1998) 'Supporting visual and verbal learning preferences in a second language multimedia learning environment', *Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. 90, no. 1, pp. 25-36.

<sup>16</sup> Regarding the questions arising within the framework of Critical Literacy, see Matsagouras, I. (2007) *Scholikos Eggramatismos* [School Literacy], Athens: Grigoris Publications.

<sup>17</sup> Waterhouse, L. (2006) 'Inadequate evidence for multiple intelligences, Mozart effect, and emotional intelligence theories', *Educational Psychologist*, vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 247-255, and by the same author (2006) 'Multiple intelligences, the Mozart effect, and emotional intelligence: A critical review', *Educational Psychologist*, vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 207-225.

<sup>18</sup> Veenema, S. & Gardner, H. (1996) 'Multimedia and multiple intelligences', *The American Prospect*, vol. 29 (Nov.-Dec.) pp. 69-75. Goleman, D. (1998) *Working with emotional intelligence*, New York: Bantam Books. Gardner, H. (2000) 'Can technology exploit our many ways of knowing?', in Gordon, D.T. (ed.), *The digital classroom: How technology is changing the way we teach and learn*, pp. 32-35, Cambridge, MA: President and Fellows of Harvard College. Millbower, L. (2000) *Training with a beat: The teaching power of music*, VA: Stylus, Sterling.

<sup>19</sup> Berk, A. (2009) 'Multimedia teaching with video clips: TV, movies, YouTube, and mtvU in the college classroom', *International Journal of Technology in Teaching and Learning*, vol. 5, no. 1, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> There is no agreement regarding their date of birth. For others, they are born between 1975 and 1989. See for example in Mitropoulos, D., "Oi Igetes tou 2020 – I "Genia Y" – Poi oi einai, ti pistevoun, ti theloun kai ti aporiptoun oi neoi pou genithikan meta to 1997" [The leaders of 2020 – "Generation Y" – Who are they, what do they believe, what do they want and what do the people born after 1997 object to?], *VIMA*, Sunday, 16th March 1997 [also available at: <http://www.tovima.gr/default.asp?pid=2&artid=86534&ct=32&dt=16/03/1997#ixzz1CRAomghK>]. According to others, they are born between 1982-2000. See Tsakarestou, B., "'Genia Y", ethismeni stin kenotomia- I protoporia kai i neaniki protovoulia" ["Generation Y"- Addicted to innovation - Breakthroughs and young initiative], *VIMA IDEON*, Issue 04/5/2007.

<sup>21</sup> Alsop, R. (2008) *The Trophy Kids Grow Up: How the Millennial Generation Is Shaking Up the Workplace*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

<sup>22</sup> Light estimates that teachers should shape these conditions of learning which, on the one hand, motivate students into seeing issues under a new perspective and, on the other hand, be open to new experiences. See Light, R. (2001) *Making the most of college: Students speak their minds*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

<sup>23</sup> Lyons, R. E. (2004) *Success strategies for Adjunct Faculty*, Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

<sup>24</sup> Taylor, K., Marienau, C. & Fiddler M. (2000) *Developing Adult Learners: Strategies for Teachers and Trainers*, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

<sup>25</sup> Prensky, M. (2001) 'Digital natives, digital immigrants, part II: Do they really think differently?', *On the Horizon*, vol. 9, no. 6 (research at <http://www.marcprensky.com/writing>).

<sup>26</sup> Prensky, M. (2006) *Don't bother me Mom, I'm learning*, St. Paul, MN: Paragon House.

<sup>27</sup> Gardner, H., 'Howard Gardner Quotes', in: [http://en.thinkexist.com/quotes/howard\\_gardner/](http://en.thinkexist.com/quotes/howard_gardner/) 2009.

<sup>28</sup> For an extensive analysis of the relationship between nation and cinema, see Frodon, J. M. (1998) *La projection nationale. Cinéma et nation*, pp. 11-34, Paris: Ed. Odile Jacob. See also: Sand, S. (2004) *Le XXe siècle à l'écran* (introduction by Michel Ciment), Paris: Editions du Seuil ; and Vitali, V. & Willemen, P. (eds.) (2008<sup>2</sup>) *Theorising national cinema*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>29</sup> It is about the film *Tearing down the Spanish Flag* by the American Stuart J. Blackton. The film represents battles that, while they are filmed in the first, still small, studios of silent cinema in New York, they are presented to the wider public as if they have been filmed in Cuba: Sand, op.cit., 32-33.

<sup>30</sup> Wolfram, M. A. (2011) "Getting history right". *East and West German collective memories of the Holocaust and war*, p. 90., Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, pp. 91-92.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p. 94.

<sup>33</sup> Several of these trials have also been filmed, exercising great influence on the construction of collective memories of the Holocaust and the Second World War in Germany and generally in Europe: Delage, C. (2006) *La Vérité par l'image. De Nuremberg au procès Milosevic [The Truth of the image. From Nuremberg to the Milosevic trial]*, Paris: Ed. Denoël. Lindeperg, S. & Wiewiorka, A. (2008) 'Les deux scènes du procès Eichmann', *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, novembre-décembre, no. 6, pp. 1249-1274.

<sup>34</sup> Wolfgram, op.cit., pp. 96-98, p. 102.

<sup>35</sup> This is Eric Rentschler's view, quoted by Elsaesser, T. (1996) 'Subject Positions, Speaking Positions. From *Holocaust, Our Hitler, and Heimat* to *Shoah* and *Schindler's List*', in Sobchack, V. (ed.) *The Persistence of History. Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event*, p. 171, New York & London: Routledge.

<sup>36</sup> Postone, M. (2006) *I istorikoi ke to Olokaftoma [The historians and the Holocaust]* (translated by Achileas Fotakis, editor-introduction by Savvas Michael), Ioannina: Isnafi, p. 74, footnote 61. For the 'images' of the Jew in the American and European cinema, see a) Bartov, O. (2005) *The 'Jew' in Cinema. From 'The Golem' to 'Don't Touch My Holocaust'*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, b) Annette Insdorf, A. (2009<sup>3</sup>) *Indelible Shadows. Film and the Holocaust*, New York: Cambridge University Press. Especially, for the ways of representing and interpreting the Holocaust and the cinematic contemplation regarding the possibilities and the limits of representation on screen, see Kaes, A. (1992), 'Holocaust and the End of History: Postmodern Historiography in Cinema', in Friedlander, S. (ed.), *Probing the Limits of Representation. Nazism and the 'Final Solution'*, pp. 206-222, Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press. Finally, with regard to the visual imprints of the Holocaust in the cinema of West Germany, as well as its appeal to the audience from the first Postwar years, see Wolfgram, op.cit., pp. 90-103.

<sup>37</sup> Wolfgram, op.cit., p. 99.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 93.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, pp. 90-91, p. 98.

<sup>40</sup> Gross, R. (2007) "'Loyalty" in National Socialism: A Contribution to the Moral History of the National Socialist Period', in *History of European Ideas*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 488-503 (also available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.histeuroideas.2007.07.006>).

<sup>41</sup> Citron, S. (2008) *Le mythe national. L'histoire de France revisitée*, p. 17, pp. 21-75, pp. 186-188, Paris: Les Editions de l'Atelier/Éditions ouvrières.

<sup>42</sup> The term is coined to French Historian Henry Rousso (*Le syndrome de Vichy*, op.cit.), who also describes (29-248) the phases of constructing collective memory in France, compared to signalling the Vichy Regime.

<sup>43</sup> Rousso, op.cit., 261. Wiewiorka, O. (2008) 'Francisque ou Croix de Lorraine: les années sombres entre histoire, mémoire et mythologie [The Order of the Gallic Francisque [Vichy regime medal] or the Cross of Lorraine: the dark years between history, memory and mythology]', in Blanchard P. & Veyrat-Masson, I. (eds.) *Les guerres de mémoires. La France et son histoire. Enjeux politiques, controverses historiques, stratégies médiatiques [The memory wars. France and its history. Political, historical controversies, media strategies]*, p. 96, Paris: La Découverte.

<sup>44</sup> Paramilitary corps that were created by the Vichy Regime with the aid of the Germans in order to fight members of resistance and Jews.

<sup>45</sup> Rouso, op.cit., pp. 121-130. Sand, op.cit., pp. 312-314. Ferro, M. (2001) *Kinimatografos kai istoria [Cinema and history]*, Athens: Metehmio, pp. 148-151.

<sup>46</sup> According to the General Manager of the National TV network, Jean-Jacques de Bresson, the film 'was destroying myths that the French people were still in need'. Despite the repeated promises and relevant discussions, the film was aired only in 1981, when the socialists with François Mitterrand came in power, and *Le Chagrin et la pitié* was shown by FR3 channel in front of 15 million viewers: Rouso, op.cit., pp. 130-133. Garreau, L. (1998) *Archives secrètes du Cinéma français. 1945-1975*, pp. 242-243, Paris: PUF. Douin, J. L. (1998) *Dictionnaire de la censure au cinéma*, p. 91, Paris: PUF.

<sup>47</sup> Rouso, op.cit., pp. 136-149, pp. 287-292.

<sup>48</sup> Wieviorka, A. (2008) 'Shoah : les étapes de la mémoire en France [Shoah: the stages of memory in France]', in Blanchard, P. & Veyrat-Masson, I. (eds.) *Les Guerres de Mémoires...*, op.cit., pp. 107-116.

<sup>49</sup> Rouso, op.cit., p. 268.

<sup>50</sup> Rouso, op.cit., pp. 272-273, p. 369. Sand, op.cit., 330-333. Lindeperg, S. (2007) 'Nuit et Brouillard : l'invention d'un regard' [Night and Fog *[film title]* : the invention of a way of looking], in Frodon, J.M. (ed.) *Le cinéma et la Shoah. Un art à l'épreuve de la tragédie du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle [Film and the Holocaust. An art put to the test by the tragedy of the 20th century]*, pp. 98-104, Paris: Editions Cahiers du Cinéma.

<sup>51</sup> The war in Algeria lasted from 1954 until 1962 and ended with the declaration of independence of Algeria, on 5th July 1962, after the televised proclamation by General Charles de Gaulle, see Harbi, M. (1984) *1954. La guerre commence en Algérie [1954. The war begins in Algeria]*, Bruxelles: Éditions Complexe. Stora, B. & Harbi, M. (2004) *La guerre d'Algérie. 1954-2004, la fin de l'amnésie [The Algerian war. 1954-2004, the end of amnesia]*. Paris: Robert Laffont. Stora, B. (1992) *La gangrène et l'oubli. La mémoire de la guerre d'Algérie [Gangrene and oblivion. The memory of the war in Algeria]*, Paris: Éditions La Découverte, and by the same author (2007) *La guerre des mémoires. La France face à son passé colonial [War memories. France confronts its colonial past]*, Paris: Editions de l'Aube.

<sup>52</sup> Pervillé, G. (2006) 'Les historiens de la guerre d'Algérie et ses enjeux politiques en France', in Crivello, M.P., Garcia, N. & Offenstadt, N. (eds.) *Concurrence des passés. Usages politiques du passé dans la France contemporaine*, p. 257, Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence.

<sup>53</sup> Garreau, op.cit., pp. 129-152. Douin, op.cit., pp. 205-206.

<sup>54</sup> Stora (2008) 'La guerre d'Algérie: la mémoire par le cinéma', in Blanchard, P. & Veyrat-Masson, I. (eds.) *Les Guerres de Mémoires...*, op.cit., pp. 264-265.

<sup>55</sup> Sand, op.cit., pp. 438-439.

<sup>56</sup> Sand, op.cit., pp. 440. Garreau, op.cit., pp. 240-241. Douin, op.cit., p. 50.

<sup>57</sup> Stora (2008), p. 264.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, pp. 262-265.

<sup>59</sup> The situation becomes more complex within the more general framework of 'mnemonic hysteria' in France, which escalates with the phenomenon of penalizing historical memory, enacting a series of laws from the beginning of the 1990s, see Kokkinos, G. (2010) 'I dynamiki tis mnimis kai tis lithis sti dimosia sfera kai oi nomoi gia ti mnimi sti Gallia [The dynamic of memory and oblivion in the public sphere and the laws for memory in France]', in Kokkinos, G., Lemonidou, E. & Agtzidis, V. (*To travma kai oi politikes tis mnimis. Endeiktikes opseis ton symbolikon polemon gia tin Istoría kai ti Mnimi*

[*Trauma and memory politics. Indicative perspectives of the symbolic wars on history and memory*], Athens: Taksideftis, pp. 86-123.

<sup>60</sup> Greene, N. (1999) *Landscapes of loss. The national past in postwar French cinema*, pp. 131-158, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, and by the same author (2001) 'Empire as Myth and Memory', in Landy, M. (ed.) *The Historical Film. History and Memory in Media*, pp. 235-248, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

<sup>61</sup> Greene (1999), 125-127. Sand, op.cit., 442.

<sup>62</sup> Stora (2008), pp. 267-269, pp. 271-272.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, p. 272.

<sup>64</sup> Farge, A. & De Baecque, A. (2008) *Histoire et cinéma*, Paris: Cahiers du cinéma-Les petits cahiers, SCEREN/CNDP, p. 84.

<sup>65</sup> "Me to enstikto tis exegersis" [With the Instinct of Insurrection], *I Epochi [The Era]*, Sunday, 7<sup>th</sup> October 2012, pp. 22-23.

<sup>66</sup> Radstone, S. (2010) 'Cinema and Memory', in Radstone, S. & Schwarz, B. (eds.) *Memory: histories, theories, debates*, p. 339, New York: Fordham University Press.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 334.

<sup>68</sup> Director: Oliver Hirschbiegel. Script: Bernd Eichinger, based on two books: *Inside Hitler's Bunker: The Last Days of the Third Reich* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, New York 2004) by historian Joachim Fest; and *Bis zur letzten Stunde* (Until the Final Hour), by Hitler's real secretary, Traudl Junge (1920-2002). Production Countries: Germany, Italy, Austria. Duration: 157'. Year of Release: 2004. In 2005, the film was nominated for the Best Foreign Language Film Oscar. *Downfall* stirred up intense discussions inside and outside Germany about whether Hitler's representation as a human being, with an attitude that is familiar to the average viewer (he was kind to his associates, tender with his lover, etc.) is legitimate. Paul Verhaegen's commentary regarding German National Socialism, in his emblematic novel *Omega minor*, is indicative of this critical approach to the way of constructing collective memory. The Belgian author writes the following: 'Can Hitler become a tragic hero or a character suitable for a musical that could be a box office hit. There is always the need for such tragedies: a sick man dies, convinced that he is right, in a bunker, while the outside world has gone up in flames. He is no different to Nero, Caligula, an invisible reference which, for some reason, makes you instantly shiver'.

<sup>69</sup> Director: Max Färberböck. Script: Max Färberböck, Catharina Schuchmann, based on the autobiography-diary of German journalist, Marta Hillers, titled *Eine Frau in Berlin [A Woman in Berlin]*. Year of Release: 2008. Production Country: Germany. Duration: 131'. The film has been considered important due to the fact that it raises, realistically, a history topic that was considered 'taboo' for many years: the rape of about two million German women by Russian soldiers, almost a hundred thousand of which in Berlin, at the time of the city's invasion; in Vienna, the Western allies recorded 87.000 rape victims in the three weeks following the arrival of the Red Army, see: Judt, T. (Tony Judt) (2004) 'The Past is another Country: Myth and Memory in Post-War Europe', in Mueller, J.W. (ed.) *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe. Studies in the Presence of the Past*, p. 158, Cambridge University Press. It has been estimated that in 1946, a 4% of the children born in Berlin had a Russian father. Nevertheless, Marta Hiller's autobiography (1911-2001), on which the film is based, was published in 1954 anonymously in English, and in 1959 in German, but in Switzerland, while the author was identified in 2003, just two years after her death.

<sup>70</sup> Director: François Truffaut. Script: François Truffaut, Suzanne Schiffman. Year of Release: 1980. Production Country: France. Duration: 131'. This film is Truffaut's main blockbuster, awarded 10 César Awards, among which those for best film, best script, best director and best Actor and Actress.

<sup>71</sup> Director: Roman Polanski. Script: Ronald Harwood, based on the autobiography of Polish- Jewish Wladyslaw Szpilman (1991-2000). Year of Release: 2002. Production Countries: France, Germany, Great Britain, Poland. Duration: 148'. The film was a great commercial success. It was awarded with the Golden Palm at Cannes Festival, three Oscars and seven (French) César, among which those for best film – the first one to be awarded such a distinction without a word of French spoken throughout the film.

<sup>72</sup> Ferro, M. (2003) *Le Cinema, une vision de l'histoire*, Paris: éd. du Chêne; by the same author: *Kinimatografos kai Istoría*, op.cit., and also *Analyse de film, analyse de sociétés*, Paris: Hachette, 1976.

## References

### (a) Books and articles

Alsop, R. (2008) *The trophy kids grow up: How the millennial generation is shaking up the workplace*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Arroio, A. (2010) 'Context based learning: A role for cinema in science education', *Science Education International*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 131-143.

Bartov, O. (2005) *The 'Jew' in cinema. From 'The Golem' to 'Don't touch my Holocaust'*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Bédarida, F. (1997) 'L'histoire du temps présent [The history of present times]', *Sciences humaines*, vol. 18 (September – October), pp. 30-32.

Berk, A. (2009) 'Multimedia teaching with video clips: TV, movies, YouTube, and mtvU in the college classroom', *International Journal of Technology in Teaching and Learning* vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 1-21.

Boumbaris, N. (2003) 'Analyontas tin akousmatiki empeiria- pros mia politismiki koinoniologia tou ihou' [Analysing the acoustic experience – Towards a cultural sociology of sound], *Epistimi kai Koinonia [Science and Society]*, issue 10 (Spring 2003) [available also at: [http://www2.media.uoa.gr/sas/issues/10\\_issue/mpoumpar.html](http://www2.media.uoa.gr/sas/issues/10_issue/mpoumpar.html)].

Burke, P. (1989) 'History as social memory', in Butler, T. (ed.) *History, culture, and the mind*, pp. 97-113, New York: Basil Blackwell.

Citron, S. (2008) *Le mythe national. L'Histoire de France revisitée [The national myth. The history of France revisited]*, Paris: Les Editions de l'Atelier/Editions ouvrières.

Delage, C. (2006) *La Vérité par l'image. De Nuremberg au procès Milosevic [The Truth of the image. From Nuremberg to the Milosevic trial]*, Paris: Ed. Denoël.

Delacroix, C., Dosse, F. & Garcia, P. (2003) *Histoire et historiens en France depuis 1945. [History and historians in France since 1945]*, Paris: ADFP.

Dosse, F. (2006) *Paul Ricoeur, Michel de Certeau. L'Histoire: entre le dire et le faire [Paul Ricoeur, Michel de Certeau. History: between saying and doing]*, Paris: L'Herne.

Douin, J. L. (1998) *Dictionnaire de la censure au cinéma [Dictionary of cinema censorship]*, Paris: PUF.

Elsaesser, T. (1996) 'Subject positions, speaking positions. From *Holocaust, Our Hitler, and Heimat* to *Shoah* and *Schindler's List*', in Sobchack, V. (ed.) *The persistence of history. Cinema, television, and the modern event*, pp. 145-183, New York & London: Routledge.

Farge, A. & De Baecque, A. (2008) *Histoire et cinéma [History and cinema]*, Paris: Cahiers du cinéma-Les petits cahiers, SCEREN/CNDP.

Ferro, M. (2003) *Le Cinéma, une vision de l'histoire [Cinema, a vision of history]*, Paris: Éd. du Chêne.

Ferro, M. (2001) *Kinimatografos kai Istoría [Cinema and History]*, Athens: Metehmio.

Ferro, M. (1976) *Analyse de film, analyse de sociétés [Analysis of film, analysis of society]*, Paris: Hachette.

Fleischer, H. (2008) *Oi polemoi ths mnhmhs. O B' Pagkosmios Polemos sth Dimosia Istoría [The memory wars. The Second World War in Public History]*, Athens: Nefeli.

Judt, T. (2004) 'The past is another country: Myth and memory in post-war Europe', in Mueller, J.W. (ed.) *Memory and power in post-war Europe. Studies in the presence of the past*, pp. 157-183, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fest, J. (2004) *Inside Hitler's Bunker. The Last Days of the Third Reich*, New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux.

Frodon, J. M. (1998) *La projection national. Cinéma et nation [The National Projection. Cinema and nation]*, Paris: Ed. Odile Jacob.

Gardner, H. (2000) 'Can technology exploit our many ways of knowing?', in Gordon, D.T. (ed.) *The digital classroom: How technology is changing the way we teach and learn*, pp. 32-35, Cambridge, MA: President and Fellows of Harvard College,.

Gardner, H. (2009) 'Howard Gardner Quotes', [Online], Available: [http://en.thinkexist.com/quotes/howard\\_gardner](http://en.thinkexist.com/quotes/howard_gardner).

Garreau, L. (1998) *Archives secrètes du Cinéma français. 1945-1975 [Secret archives of the French cinema. 1945-1975]*, Paris: PUF.

Garton Ash, T. (1999) *History of the present: Essays, sketches and dispatches from Europe in the 1990s*, London: Allen Lane.

Giroux, H. (1994) 'Slacking off: Border youth and postmodern education', *Journal of Advanced Composition*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 347-366.

Goleman, D. (1998) *Working with emotional intelligence*, New York: Bantam Books.

Greene, N. (1999) *Landscapes of loss. The national past in postwar French cinema*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Greene, N. (2001) 'Empire as myth and memory', in M. Landy (ed.) *The historical film. History and memory in media*, pp. 235-248, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.



Gross, R. (2007) "[Loyalty] in National Socialism: A contribution to the moral history of the National Socialist period', *History of European Ideas*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 488-503, [Online], Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.histeuroideas.2007.07.006>.

Harbi, M. (1984) *1954. La guerre commence en Algérie [1954. The war begins in Algeria]*, Bruxelles: Éditions Complexe.

Harlan, D. (2007) 'Historical Fiction and the Future of Academic History', in Jenkins, K., Morgan S. & Munslow A. (eds.) *Manifestos for history*, pp. 108-130, London & New York: Routledge.

Hillers M. (Anonyma) (2003) *Eine Frau in Berlin. Tagebuchaufzeichnungen vom 20. April bis 22. Juni 1945 [A Woman in Berlin. Diary of 20 April to 22 June 1945]*, Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn Verlag – Die Andere Bibliothek.

Insdorf, A. (2009) *Indelible shadows. Film and the Holocaust*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Junge, T. (2003) *Bis zur letzten Stunde (Until the final hour)*, Berlin: List Taschenbuch.

Kaes, A. (1992) 'Holocaust and the end of history: Postmodern historiography in cinema', in Friedlander S. (ed.) *Probing the limits of representation. Nazism and the 'Final Solution'*, pp. 206-222, Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press.

Kokkinos, G. (2010) 'I dynamiki tis mnimis kai tis lithis sti dimosia sfera kai oi nomoi gia ti mnimi sti Gallia' [The dynamic of memory and oblivion in the public sphere and the laws for memory in France], in Kokkinos, G., Lemonidou, E. & Agtzidis, V. *To trauma kai oi politikes tis mnimis. Endeiktikes opseis ton symbolikon polemon gia tin Istoría kai ti Mnimi, [Trauma and memory politics. Indicative perspectives of the symbolic wars over history and memory]*, pp. 86-123, Athens: Taksideftis.

Light, R. (2001) *Making the most of College: Students speak their minds*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lindeperg, S. (2007) 'Nuit et Brouillard : l'invention d'un regard' [Night and Fog [film title] : the invention of a way of looking], in Frodon, J.M. (ed.) *Le cinéma et la Shoah. Un art à l'épreuve de la tragédie du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle [Film and the Holocaust. An art put to the test by the tragedy of the 20th century]*, Paris: Editions Cahiers du Cinéma.

Lindeperg S. & Wieviorka, A. (2008) 'Les deux scènes du procès Eichmann [Two scenes from the Eichmann trial]', *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, novembre-décembre, no. 6, pp. 1249-1274.

Lyons, R. E. (2004) *Success strategies for adjunct faculty*, Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Macmillan, M. (2009) *The Uses and abuses of history*, New York: Random House.

Matsagouras, I. (2007) *Scholikos eggramatismos [School literacy]*, Athens: Grigoris Publications.

Mayer, R. E. & Moreno, R. (2002) 'Animation as an aid to multimedia learning', *Educational Psychology Review*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 87-99.

Millbower, L. (2000) *Training with a beat: The teaching power of music*, VA: Stylus, Sterling.

Mitropoulos, D. (1997) 'Oi Igetes tou 2020 – I "Genia Y" – Poioi einai, ti pistevoun, ti theloun kai ti aporiptoun oi neoi pou genithikan meta to 1997 [The leaders of 2020 – 'Generation Y' – Who are they, what do they believe, what do they want and what do the people born after 1997 object to]', *VIMA*, Sunday, 16th March [Online], Available: <http://www.tovima.gr/default.asp?pid=2&artid=86534&ct=32&dt=16/03/1997#ixzz1CRAomghK>.

Ong, W. (1997) *Proforikotita kai eggramatosini [Oracy and literacy]*, Heraklion: Panepistimiakes Ekdotis Kritis [Cretan University Press].

Pervillé, G. (2006) 'Les historiens de la guerre d'Algérie et ses enjeux politiques en France', in Crivello, M., Garcia, P. & Offenstadt, N. (eds.) *Concurrence des passés. Usages politiques du passé dans la France contemporaine*, Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence.

Plass, J. L., Chun, D. M., Mayer, R. E. & Leutner, D. (1998) 'Supporting visual and verbal learning preferences in a second language multimedia learning environment', *Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. 90, no. 1, pp. 25-36.

Postone, M. (2006) *I istorikoi ke to Olokaftoma [The historians and the Holocaust]* (translated by Achileas Fotakis, editor-introduction by Savvas Michael), Ioannina: Isnafi.

Prensky, M. (2001) 'Digital natives, digital immigrants, part II: Do they really think differently?', *On the Horizon*, vol. 9, no. 6, [Online], Available at: <http://www.marcprensky.com/writing>.

Prensky, M. (2006) *Don't bother me Mom, I'm learning*, St. Paul, MN: Paragon House.

Radstone, S. (2010) 'Cinema and memory', in Radstone S. & Schwarz, B. (eds.) *Memory: histories, theories, debates*, New York: Fordham University Press.

Rouso, H. (1990) *Le syndrome de Vichy: de 1944 à nos jours [The Vichy syndrome: from 1944 to today]*, Paris: Seuil.

Rouso, H. (1998) *La hantise du passé [The past which haunts us]*, Paris: Textuel.

Rouso, H. & Conan, E. (1996) *Vichy, un passé qui ne passé pas [Vichy, a past that does not pass away]*, Paris: Gallimard.

Sand, S. (2004) *Le XXe siècle à l'écran [The twentieth century on the screen]* (introduction by Michel Ciment), Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Stora, B. & Harbi, M. (2004) *La guerre d'Algérie. 1954-2004, la fin de l'amnésie [The war in Algeria. 1954-2004, the end of amnesia]*, Paris: Robert Laffont.

Stora, B. (1992) *La gangrène et l'oubli. La mémoire de la guerre d'Algérie [Gangrene and oblivion. The memory of the war in Algeria]*, Paris: Éditions La Découverte.

Stora, B. (2007) *La guerre des mémoires. La France face à son passé colonial [War memories. France confronts its colonial past]*, Paris: Editions de l'Aube.

Stora, B. (2008) 'La guerre d'Algérie: la mémoire par le cinéma [The Algerian war: memory through the cinema]', in Blanchard, P. & Veyrat-Masson, I. (eds.) *Les guerres de Mémoires. La France et son histoire. Enjeux politiques, controverses historiques, stratégies médiatiques* [The memory wars. France and its history. Political, historical controversies, media strategies], Paris: La Découverte.

Taylor, K., Marienau, C. & Fiddler M. (2000) *Developing Adult Learners: Strategies for Teachers and Trainers*, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Tsakarestou, B. (2007) "'Genia Y", ethismeni stin kenotomia – I protoporia kai i neaniki protovoulia' ["Generation Y" – Addicted to innovation – Breakthroughs and young initiative]', *VIMA IDEON*, Issue 4 May.

Verhaeghen, P. (2007) *Omega Minor*, Champaign, IL: Dalkey Archive Press.

Vitali, V. & Willemen, P. (eds.) (2008) *Theorising national cinema*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Waterhouse, L. (2006) 'Multiple intelligences, the Mozart effect, and emotional intelligence: A critical review', *Educational Psychologist*, vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 207–225.

Waterhouse, L. (2006) 'Inadequate evidence for multiple intelligences, Mozart effect, and emotional intelligence theories', *Educational Psychologist*, vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 247-255.

Wieviorka, A. (1999) *L'ère du témoin* [The era of witness], Paris: Plon.

Wieviorka, A. (2008) 'Shoah : les étapes de la mémoire en France [Shoah: the stages of memory in France]', in Blanchard, P. & Veyrat-Masson, I. (eds.) *Les guerres de mémoires. La France et son histoire. Enjeux politiques, controverses historiques, stratégies médiatiques* [The memory wars. France and its history. Political, historical controversies, media strategies], pp. 107-116, Paris: La Découverte.

Wieviorka, O. (2008) 'Francisque ou Croix de Lorraine: les années sombres entre histoire, mémoire et mythologie [The Order of the Gallic Francisque [Vichy regime medal] or the Cross of Lorraine: the dark years between history, memory and mythology]', in Blanchard P. & Veyrat-Masson, I. (eds.) *Les guerres de mémoires. La France et son histoire. Enjeux politiques, controverses historiques, stratégies médiatiques* [The memory wars. France and its history. Political, historical controversies, media strategies], pp. 94-106, Paris: La Découverte.

Wolfgram, M. A. (2011) 'Getting History Right'. *East and West German collective memories of the Holocaust and war*, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press.

Veenema, S. & Gardner, H. (1996) 'Multimedia and multiple intelligences', *The American Prospect*, vol. 29 (Nov.-Dec.), pp. 69-75.

Ventoura, L. (2002), 'Advocacy for Modern History or "Present time History"', *Mnimon*, vol. 24, pp. 369-386.

**(b) Films (in chronological order)**

*Tearing down the Spanish Flag* (1898, Stuart J. Blackton)  
*Der Golem* (1915, Paul Wegener and Henrik Galeen)  
*The Golem* (1920 Paul Wengener and Carl Boese)  
*Battleship Potemkin* (1925, Sergei Eisenstein)  
*The End of St. Petersburg* (1927, Vsevolod Poudovkine)  
*Lang ist der Weg* (1948, Herbert B. Fredersdorf, Marek Goldstein)  
*Nuit et brouillard* (1955, Alain Resnais)  
*La Battaglia di Algeri* (1966, Gillo Pontecorvo)  
*Zeugin aus der Hölle*, (1966, Zivovad Mitrovic)  
*Wie ein hirschberger dänisch lernte* (1968, Rolf Busch)  
*Le Chagrin et la pitié* (1969, Marcel Ophüls)  
*Le Pistonné by* (1970, Claude Berri)  
*Avoir 20 ans dans les Aurès* (1971, René Vautier)  
*Les Violons du bal* (1973, Michel Drach)  
*RAS* (1973, Yves Boisset)  
*Lacombe Lucien* (1974, Louis Malle)  
*Les Guichets du Louvre* (1974, Michel Mitrani)  
*Monsieur Klein* (1976, Joseph Losey)  
*La Question* (1977, Laurent Heynemann)  
*Holocaust* (1978, Marvin J.Chomsky)  
*The Last Metro* (1980, François Truffaut)  
*Stern ohne Himmel* (1980, Ottokar Runze)  
*Lili Marleen* (1981, Rainer Werner Fassbinder)  
*Die Wannseekonferenz* (1984, Heinz Schirk)  
*Blutiger Schnee [Wedle wyroków twoich ...]* (1984, Jerzy Hoffman)  
*Versteckt* (1984, Anthony Page)  
*Heimat* (1984, Edgar Reitz)  
*Shoah* (1985, Claude Lanzmann)  
*Outremer* (1991, Brigitte Rodan)  
*La guerre sans nom* (1992, Bertrand Tavernier)  
*Farewell my Concubine* (1993, Chen Kaige)  
*Auf Wiedersehen Amerika* (1993, Jan Schutte)  
*Schindler's List* (1993, Steven Spielberg)  
*Leni* (1994, Leo Hiemer)  
*Don't Touch my Holocaust* (1994, Asher de Bentolila Tlalim)  
*Underground* (1995, Emir Kusturica)  
*Mutters Courage* (1996, Michael Verhoeven)  
*Aimée und Jaguar* (1998, Max Färberböck)  
*The Pianist* (2002, Roman Polanski)  
*Der Untergang (Downfall)* (2004, Oliver Hirschbiegel)  
*Harkis* (2006, Alain Tasma)  
*Mon colonel* (2006, Laurent Herbiet)  
*La Trahison* (2007, Philippe Faucon)  
*Cartouches gauloises* (2007, Mehdi Charef)  
*L'ennemi intime* (2007, Florent-Emilio Siri)  
*Anonyma* (2008, Max Färberböck)

### SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS' USE OF FILM: A RESEARCH STUDY

William Benedict Russell III, Associate Professor, University of Central Florida,  
Joshua Kenna, University of Central Florida,  
Cyndi Mottola Poole, University of Central Florida

---

#### Abstract

*Due to the fun and engaging nature of film, many social studies teachers have begun to incorporate it into their instructional repertoire on a regular basis. However, what influence does graduating from a teacher preparation program and/or receiving formal training on how to use film have on secondary social studies' use of film?*

*The article attempts to answer this question using a survey research methodology. A national random sample of secondary social studies teachers from the United States was administered. In total, two hundred and fifteen teachers completed a twenty question, Likert-style questionnaire regarding how they use film in the secondary social studies classroom. The researchers performed a Factorial ANOVA to see if there was a statistically significant difference with regards to social studies teachers' use of film based on graduation status and formal training on how to use film. The results indicated that a statistically significant difference exists based on the aforementioned variables. Furthermore, the study also found that a statistically significant interaction effect exists between the variables. A full discussion of results and study limitations is included and conclusions are made. The article also provides a thorough literature review on use of film in the social studies.*

#### Key Words

Film, Movies, Teacher Education, History, Social Studies, Likert style questionnaire, Research Methodology, Quantitative, Quantitative research.

*Movies touch our hearts, and awaken our vision, and change the way we see things. They take us to other places. They open doors and minds. Movies are the memories of our lifetime.*

Martin Scorsese

#### Introduction

Modern teenagers live in a media-saturated world where they spend over seven hours a day (50 hours a week) utilizing media, and more than half of that time (28 hours a week) is spent on viewing films and movies alone (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2010). Due to the widespread appeal of film, many teachers choose to incorporate it, citing that film is a fun way to increase student interest and knowledge of history, social issues, and other pertinent social studies content (Russell, 2009, 2012a; Russell & Waters, 2010).

Films are an excellent communicator of information, ideas, and even ideals. For nearly a hundred years, social studies teachers have utilized film for educational purposes (Russell, 2007). Thomas Edison even thought film might replace the textbook someday (Gaycken, 2012). Although film has not lived up to Edison's expectation, he was right to believe that film would become a prominent tool to educate students. In fact, research has shown that teaching with film is considered to be an effective strategy for teaching social studies content (Holmes et al, 2007 & Russell, 2007). Additionally, Weinstein (2001) argued that film has become 'the greatest history educator of our time' (p. 27).

Social studies teachers have often found that a negative stigma exists for those who choose to utilize film in the classroom, especially in an education system bent on accountability with standards-oriented, high-stakes testing (Russell, 2012b). A contributing factor to this negative stigma is the lack of rigour commonly associated with the use of film; however, when teachers lack rigour it is commonly due to the lack of training on how to properly utilize film in the classroom.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the influence that graduating from a teacher preparation college and/or receiving formal training on how to use film as an instructional tool has on middle and secondary social studies teachers' use of film. Specially, the study sought to answer the following questions:

- 1) Is there a statistically significant difference in the total score obtained from the questionnaire based on whether or not the participants graduated from a teacher preparation programme?
- 2) Is there a statistically significant difference in the total score obtained from the questionnaire based on whether or not the participants received formal training on how to use film?
- 3) Is there a statistically significant interaction between graduating from a teacher preparation program and receiving formal training on how to use film?
- 4) Is there a correlation between a teacher receiving formal training on how to use film and their frequency of film usage?

### **Literature Review**

Media have an extremely prominent influence on the lives of our students. The Kaiser Family Foundation (2010) found that modern teenagers spend an average of 50 hours a week utilizing media. UNICEF reports that television viewing amongst the world's children varies between an average of 1.5 to four hours daily, and that it tends to be highest in poorer communities in industrialized nations like the United States (UNICEF, 2004). Considine (2009) observed that 'mass media are omnipresent in students' lives; students seem constantly plugged in, wired, and connected to one device or another' (p. 65). Soetart, Mottart, & Verdoodt (2004) argued that we live in 'an era where the mass media is a pervasive, taken for granted aspect of our culture' (p. 167-168). Similarly, Hobbs (2006) stated that our children live in a world 'where most of their information and entertainment comes through the mass media' (p. 36). Thus, it is not surprising that teachers have tried to harness the power of media to support instructional goals in the classroom.

Use of film in the classroom is an extremely prevalent instructional strategy. Stoddard and Marcus (2010) found that 92% of teachers in their study showed all or part of a film at least once a week. Russell (2012b) found that 100% of surveyed social studies teachers reported using film in their classes at least once a month and 78.69% of surveyed teachers reported using film two or more times per month. Additionally, in a 2006 nationwide survey of social studies teachers, researchers found that 63% of eighth grade teachers reported using a video-based activity in the last class they taught (Leming, Ellington, & Schug, 2006).

Effective film use can have many educational benefits. Films can be used to expose and examine social justice issues (Aitken, Jokisch, & Boone, 2003; Brown, 2011; James, Marin, & Kassam, 2011; Pimintel, 2010; Russell, 2009; Russell & Waters, 2009; Stoddard & Marcus, 2010), to enhance student enjoyment of and feeling of personal connection to the course content (Matz & Pingatore, 2005; Roberts, Dean, & Nienhuis, 2009, Woelders, 2007); to develop historical empathy (Metzger, 2007; Neuhaus, 2010; Stoddard & Marcus, 2010), as a primary source for examining the country or time period in which the film was made (Russell, 2012a, 2012c; Matz & Pingatore, 2005; Parameswaran, 2010; Stoddard & Marcus,

2010), like a textbook to portray the past (Metzger, 2007; Russell, 2012a), and to motivate young people to become more civically active (James et al., 2011). Films are seen as being particularly helpful when teaching special populations, including lower-level and English language learners (Study of School Uses of Television and Video, 1997). From a global education perspective, film can be used to promote cultural understanding between diverse groups (Briam, 2010; Fontaine, 2010a; White, 2009) and to help students comprehend the ways in which diverse people view the world (Giroux, 2001), a concept known as perspective consciousness (Hanvey, 1976).

Roberts, Dean, and Nienhuis (2009) argued that when film is used correctly in the classroom, it can help elevate student cognition to the higher levels of Bloom's Taxonomy, such as application, synthesis, and evaluation. Walker (2006) challenged teachers to go beyond the typical use of film to merely convey historical facts to students, arguing that this represents a missed opportunity to help students develop true historical understanding. Many researchers emphasize the power of film to encourage the critical thinking and media literacy skills that are necessary for citizens in a democracy (Brown, 2011; Fontaine, 2010b; Pimintel, 2010; Russell & Waters, 2009; Stoddard & Marcus, 2010; White, 2009). With the recent adoption of common core standards by many states, the importance of critical literacy in our nation's schools will dramatically increase in the next few years. Film is one tool that can support the development of this critical literacy in our students.

Utilizing film to promote critical literacy is a dominant theme in the literature. In order to become savvy consumers of media, students must learn that 'film-making is subjective and will always be affected by the point of view of the filmmaker' (James et al., 2011 p. 363). Since young people in today's world are constantly immersed in various forms of media, such skills as recognizing bias, uncovering concealed messages, analyzing the validity of the expressed point of view and recognizing blatant misinformation in these media, including films, are key in the promotion of democratic citizenship (Stoddard & Marcus, 2010). In fact Common Core standard CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.7 [Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.] specifically includes the ability to analyze non-text sources. The primary goal of this type of instruction, of course, is for students to 'apply this knowledge to readings of media outside the classroom' (White, 2009, p. 48).

Marcus (2005) found, however, that despite the pedagogical imperative and existence of state and national standards for teaching critical media literacy, these skills are often underemphasized and instead, students are taught to view the film as a neutral source. This may be due to teachers' desires to inculcate specific moral views on social issues or historical events in their students (Stoddard, 2009). Fontaine (2010b) also pointed out that engaging students in a critical evaluation of film is often a missed opportunity in modern classrooms, arguing that '[w]e ignore our obligation to help [students] expand their critical literacy at their peril' (p. 66).

There is some evidence in the literature that teachers are not using film in optimal ways. Videos are frequently used as rewards for good behaviour, as time-fillers, or as an easy activity when substitute teachers are present (Russell, 2007; Hobbs, 2006). These practices are so commonplace that they have come to be accepted as 'ordinary and appropriate' (Hobbs, 2006, p. 35). Some teachers even show non-academic films in their classrooms, a practice which has even been defended by some principals (Hobbs, 2006). Hobbs (2006) identified seven non-optimal uses of film that are prevalent in our nation's classrooms: using film with no clearly defined instructional purpose, failing to use pause, rewind, and review during film use, use of film in large groups to give teachers a break, teachers mentally

disengaging during the film viewing experience, teachers using film as a reward, using film as a behaviour management tool, and utilizing film as an attention hook. All of these practices, she argued, weaken the possible power of appropriate film pedagogy and encourage negative outcomes in the classroom.

There are many possible negative outcomes to the incorrect use of film in the classroom. If teachers do not explicitly instruct students in critical analysis of the film's images, students risk blindly accepting whatever the film presents as the truth (Fontaine, 2010a; Pimentel, 2010; Stoddard & Marcus, 2010). Similarly, accepting a film's depiction of minority groups at face value may perpetuate negative stereotypes of these diverse groups (James et al., 2011; White, 2009). Students must rise above being a passive audience and accepting as fact stereotypes perpetuated by many media sources (White, 2009) or else they may be at risk of 'considering a film's narrative as actual and thus reproducing what [they] experience in the theater at home or in social life' (Fontaine, 2010a, p. 38). The key idea is to encourage students to watch film in an active, rather than a passive, stance (Roberts, et al., 2009). Sufficient background knowledge about historical time periods must be in place in order for students to distinguish a film's possible historical inaccuracies.

When students watch history movies without the support of sufficient content knowledge and nuanced understandings of history, a possible (or probable) outcome is for the filmic account to 'colonize' their thinking about the past – taking up residence in the mind as a kind of literal truth. (Metzger, 2007, p. 68)

Stoddard and Marcus (2010) found that many classes inadvertently use film in this way, and thus students' knowledge of particular historical incidents, such as the attack on Pearl Harbor or the events at Normandy, is influenced more by filmmakers than by teachers. Considine (2009) concurs, stating that instructing students in critical literacy of text but not film does not 'help students recognize, read, and resist the powerful persuasion of visual messages' and in fact, 'leave[s] students vulnerable to manipulation' (p. 66).

Due to the risk of unintended negative outcomes when using film as a pedagogical tool, proper use of film in the classroom is crucial. Despite this imperative, there is a paucity of information available in the research literature on how pre-service teachers are trained by their education programs to utilize film in an instructive manner. Pimintel (2010) discussed the use of film to enhance pre-service teachers' abilities in critical discourse analysis, presumably with the hope that this will help them to more carefully choose films to show in their future classrooms and possibly pass on their newly developed critical literacy skills to their students. Fontaine (2010b) concurred that developing pre-service teachers' capacities for analyzing films would help them teach this skill to their future students. However, no research studies could be found that indicated the extent to which pre-service teachers are formally trained to use film appropriately.

Some basic guidelines for the appropriate use of film exist in the literature. Teachers must preview the film to analyze its content for appropriateness and relevance to course material (Roberts et al., 2009; Russell, 2007). Proper preparation of students with appropriate background knowledge, a description of the film's plot and characters, and possibly some specific scenes or themes to watch for is also recommended (Roberts et al., 2009; Russell, 2007). Russell (2007) provided a model for appropriate film usage which suggested providing students with a constructive activity to complete while viewing the film. Woelders (2007) found that in order to promote true historical inquiry through film, teachers must provide appropriate scaffolding through the use of well-defined tasks such as guiding questions and graphic organizers. Students must be encouraged to view the film actively, rather than passively accepting the images as truth (Roberts, et al., 2009). Encouraging



students to question the film's veracity or to seek out evidence of bias is also encouraged in the literature (Seixas, 1994). Most scholars agree that after viewing a film, it is important to engage students in a culminating activity such as group discussion, small group work, analytical writing, exams, skits, or case studies (James et al., 2011; Roberts et al., 2009; Russell, 2007). This study surveyed current middle and secondary social studies teachers to determine the extent to which they followed the above recommended guidelines for film usage and the factors that made them more likely to do so.

### **Method**

The selection procedures for this study were designed to parallel the methods outlined by Creswell (2005). This study wished to achieve a national random sample of middle (6-8) and secondary (9-12) classroom social studies teachers and thus followed a multi-step method. Using the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), which sustains and habitually updates its all-inclusive and illustrative database, fifty public middle schools and fifty public high schools (one each from each state) were randomly selected using a numbering chart. The authors then selected all the social studies instructors from each school's faculty listing, which totalled four hundred ninety-eight (498) from across the United States. Each teacher was then emailed a letter of consent seeking their participation in the study. All 498 participants had one full calendar month to respond and complete the 'use of film' survey/questionnaire. Those who wished to participate clicked on a hyperlink embedded in the letter of consent email, which redirected them to an external survey. In total, two hundred fifteen (215) social studies instructors completed the online 'use of film survey/questionnaire' (43.17% return rate). All surveys were completed anonymously.

The demographic questionnaire showed that survey respondents were diverse. The participants were racially heterogeneous: one hundred eighty-three were White/Caucasian (84.7%), eighteen were Black/African-American (8.4%), nine were Hispanic/Latino(a) (4.2%), and six participants reported their race as "other" (2.8%). One hundred and seventeen participants were male (54.4%), while ninety-five participants were female (44.2%), and three participants did not disclose their gender (1.4%).

The highest degree earned also varied among the 215 participating teachers. One hundred thirty-six (136) or 63.3% of the participants had earned a bachelor's degree, seventy-three (73) or 34% of the participants had earned a master's degree. Three (3) or 1.4% of the participants had earned a doctoral degree. Three (3) or 1.4% of the participants did not respond to this item. No participants had earned a specialist degree.

The reported teaching experience among the participants varied from first year teachers to experienced veterans. Sixty-four (64) or 29.8% of the participants reported having 0-4 years of teaching experience. Sixty-six (66) or 30.7% of the participants reported having 5-9 years of teaching experience. Eighty-five (85) or 39.5% of the participants reported having 10 or more years of experience.

The questionnaire consisted of twenty questions and was designed to measure how social studies teachers used film to teach the required curriculum in their social studies classrooms. The instrument's reliability and validity were tested in a pilot study as well as used in a previously published study, 'Teaching with Film: A Research Study of Secondary Social Studies Teachers' Use of Film' (Russell, 2012b). The instrument utilized a continuous interval scale similar to the Likert scale; which according to Creswell (2005, p.168), 'provides continuous options to questions with assumed equal distances between options'. The possible responses that the participants could choose were: (1) almost all the time or all the time, (2) more than half the time, (3) half the time, (4) less than half the time, and (5) very

little of the time or never. A lower total score indicates that social studies teachers use the recommended guidelines and procedures more frequently.

This study sought to measure if there was a statistical difference and/or an interaction between social studies teachers' use of film based on graduation status from a teacher preparation program and formal education on how to use film. A Factorial Analysis of Variance (Factorial ANOVA) was performed using the total score obtained from the "use of film" questionnaire. Furthermore, a random sampling of equal sized groups was used in the statistical procedure. In order to determine if there was a statistically significant difference between the variables, the alpha level was set at 0.05.

### Limitations

Despite the efforts to reduce the limitations for this study, the researchers are aware that limitations are a reality for nearly all studies. As with any survey/questionnaire research project, a larger sample size could have led to different results. Furthermore, this survey relied on teachers to self-report about their teaching practices regarding the use of film. Self-reporting could possibly lead to limitations as not every participant is honest or accurate with their responses; although, to help curtail these limitations the participants completed the survey anonymously. Participants consulting resources to guide their responses could have been another problem; however, the anonymity of the survey should have suggested that there was no need to consult resources.

### Results

Survey results revealed that social studies teachers who graduated from a teacher preparation program and those who followed an alternative certification route used film with equal frequency. However, the results of the Factorial ANOVA indicated that there was indeed a statistically significant difference on the "use of film" questionnaire mean total scores between social studies teachers with differing graduation status from a teacher preparation program ( $F_{1,44} = 7.16, p < .05$ ). Social studies teachers who graduated from a traditional teacher preparation program ( $M = 48.59, se = 2.16$ ) tended to follow the recommended guidelines more frequently than teachers who became certified through an alternative route ( $M = 56.75, se = 2.15$ ). Approximately 14% of the variance in the total score on the "use of film" questionnaire can be accounted for by teacher preparation route.

Additionally, there was a statistically significant difference in appropriate film usage based on whether social studies teachers received formal training on how to use film in their classrooms ( $F_{1,44} = 4.71, p < .05$ ). Social studies teachers who recalled receiving formal training ( $M = 49.36, se = 2.20$ ) followed the recommended guidelines more frequently than teachers who did not receive similar training ( $M = 55.98, se = 2.11$ ). Approximately 10% of the variance in the total score on the "use of film" questionnaire can be accounted for by formal training on how to use film in the classroom.

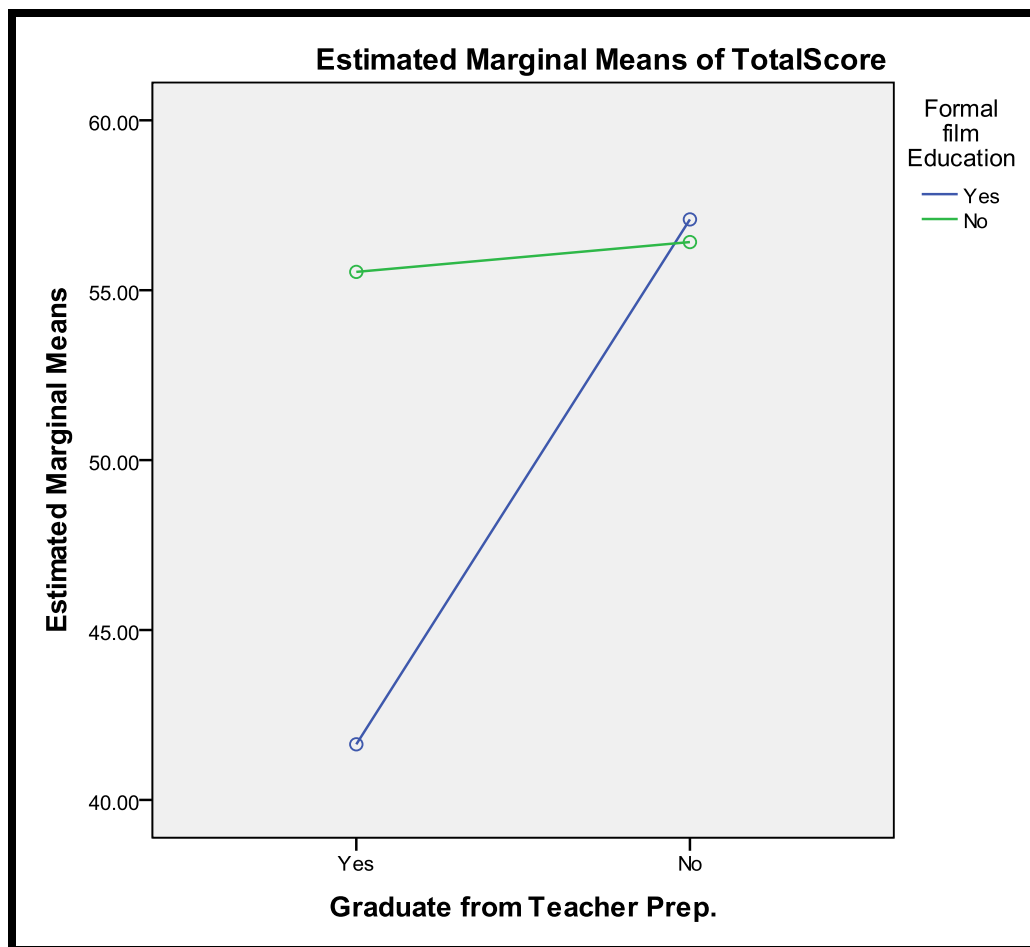
Finally, there was a statistically significant interaction between social studies teachers' certification route and their status on receiving formal training on how to use film ( $F_{1,44} = 5.70, p < .05$ ). In fact, social studies teachers who recalled receiving formal training and graduated from a teacher preparation program followed the recommended guidelines significantly more than any other group. Roughly 12% of the variance in the total score on the "use of film" questionnaire can be accounted for by the interaction effect. Table 1 reveals the Factorial ANOVA results. Table 2 shows a crosstabs between graduates from a teacher preparation program and those who have received formal film education that shows the groups' mean total scores. Figure 1 plots the interaction affect.

**Table 1** Factorial ANOVA

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	F	Significance	Partial ETA <sup>2</sup>
Corrected Model	1844.31	3	5.52	.003	.27
Graduate from A Teacher Preparation Program	796.75	1	7.16	.010	.14
Formal Film Education	523.70	1	4.71	.036	.097
Graduate from A Teacher Preparation Program * Formal Film Education	634.53	1	5.70	.021	.12
Error	4897.61	44			

**Table 2** Crosstabs Analysis

	Graduate from a Teacher Preparation Program		Total
	Yes	No	
Formal Film Education			
Yes	<u>M</u> = 41.64	<u>M</u> = 55.54	<u>M</u> = 49.36
No	<u>M</u> = 57.08	<u>M</u> = 56.42	<u>M</u> = 55.98
Total	<u>M</u> = 48.59	<u>M</u> = 56.75	



**Figure 1:** Interaction Plot between Formal Film Education and Graduation from a Teacher Preparation Program

Approximately 28% of social studies teachers who graduated from a teacher preparation program recalled receiving formal training on how to use film; while only 17% of teachers who did not graduate from a teacher preparation program reported receiving similar training. Overall, 76% of the participants reported not receiving any formal training on how to use film, while 52% still indicated that they use film two or more times a month in their classrooms. A crosstabs analysis between formal training on how to use film and frequency of film use revealed that 45% of social studies teachers who did not receive training used film two or more times a month, while only 8% of teachers who did receive training reported using film with similar frequency. When adding the layer 'graduated from a teacher preparation program' to the crosstabs analysis, the analysis revealed that 3% of teachers who received formal training but did not graduate from a teacher preparation program use film two or more times a month, 5% of teachers who received formal training and graduated from a teacher preparation program use film two or more times a month, 12% of teachers who did not receive formal training and did not graduate from a teacher preparation program use film two or more times a month, and 31% of teachers who did not receive formal training but did graduate from a teacher preparation program use film two or more times a month. A Pearson Correlation confirmed, as Table 3 indicates, that there is a correlation between formal training on how to use film and the frequency of utilizing film in the social studies classroom.

**Table 3** Pearson Correlation

	Formal Film Education	
Frequency of Film Use	Pearson Correlation	.239
	Sig. (2-tailed)	< .000

### Discussion

The findings suggest that social studies teachers who graduated from a traditional teacher preparation program tend to follow the suggested guidelines for utilizing film in the classroom more frequently than teachers who did not, despite the fact that both groups utilize film as an instructional tool with equal frequency. However, only a small percentage within both groups can recall receiving formal training (28% and 17%, respectively) on how to use film as an instruction tool. Therefore, the results indicate that there must be some kind of informal training interwoven into education courses within a teacher preparation program. Conversely, alternative certification programs seem to weave in little to no training on how to use films in the classroom.

Additionally, the findings suggest that social studies teachers who can remember receiving explicit training on how to use film in the classroom, regardless of their certification route, followed the suggested guidelines and procedures more frequently than teachers who did not receive similar training. Social studies teachers who claimed to have had training tended to use film less frequently as well (8% versus 45%). This statistic may be alarming as typically a teacher would increase the frequency of a particular instructional strategy after receiving formal training, especially if the instructional strategy has proven to be an effective means of educating students. However, the statistic possibly indicates that teachers who have received training are more familiar with the legal issues associated with showing film in classrooms (i.e. copyright laws, MPAA ratings, administrative and parental consent), and may therefore be more reluctant to do so. Nevertheless, teachers trained to use film, despite their low frequency of using films, are more likely to follow the recommend guidelines, maximizing the educational value and effectiveness of films. It would appear that receiving formal training on how to use films transforms one into a more responsible user of film-based pedagogy.

The most valuable finding was the interaction between social studies teachers' certification route and their status on receiving formal training on how to use film. Social studies teachers who both graduated from a teacher preparation program and received formal film training followed the suggested guidelines most frequently, compared with any other group. Also only 5% of these teachers use film two or more times a month. However, only 28% of the surveyed teachers who graduated from a teacher preparation program recalled receiving any formal training. The findings suggest that receiving formal training while attending a teacher preparation program amplifies the training's influence on social studies educators.

School districts and teacher preparation programs at colleges and universities may be interested in the correlation between formal film training and frequency of film use. Due to the state of accountability and standards-based reform that education is in during the 21<sup>st</sup> century, many district officials are pushing for more reading and mathematics instruction. Therefore, many districts do not see viewing films, albeit possibly effective, as an economical means of instruction. This study confirms the idea that districts should provide formal training on how to use film, and/or hire those who have had the training. Districts can feel assured that when social studies teachers with formal training use film that they will use it effectively. Teacher preparation programs in colleges and universities can highlight the

formal training courses they provide as a means to increase their graduates' ability to be hired.

### Conclusion

The literature has provided evidence that films can be beneficial for student learning and motivation and that there is a growing trend of high frequency of film viewing in social studies classrooms. However, given the negative effects that could happen with the incorrect use of film this study supports the need for social studies teachers to receive formal education. Researchers discovered that teachers who 1) graduate from a teacher preparation program ( $M = 48.59$ ), 2) receive formal training on how to use film ( $M = 49.36$ ), and 3) graduate from a teacher preparation program and receive formal training on how to use film ( $M = 41.64$ ) tend to follow the proper guidelines more frequently when using film. The study also discovered that teachers who received formal training on how to use film tend to decrease their frequency of film usage.

Overall, this study confirms that teacher preparation programs, at accredited colleges and universities, are an essential component for any individual's quest to becoming an effective social studies educator. Moreover, the study proves that formal film training should be an essential component to any teacher preparation and alternative certification program. This study is just a small piece to a larger puzzle and has confirmed the need for future studies in the use of film in social studies curriculum and on the film content of teacher training programs. Researchers could conduct both quantitative and qualitative studies on many topics regarding the use of films in social studies curriculum. One such study could compare the formal training on how to use film provided by various colleges and universities.

### Correspondence

William B. Russell 111, Assistant Professor of Social Science Education,  
University of Central Florida College of Education, P.O. Box 161250, Orlando, FL 32816,  
(407) 823-4345, Email: [Russell@ucf.edu](mailto:Russell@ucf.edu)

### References

- Aitken, S., Jokisch, B., & Boone, C. (2003) 'Composing identities: Films, families, and racism', *Journal of Geography*, vol. 102, no. 1, pp. 2-12.
- Briam, C. (2010) "'Outsourced": Using a comedy film to teach intercultural communication', *Business Communication Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 4, pp. 383-398.
- Brown, T. (2011) 'Using film in teaching and learning about changing societies', *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 233-247.
- Considine, D.M. (2009) 'From Gutenberg to Gates: Media matters', *Social Studies*, vol. 100, no. 2, pp. 63-74.
- Creswell, J. (2005) *Educational research: planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Fontaine, H. (2010a) 'The power of film to educate and miseducate pre-service teachers: A phenomenological analysis of Hidalgo and cultural representations of Muslims post 9/11', *Multicultural Education*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 37-43.

Fontaine, H. (2010b) 'An interdisciplinary proposal for employing film to release the imaginations of pre-service teachers', *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 58-69.

Gaycken, O. (2012) 'The cinema of the future: Visions of the medium as modern educator, 1895-1910', in Orgeron, M., Oegeron, D. & Streible, D. (eds.) *Learning with the lights off: Educational film in the United States* (pp. 67-89). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Giroux, H. (2001) 'Breaking into the movies: Pedagogy and the politics of film', *JAC: A Journal of Composition Theory*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 583-598.

Hanvey, R.G. (1976) *An attainable global perspective*. Denver, CO: The Center for Teaching International Relations, The University of Denver.

Hobbs, R. (2006) 'Non-optimal uses of video in the classroom', *Learning, Media, & Technology*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 35-50.

Holmes, K., Russell, W., & Movitz, A. (2007) 'Reading in the Social Studies: Using subtitled Films', *Social Education*, vol. 71, no. 6, pp. 326-330.

James, C., Marin, L., & Kassam, S. (2011) 'Looking through the cinematic mirror: Film as an educational tool', *Review of Education, Pedagogy, & Cultural Studies*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 354-364.

Kaiser Family Foundation (2010) *Generation M2: Media in the Lives of 8-18 Years Old*. National Public Study, [Online], Available: <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED527859.pdf> [29 Jan 2014].

Leming, J., Ellington, L., & Schug, M. (2006) 'The state of social studies: A national random survey of elementary and middle school social studies teachers', *Social Education*, vol. 70, no. 5, pp. 322-327.

Marcus, A. (2005) "It is as it was": Feature film in the history classroom', *Social Studies*, vol. 96, no. 2, pp. 61-68.

Matz, K., & Pingatore, L. (2005) 'Reel to real: Teaching the twentieth century with classic Hollywood films', *Social Education*, vol. 69, no. 4, pp. 189-192.

Metzger, S. A. (2007) 'Pedagogy and the historical feature film: Toward historical literacy'. *Film & History*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 67-75.

Neuhaus, J. (2010) "Shake this square world and blast off for Kicksville": Teaching history with post-WWII prescriptive classroom films', *History Teacher*, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 35-50.

Parameswaran, G. (2010) 'Teaching India with popular feature films: A guide for high school and college teachers', *Multicultural Education*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 52-55.

Pimintel, C. (2010) 'Critical race talk in teacher education through movie analysis: From Stand & Deliver to Freedom Writers', *Multicultural Education*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 51-56.

Roberts, L., Dean, E., & Nienhuis, T. (2003) Lights, camera, action: Teaching with feature film in the social sciences. *Mountain Rise*. vol. 1, no. 1, [Online], Available: <http://mountainrise.wcu.edu/index.php/MtnRise/article/view/40/88> [29 Jan 2014]

Rosenzweig, R., & Thelen, D. (1998) *The presence of the past: Popular uses of history in American life*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Russell, W.B. (2007) *Using film in the social studies*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Russell, W. (2009) *Teaching social issues with film*, Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Russell, W. (2012a) 'The art of teaching social studies with film', *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues, and Ideas*, vol. 85, no. 4, pp. 157-164.

Russell, W. (2012b) 'Teaching with film: A research study of secondary social studies teachers' use of film', *Journal of Social Studies Education Research*, 3(1), 1-14.

Russell, W. (2012c). The reel history of the world: Teaching world history with major motion pictures. *Social Education*, 76(1), 22-28.

Russell, W.B. & Waters, S. (2010) *Reel character education: A cinematic approach to character development*, Charlotte, N.C.: Information Age Publishing.

Seixas, P. (1994) 'Confronting the moral frames of popular film: Young people respond to historical revisionism', *American Journal of Education*, vol. 102, pp. 262-285.

Soetart, R., Mottart, A., & Verdoodt, I. (2004) Culture and pedagogy in teacher education. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, 26(2-3), 155-174.

Stoddard, J. (2009) 'The ideological implications of using "educational" film to teach controversial events', *Curriculum Inquiry*, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 407-433.

Stoddard, J., & Marcus, A. (2010) 'More than "showing what happened": Exploring the potential of teaching history with film', *High School Journal*, vol. 93, no. 2, pp. 83-90.

Study of School Uses of Television and Video (1997) *1996-1997 School year summary report*, Washington, D.C.: Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

United Nations International Children's Education Fund (2004) *Children, youth, and media around the world: An overview of trends and issues*, Washington, D.C.: Intermedia.

Walker, T. (2006) 'Historical literacy: Reading history through film', *The Social Studies*, vol. 97, no. 1, pp. 30-34.

Weinstein, P. B. (2001) 'Movies as the gateway to history: The history and film project', *History Teacher*, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 27.

White, E.J. (2009) 'Coffy, Youtube, and Uncle Ben: The use of film & new media in the teaching of African-American studies at the University of Hawaii', *New Media in Higher Education*, vol. 42, no. 1-2, pp. 47-53.

Woelders, A. (2007) 'Using film to conduct historical inquiry with middle school students', *History Teacher*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 363-396.



THE ROLE OF VISUAL TOOLS IN THE PROCESS OF TEACHING AND LEARNING HISTORY: AN  
ANALYSIS OF CROATIAN HUMANISTIC SECONDARY SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Rona Bušljeta, The University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia

---

### Abstract

*Despite the inclusion of various media in the teaching process, textbooks remain an important tool in the education process. One of the reasons behind this is that textbooks represent the starting point of structuring, organising and directing the teaching and learning process. The question of whether or not a particular textbook fulfils the aforementioned roles can be ascertained through, first and foremost, analysing its didactic-methodological conception. The didactic-methodological conception of a textbook is determined based on a specific textbook instrumentarium and the set didactic-methodological criteria of its planning. One of the largest instrumentaria of every textbook is its visual tools. Hence, the attention of this paper is to specify desirable didactic-methodological criteria of visual tool presentation in textbooks. Using this criteria, the main aim is to detect which of the visual tools are represented in the Croatian humanistic secondary school's history textbooks, to determine whether they fulfil their potential roles in the process of teaching and learning history, as well as to ascertain whether there are any differences in terms of the aforementioned between the Croatian humanistic secondary school history textbooks which teachers choose most often and the ones they choose the least.*

### Keywords

Didactic-Methodological conception, Didactic-Methodological criteria, History textbooks, Visual tools

### Introduction

Since we live in a world of images (Mietzner & Pilarczyk, 2005, p. 109), students want a teaching process which is fun, dynamic and different, just like the digital depictions on television or websites (Jensen, 2003, p. 3). In an attempt at following this trend, textbooks are made in such a way that they might appeal to students through the use of colours, interesting front covers and their dynamic internal visual and graphic design (Baustein, 2004, p. 237). It is precisely visual tools that play a major role in closing the gap between textbooks and children, i.e. the media they are accustomed to (Happonen, 2005, p. 75; Pingel, 2010, p. 48), so that nowadays there exist such textbooks where some 40% to 50% of content is presented through images (Mikk quoting Choppin, 2000, p. 269).

Although visual tools could be defined as 'the reproduction of an event, scene or a depiction of snippets from real life or atypical moments' (Bergmann & Schneider, 1999, p. 223), it is necessary to point out that they do not represent mere presentations in colour within the context of teaching and learning, and that their exclusive role is not to encourage the creation of visual representations in terms of various events, persons, processes and/or occurrences (Kleppe, 2010, p. 262). It is a known fact that visual tools have the power to induce interest and motivation, and that understanding their content can lead to the development of various abilities in students (Baustein, 2004, p. 239); due to this fact, they could be better defined as:

... non-linguistic symbol systems used by learners, teachers and leaders for graphically synthesising mental and emotional associations to create and communicate rich patterns of thinking. These visual-spatial-verbal displays of

understanding support all learners in *transforming static information into active knowledge*. (Hyerle, 2009, p. xix).

The fulfilment of the purposes and roles of visual tools in the teaching and learning process through textbooks depends on their didactic-methodological organisation. It is accomplished through clear didactic-methodological criteria whose purpose is, in a nutshell, to link the didactic-methodological 'theoretical idealism' with the processes of teaching and learning in practice. Since the criteria of the organisation of visual tools are neither completely nor clearly defined in scientific literature, there exists a primary need to specify the didactic-methodological criteria of the presentation of visual tools in textbooks, whilst taking into account the principles of the processes of teaching and learning.

### **The Didactic-methodological criteria of visual tools in textbook**

The power of images had been recognised as early as the Middle Ages, when the so-called *Biblia pauperum* (Paupers' Bible) came into existence, making use of visual representations with very little or even no text at all in order to teach the illiterate, i.e. to provide them with information and the Gospel message. Today's discussions on the usage of images in the process of education most often involve the Czech pedagogue Johann Amos Comenius (Komenský) who, in the 17th century, was the first to draw attention, in practical terms, to the possibility of arousing interest and motivation in students and facilitating the process of learning with the aid of visual representations. Later empirical studies proved that 'we receive around 70% of information from our environment through our eyes' (Hyerle, 2009, p. 2), that the information communicated visually is remembered a lot faster and retained in the memory longer than the information presented in words or text (Baustein, 2004, p. 239), and that students tend to visualise regardless of their style of learning (Jensen, 2003, p. 184). It took until the 1970s for various source materials to find their way into textbooks for the first time, those of the visual and written variety alike, and they remain to this day an integral part of all textbooks (Pingel, 2001, p. 28).

Visual tools in textbooks include all types of visual representations such as paintings, caricatures, photographs, comic strips, drawings and posters, as well as cartographic and graphic representations such as diagrams, schematics, tables and charts. These can be presented in textbooks as simple representations which could appear unimportant or overly simplistic at a first glance, or even as those which could be characterised as high art forms (Bergmann & Schneider, 1999, p. 222). However, regardless of their presentation, it is imperative that the visual tools in a textbook be organised based on valid didactic-methodological criteria in order for them to be considered the sources of knowledge in the teaching and learning process which can also serve to:

1. Motivate students,
2. Help develop creativity,
3. Encourage the students' higher- and lower-level cognitive processes such as understanding, analysing, synthesising, logical thinking and reasoning,
4. Engage various forms of teacher-student and student-student communication and interaction, and
5. Aid the development of the students' system of values.

Given the prominent roles of visual tools, one should bear in mind the specific didactic-methodological criteria when selecting the aforementioned for a textbook. In this matter visual tools should be:

1. Made up of motivating, interesting and exciting elements (representations);
2. Clear and simple, never leading to ambiguity (Seguin, 1989, p. 39);

3. Selected whilst bearing in mind the fact students will be demotivated by visual tools which are too complex, small in size and unclear;
4. Organised in such a way that they present specific events realistically and communicate important messages in an educational manner;
5. Conceived in such a way that they complement the main text, adding to its depth and/or clarity, understandability and readability, as well as selected in such a way that they do not relate exclusively to the educational content, but that they also convey the atmosphere of a certain epoch and encourage different cognitive processes, values and emotions in students (Huyette, 1995, p. 98, Mikk, 2000).

Despite the fact that the number of visual tools in textbooks is on the rise, the ways of ascertaining their optimum number and the best and most efficient types of visual tools for the teaching and learning process are yet to be found (Chall & Conrad, 1999, p. 116). However, what can be ascertained, when bearing in mind the realisation of the potential roles of visual tools, are the essential criteria of their organisation within textbooks. In this respect, it bears noting that visual tools in textbooks should be:

1. Numbered from the beginning to the end of the textbook and accompanied by a list or index of visual tools at the end of the textbook, together with the numbers of pages where they are located, in order to help students in locating the aforementioned inside the textbook (Seguin, 1989, p. 49);
2. Presented in such a way that they have a title (Huyette, 1995, p. 99), whose role is to refer to the main idea/message of the visual tool, but also to motivate and activate students (Karge, 2003, p. 19);
3. Accompanied by the author's name in full and the source from which they were acquired (Huyette, 1995, p. 99), since the aforementioned can help students in the interpretation of visual tools and encourage them to do further research;
4. Designed in such a way that they contain a short explanation or additional notes by the textbook's author (Baustein, 2004, p. 239);
5. Accompanied by a variety of methods of work which take into consideration the 'content, form and purpose of pictorial representations since they have hidden meanings that must be understood and interpreted' (Baustein, 2004, p. 239), and
6. Completed by questions and exercises because their absence reduces the role of visual tools to that of mere background decor which is observed briefly and superficially (Baustein, 2004, p. 240). Starting with the special characteristics of specific visual tools, the formulation of questions and exercises should be guided by certain rules which can be outlined in three basic steps.
  - a) The questions and exercises from the first step are those which identify the type of the visual tool and the method of its production (photograph, painting, drawing etc.), the listed title, author's name, source of the visual representation and the date when the original was made.
  - b) The second step in the formulation of questions and exercises is the one opening the analysis of the visual tool and its 'content'. It can begin with the questions and exercises which evaluate what is being presented by the visual tool (persons, their posture, expression and clothes; followed by the background, activities etc.).
  - c) Finally, the third step begins with those questions and exercises which question the purpose of presenting a specific visual tool in the textbook. In this sense, the questions and exercises of the third step should evaluate the reliability of visual representations, especially paintings, drawings, caricatures, photographs and posters, since they are susceptible to subjectivity, i.e. interpretation on the author's part. The questions and exercises of the third step should be used to ascertain

whether the visual tools serve to 'assist' the processes of understanding specific events, occurrences and processes or simply the text itself (Huyette, 1995, p. 100).

Despite the positive aspects of the visual sources of knowledge in textbooks, such as the fact that a piece of text becomes more concrete when accompanied by the visual modes of presentation (Mikk, 2000, p. 44), and the scientific studies which stress the fact that teachers and students want readable textbooks equipped with colourful maps and illustrations which complement the latest accurate facts (Crismore, 1989, p. 137), it is important to note that insisting on large quantities of visual tools in textbooks could prove dangerous to the teaching and learning process. For example, a textbook overfilled with visual representations could result in a disregard for the information being communicated by visuals, as well as the reading process, and even the understanding of contents being hindered since students are forced to block their visual senses if they want to follow the basic course of stories, thoughts and ideas presented by the text (Sewall, 2000, p. 6).

### **The placement of visual tools within textbooks**

One of the didactic-methodological criteria of visual tools is certainly their placement within textbooks since it determines the way visual tools are used, thus shaping the realisation of their roles in the teaching and learning process. Within a textbook, visual tools can be positioned 'left' and 'right' or 'up' and 'down' in relation to the main content. If the layout of visual tools is polarised in terms of 'left' and 'right', the content on the left-hand side should be comprised of that which is already familiar to students or of that which they already know, whereas the unfamiliar elements or content should be positioned on the right-hand side. On the other hand, their positioning at the top usually implies that the content they represent constitutes the idealised or generalised essence, and those visual tools which provide additional information are placed at the bottom. The aforementioned rule can also be applied to the relations between text and image, i.e. the textual and visual tools in textbooks. If the additional text is placed on the upper part of the page, and the bottom contains one or more visual presentations, the text is assigned with more importance and a primary role whereas visual tools become secondary, which essentially does not diminish their importance as certain specifications, examples or evidence. If the aforementioned positions change so that the upper part of the page is occupied by images, visual communication comes to the forefront and the role of textual tools is reduced to encouraging additional comments or elaboration (Van Leeuwen & Kress, 1995).

In addition to the placement of visual tools, the format in which they are presented in textbooks is also relevant in didactic-methodological terms. Thus, their format may be larger or smaller depending on their importance and relevance for the teaching and learning process. It is important to note the fact that visual tools presented in larger formats draw the students' attention more quickly and appear more important (Richaudeau, 1980, p. 37; Choppin, 1992, p. 92), and vice versa.

### **The purpose, roles and types of visual tools in history textbooks**

In everyday life, visual tools have a certain value and they affect individuals differently. For example, merely looking at an image can evoke various memories, emotions or inspire creativity in certain individuals. If we apply this to the educational process, we will not be wrong in claiming that the purpose of using visual representations in the teaching and learning process is directing the reaction they might initially cause towards attaining the set educational goals and tasks.

Visual tools can fulfil numerous roles as sources of knowledge in history textbooks. In this sense, visual tools can encourage various cognitive processes in students, such as understanding, decoding, organising and synthesising the educational content, as well as

logical thinking and reasoning; they can encourage students to communicate and interact, initiate the development of various skills and values in students, and enable their permanent retention (Card, 2004; Läänemets, 1991; Pranjić, 2005; Schnack, 1995; Sweerts & Cavanagh, 2004).

Above all, the use of visual tools in the teaching and learning process should be productive, which means presenting them in such a way that students can easily understand the meaning of what is being presented and that they can use them independently, i.e. that they are capable of understanding the tools and analysing them critically if needed. Considering the large number of visual tools, in terms of history textbooks they can be organised into three primary categories:

1. Historical representations (paintings, caricatures, drawings, photographs, comic strips, posters);
2. Graphic displays (tables, schematics, diagrams, graphs, timelines);
3. Historical maps, including all types of maps and displays with cartographic content (Baustein, 2004, p. 240).

It is important to note that no school textbook, including history textbooks, should favour a single type of visual source of knowledge, and that photographs, drawings, caricatures, comic strips, graphic displays and historical maps should all be represented equally. This is due to, amongst other reasons, their different features which result in different effects on students and the processes of teaching and learning.

### **Identifying the research problem and goals**

The analyses of history textbooks are usually conducted with their content in mind (Goldstein, 2001; Najbar-Agičić, 2001; Loewen, 2007; Pingel, 2010; Morris, 2010), and in such a way that they most commonly evaluate whether the historical events have been presented correctly, i.e. they evaluate the interpretation of historical events and the problem of ideologising history. However, the value of a history textbook cannot be determined solely on the basis of its written content, especially considering the fact that there is a didactic-methodological side to textbooks and that they provide help in structuring the teaching and learning process (Sewall, 2000, p. 4).

The didactic-methodological aspect of a textbook could be defined as the way in which the total textbook instrumentarium has been organised (the textbook instrumentarium of the first and last pages and the textbook unit instrumentarium, made up of written and visual tools, additional notes, questions and exercises, and the way the main text has been structured) in accordance with the didactic-methodological criteria, with the aim of realising the textbook's role as a teaching and learning tool. Despite it being a well-known fact that quality didactic-methodological organisation of textbooks results in better knowledge acquisition, development of desirable skills, values and views in students (Läänemets, 1991, p. 45; Thornton, 2006, p. 15; Lässig, 2009, p. 14), it is important to note that the exploration of this particular aspect of textbooks is largely neglected in Croatia.

One of the important and numerous textbook instrumentaria are visual tools. The realisation of the roles of visual tools in the teaching and learning process, such as presenting new information, motivating students, encouraging creativity, evoking acquired knowledge, developing various skills and mediating values (Mikk, 2000), depends on their didactic-methodological organisation. By first defining and then detecting the didactic-methodological criteria of visual tools in textbooks, it is possible to ascertain whether these visual tools realise their roles in the process of teaching and learning history, and to put forth the conclusions about the didactic-methodological organisation of textbooks.

This research aims to determine which visual tools are given precedence in Croatian humanistic secondary school history textbooks, whether they fulfil the desirable didactic-methodological roles and, finally, which roles are fulfilled by specific visual tools in the teaching and learning process. In so doing, it is assumed that the analysed history textbooks will represent all types of visual tools equally and that these visual tools will not differ in their didactic-methodological organisation. In addition to this, the aim of this research is to determine whether there are any differences with regard to the didactic-methodological organisation of visual tools in Croatian humanistic secondary school history textbooks which are selected by teachers in the highest and the lowest percentage.

### **The research process**

In our study of the visual sources of knowledge in Croatian humanistic secondary school history textbooks, we will employ the qualitative and quantitative methods of content analysis, as well as the comparative method. In so doing, visual sources of knowledge will include all types of visual representations which can and should be found in history textbooks. So as to facilitate the analysis, the visual tools in the selected Croatian history textbooks will be observed through the following three categories:

1. Historical displays (paintings, caricatures, drawings, photographs, comic strips, posters),
2. Graphic displays (tables, schematics, diagrams, graphs, timelines),
3. Historical maps, including all types of maps and displays containing cartographic content (Baustein, 2004, p. 240).

In addition to this, the study will focus on analysing the didactic-methodological design of visual tools. This will be carried out taking into account the following didactic-methodological criteria:

1. Whether the visual display has been titled (Huyette, 1995, p. 99),
2. Whether the aforementioned has been accompanied by a reference connoting
  - a. The author's given and family name, and
  - b. The source of the visual tool (Huyette, 1995, p. 99),
3. Whether it has been complemented by specific explanations or comments by the author (Baustein, 2004, p. 239),
4. Whether it has been accompanied by questions and exercises (Vrbetić, 1968, p. 179; Huyette, 1995, p. 100) to encourage
  - a. Lower-level cognitive processes, and/or
  - b. Higher-level cognitive processes.

With the use of a revised Bloom's taxonomy compiled by Lori Anderson and David Krathwohl in 2001, questions and exercises encouraging memorisation and comprehension will be categorised as those requiring lower-level cognitive processes, and the questions and exercises demanding application, analysis and evaluation, i.e. assessment and creation, will be categorised as those requiring higher-level cognitive processes (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). In other words, questions and exercises requiring lower-level cognitive processes will be defined as those requiring the detection of the basic elements presented by the visual tool, formulated as 'describe the image and comment', 'detect the person presented by the image' and so on, whereas those demanding deduction, synthesis, critical analysis, reasoning, additional research, and the comparison of images and text will be considered the questions and exercises requiring higher-level cognitive processes.

### The research sample

For this research, the Croatian humanistic secondary school history textbooks listed in the *Catalogue of Mandatory Textbooks and Supplementary Teaching Tools for Humanistic Secondary Schools 2010/2011, 2011/2012 and 2012/2013* will be selected. More specifically, the analysis will be conducted for those history textbooks which teachers identified as the most adequate for the teaching process in 2010.

**Table 1** An overview of the authorised humanistic secondary school history textbooks included in the analysis

Education Level	History Textbooks Selected in the Highest Percentage	History Textbooks Selected in the Lowest Percentage
First Grade	Gračanin, H., Malus Tomorad, I., Tomorad, M. (2003), POVIJEST 1: udžbenik povijesti za 1. razred gimnazije [History 1: Textbook for the First Grade of Humanistic Secondary School], Zagreb: Meridijani	Mijatović, D. (2009), POVIJEST 1: udžbenik za 1. razred gimnazije [History 1: Textbook for the First Grade of Humanistic Secondary School], Zagreb: Alfa
Second Grade	Petrić, H., Ravančić, G. (2003), POVIJEST 2: udžbenik povijesti za 2. razred gimnazije [History 2: History Textbook for the Second Grade of Humanistic Secondary School], Zagreb: Meridijani	Bulat, D., Labor, Š., Šašić, M. (2009), POVIJEST 2: udžbenik povijesti za drugi razred gimnazije [History 2: History Textbook for the Second Grade of Humanistic Secondary School], Zagreb: Profil
Third Grade	Holjevac, Ž., Kolar-Dimitrijević, M., Petrić, H. (2004), POVIJEST 3: udžbenik povijesti za 3. razred gimnazije [History 3: History Textbook for the Third Grade of Humanistic Secondary School], Zagreb: Meridijani	Bekavac, S., Skenderović, R. (2009), POVIJEST 3: udžbenik za 3. razred gimnazije [History 3: History Textbook for the Third Grade of Humanistic Secondary School], Zagreb: Alfa
Fourth Grade	Kolar-Dimitrijević, M., Petrić, H., Jakša, R. (2004), POVIJEST 4: udžbenik povijesti za 4. razred gimnazije [History 4: History Textbook for the Fourth Grade of Humanistic Secondary School], Zagreb: Meridijani	Miljan, G., Miškulin, I. (2009), POVIJEST 4: udžbenik povijesti za četvrti razred gimnazije, [History 4: History Textbook for the Fourth Grade of Humanistic Secondary School] Zagreb: Profil

### Research results

Based on the set didactic-methodological criteria for visual tools and with the help of the quantitative and qualitative methods of content analysis, the most represented visual tools in Croatian humanistic secondary school history textbooks were identified, together with the facts relating to whether there were any differences in the didactic-methodological organisation of certain visual tools and whether there were noticeable differences in the didactic-methodological organisation of visual tools in the history textbooks chosen by the teachers in the highest and the lowest percentages. Based on the results, it will be possible to determine whether visual tools fulfil their potential roles in the teaching and learning process. The statistical method of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used in the analysis of collected data and the results were shown in tables.

An equal representation of all types of visual tools and a larger percentage of set didactic-methodological criteria realisation implies that the realisation of the desirable roles of visual tools in the processes of teaching and learning history was taken into account when designing the textbook in question, together with a better didactic-methodological conception of history textbooks. On the other hand, a preference for a certain type of visual tool, without meeting the set didactic-methodological criteria of its design, suggests that the role of visual tools in history textbooks is reduced to that of mere background decor to the main content, and that such textbooks were not adequately designed in the didactic-methodological sense.

**Table 2** Representation of the total numbers of visual tools with respect to the type of visual tools in humanistic secondary school history textbooks (ANOVA)

	<b>N</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>ANOVA</b>
<b>Historical representations</b>	8	287,25	41,095	213	332	F=286,39
<b>Graphic displays</b>	8	18,63	13,700	3	45	p=0,00
<b>Historical maps</b>	8	33,00	6,094	26	41	
<b>TOTAL</b>	24	112,96	128,326	3	332	

[N = total number; M = mean; s = variance of sample; F = F-statistic; p = probability level ]

Taking into account all the textbooks analysed, it can be concluded that they differ with respect to the type of visual tool in a statistically significant manner (F=286,39, p=0,05). In this sense, historical representations (paintings, caricatures, drawings, photographs, comic strips, posters) are prevalent in history textbooks (M=287,25), followed by historical maps (M=33), with graphic displays being the least represented (M=18,63). On the other hand, post-hoc analysis shows that historical representations are represented significantly more than any other visual tools (M = historical representations – historical maps = 268.63, p=0,00; M = historical representations – graphic displays =254.25, p=0,00) whereas historical maps in history textbooks are represented only marginally more than graphic displays (M = historical representations – graphic displays =14.38, p=0.062).

The comparison of visual tools in terms of their fulfilment of desirable didactic-methodological criteria showed that historical representations, as the prevalent visual tools in Croatian secondary humanistic school history textbooks, met the set criteria to an increased, albeit insufficient, degree.

**Table 3** Visual tools with titles

	<b>N</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>ANOVA</b>
<b>Historical representations</b>	8	246,12	24,87	201	273	F=460,943
<b>Graphic displays</b>	8	17,00	14,15	3	45	p=0,00
<b>Historical maps</b>	8	32,37	5,90	26	41	
<b>TOTAL</b>	24	98,5	108,34	3	273	

[N = total number; M = mean; s = variance of sample; F = F-statistic; p = probability level]



Visual tools with additional explanations

	N	M	s	Min	Max	ANOVA
<b>Historical representations</b>	8	115,25	74,93	26	205	F=18,252
<b>Graphic displays</b>	8	1,13	1,13	0	3	p=0,00
<b>Historical maps</b>	8	2,75	3,54	0	8	
<b>TOTAL</b>	24	39,71	68,49	0	205	

[N = total number; M = mean; s = variance of sample; F = F-statistic; p = probability level]

The analysis showed that visual tools in Croatian humanistic secondary school history textbooks were complemented by titles significantly more often than by additional explanations.

In this respect, it is evident that historical representations are accompanied by titles (F=460,943, p=0,00) and/or additional explanations (F=18,252, p=0,00) to a significantly larger extent than it is the case with graphic displays and historical maps. Therefore, it can be concluded that historical representations differ from graphic displays and historical maps in the number of titles and additional explanations in a statistically significant manner, whereas graphic displays and historical maps are equally poorly complemented by both titles and additional explanations.

**Table 5** Visual tools complemented by the author's name

	N	M	s	Min	Max	ANOVA
<b>Historical representations</b>	8	7,38	5,85	0	17	F=10,734
<b>Graphic displays</b>	8	0,63	1,77	0	5	p=0,00
<b>Historical maps</b>	8	0,00	0,00	0	0	
<b>TOTAL</b>	24	2,67	4,78	0	17	

[N = sample size; M = mean; s = variance of sample; F = F- statistic; p = probability level]

**Table 6** Visual tools complemented by their source

	N	M	s	Min	Max	ANOVA
<b>Historical representations</b>	8	0,25	0,71	0	2	F=0,809
<b>Graphic displays</b>	8	1,63	4,21	0	12	p=0,459
<b>Historical maps</b>	8	0,25	0,71	0	2	
<b>TOTAL</b>	24	0,71	2,48	0	12	

[N = sample size; M = mean; s = variance of sample; F = F-statistic; p = probability level]

The didactic-methodological criterion according to which visual tools should be accompanied by references which entail the author's name and the source of the visual tool in question is met insufficiently or most often not at all. In terms of types of visual tools, the degree to which the visual tools accompanied by the author's name are represented differs significantly. The author's name is more often detected with historical representations than with graphic displays and historical maps (F=10,734, p=0,00). On the other hand, the analysis showed that the didactic-methodological criterion according to which it is necessary for visual tools to be accompanied by their source is insufficiently represented regardless of the type of visual tools in the textbook (F=0,809, p=0,459).

**Table 7** Questions and exercises accompanying visual tools (lower-level cognitive processes)

	<b>N</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>ANOVA</b>
<b>Historical representations</b>	8	11,63	21,80	0	57	F=1,382
<b>Graphic displays</b>	8	0,88	1,46	0	4	p=0,273
<b>Historical maps</b>	8	3,88	7,55	0	22	
<b>TOTAL</b>	24	5,46	13,57	0	57	

[N = sample size; M = mean; s = variance of sample; F = F-statistic; p = probability level ]

**Table 8** Questions and exercises accompanying visual tools (higher-level cognitive processes)

	<b>N</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>ANOVA</b>
<b>Historical representations</b>	8	4,50	7,48	0	20	F=1,844
<b>Graphic displays</b>	8	0,75	1,39	0	4	p=0,183
<b>Historical maps</b>	8	0,75	1,75	0	5	
<b>TOTAL</b>	24	2,00	4,67	0	20	

[N = sample size; M = mean; s = variance of sample; F = statistic; p = probability level ]

Whether or not a visual tool fulfils its potential roles in the teaching and learning process is most easily discerned through the analysis of questions and exercises as its important didactic-methodological criterion since the aforementioned undeniably encourage students to actively approach specific content. In this sense, the analysis of Croatian humanistic secondary school history textbooks showed that they met the above criterion insufficiently or not at all, and that they engaged students to use visual tools in the learning process insufficiently or not at all. When questions and exercises are even found in textbooks, an insignificantly higher number of them are related to historical representations (F=1,382, p=0,273; F=1,844, p=0,183), the lowest number of them can be found next to graphic displays and historical maps, and they are mostly related to lower-level cognitive processes.

Despite the assumption that the visual tools in the history textbooks selected by teachers in a higher percentage would be better organised in a didactic-methodological sense, the analysis proved the opposite (Table 9).

**Table 9** Prevalence of visual tools in history textbooks with regard to whether they were selected by teachers in the highest or lowest percentage

		<b>M</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>p</b>
<b>Total number of visual tools</b>	A	309,25	53,106	-2,024	,089
	B	368,50	24,664		
<b>Visual tools with titles</b>	A	281,25	38,431	-1,459	,195
	B	309,75	7,089		
<b>Visual tools accompanied by the author's name</b>	A	5,75	2,872	-1,284	,247
	B	10,25	6,397		
<b>Visual tools accompanied by their source</b>	A	3,50	7,000	0,768	,471
	B	,75	1,500		
<b>Visual tools accompanied by additional explanations</b>	A	53,50	42,004	-5,012	,002
	B	184,75	31,288		
<b>Questions and exercises accompanying visual tools (lower-level cognitive processes)</b>	A	1,50	2,380	-1,722	,136
	B	31,25	34,461		
<b>Questions and exercises accompanying visual tools (higher-level cognitive processes)</b>	A	0,00	0,000	-2,105	,080
	B	12,00	11,402		
<b>df=6, N<sub>A</sub>=4, N<sub>B</sub>=4</b>					

- A) Textbooks selected by teachers in the highest percentage  
B) Textbooks selected by teachers in the lowest percentage

[ M = mean; s = variance of sample; t = t–statistic; p = probability level; df = degrees of freedom; N<sub>A</sub> = sample size in the group A; N<sub>B</sub> = sample size in the group B]

Contrary to expectations, Table 9 clearly shows that the textbooks selected by teachers in the lowest percentage tend to contain a larger number of visual tools and that they meet all the desirable didactic-methodological criteria of organisation to a larger extent than the textbooks selected by teachers in the highest percentage. However, it should be noted that the differences are not statistically significant after all. The largest and statistically significant differences between the textbooks selected by teachers in the highest and lowest percentages were found related to the number of visual tools with additional explanations, where the textbooks selected by teachers in the lowest percentage were better at meeting the aforementioned criterion ( $t=-5,012$ ,  $p=0,02$ ).

### Discussion

The visual tools research, conducted on 8 Croatian humanistic secondary school history textbooks listed in the *Catalogue of Mandatory Textbooks and Supplementary Teaching Tools for Humanistic Secondary Schools 2010/2011, 2011/2012 and 2012/2013*, showed that there were differences in terms of prevalence of certain types of visual tools and their didactic-methodological organisation. In other words, the analysis of history textbooks, contrary to expectations, showed that not all types of visual tools were equally represented and that these visual tools were not organised in a desirable and uniform didactic-methodological manner. Thus, despite the fact that history textbooks should feature all types of visual tools equally since their different characteristics affect the processes of teaching and learning differently, the number of historical displays in analysed Croatian history textbooks remains the largest. The reason for this is probably their multiplicity and ease of access via the Internet, which allows quick and simple access to all types of visual sources and all kinds of desired information nowadays (Cantu & Waren, 2003). The above is probably also the reason why historical representations meet some of the desirable didactic-methodological criteria to the largest extent. It is especially noticeable that visual tools in Croatian history textbooks, regardless of their type, do not aim to encourage the active role

of students, i.e. they do not contain enough questions and exercises. The above implies that visual tools in analysed textbooks mostly serve as supplements to the main text and are observed briefly and superficially (Baustein, 2004). In other words, it would not be wrong to say that visual tools do not fulfil their potential roles, i.e. that they are not used in order to develop the students' sense of the period they represent or the period during which they came into existence (Dawson, 2004, p. 21); and that they do not encourage the memorisation of facts, understanding, reasoning, the development of various skills or the formation of views and values in students (Morris, 1994; Mikk, 2000).

Starting from the fact that visual tools are an important and numerous textbook instrumentarium, and that they are almost exclusively treated as accompanying decor to the main text in the analysed Croatian humanistic secondary school history textbooks, it is safe to conclude that the current humanistic secondary school history textbooks have no desirable didactic-methodological conception. The observed inadequate didactic-methodological organisation of the numerous visual tools in the analysed humanistic secondary school history textbooks points to the fact that the aforementioned textbooks do not entirely provide students with opportunities for what they value and accept, i.e. autonomy, independent thought, deduction and expression of their own views and thoughts (Del Favero et al., 2007); that they do not encourage students to research independently, and deepen their knowledge and skills (Seguin, 1989, p. 27; Williams, 2009, p. 29); that they do not insist on communication, interaction and co-operation between students (Schnack, 1995, p. 25; Läänemets, 1991, p. 31); that they do not inspire the processes of logical reasoning, deduction, communication and interaction in students (Schnack, 1995; Card, 2004; Sweerts & Cavanagh, 2004; Pranjić, 2005); and that they do not encourage the development of specific skills (Loewen, 2009, p. 23) and the acquisition of values (Aspin & Chapman, 2007, p. 3).

The results of this research clearly point out the fact that, despite the scientifically proven importance of visual tools in the teaching and learning process, textbook authors in Croatia have not yet realised that visual tools can be and are a valuable source of knowledge whose potential can be realised through their proper didactic-methodological organisation. Taking into account the fact that the analysis showed that there was no statistically significant difference between the textbooks selected by teachers in the highest and the lowest percentage, it can be concluded that history teachers do not consider the didactic-methodological organisation of visual tools one of the main criteria which they take into account when selecting textbooks to be used in the educational process.

### **Conclusion**

The importance and influence of visual media in the educational process is unquestionable, and it is not surprising that current Croatian history textbooks contain large numbers of visual tools. However, what is surprising is the fact that, in their presentation in textbooks, visual tools are often simply regarded as mere additional representations in colour, and not as sources of important information, communicators of messages and values of certain past periods and the author's own thoughts and views. The lack of knowledge of the educational role of visual tools results in their inadequate didactic-methodological presentation in textbooks, as shown by the analysis of humanistic secondary school history textbooks, as well as their role in the teaching and learning process being neglected.

This research points to several fundamental directions which should be taken in order to exploit the potential of visual tools in the teaching and learning process. First and foremost, there exists a need to set up a textbook theory which would include the textbook's didactic-methodological sphere, among other things. In addition to this, since the making of a textbook is very complex and responsible work, there should be certain rules as to who could become its author, i.e. what kinds of knowledge and skills those wishing to engage in

the process of making a textbook should possess. In this sense, textbook authors might have to be prescribed to possess pedagogic and didactic-methodological knowledge as well as knowledge on the textbook's subject. In addition to the above, this research clearly emphasizes the importance of encouraging teachers to continuously better their knowledge through organising various didactic-methodological seminars and workshops, which should aim to educate them on the methods of proper and productive use of visual tools in the teaching and learning process.

### Correspondence

Dr Rona Bušljeta, The University of Zagreb Centre for Croatian Studies, Borongajska cesta 83d, Ulica grada Chicaga 26, 10 000 Zagreb,  
[rona.busljeta@gmail.com](mailto:rona.busljeta@gmail.com)

### References

- Anderson, L. W. & Krathwohl, D. R. (2001) *A taxonomy for learning, teaching, and assessing: A revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*, New York: Longman.
- Aspin, D. N. & Chapman, J. D. (2007) *Values education and lifelong learning: Principles, policies, programmes*, Dordrecht: Springer.
- Baustein, V. (2004). Medien des Geschichtsunterricht [Media in history teaching]. In H. Gies (Ed.) *Geschichtsunterricht. Ein Handbuch zur Unterrichtsplanung [History Teaching. A handbook for lesson planning]* (pp. 213–275), Stuttgart: UTB.
- Bergmann, K. & Schneider, G. (1999) Das Bild [The picture]. In H.-J. Pandel & G. Schneider (Eds.) *Handbuch Medien im Geschichtsunterricht [Handbook of media in history teaching]* (pp. 211–254), Schwalbach/Ts: Wochenschau Verlag.
- Cantu, A. D. & Warren, W. J. (2003) *Teaching history in the digital classroom*. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Card, J. (2004) 'Picturing Place: What you get may be more than what you see', *Teaching History. Place*, vol. 116, pp. 16–20.
- Chall, J. S. & Conard, S. S. (1991) *Should textbooks challenge students. The case for easier or harder textbooks*, New York: Teachers College Press.
- Choppin, A. (1992) 'Aspects of design', in Bourdillon, H. (ed.) *History and social studies – methodologies of textbook analysis* (pp. 85–95), Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Crismore, A. (1989) 'Rhetorical form, selection and use of textbooks', in De Castell, S. & Luke, A. & Luke, C. (eds.) *Language, authority and criticism : Readings on the school textbook* (pp. 133–152), London: The Falmer Press.
- Dawson, I. (2004) 'Time for chronology? Ideas for developing chronological understanding', *Teaching History. Dealing with Distance*, Issue 117, pp. 14–24.
- Del Favero, L., Boscolo, P., Vidotto, G. & Vicentini, M. (2007) 'Classroom discussion and individual problem-solving in the teaching of history: Do different instructional approaches affect interest in different ways?', *Learning and Instruction*, vol. 17, no. 6, pp. 635–657.

Goldstein, I. (2001) 'O udžbenicima povijesti u Hrvatskoj [About history textbooks in Croatia]', in Fleck, H.- G. & Graovac, I. (eds.) *Dijalog povjesničara - istoričara 3 [Dialogue of Historians 3]* (pp. 15 – 28), Zagreb: Zaklada Friedrich Naumann.

Happonen, S. (2005) 'On representation, modality and movement in picture books for children', in Mietzner, U., Myeres, K. & Peim, N. (eds.) *Visual history. Images of education* (pp. 55–83), Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Huyette, F. (1995) 'The eyes have it', *Internationale Schulbuchforschung. Zeitschrift des Georg-Eckert-Instituts [International School Textbook Research. Journal of the Georg-Ekert-Institut]*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 98–101.

Hyerle, D. (2009) *Visual tools for transforming information into knowledge*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Jensen, E. (2003) *Super- nastava. Nastavne strategije za kvalitetnu školu i uspješno učenje [Super Teaching. Teaching strategies for quality school and successful learning]*, Zagreb: Educa.

Karge, H. (2003) *[Report] Regional Workshop on 'Developing New History Textbooks', Belgrade, Serbia, 4-5 November 2003; and National Seminar on 'Textbooks and Teaching Materials: the Development and Use in the Classroom', Belgrade, Serbia, 6-7 November 2003*, Florence, Italy: European University Institute.

Kleppe, M. (2010) 'Photographs in Dutch history textbooks: Quantity, type and educational use', in Heinze, C. & Matthes, E. (eds.) *Das Bild im Schulbuch [The picture in school textbooks]* (pp. 261–272), Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.

Läänemets, U. (1991) 'How to evaluate the quality of language textbooks and ascertain their suitability for practical learning, in Mikk, J. (ed.) *Problems of textbook effectivity* (pp. 28–34). Tartu, Estonia: Tartu Ülikool.

Lässig, S. (2009) Textbooks and beyond: Educational media in context(s), *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1–17.

Loewen, J. W. (2007) *Lies my teacher told me. Everything your American history textbook got wrong*, New York: Touchstone.

Loewen, J. W. (2009) *Teaching what really happened: How to avoid the tyranny of textbooks and get students excited about doing history*, New York: Teachers College Press.

Mayer, U. (2002) Das Diagram – am Beispiel von Wahlergebnissen der Weimarer Republik [The Diagram as an Example/Model of Election Results in the Weimar Republic], in Pandel, H.-J. & Schneider, G. (eds.), *Handbuch Medien im Geschichtsunterricht [A handbook of media in history teaching]* (pp. 146–169), Schwalbach/Ts: Wochenschau Verlag.

Mietzner, U. & Pilarczyk, U. (2005) Methods of image analysis in research in educational and social sciences, in Mietzner, U. & Myeres, K. & Peim, N. (eds.) *Visual history. Images of Education* (pp. 109–129), Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Mikk, J. (2000) *Textbook: Research and writing*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Morris, D. (1994) *Getting the most from your textbook*, New York: American Marketing Association.

Morris, S. (2010) *American history revised: 200 startling facts that never made it into the textbook*, New York: Broadway Books.

Najbar-Agičić, M. (2001) *Promjene u prikazu Drugoga svjetskog rata u hrvatskim udžbenicima povijesti u posljednjih četvrt stoljeća [Changes in presentation of World War II in Croatian History Textbooks in last 25 years]*, in Fleck, H.-G. & Graovac, I. (eds.) *Dijalog povjesničara - istoričara 4 [Dialogue between historians 4]* (pp. 213. – 230), Zagreb: Zaklada Friedrich Nauman.

Pingel, F. (2001) 'New structures for media in the state of change', in Horsley, M. (ed.) *The Future of Textbooks. International Colloquium on School Publishing: Research About Emerging Trends* (pp. 24–34), Sidney: TREAT/APA.

Pingel, F. (2010) *UNESCO guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision. (2nd revised and updated edition)*, Paris & Braunschweig: UNESCO, Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research.

Pranjić, M. (2005) *Didaktika [Didactics]*. Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga [Technical books].

Richaudeau, F. (1980) *The design and production of textbooks*, Hampshire: Gower.

Schnack, K. (1995) 'Educational texts in the light of general didactics', in Skyum-Nelsen, P. (ed.) *Text and Quality. Studies of Educational Texts* (pp. 22–33), Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.

Seguin, R. (1989) *The elaboration of school textbooks. Methodological guide*, Paris: UNESCO.

Sewall, G. T. (2000) *History textbooks at the new century* (A Report of the American Textbook Council), New York: American Textbook Council.

Sweerts, E. & Cavanagh, M. C. (2004) 'Plotting maps and mapping minds; What can maps tell us about the people who made them?', *Teaching History. Place*, Issue 116, pp. 21–26.

Thornton, S. J. (2006) 'What is history in US history textbooks', in Nicholls, J. (ed.) *School history textbooks across cultures: International debates and perspectives* (pp. 15–25), Providence: Symposium Books.

Turner, J. (1996) *Dictionary of Art*, New York: Grove.

Van Leeuwen, T. & Kress, G. (1995) 'Critical layout analysis', *Internationale Schulbuchforschung, [International School Textbook Research]*, vol. 17, no.1, pp. 25–43, Frankfurt/Main: Diesterweg.

Vrbetić, M. (1968) *Nastava povijesti u teoriji i praksi [History teaching in theory and praxis]*, Zagreb: Školska knjiga [School book].

Williams, Y. R. (2009) *Teaching U.S. history beyond the textbook: Six investigative strategies, Grades 5-12*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Wright, R. (2005) 'Towards better world maps in textbooks', *Internationale Schulbuchforschung [International School Textbook Research]*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 355–358, Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung [Bookshop of the publishing house of Hansche].



THE IMAGE OF THE ARABS AND MUSLIMS IN HUNGARIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS  
AND HISTORY TEACHING

Csaba Fazekas, University of Miskolc, Miskolc, Hungary

---

**Abstract**

*This analyses the extent to which frame-curricula and textbooks reflect the aim of understanding 'the image of the other'. It gives the background to curriculum changes which followed first the break-up of the Soviet Union and then the incorporation of Hungary in the European Union.*

*The Hungarian education system was totally changed after 1989–1990, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the communist political order. Before the transition there was only one textbook in every class, and the material was characterized by a central ideological viewpoint. In the 1990s the textbook 'market' was liberalized and the government created a new education system. After the incorporation of the country into the European Union (2004) the final examination system was changed and it had a great influence on textbook material. The official frame curricula contents, i.e. knowledge about all periods, personalities and problems of history – provides a foundation for history textbooks. This paper examines the prescribed curriculum knowledge about Islam, because all textbooks have to demonstrate coverage of this, and it forms the basis for history teaching in elementary and secondary schools. (The last reform within the education system was in 2012–2013, but the material about Muslims and Islam has not changed.)*

*The recommendations of the Hungarian History Teachers' Association of 2003 focused on the importance of the knowledge about Islam in history teaching as a significant part of the studies on 'the image of the others'. First we show the close connections between the education system, the curricula, the final education system and textbook material within the example of Hungary. The procedure used to select and interpret the historical documents raises a very important methodological question, because the most widespread Hungarian history textbooks are founded on the reading and analysis of the sources (they are 'source-centred' history textbooks). In the textbook analysis we focused on 1. the aspects of Muslim history which appear, and 2. the composition of the material and the style of the text. We analysed the importance that the subject of Islam has in all class textbooks and how it is a part of the 'our' or the 'others' history, i.e. the Muslim presence in Europe and in Hungary. We analysed, which are the most important terms used in relation of Muslims, what is the most important information on religion, the political history and culture. We focused on the comparative approach.*

*The final conclusion of the paper is that Hungarian textbooks deal with the Muslim people and the detail and contents of Islam in tolerant, unbiased texts.*

**Keywords**

Textbooks, Hungary, Communist regime, Muslim, Islamic Culture, Islamic history, teaching of, Christian Culture, Citizenship, Social Education, Political Education, Arabic Culture, Cross curricular, Ottoman Empire

**Introduction**

In Hungarian history teaching, there is a significant tradition of researching 'the image formed about others'. After the collapse of the communist regime in 1989-1990, history

textbooks were completely replaced with a basic updating of content accompanied by the demand for methodological renewal. It became particularly important to give an objective account of the histories of neighbouring nations and countries, to which the accession of Hungary to the European Union in 2004 gave further impetus. Recent decades have been characterised by the close attention paid to the changes in Hungarian-Slovakian, Hungarian-Romanian, Hungarian-Croatian etc. relations. Several methodologically high-level, comparative publications came out (see e.g. Manea (ed.) 2004. etc.), and nowadays – following the example of a German-French common textbook – a common Hungarian-Slovakian history textbook is in preparation. In public education, the emphasis given to the image formed about others is the device of making students tolerant and having a democratic attitude, which history education in Hungary attempts to achieve with a varied methodological background.

All this gives a good basis for the unbiased, objective presentation of the history of Muslims in Hungarian history teaching, as well. 'The image formed about others' is given an emphatic role in history textbooks which have been renewed in both content and approach.

A few years ago the Association of Hungarian History Teachers recognised the importance of research on stereotypes and the incorporation of its results into public education. The Association organises a several-day conference every year on a particular topic area. In 2003, the central topic was Islam and its effects as reflected in history teaching. The Association of Hungarian History Teachers declared its commitment to the knowledge of different cultures, since this is the basis of peaceful coexistence. Because of this it declared some recommendations, called the attention of the Ministry of Education and curriculum developers to take into consideration the importance of Islamic culture while making the history curricula for both primary and secondary schools. The Association emphasized that the knowledge of Islamic Culture is very important in itself, as knowing another culture teaches tolerance as well. We emphasized that knowing about the meeting points of European Christian Culture and Islam in the past and nowadays is necessary in order to understand certain periods of our national history and the basic questions of today. We acknowledged at the onset that there are about 1.4 billion citizens in the Islamic countries.

According to the increase in this number Islamic Civilization will soon be the most populous in the world, and Islam exists in close proximity to Hungary. Also the number of Muslims in our country will increase too. According to these facts the Association decided to make a unit about Islamic Civilization in the state curricula and it should also appear in the state final examination because of its importance. Recommendations of the 13th Conference of the Associations of Hungarian History Teachers in 2003 were as follows:

1. We ask our colleagues to provide more time in their local school curricula for the teaching of Islam than at present. This will also help us to know our history better (e. g. life during the Turkish presence, immigrants in the Ottoman Empire), and understand the main problems of today (e.g. the way of life of 1.4 billion people, their world-view, the Israeli-Palestine conflict, fundamentalism, terrorism, Iraqi wars, etc.)
2. Our colleagues should strengthen their knowledge of Islam with personal experience through meetings if this is possible. Therefore they should read, get information, and travel, if they can, where they can meet the local people.
3. The Ministry of Education should promote increased emphasis on the teaching of Islamic Civilisation in teacher training and in-service teacher training. The Ministry of National Cultural Heritage should insist on and support the creation of a travelling exhibition for schools of the Islamic materials of the Hungarian museums. Both Ministries should insist

on and support the making of a collection of sources (resource book, films, CD-ROM, internet database), which will help the introduction of high quality education about Islamic culture in schools.

4. The Hungarian scholars and researchers of Islam and the Embassies of Islamic countries should help to create this collection of sources, providing sources both from the past and the present (documents, archive materials, films, etc.) as well as providing the schools with these materials.
5. The Association of History Teachers should promote and propose these initiatives and take part in this work as well.

In 2005, a meeting was organised between the ambassadors and cultural experts of the Arabic countries, accredited in Hungary, and the Association of Hungarian History Teachers, where those inaccurate representations and interpretations which Arabic experts had found in current Hungarian textbooks could be discussed. On the basis of the participation both in this meeting and in the 2005 Lyons conference, several recommendations were formulated, both in connection with history textbooks and history teaching, the dissemination of which is regarded by the Association as a task which needs to be prioritised.

In recent years, the centre of the relevant researches has been shifted to the Avicenna Institute of Middle East Research, operating since 2001 under the leadership of Professor Miklós Maróth. In September 2008, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian National Commission for UNESCO organised a European-Arabic consultation, the most important result of which was the decision to produce the Hungarian edition of a 'European-Arabic Parallel Encyclopaedia', a collection of those terms which are given different interpretation in Muslim and European cultures. After its publication, the work will be an important aid for politicians, businessmen, university students, and naturally, for history teachers, as well.

In 2009, the Avicenna Institute won a tender for the writing of a handbook and textbook related to the encyclopaedia, which presents the teaching of Islam (Maróth, 2009, pp. 150-152). The starting-point of the project owners is that the Muslim world has a fundamentally different approach to history from that of the Europeans (e.g. concerning the relationship between dates and events). This work will give an account of the conditions of Arabs before Islam, Mohammed's appearance, the history of the Koran through Mohammed's life story and then the different Islamic disciplines (studies of the Koran, the commentaries, Islamic religious studies, Islamic law, etc.) in detail. In all probability, its publication will give further impetus to the relevant research projects.

## **History Teaching in Hungary**

### **The school system**

In Hungarian public education, students study history as a subject for 8 years. Before 1989, the public education system exclusively consisted of an 8-class elementary school and a 4-class secondary school (academic grammar school or technical school). Since then, several other school types have also emerged (e.g. 6- and 8-class academic grammar schools, vocational schools, bilingual institutions) with a change in the structure of maintaining bodies (in addition to state schools, there have appeared church and private institutions, as well). However, the mainstream framework is still the '8+4' system, which means that students study history in the four years of elementary school and for four years in secondary school. Independently from school type, every child studies history from the 5th to the 12th class, during which time he/she goes through the different periods of Hungarian and world history

twice: once from the 5th to the 8 class, and for the second time, from the 9th to the 12th class. Naturally, in the first period, requirements are much lower (in terms of dates, figures and terminology). In the secondary school, in addition to the studying of material, additional emphasis is given to the development of skills and abilities. Traditionally, history teaching has a parallel approach: after prehistoric and ancient periods, the study material can basically be divided into two alternating parts: the teaching of European (and world) history and that of Hungarian (national) history. From the early Middle Ages to the end of the 20th century (beginning of the 21st century), the history of Hungary is given approximately the same weight as the chapters on world history. The system of frequent connections and references makes it possible for students to acquire more sophisticated knowledge bases and get both an in-depth and broader perspective on history.

In both periods, students basically study history in chronological order:

- Classes 5 and 9: prehistoric times, antiquity (ancient Middle East, ancient Greece and Rome); early Middle Ages (5th to 10th centuries)
- Classes 6 and 10: Middle Ages proper, Early Modern Age (11th to 17th centuries)
- Classes 7 and 11: Modern Age (18th and 19th centuries)
- Classes 8 and 12: Present Age (20th and 21st centuries up to the present)  
(For example, some of the 6-class secondary schools follow a different chronological order but the parallel teaching of national and world history is preserved there, too.)

### **School-leaving examinations and study material**

The largest scale reform of Hungarian public education, which also affected history teaching, occurred at the beginning of the new millennium. Following a long preparatory period and several government and ministerial decrees, a *new system of school-leaving examinations* was introduced in 2005. This had a varied impact on public education as a whole, including history teaching. From our viewpoint, the essence of the new school-leaving examination can be captured in the feature that in addition to the acquisition of knowledge, the focus was shifted to the development and assessment of the independent skills of secondary school students. A fundamental change in approach started and has been going on ever since: the secondary school history teacher does not only have to convey and test knowledge but has to enable students to get to know history independently, as well. During this process, in addition to studying facts and data, students have to become able to put historical events in a background of space and time and interpret social and economic processes, as well. In education (and consequently, in history textbooks, too) focus is gradually shifted from political history (history of events) to the perspectives of the history of economics, society, way of living and culture.

In the subject of history, too, the school-leaving examination consists of two parts: a *written* and an *oral* test. Written tests are compiled by the Ministry of Education and Culture so they are the same in every type of school. The topic lists for the oral test are compiled by the schools themselves in consideration of the framework curriculum. Students may register for two levels of the school-leaving examination: *intermediate* and *advanced*. Both examinations have a similar structure (short answers and essays) but at the advanced level, more abstract knowledge and a higher level of source interpretation ability are required. For the purpose of this paper, all this is important because in addition to history textbooks, attention must be paid to how Arabic and Muslim nations are presented in the tasks of the written test and in the topic lists of the oral examination.

The change in approach was prepared by the *curriculum* reform. (This is very important from the viewpoints of our analysis.)

Texts are really messages about the future. As part of a curriculum they participate in no less than the organized knowledge system of society. They participate in creating what a society has recognized as legitimate and truthful. They help set the canons of truthfulness and, as such, also help re-create a major reference point for what knowledge, culture, belief, and morality really are (Christian-Smith, 1991 cited in Bar-Tal &Teichman, 2005, p. 157).

In 2000, a ministerial decree regulated the compilation of *frame curricula* followed by several specifications and supplements. For every class, the frame-curriculum specifies the most important abilities that build on one another and the minimally required pieces of knowledge that are compulsory to learn because they are indispensable for going on to a higher level. The starting-point for education is that historical studies play a significant role in the development of several positive personal traits. Knowledge about the deeds and understanding of the motives behind the behaviour, decisions and actions of the personalities participating in historical events make it possible to develop competencies with the help of which men and women as social beings and citizens may find his/her place in society. On the other hand, the exploration of the pathways leading from the past into the future helps in understanding the political, economic and social phenomena of the present age. It is important that students find pleasure in the way they acquire knowledge, and that knowledge is accompanied with a sensitivity for problems and the ability to learn independently. The presentation of historical events, the deeds of historical personalities and cultural history offer the opportunity to investigate the value systems prevailing in the different periods and reveal changes in moral categories, i.e. their rise, decline or fall. The problems of the present may be recognised in the vital issues of past periods so that their analysis and understanding may examine whether the individual was responsible in his/her behaviour undertaken for society, a smaller community or him/herself. A precondition of all this is the development of a critical attitude with the help of which the student will be able to recognise and understand possible alternatives in both the present and past.

The following are listed in frame-curriculum requirements for each class:

I. Abilities

- Acquisition and interpretation of knowledge
- Ability of expression
- Orientation in time
- Orientation in space

II. Chronological topic areas (5-8 per class), each including the following:

- Parts
- Dates
- Personalities
- Topography
- Terminology

(For the Islamic studies of Class 9, see Appendix A.)

These methodological objectives are basically achieved through *source-centred education*. Consequently, textbooks basically reflect the duality of study material and sources. The text of the study material has become shorter summarising the most important items of knowledge in a few sentences to the point for every lesson. At the same time, the sources used have become more varied. In almost every part of the study material, one can find oral source texts (as well as citations from special literature and historical analyses), pictures (contemporary illustrations and photos), maps, diagrams and figures (economic and social structure and political institutions). To the sources, several questions and tasks helping and directing independent interpretation and understanding are attached.

In addition to the investigation of textbooks, a general methodological approach adopted here is to put 'the image formed about others' in a wider perspective besides concrete text analysis. ('History textbooks also play a significant role in developing the 'collective memory' of any given society, which is a necessary component of the national identity' Podeh, 2002, p. 3.) In the course of this, the exploration of *the general educational environment* cannot be avoided besides the study of the text of textbooks. That is, alongside textbooks, the *methodological aids* (teachers' manuals) with the help of which the history teacher prepares for the presentation of the different topics should also be analysed. Besides textbooks, an equally important role is played in studying through *workbooks and activity books*, facilitating the acquisition of study material. In Hungary, students and teachers put the latter into equal use with textbooks in the preparation for the school-leaving examination, not to mention the similar role of *atlases and reference books*. With regard to the fact that in addition to the centrally set curriculum, *local (school) curricula* also play a major role in Hungary, their analysis is indispensable, too.

What is more, in my opinion, investigation should be extended to the study materials of *other subjects*, as well. This is due to the fact that Arabic and Muslim culture are very much present in the study of at least four other subjects: geography, literature, social studies and religious and ethical studies. (Let me note, as an example, that in order to cover a wide range of theology, including Christian, the final examination requirements of the subject Religious Studies include knowledge about the basic principles of other religions (See Appendix D). In the formation of teenagers' views of the world, an increasingly important role is played by the complex nature of knowledge, that is, the building of one piece of knowledge on an other and supplementing, reinforcing and enhancing in this way other pieces of knowledge acquired in different subjects. Finally, the investigation of *impacts outside the school*, greatly determining the knowledge and opinions of young people nowadays, is of central importance. Here, the investigation of the number, structure and impact of the publications and printed matter reflecting the general state of public opinion can be mentioned together with the exploration of the *media* in a broader sense: in addition to historical films and documentaries interesting for young people, the scope of knowledge that can be acquired from the internet is naturally of different levels and content.

It should also be mentioned that in 2005, there was a fundamental change in the system of *teacher training*, too. Within the framework of the Bologna process, those who have graduated from a three-year BA course may now apply to two-year MA courses in history teaching. In MA programmes, in addition to content courses, a prominent role is played by the development of methodological skills and abilities.

### **The system of textbook acceptance**

In Hungarian public education, a well-regulated and, at the same time, liberalised textbook market has evolved. Several authors have written and several editors have published history textbooks. But in order for a textbook to become applicable in public education, it should go through a multi-stage qualification system supervised by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Every textbook is assessed by three experts from three viewpoints: from methodological, academic and typographic aspects. Each evaluator should make a circumspect statement on it about whether the manuscripts submitted by editors comply with general requirements of the frame-curriculum, if they are in harmony with general human norms and the general requirements of humanism, do not violate the principle of equal opportunities, are free from any content offending national or religious minorities, or from political bias, etc. In addition, experts give a detailed analysis of whether the professional background is satisfactory, if the books are capable of skills development, to what extent they satisfy the needs of the relevant age group, what their content structure is like, etc.

Even in view of this procedure, the number of history textbooks used in Hungarian public education is relatively high so schools have a wide choice (see Appendix E). The conditions of competition thus created do not affect textbook material but nevertheless take into consideration other factors in textbook choice, e.g. financial..

### **Islam in the written part of compulsory final examination**

In the material of the written part of the compulsory final examination test, there are 2-4 tasks in world history and 3-5 tasks in Hungarian history requiring both short answers and essay writing at the intermediate and advanced level, as well. Among the questions on world history, examinees have several times received tasks on Islam in the past 4 years (see Appendix B. and C). About the questions, it can be said that they assess in a tolerant and objective way how students are able to formulate their knowledge on Arabic history and put it in the context of space and time, for example, on the basis of extracts from the Koran.

It should also be mentioned that in addition to the centrally-organised final examination, the historical section of the National Study Competition for Secondary School Students also regularly include tasks in this (Arabic-Muslim) topic area.

### **The image of Islam in one series of textbooks**

The following section gives an overview of the presentation of Islam in the most widely used series of secondary school textbooks in Hungarian public education, published by Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó ('National Textbook Publisher Company') and used *in minimum two third* of the schools. I intend to extend this later to the analysis of every other publication, as well.

### **Methodology**

Following the relevant special literature on textbook analysis, the following methodological process is applied; we investigated to what extent within world history, the particular textbook deals with European history and the history of the regions outside Europe, and within the latter, what emphasis is given to the presentation of Arabic (Muslim) nations. Other aspects of analysis include the following: which are the most important *terms* used in the presentation of Arabs and Muslims, what is the proportion of information on religion, way of living and political history, and to what extent the account given is characterised by a comparative approach. (Mikáné Szolnoki, 2002.)

As an appropriate method for analysis we have used the following main viewpoints:

1. Categories of Analysis. (How the 'other' described – in terms of religion or ethnicity?)
2. Stereotypical content. (Is the 'other' nation, group or individual described in positive, neutral or negative terms?)
3. Role performance. (Is the 'other' presented in a confrontational or a peaceful context? In what – positive or negative – role is the 'other' described?)
4. Intention, blame and lessons to be learned. (How are the aims or the intentions of the 'other' described? If there is a conflict, whose fault of it?)
5. Data accuracy.
6. Linguistic usage and tone.
7. Bias by omission and self-censorship.

8. Bias by proportion or disproportion. (Cf. e.g. Podeh, 2002, pp.11-12)

### **Textbook analysis**

#### **Class 9**

The Class 9 textbook covers Islam in the most detailed way as out of the five lessons on the history of the early Middle Ages, one is fully devoted to the emergence and spread of Islam. It gives an account of Mohammed's life, gives the most important dates (622, 711, 732, 740), lists the five basic principles and presents the role of the clergy and the state. It gives an accurate account of the emergence of the Arab empire, the caliphates, the operation of the economy and the state, while in the context of religion it emphasises that 'Islam was tolerant towards other cultures', which resulted in the flourishing of Arab sciences and the preservation of ancient Greek and Roman culture. (See detailed in Appendix F.)

#### **Class 10**

One of the chapters on world history ('The age of feudalism in Europe', 10th to 13th centuries) in the history textbook for Class 10 consists of altogether 11 lessons, one of which is solely about crusades. It gives a detailed account of the crisis of knighthood, the process of *reconquista*, the religious conditions of the Holy Land and the Seljuk-Turkish advances (battle of Manzikert, 1071). Among the reasons for the crusades started by Pope Urban II, it gives an unbiased account of religious fanaticism and the crisis of Western Europe. Among the events, the following are mentioned: the capture and fall of Jerusalem, and the fourth and fifth crusades. The text underlines the positive character traits of Salah-ad-Din, namely that he made it possible for Christian pilgrims to visit Jerusalem. The cultural impacts of the crusades (knowledge of the Islam, spread of plant cultures in the west) are generally emphasised.

Several lessons in the chapter entitled 'The age of feudal estates in Europe and Hungary' deal with the advance of the Turks. One of them entitled 'Asia Minor and Eastern Europe in the late Middle Ages' gives a detailed account of the emergence and rise of the Ottoman Empire together with its structure as well as its military successes in Europe (River Marica, Kosovo Field or Rigómező). Separate lessons are devoted to the wars waged by Hungarian kings against the Turks (King Matthias' line of defence and politics) and the strengthening of Sultan Selim I, not only in Europe but also in Syria, Egypt, etc. It gives a detailed account of the occupation of Hungary by the Turks beginning with the battle of Mohács in 1526.

The history of Hungary as a country torn into three parts in the 16th and 17th centuries is closely connected to the Ottoman conquest, which is the topic of 7 lessons in the book. These present the administrative and military structure, tax system, foreign policy (particularly in relation to the principality of Transylvania), etc. of the Ottoman Empire. From our viewpoint, it is important that the textbook gives a detailed account of the abundance of religions coexisting in the territories conquered by the Turks. 'The Turks were insensitive to the differences between Christian religious trends' – the book says, and concludes that this made the rapid spread of Protestantism possible, especially in Eastern Hungary. The history of the wars against the Ottoman Empire and the peace treaties, the principalities supported by the Turks and the war, in 1686, of the anti-Ottoman European coalition for the liberation of Hungary are presented. These chapters do not give a hostile presentation of either the Turks or Islam but rather emphasize that the 'Christian' Habsburgs were just as much oppressors in the western parts of Hungary as the Turks, and do not fail to mention the cultural heritage of the Turkish occupation.



### **Class 11**

In the account of 19th century history, there are fewer parts related to Islam and Arabic nations. At the same time, in the presentation of other parts of the world outside Europe, a considerably long lesson gives an account of the Egyptian state of Muhammad Ali and his attempt at the modernisation of the army and the economy. Mention is made of the crisis of the Ottoman Empire as well as the English colonisation of Egypt and the French colonisation of Algeria.

From among the 16 lessons dealing with the second half of the 19th century, one fully deals with colonial empires. It gives an account of how Arabic countries became colonies, of the related English-French disputes (Fashoda incident in 1898) and the appearance of the Germans in the region. Mention is also made of the countries of the Middle East (Kuwait, etc.).

Another lesson gives a more detailed account of the Ottoman Empire, particularly from the viewpoint of the liberation wars of Eastern European nations (in relation to Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria). A detailed account is also given of the Russian-Turkish war (1877-1878) but no mention is made of the fact that Bosnia also had a Muslim population.

### **Class 12**

In the chapters on world history in the first half of the 20th century, the transformation of the Ottoman Empire (Kemal Atatürk's reforms) is mentioned, as well as the fact that from 1924, Gandhi 'devoted all his efforts to the dissolution of Hindu-Muslim conflicts'. In general, the history of regions outside Europe is presented as parallels or outlook sections in the textbook.

In the accounts of the history of the second half of the 20th century, half a page is devoted to the emergence of the state of Israel and the fate of the one million Palestinians driven away from their homeland by military actions. Concerning the history of the 1950s, a more detailed account is given of Egypt under Nasser, the nationalisation of the Suez Canal and the military intervention of the western powers. (Another reason for this is that the events of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 were parallel with this.) Mention is made of the states of the 'Islamic world stretching from Morocco to Iran', Arab-Israeli wars (in 1967 and 1973) and their consequences. (For example, a detailed account is given of Anwar al-Sadat's peace treaty in 1979, the economic and political consequences of the oil price explosion, etc.) One paragraph deals with the Iranian revolution in 1979 and western and Soviet attempts at intervention (Afghanistan). Textbooks generally also mention the Iraqi-Iranian war and the Gulf war in 1991.

### **Conclusions**

It can be said about the texts analysed that they make an attempt to adopt an *unbiased* approach. In themselves, they cannot give rise to the formulation of any negative stereotypes about Arabic or Turkish nations or the development of a negative attitude towards them. With the spread of the source-centred teaching of history, it was possible to eliminate several former mistakes and distortions and incorporate the most recent results of history and political science in the textbooks. The textbooks take into account the special features of Islamic culture and history and their chronology, which is different from the European one (Tüske, 2004).

Textbook writers mention the significant values of Arabic culture presenting their European impacts in proper proportions. The values of the Muslim religion are also presented, giving help in the orientation between disputed views. For example, in connection with Jihad, the

political role of religion is underlined but a differentiated evaluation of the different periods is also made possible. The Arabic expansion in the Middle Ages is accounted for, not only with reference to religion but also to the economic and social conditions of the regions concerned, giving an opportunity for the comparative analysis of patterns of feudalism in Europe and in the Arabic countries. The different Muslim states are given a sufficiently detailed account with minor deficiencies only in relation to the history of the 19th and 20th centuries. At the same time, the process of colonisation as well as the emergence and activities of independent states can well be followed (for example, in connection with the significance of oil reserves in world economy). This is particularly true of the history and transformation of the Ottoman Empire. It can be said that our textbooks have become less Europe-centred than they were previously.

Further textbook analyses, refreshment courses and conferences for teachers may deepen this process in history teaching in Hungary, making it possible for students to form a realistic picture of these issues.

*This paper is based on a presentation for a conference, 'Comparative study of school textbooks within the framework of a Euro-Arab Dialogue'; Strasbourg 30 – 31, March, 2010. In this paper, only a brief summary is given about the depiction of Arabs and Muslims in Hungarian history textbooks. I am convinced that this may form the basis of a larger-scale summary in the future, striving to give a complete overview of Hungarian textbooks. The reasons for brevity are, on the one hand, the relatively short time available, and on the other hand, the large number of textbooks and teaching aids used in Hungary. Still, it is possible to give a substantial overview due to the legal background of the Hungarian educational system and the investigation of the content of one specific series of textbooks. It is my intention to use this paper as the basis for a general investigation of Hungarian textbooks.*

### Contact details

Csaba Fazekas, University of Miskolc, Miskolc, Hungary  
e-mail: [www.fazekascsaba.hu](http://www.fazekascsaba.hu) fazekas@uni-miskolc.hu

### References

#### Textbooks

National Textbook Publisher Company:

Textbooks before the graduation reform of 2005: Száray Miklós: Történelem I. Középszintű. Budapest, 2001.; Szabó Péter – Závodszy Géza: Történelem II. Középszintű. Budapest, 2001.; Závodszy Géza: Történelem III. Budapest, 2001.; Salamon Konrád: Történelem IV. Budapest, 1999. [Száray Miklós: History I High school. Budapest, 2001; Szabó Péter – Závodszy Géza: History II.. High school. Budapest, 2001; Závodszy Géza: History III. Budapest, 2001; Salamon Konrád: History IV. Budapest, 1999.]

'Source-centred' textbooks connected to new graduation system: Száray Miklós: Történelem I. Középszintű, 9. évfolyam. Budapest, 2006.; Száray Miklós: Történelem II. Középszintű, 10. évfolyam. Budapest, 2007.; Száray Miklós: Történelem III. Középszintű, 11. évfolyam. Budapest, 2007.; Száray Miklós – Kaposi József: Történelem IV. Középszintű, 12. évfolyam. Budapest, 2008. ['Source-centred' textbooks connected to new graduation system: Száray Miklós: History I Secondary School, 9 year. Budapest, 2006; Száray Miklós: History II. High school, 10th year. Budapest, 2007; Száray Miklós: History III. High school, 11 year. Budapest, 2007; Száray Miklós – Kaposi József: History IV.. High school, 12 year. Budapest, 2008.]

### Articles

Al-Ashmawi, F. (1995) 'The image of the other in history textbooks in some Mediterranean countries (Spain, France, Greece, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Tunisia)', *Islam Today*, no. 13.

Karpat, Kemal (1987) 'Images of Turks and Arabs in school textbooks' studies on Turkish-Arab relations', *Studies on Turkish-Arab Relations*, no. 2., pp.17-19.

Maróth, M. (2003) 'The history of Arabic Studies in Hungary', *Prospects. Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, no. 4., pp. 405-411.

Maróth, M. (2009) 'Az iszlám kultúrája, mint politikai tanításának forrása [The Culture of Islam as the Source its Political Teaching]' *Stratégiai kutatások, 2008-2009*. Budapest: Miniszterelnöki. Hivatal – MTA, 2009, pp. 150-154.

Mikáné Szolnoki, Z. (2002): 'Az arab világ és az iszlám [The Arab World and Islam]' *Történelempedagógiai füzetek*, no. 13-14. Budapest, ELTE BTK, Pp. 71-98.

Tüske, L. (2004) 'Az arab államok oktatástörténetéről [On the Education History of Arab States]', *Iskolakultúra*, no. 2., pp. 77-85.

### Books

Bar-Tal, D. & ITeichman, Y. (2005) *Stereotypes and prejudice in conflict. Representations of Arabs in Israeli Jewish society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Kadi, J. (1994) *Food for our grandmothers: Writings by Arab-American and Arab-Canadian feminists*, Boston: South End Press.

Labib, T. (2007) 'Imaging the Arab other: how Arabs and non-Arabs view each other', *Middle East Studies*, vol. 64.

Manea, M. (ed.) (2004) *We and our neighbours. The majority and the minorities in the recent history textbooks in Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary. With the case study: Republic of Moldova*. Bucharest: Editura Educația – Council of Europe.

Podeh, E. (2002) *The Arab-Israeli conflict in Israeli history textbooks, 1948-2000*, New York: Bergin and Garvey.

### Reports:

*A Comparative Study of School Textbooks within the Framework of a Euro-Arab Dialogue*. Jointly coordinated by the French and the Moroccan National Commissions for UNESCO. Preparatory Document [June 2005].

Al-Banyan Ahmed A. et al. (2004) *The Arab and Muslim Image in Public Education Textbooks of the United States of America. Summary of the Study*, Cairo: El-Azhar University.

Al-Aqeeli, Andul Muhsin S. et al. (2004) *Arab and Muslim Image in the Public Education Textbooks of Britain*, Cairo: El-Azhar University.

Al-Ashmawi, F. (2004) *The Image of the 'other' in the School Books in Europe and in the Arab World*, Switzerland: University of Geneva.

Elhalwagy, M.(2005) 'L'image de la culture arabo-islamique dans les manuels scolaires d'Histoire en Hongrie. – Az arab-izslám kulturális képe a magyar tankönyvekben. The Cultural Image of the Arab-Islam in the Hungarian Textbooks]' Cairo: El-Azhar University.

Elhalwagy, M. (2005) : *The Image of Arabic Culture in Schoolbooks of France, Poland and Hungary*, Cairo: El-Azhar University.

## **Appendix**

### **A. From the State Curriculum (2004)**

*Subject:* History

*Class:* 9.

Topics:

1. Prehistory and Ancient East
2. The Ancient Greece
3. The Ancient Rome
4. History of Early Feudalism:

*Parts:*

The Formation of the Frankish Empire.

The Economic and Social Structure of the Feudalism.

The Byzantine Empire.

Islam and the Arab world.

The era of state-foundations in North, Middle and East Europe.

*Dates:*

622, 732, 800, 843, 962, 1054.

*Personalities:*

Chlodvig, Pippin, the Carolingians, Charles the Great [Charlemagne], Saint Benedict, Justinianus, Cyrill and Metod, Otto the First, Mohammed.

*Topography:*

Poitiers, Aachen, Byzantium (Constantinople), the Papal State, Kyev, Mecca, Cordoba, Baghdad.

*Terminology:*

countship, Orthodox Church, Roman Catholic Church, pope, monk, monastery, Benedictine Order, feud, serf, socage, allodium, Islam, Koran (Q'ran), caliph.

5. The Earliest Period of Hungarians' History

6. Everyday Life and History of Lifestyle

**B. – C. From the Secondary School-Leaving Written Exams**

**B.1.) Task from a short answer test (intermediate level, 2005.)**

3. In 1283 some people discussed about Messer Marco Polo's return in the market place of Venice. Read the imagined conversation, find out the four men's religion and underline the right answer.

- A: I saw you brought wonderful goods from China, Messer Polo! I swear by the Virgin Mary I have never seen so beautiful velvets, like this!
- B: They are brought from the East by caravans. My relatives sent me similar ones during the last year, Pesach.
- C: I swear the Prophet's beard the treasures of the East are well known for centuries by my forefathers, too.
- D: It is unbelievable, there is an explosive powder in China which is able to kill and break the walls. We, truth-believer Christians used the Greek Fire for a long time, by which we could defend our city, Byzantium from the pagans.
- C: During my pilgrimage to Mecca I met a merchant, who heard about the Chinese explosive powder in India.
- A: Who cares about the explosive powder? It is possible that the Arabs could not manage the powerful Caesar but the true-believer Roman knights occupied Byzantium.
- D: I tell you it was a heretic action to attack Byzantium instead of recapturing Jerusalem.
- A: Beware your words, Greek! You became heretics. You do not receive the Papal leading, while declaring yourself as Christians, but do not follow the Main Pastor of the Holy Mother Church.
- B: Messer Zorzi, our synagogue has stood here for a long time and does not disturbs the quiet of Venetians. Abraham's sons, Mohamed's followers, the Greek and Armenian merchants are all tolerated in the markets of Venice.

Characters	Religion of character
A.	Roman Catholic Christian – Orthodox Christian – Jew – Muslim – Buddhist
B.	Roman Catholic Christian – Orthodox Christian – Jew – Muslim – Buddhist
C.	Roman Catholic Christian – Orthodox Christian – Jew – Muslim – Buddhist
D.	Roman Catholic Christian – Orthodox Christian – Jew – Muslim – Buddhist

<b>Total (4 points)</b>	
-------------------------	--

**B.2.) From the key (intermediate level, 2005.)**

Characters	Religion of character
A.	<u>Roman Catholic Christian</u> – Orthodox Christian – Jew – Muslim – Buddhist
B.	Roman Catholic Christian – Orthodox Christian – <u>Jew</u> – Muslim – Buddhist
C.	Roman Catholic Christian – Orthodox Christian – Jew – <u>Muslim</u> – Buddhist
D.	Roman Catholic Christian – <u>Orthodox Christian</u> – Jew – Muslim – Buddhist

**C.1.) From the longer, essay-type questions (intermediate level, 2008.)**

13. This task is about the history of Islam and the Arab world. (short)  
Describe the development and most important features of the Islamic religion, using the sources and your own knowledge. *Use your secondary school historical atlas too.*

‘Allah – there is no other god beside him – is the living one who exists within himself. He is the sublime and the almighty. Mohammed is Allah’s delegate, the prophets’ seal. Allah is the knower of all things.

Preach the glory of your Lord before sunrise and sunset. And praise him in certain hours of the night, and at the two ends of the day. Turn your face towards the Holy Mosque!

Donate from those precious things that you have obtained, and from those which we have made to grow for you from the earth.

Fasting has been prescribed for you. The time of fasting is the month of Ramadan. Fill then the number of prescribed days, and praise Allah!

Do the pilgrimage. The pilgrimage takes place in the known months.’  
(Koran)

‘Isa [Jesus] is the Messiah, son of Marjam [Mary], Allah’s delegate, and do not say that there are three of them. It is better for you to refrain from this. Allah is only alone, all by himself.’  
(Koran)

**C.2.) From the official key (intermediate level, 2008.)**

13. The development of Islam (short)

Criteria	Skills and content	Points
<b>Understanding of task</b>	The candidate basically describes the early history of the development of Islam and the activities of the Prophet Mohammed. Analysing the supplementary material, s/he highlights important connections.	<b>0-4</b>
<b>Location: place and era</b>	S The candidate correctly locates the initial development of Islam in place and time. C The candidate places its emergence in the first third of the 7th century, mentioning the year 622. The location of the events is the Arab Peninsula, and s/he names the holy town, Mecca.	<b>0-4</b>
<b>Use of special vocabulary</b>	S The candidate names and uses both general and topic-specific historical terminology correctly. C The candidate uses the following general historical terms and expressions: e.g. nomadism, tribe, religion, monotheism, prophet, and the following topic-specific historical terms: e.g. Jewish religion, Christianity, Islam, Koran/Q'ran, Allah.	<b>0-4</b>
<b>Use of sources</b>	S The candidate incorporates the information that can be found in the supplementary materials into his/her answer and comes to conclusions. C E.g. The candidate mentions the five fundamental doctrines of Islam and its connection to Christianity, and concludes that Islam is a Monotheist religion which is easy to follow for all its believers.	<b>0-4</b>
<b>Describing reasons behind events</b>	S The answer describes the factors determining the emergence of Islam. C E.g. The candidate points out that Islam became a religion that united and converted the Arabs, and a conquering political force. C E.g. the candidate mentions that Jewish and Christian monotheism emerged a long time before Islam did and states that Mohammed considered those religions to be the antecedents of Islam and based some parts of his teachings on them.	<b>0-6</b>
<b>Structure, clear language</b>	The text consists of sentences, it is logically constructed and coherent. The answer has no grave errors of accuracy or spelling.	<b>0-2</b>
<b>TOTAL FOR THIS TASK (divided by 2)</b>		<b>24</b>
<b>MAXIMUM EXAM SCORE</b>		<b>12</b>

**D. From the Official Secondary School Oral Exams**

**From the Official Secondary School-Leaving Exam Material (Lutheran Theology, 2009), list of main subjects:**

**6. World Religions**

Religions of the historical God-Revelations:

- The roots of the Jewish religion; the formation of Judaism; Jewish identity; the living Law; the role of the synagogue; holy places and signs.
- The origin and sources of the Islam; Mohamed's life and teaching; ideas about Allah; the role of the Koran in the Muslim life; the Muslim Law: the Sharia; the tradition: the Sunni; religious obligations; practice of religion; the spread of the Islam in our days.

- The role of Christianity among World Religions; Christian denominations.

### **E. Statistics on the History Coursebooks used in Public Education in Hungary in 2010**

Source: Official coursebook ordering web page ([www.tankonyvrendeles.hu](http://www.tankonyvrendeles.hu)), with help of data basis of Hungarian History Teachers' Association ([www.tankonyvbazis.hu](http://www.tankonyvbazis.hu)) – Snapshot in 7th March, 2010.

In parenthesis: without the second and/or revised editions.

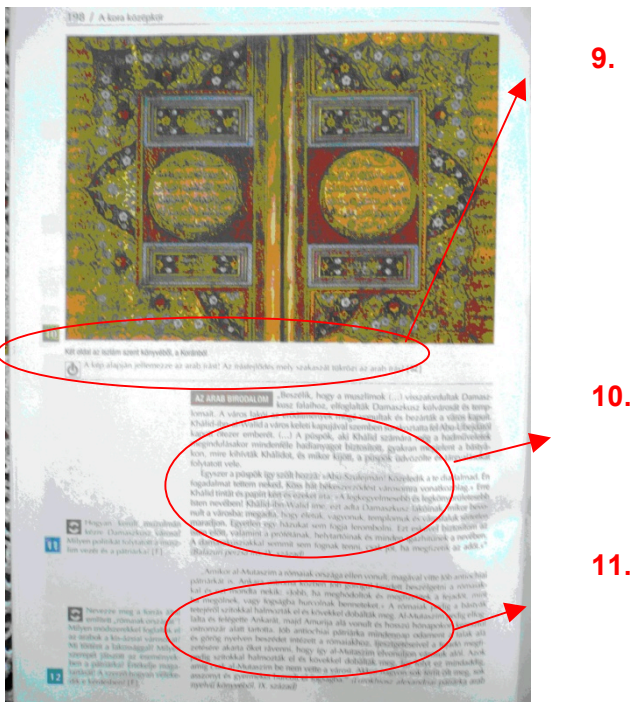
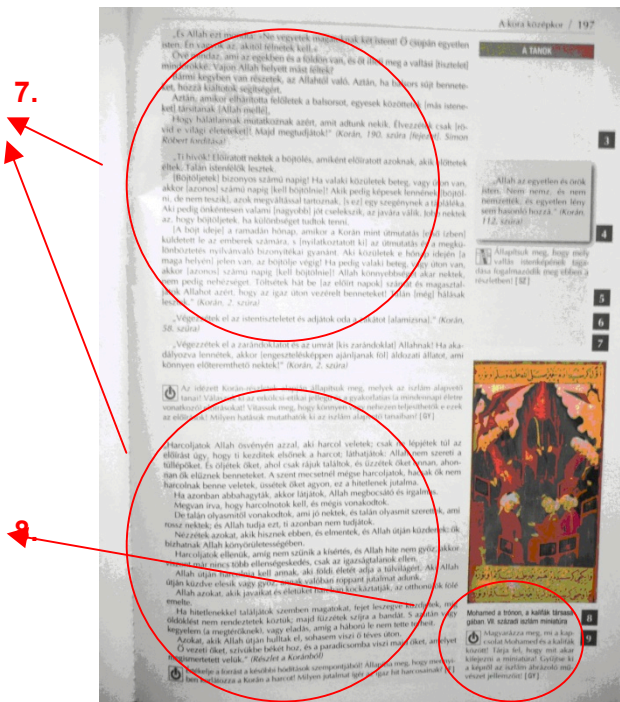
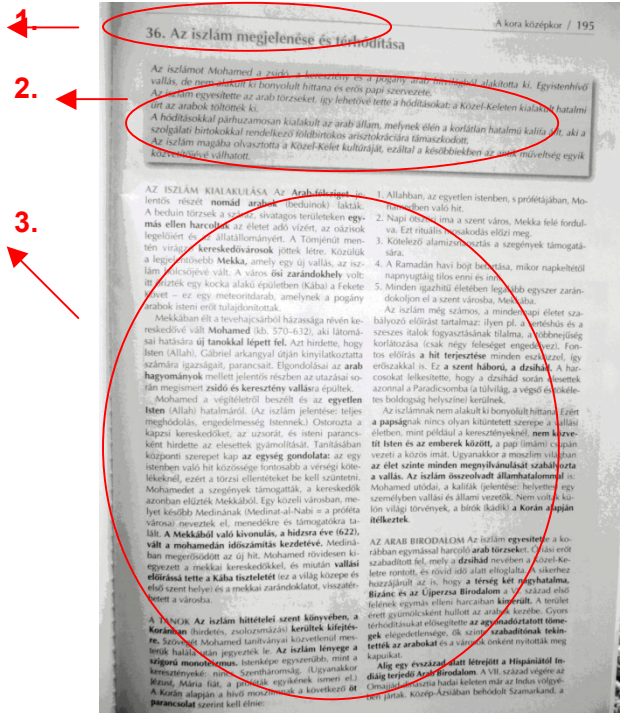
	<b>textbooks</b>	<b>workbooks</b>	<b>others</b>	<b>total</b>
<b>Class 5.</b>	8 (6)	14 (14)	6	28 (26)
<b>Class 6.</b>	7 (7)	15 (15)	6	28 (28)
<b>Class 7.</b>	12 (11)	16 (14)	1	29 (26)
<b>Class 8.</b>	11 (10)	18 (16)	1	30 (27)
<b>Class 9.</b>	20 (19)	7 (7)	1	28 (27)
<b>Class 10.</b>	19 (17)	6 (6)	2	27 (25)
<b>Class 11.</b>	15 (14)	1 (1)	3	19 (18)
<b>Class 12.</b>	20 (17)	5 (4)	4	29 (25)

#### *Further Secondary School Coursebooks in more classes:*

- Textbooks on way of life studies and social history: 8 (8).
- Exercise books connected to new secondary school-leaving exam system: 20 (20).
- Historical atlases and map collections: 11 (7).
- Chronologies and historical year collections: 4 (4).
- Further data collections (definitions, who is who etc.): 4 (4).
- Further thematic study-aids: 20 (20).



F. A lesson from the source-centred 'History Textbook for the Class 9'.





4 thematic units (in 'Main Text' and 'Archive', too):

- *The Formation of Islam*
- *Teachings*
- *The Arab Empire*
- *The Arab Culture*

1. Title: 'The appearing and spreading of Islam'

2. Short summary about the material of lesson.

3-4. Main text.

5-6. Pictures: Arab Peninsula in the 7th c. (map); Aquarelle of Mecca (picture).

Questions:

- Among what geographical circumstances the Arabic troops lived?
- What was the economic and political importance of that territory? Which cultures connected to Arabs?
- A short description about Kaba (Ka'Bah) Stone ('black stone') and the pilgrimages to Mecca. Questions: What did the mosque mean? What was the characteristic of mosque? What do you know about the traditions of Kaba Stone?

7. Quotations from the Koran (text)

Questions:

- According to citations of the Koran find out the most foundational teachings of Islam?
- Separate the ethical and practical principals! Discuss are they easy to do or not! What influences can you recognize in these teachings?

- Find out which God's image was negated by Mohammed's words about Allah?
8. Mohamed among Caliphs (picture, 7th c.)  
Questions:
- What was the relationship like between Mohammed and the Caliphs?
  - According to miniature what were the characteristic features of the Muslim art?
9. Two original pages from a Middle Age Holy Koran (pictures)  
Question:
- Describe the Arabic spelling!
10. Balasuri Persian writer (9th c.) about Muslim expansion in Damascus (text)  
Questions:
- How were town of Damascus occupied?
  - Describe the politics of the Muslim leader and the Patriarch!
11. Eurochios Patriarch of Alexandria (9th c.) about Muslim expansion in Asia Minor (text)  
Questions:
- What were the methods of occupation of Asia Minor towns?
  - What happened with the inhabitants?
  - Evaluate the behaviour of the Patriarch! What was the opinion of the author?
12. Muslim soldiers (picture, 13th c.)  
Question:
- What were the types of weapons in the branches of Arabic military service?
13. Al Idrisi's World Map (picture, 12th c.)  
Questions:
- What territories were the precisely known by the Muslim world?
  - What were the differences between Al Idrisi's and Ptolemy's maps?
14. The Muslim expansion (map)  
Question:
- Describe what factors made borders of Muslim expansion!
15. From Maimonides' (scientist from 12th Córdoba) book, 'Guide for the Perplexed'.  
Questions:
- What questions and in which scientific field raised by the author?
- 16-17. Photos: The inner place and the Mihrab from Cordoba Big Mosque; The court of Damascus Big Mosque.  
Questions:
- Collect the most important features of the Arabic architecture!
  - Make a draft of them! What cultures we can recognize on the photo?
18. Viewpoint.  
'During our history learning we often meet the opinion which makes apparently forever valid (i.e. fixed, permanent) claims about nations, religious denominations or political trends based on events from only a short period. We also recognize this tendency in response to the case of Islam, which is often characterized as a violent expanding.'

19. Abu Jusuf ibn Ibrahim al Kufi (8th c.) about a Muslim praying in Jerusalem (text)

Questions:

- Discuss if Islam is a tolerant religion or not! Do research work! Compare your knowledge about Islam and other missionary religions (e.g. Christianity)! Consider the different periods of Islam from this viewpoint!
- How was Jerusalem occupied by the Muslims?
- What was the connection like between the Muslim leader and the Patriarch?
- How it is important that the author was Muslim?

### EUROCENTRIC HISTORY IN SPANISH TEXTBOOKS

Manuel Pousa, IES de Mugardos, A Coruña, Spain

Ramón López Facal, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain

---

#### Abstract

*This paper examines the presence of Eurocentric bias in mainstream Spanish textbooks used to teach history in secondary education. The research objective is to analyse how the relationships between Europe and colonised populations are presented in history textbooks. The research hypothesis is that Spanish textbooks have a Eurocentric bias, involving not questioning colonialism. To this purpose, a representative sample of six textbooks was selected, and those chapters related to imperialism, colonialism and decolonisation processes were subjected to content analysis, in three dimensions: written information, pictures and maps. The methodology involved comparing the textbooks' narratives, conveyed both through text and images, with the consensual historiography about colonisation processes. The results show the persistence of a 'Rosy Tradition' sustaining certain continuity with the old colonial propaganda, for instance minimising or ignoring colonial violence; treating colonised territories and metropolis asymmetrically, disregarding non-European history; conveying a stereotypical image of colonised and colonisers through pictures, and resorting to maps with a colonial perspective. The conclusions bring forward some proposals that could improve the teaching and learning of the history of colonialisms, in order to avoid reinforcing the Eurocentric bias already existing among secondary students.*

#### Keywords

Colonialism, Eurocentrism, School textbooks, Teaching history, Secondary education.

#### Representations of the age of imperialism: background of the study

The analysis of imperialist processes in the classroom allows us to better understand ethnocentrism in the teaching of history. Europe dominated a large part of the world using its military, economic and technological development and during this process there were considerable changes to its perception of other societies and of the perception of other societies towards Europe. Studying these processes enables us to approach the contacts between cultures, which, according to Berlin (1991) and Christian (2004), fosters progress and generates significant collective learning. The analysis of the circulation of knowledge regarding these processes becomes especially relevant in a globalised world in which Europe is losing weight in favour of its former colonies or semi-colonies.

Textbooks are the main and sometimes sole school resource in Spanish mainstream teaching (Valls, 2007). They influence almost every activity carried out in history classes in secondary education, including oral explanations and exercises.

Changing textbooks is necessary and, as pointed out by Mikk (2000), much easier than to change thousands of teachers through professional development. However, research into this field is still lacking in many aspects. There are no global studies about textbook dissemination (Nicholls, 2003), nor much consensus regarding the basic principles about how to analyse them. Institutions such as the *Georg Eckert Institute* and authors like M. Apple who have addressed this issue have not explicitly described their instruments of analysis. The future of textbooks is uncertain, as they may be replaced by electronic resources. These, on the other hand carry on many of the traditions, bias and shortcomings of the textbooks themselves. Furthermore, for the time being they prevail over other pedagogical materials.

Colonial domination acquires relevance when analysing ethnocentrism in modern history textbooks. Conklin and Fletcher (1999) highlight the legacy of racism and European nationalism. For instance, a sample of 13 French textbooks used in primary education have been analysed in a report edited by Falaize (2009), showing that, although there are more pages accorded to colonial processes, and a greater range of documents presented, the narrative about colonialism continues to reflect the euphemisation that omits colonial violence and racism. Drawing from Marc Ferro's (2003) notion of 'Rosy Book' in opposition to the Black Book and Black Legend, terms used to denote historical narratives allegedly exaggerating the darker aspects of Spanish colonisation, we call this treatment of colonial violence the *Rosy Tradition*. This *Rosy Tradition* is characterised by omitting or downplaying slaughter, genocide or mass deportations; by ignoring the relationship between colonialism and slavery or the relevance of the development of weapons in the establishment of large empires in such a short period of time. According to Fernández-Armesto (2000, p. 357) historical narratives also avoid referring to violence, '*slavery, environmental plunder, massacres practised as a sport or the use of terror as a form of government*' whenever a given society considered itself to be more civilized than its victims. Such omissions generate a serious educational problem, given that teachers, at least in France (Falaize, 2009), do not offset this discourse: they usually emphasize the size of the empires but not the reasons for the conquest.

There are few studies examining how colonialism is addressed in textbooks, one for instance is that of Falaize (2009). Our research has the aim of bridging this gap, by examining content related to colonialism and decolonisation processes in Spanish textbooks. The Spanish case has particular relevance for these issues, due to its past as coloniser.

### **Research Objectives and Methods**

This paper is part of a doctoral research on the teaching-learning of imperialism (Pousa, 2012). It consists of interviews of students and a classroom study during one academic year. The research objective is:

To analyse how the relationships between Europe and colonised populations are presented in history textbooks. It has three specific objectives:

1. To analyse the *written content*, examining how issues related to colonialism and decolonisation are addressed, or if they are ignored.
2. To analyse how *pictures* represent colonisers and colonised.
3. To analyse the images of colonised territories carried out by *maps*.

For the sample six history textbooks of the 1st year of the Baccalaureate (16–17 year old) from five of Spain's major publishers were selected. They have the largest share of the market, with about 80 % presence in schools (Valls, 2007). Four of them are from 2008, and two from 2002, in order to explore whether there were changes in approach.

The textbooks were published by: Anaya (2008), Rodeira (2002), Santillana (2008); SM (2002; 2008) and Vicens Vives (2008). The complete references are given in the Appendix. The following acronyms are used: SM 02 and SM 08 for the textbooks by SM, VV for Vicens Vives, and the full names for the other three.

The methodology involves recursive content analysis, comparing the textbooks' visual and written narrative about European colonisation processes with consensual history about these processes in current historiography. The categories emerged from an interaction between the literature and the data: First the chapters addressing colonisation or

decolonisation processes were analysed, and a preliminary list of issues, such as violence, consequences of colonialism, non-European history, or asymmetrical treatment of Western and non-Western territories, was drawn up. Then the textbooks were subjected to a second round of analysis, leading sometimes to a revision of categories.

The results are presented in three sections, addressing respectively the objectives about written content, pictures and maps.

### **Eurocentric bias in written content**

This section discusses findings related to the first objective: To analyse the *written content*, examining how issues related to colonialism and decolonisation are addressed, or whether they are ignored. The findings are distributed in seven subsections, although these issues are closely intertwined.

### **Addressing violence: Forgotten or minimised massacres**

Do textbooks address the violence involved in colonisation and decolonisation processes? Textbooks ignore issues such as the lack of interest and information in the metropolis about what happened in the colonies, the participation in colonial expansion of ruthless characters like H.M. Stanley or killings that are key to understanding the rift between colonisers and colonised such as Amritsar (1919), Sétif (1945), Croke Park (1920), or Madagascar (1947). Amritsar is mentioned in one section, significantly called *Beyond Europe* (Anaya, p.306), presented outside the common structure in chapters, dealing with Extra-European history and in sepia, all of which reinforces its secondary character. Sétif is quoted only as a reference (Anaya, p.374) to 40,000 deaths in Algeria in 1945, without mentioning that it was a massacre, the name of the place, nor its occurrence on the same day that Germany surrendered to the Allies. The fact that it was triggered by the killing of around a hundred Europeans is not mentioned either. The concealment of the violence carried out by the colonised during the liberation processes is also noteworthy.

Events such as the genocides of the Herero (German South West Africa, now Namibia) and Tasmanian peoples (Australia) are forgotten, as is the attempted one on the Khoisan (Southern Africa). The only genocide that finds its way into textbooks is the Shoah. Not knowing about such facts makes it more difficult to understand decolonisation processes and the reparations demanded by former colonies.

One outstanding case of such historical misinformation lies in the references to Leopold II's Congo. The textbooks reviewed ignore the extreme cruelty of the conquest of Central Africa and they merely mention the condition of the Congo as a territory privately controlled by the Belgian king, without explaining it. They maintain the propaganda version generated by Leopold, introducing him as '*sovereign entrepreneur*', '*the world's first trader of ivory and cocoa*', or they speak of the '*rubber industry in French Equatorial Africa*'. They declare a success in Leopold having established as personal property a territory '*90 times the size of Belgium*' (Anaya, p. 151) that he 'bequeathed' to his country and emphasize its title of 'free state'.

None of the textbooks mentions the tragic destiny of the native peoples or quote the doctrine of *terra nullius*, that is so important in order to explain the actions carried out by the colonisers, nor how many national identities, as for instance those of Argentina, Chile or Australia, were built around the opposites of civilization/barbarity.

In summary, the textbooks adhere to the narrative that casts colonisation as a mere 'commercial' or 'trade' issue, ignoring the violence exerted against the natives and, by doing so, they distort Europe's past.

### **Consequences of European colonialism: The fate of tribal societies**

Do textbooks discuss the consequences of European colonialism in the transformation and disappearance of indigenous societies? The way the consequences of European colonialism are addressed may be appreciated in how empires are described: a section present in every book, which merely enumerates territories and their metropolis. The only criticism of colonisation is formulated in the sub-sections on the consequences of Western expansion. This is done in a brief and general manner, although no ethnocentric or cultural bias is perceived: textbooks apply the same criteria of analysis to non-European colonialisms, as to Japan's. None of the textbooks mentions the failure to educate colonised populations, especially girls.

Tribal societies only fit into the history curricula when addressing prehistory. This perpetuates the 19th-century stereotypes basing historical explanations on theories of progress. As there is no conflict among nation-states, the fact that nomadic hunter-gatherer or primitive agricultural societies were displaced from the territories in which they had been evolving for millennia is ignored or minimised. We interpret these findings as another way of minimising colonial violence, by not addressing the consequences of colonialism for the indigenous peoples.

### **Internal colonisations: The United States and other American countries**

How are processes of colonisations internal to nation states addressed in textbooks, if they are addressed at all? Internal colonisations have been common phenomena in the establishment of some nation states, causing the disappearance of native cultures. Such processes are usually ignored in the teaching of history. In the textbooks examined, they are neither explained as multi-secular phenomena nor are they identified with a form of colonialism, as Fernández-Armesto (2001) and Kaplan (2006) do. The only internal colonisation described is that of the United States, which merely enumerates events, emphasizing '*expansion*', and excluding events which damage the image of white Americans as the *Trail of Tears*. There is no mention of the 378 treaties breached by the whites nor that, even in 1987, the justification for the expropriation of native lands in the US was based on the 'right of conquest', ignoring that there had been no declaration of war nor any peace treaties to justify it (Wilmer, 1993).

In the explanation of the birth of the United States, the perspective adopted is that of American colonists seeking emancipation from Great Britain, ignoring the fate of indigenous societies. The revolutionary character of the American Revolution is highlighted. However, the fact that this led to the construction of a British empire is omitted, and the American War of Independence is never related to similar movements that later took place in the rest of the continent.

There is no room either for similar events that happened in Canada or Brazil, nor for the wars against the Indians in Patagonia and El Chaco. However, some textbooks address the great migrations of Europeans starting towards the end of the 19th century to the 'new' territories, stating that they brought opportunities for progress. Such a viewpoint implicitly justifies the extermination or at least the dispossession inflicted on native peoples.

### **Empire, stereotype and propaganda**

Do myths, stereotypes and propaganda justifying colonisation persist or are they questioned? Conflicts originated during the invasion processes and defeats suffered by Europeans are omitted. Knowledge about them would facilitate dismantling the myth of the military inability of conquered societies. This colonial legend (Ferro, 1994) still prevails as the explanation in the cases where there have been no anti-colonial rebellions, and it is



extended to decolonisation processes. Not much relevance is attributed to the feelings of national humiliation in the decisions to create and maintain the empires. This *Rosy Tradition* also incorporates Romantic and Orientalist elements created by imperial propaganda. For instance all books analysed mention the crowning of Queen Victoria as Empress of India and this territory as the '*jewel in the crown*', more or less in the words of Benjamin Disraeli.

Textbooks implicitly assume Western exceptionalism. As Wolf (1982) puts it, an historical interpretation is promoted based on the myth of a chain of progress linking Ur to New York, surrounded by extensions devoid of history that were lost at the different stages of an evolutionary line that leads to the present of the West. A significant example could be the section on the 'Triumph of Europe' in the book by SM 02 (p. 106), which includes a text entitled 'Europe, Queen of the World'.

The asymmetry in the presentation of colonial history may be appreciated in the limitation of the time frame for colonialism to the conquest phase. There is no mention either that the role of Europe in the history of the world prior to the Age of Imperialism was but secondary, or that only the Industrial Revolution granted Europe the supremacy.

The West is identified with the idea of progress and freedom, as for instance in lesson 22 in the Rodeira book, and it is connected to the Enlightenment, the American Declaration of Independence, The Bill of Rights of 1689 and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, overlooking the struggles elsewhere in the planet against European domination, slavery or extermination. Furthermore, the Enlightenment may also be related to the origins of the prejudice of white supremacy (Bowden, 2009; Todorov, 2006), and the 19<sup>th</sup> century educational ideals of Ferry and Sarmiento are directly related to extermination and colonial domination.

European aggression is sometimes concealed under bizarre justifications. For example, when discussing the Opium Wars, it is stated that '*opium and tea were products especially valued by Westerners and were at the origin of various confrontations*' (Anaya, p. 132; bold type in original). No party is singled out as being responsible for such '*confrontations*' and by using bold type the drug trade is equated to that of a soft, invigorating drink. In summary, textbooks do not question old colonial mythical and stereotypical representations of colonialism, reproducing propaganda versions of colonisation.

### **Asymmetrical treatment: Images of non-Western countries associated with poverty and opposition to progress**

Is there symmetrical or asymmetrical treatment of colonisers and colonised societies? How are non-Western countries, formerly colonized, presented and which associations are established between them and dimensions as wealth–poverty or progress–backwardness? In the textbooks the colonies are framed in the Third World, either when addressing the Age of Imperialism or decolonisation processes, which we interpret as a manifestation of cultural bias. Thus, current underdevelopment is presented as an unsolvable, apparently eternal problem, omitting the evolution of countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Brazil, India or China. Textbooks do not mention modernisation processes in non-Western societies, with the exception of Japan. There are no references to Muhammad Ali, Li Hongzhang, Prince Gong or King Mongkut, for instance, and the Ottoman Tanzimat is only mentioned in one textbook (Anaya, p. 136). The image usually transmitted is one of societies reluctant to change and modernize, which only yield when confronted with violence.

Textbooks treat colonised societies and territories in an unequal and asymmetric way compared with Western ones in these five dimensions:

- a. *Borders*: The artificial nature of the borders in those areas subjected to colonial domination is highlighted, overlooking the fact that borders of the metropolis are artificial too.
- b. *Traditional cultures*: No parallelism is established between the disappearance of the traditional cultures in Europe (Weber, 1993) and those of the colonies.
- c. *Bourgeoisie and nationalism*: There is no mention of the parallelism between the development of the bourgeoisie and nationalism in the colonies and in the metropolis.
- d. *Forced labour laws*: The similarity between metropolitan legislation, such as the British *Poor Laws*, and other legislation that forced colonised peoples to undertake forced or underpaid labour is overlooked (Fieldhouse, 1981).
- e. *Conquests versus colonies*: Different terms are used for similar situations, such as referring to European territories as conquests and non-European territories as colonies.

In summary, the textbooks deal in an asymmetrical way with Western colonisers, associated with freedom and progress, and colonised people, associated with poverty and backwardness.

### **Colonialism and non-European history**

How do textbooks deal with the non-European history of countries colonised and those not colonised?

There is no room in textbooks for the history of non-European countries that were not colonised. This way students cannot adequately comprehend the causes and consequences of the independence or conquest of one territory or another.

When addressing Africa, the clichés of tribalism and Africa's immense wealth are overstated; and when approaching India's past the caste system is stressed, a stereotype linked to the idea of the immutability of non-Western societies, despite their being rather dynamic before the onset of the British Raj (Bayly, 1993). The absence of any mention of pre-colonial African history is partly due to the predominantly oral nature of the sources (Flint, 1994), towards which historians have shown certain mistrust.

Eurocentric views are perceived in the treatment given to religious beliefs. The emphasis is almost exclusively on the role of Christianity, and often only that of Catholicism. The role of missionaries as active agents of colonialism is minimised, whereas their influence in decolonisation processes is overstated.

In summary, textbooks adopt an ethnocentric perspective that implies disregard for non-European history.

### **Relationships among colonisation, science and technology**

Are the connections among imperial expansions and scientific and technological development addressed?

The history of science and technology is used to further enhance Europe's image. Advances and discoveries are presented in isolation from society. They are usually limited to a couple of sections enumerating scientists, theories, inventions and dates. A perspective prevails in the historiography that is hardly concerned about technological factors (Headrick, 1981). The importance of technical progress in imperialist expansion is ignored. For the textbooks technology is only equivalent to material progress.

None of the textbooks relates the Industrial Revolution to imperialist expansion, despite the fact that historiography usually considers it, together with nationalisms, to be one of its major causal factors (Doyle, 1986; Cain and Hopkins, 1993). There are no more than mentions of the origin of a supposedly scientific type of racism, popularised as a distortion of Darwin's theories (the so-called social Darwinism). Racist theories were part of mainstream science until the 1940s (Puig and Jiménez-Aleixandre, 2011).

During the 19th century, changes to armaments and military organization influenced European politics and societies (McNeill, 1993) contributing to the European expansion (Christian, 2007; Hobsbawm 2005; Akehurst, 1970). However, none of the textbooks mentions the evolution of weaponry that supported the idea of a superior race by turning war into a 'sport' (Fernández-Armesto, 2000; Ferguson, 2001; Lindqvist, 1996; Wilmer, 1993).

In summary in all the dimensions examined, the representations of different aspects of colonialism are combined in an image that downplays or disregards the violence exerted on the colonised peoples. This bias is supported in an asymmetric representation that casts Western colonisers as the embodiment of freedom and progress, while colonised peoples are represented as deprived of history and lacking the will to rebel and resist foreign conquest. Such prejudice may hinder an appropriate comprehension of the historical dimension of colonialism. The ethnocentric perspective may also induce students to establish hierarchies among societies based exclusively on their levels of wealth and power. Besides, it creates a tendency to underestimate the achievements and contributions of non-Western societies. Fig. 1 summarises the dimensions analysed in written content.

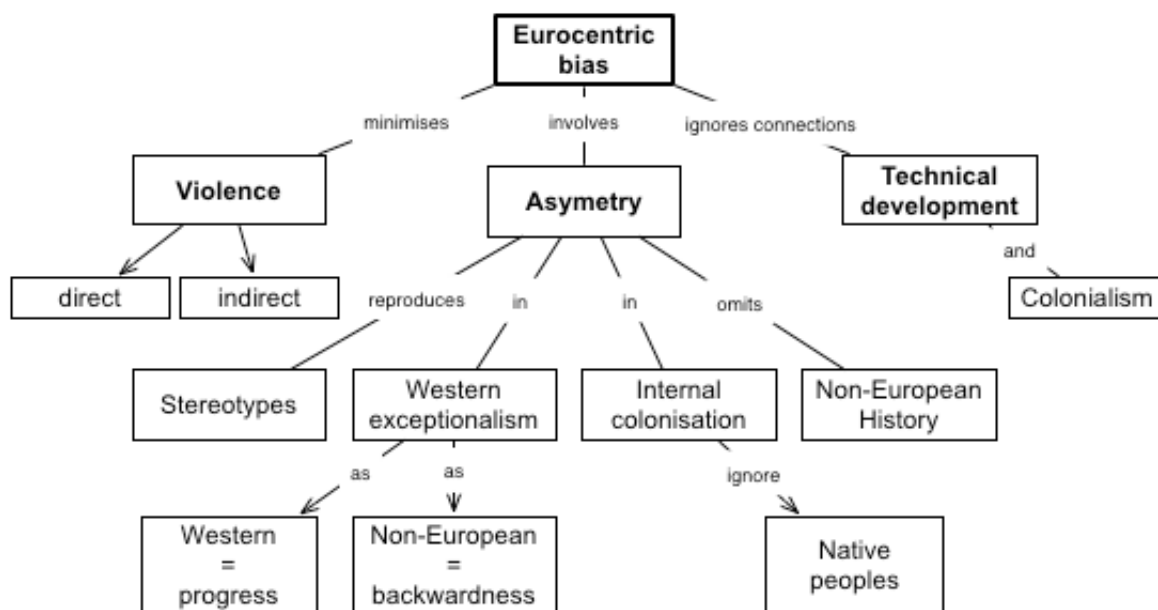


Fig. 1 Summary of dimensions of Eurocentric bias in written content

### Ethnocentrism in the pictures in textbooks

This section discusses findings related to the second objective: To analyse how *pictures* represent colonisers and colonised. These paratextual elements are often considered secondary, but their role, especially that of images, is highly relevant for their immediacy and impact. We will discuss first how colonised are pictured, then the images of colonisers.

### Images of the colonised: portraits

The analysis shows that the same biases found in written text are also present in images. In the images related to decolonisation there is dominance of political portraits, the image of Gandhi being the most frequent one: his picture is in every single textbook. His portrait is always one from his last years, wearing a *dhoti*, conveying a fake image of a peaceful Third World, and omitting his evolution since his youth: from being a student in Great Britain to a young lawyer who finds his roots. This is a common feature for many pro-independence anti-colonial leaders. Gandhi's cliché image may induce viewers installed in the prejudices of Western culture to agree with the description by Churchill, who referred to him as an 'Indian fakir' (Metcalf and Metcalf, 2002). We have confirmed this stereotype in the classroom research when several students identified the anti-British leader of the film *Gunga Din*, directed by George Stevens in 1939, for wearing 'diapers' (a dhoti). The only picture to defy the stereotype is a photo of Senghor in the book by VV (p. 247), wearing glasses and a suit, in an image that may be associated to that of an intellectual (Fig. 2).



The most common pictures related to colonialism are photographs of natives performing physical tasks or reiterating stereotypes of poverty or exoticism. Their function is not clear, as native labour is neither an issue that is especially addressed in the text nor a concept so difficult to understand that requires visual reinforcement. However, it is remarkable how little attention is directed to plantations, which could be easily associated to colonialism, as well as the absence of harsher, well known images, such as the severed hands from Leopold's Congo, or the human zoos, which raised students' interest during the research carried out in the classroom.

**Fig. 2** Photograph of Leopold Senghor (Vicens Vives textbook p. 247)



There is only one photograph representing the degrading treatment suffered by colonised populations, (Fig. 3) with an expressive caption: "*Australian aborigines tied with cattle chains, in 1901*". Despite its interest, the picture is small –5x5 cm–, located in a sidebar and it is not mentioned in the text discourse, only beneath it in a little box about "*The colonisation of Oceania*". This is one of the few mentions of a genocide derived from European colonialism: "*...it meant the extermination of almost the whole of the aboriginal population and the implantation of a European socio-political organization*".

**Fig. 3** Image of Australian aborigines (Rodeira textbook, p. 114)

Many pictures reproduce negative clichés that present natives as childish or mentally retarded adults, ridiculed in their reactions to technology and the customs of the 'civilized' man. Because these images have been produced in colonial times for an audience that assumed the superiority of white man, if they are not subjected to a critical reading, they may end up reinforcing the stereotypes that students may have.

### Images of the colonisers: explorers and missionaries

There is a prevalence of images of missionaries, in their role of educators, and of explorers, and very few of metropolitan politicians or of the military. They are figures that transmit dignity and positive values: authority, culture, power or goodness. Many of the drawings have been taken uncritically from colonial propaganda.

In a typical example, the most frequent image in textbooks of the birth of the United States of America represents the triumph of liberalism: John Trumbull's painting about the draft of the Declaration of Independence. There are very few pictures, however, addressing the expansion towards the West, or portraying events such as the battle of Little Big Horn or the meeting at Promontory Point. The latter is not even located on any map.



Cartel de propaganda japonesa contra os britânicos na Índia, 1944.

- Describa o cartel e analize a sua intencionalidade.

There are some images with an anti-colonial perspective when addressing colonialism. However, they are almost non-existent concerning decolonisation processes. One interesting exception in one textbook shows a picture of a Japanese propaganda poster during World War II (Fig. 4), in which the British appear as ridiculous characters who are humiliated by the Indians (VV, p. 246). It is an unusual representation for several reasons: for being infrequent, for the message it conveys and for the use of a non-formal work of art.

**Fig. 4** Picture of a World War II Japanese propaganda poster (Vicens Vives textbook. p. 246). Caption: Japanese propaganda poster against the British in India, 1944. Task: Describe the poster and analyse its intentions

### Images of colonised territories in maps

This section discusses findings related to the third objective: to analyse the images of colonised territories carried out by *maps*. The analysis of maps shows that they reproduce similar stereotypes: little attention is paid to continental empires and even less to non-European ones. The Rosy tradition is expressed by the absence of battles, killings and forced displacement of populations. European migratory movements towards the colonies have little relative importance. Maps convey thus an aseptic image that misrepresents history.

Africa is the focus of most colonial world maps, while colonisation of other continents is almost absent from them. The most frequent maps of Africa depict the colonial partition. They show which territories belonged to each empire, and include many place names that are hardly significant to students. It is the representation of a *fait accompli*, a triumph. There is no room for the social and human consequences. Only four of the maps of Africa show the situation prior to the conquest, and out of these only in two are there mentions of the main ethnic groups and political entities as the Mandinga, Ashanti or Zulú Empires. In all books, the number of maps of Africa does not correspond to the extent of the information written in the text: there are many maps of Africa, contrasted with very little information about it. This leads students to connect colonialism mainly to the African continent.

In some of the maps of Africa, and also of the US, imperialism is connected to raw materials and the colonial conquest in search of wealth that Atkinson (1995) states as being characteristic of Fascist Italy (Figs. 5 and 6). This economic idea is reasserted in the written discourse. It also reflects the concept of *terra nullius* that justified the Conquest of the Desert in Argentinian historiography: no man's land waiting for someone to come along and occupy it to exploit its wealth. Some maps of the US take recourse to euphemism, such as mentioning each territory that 'joins' the Union, the use of the term 'expansion'; not representing the process of conquest nor representing the Indian Wars. In the best of cases some further data is added at the margin of the main text or in the captions.

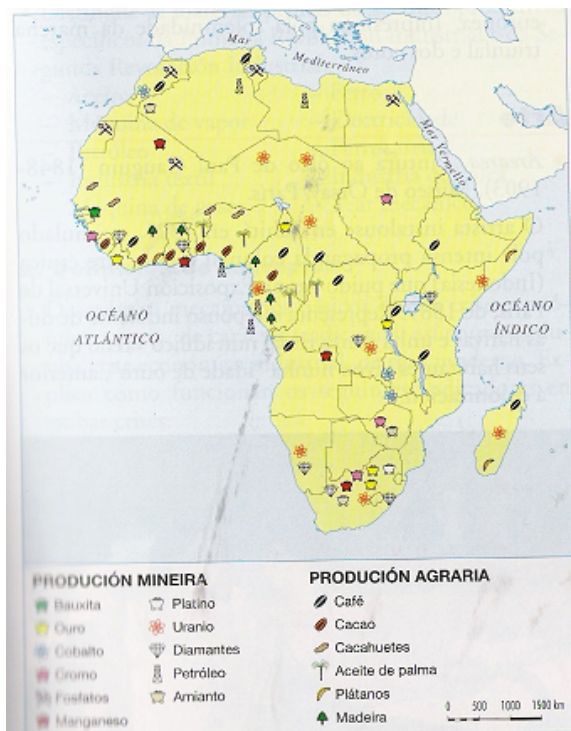


Fig. 5 Economical map of Africa



Fig. 6 Africa as a rich land full of raw materials, over which there would be conflicts (SM 08 textbook, p 349). Caption 'A loita polos recursos en Africa' means 'Fight for resources in Africa'.

### Conclusions and educational implications

This paper analyses how the relationships between Europe and colonised populations are presented in Spanish history textbooks. Our findings point out to some deficiencies and omissions in history school textbooks. There is an ethnocentric bias found in written text, pictures and maps that, by minimising or ignoring colonial violence, dealing asymmetrically with colonised territories and metropolis, or disregarding non-European history, combine to draw a view of colonisation and decolonisation processes at odds with current bibliography.

In general, representations of colonialism correspond to a naïve, Eurocentric historiography model that uses the nation-state and the myth of continued progress (Citron, 1984) as the sole framework for explanation. Textbooks also include models and approaches about colonialism, which contradict the very democratic values that they formally proclaim (López-Facal, 2000). They have not incorporated elements from historiographical currents that started in the 1980s, such as the so-called New Cultural History that opened up new perspectives: for example, giving voice to groups such as the colonised peoples. By pointing out such deficiencies, our aim is not to demand more content, but to reveal the paradigm reflected in them.

Some educational implications that we bring forward may be able to offer a different perspective: one developing a critical history education. To this purpose, other viewpoints would have to be incorporated and conflictive or controversial issues addressed. Reformulating the content and activities relating to colonialism could take into account issues as the following:

Relating metropolis and colonies and not addressing them as separate topics. Relating some forced homogenization process in a nation-state to the indirect debate of assimilation-domination that is typical of colonial mentality. Discuss similarities between anti-colonial and European resistance to conquest. It is also important to relate colonialism and decolonization and to explain the effects of colonialism in the changes of mentality, both in the metropolis as in the colonies.

- a. Discussing the consequences of colonialism in the present. For instance, relating colonial domination to the dissemination of racial prejudice and showing the perception towards Western societies in the formerly dominated countries. On the other hand, explaining the effects of colonialism in the change of mentality, both in the metropolis as in the colonies.
- b. Including content from the pre-colonial history of the dominated societies.
- c. Discussing the birth, development and decline of some powers, going from being a dominant to a dominated country.
- d. Explaining the relationship between scientific discoveries, technological innovation and imperialist policies.
- e. Highlighting the relationship of imperialisms to the processes of miscegenation and multiculturalism.
- f. Questioning the interpretation of decolonisation as the failure of the 'civilizer ideal' in formerly colonised societies. Analysing and comparing colonial and anti-colonialist propaganda.
- g. Revisiting cartography associating the creation of infrastructures, migratory movements and exploitation of wealth with its human and environmental costs; reflecting the consequences of the conquests and using original place names and not westernized ones.

A teaching sequence incorporating this approach has been implemented in the classroom, as part of the doctoral dissertation of the first author, and is discussed in other papers.

## Correspondence

Ramón López Facal: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Departamento de Didáctica das Ciencias Sociais. Av. Xoán XXIII, s/n. 15782 Santiago de Compostela (Spain)  
[ramon.facal@usc.es](mailto:ramon.facal@usc.es)

## References

- Akehurst, M.B. (1970) *A modern introduction to International Law*, New York: Atherton Press.
- Atkinson, D. (1995) 'Geopolitics, cartography and geographical knowledge: envisioning Africa from fascist Italy', in Bell, M., Butlin, R.A. & Heffernan, M. (eds.) *Geography and Imperialism, 1820-1940*, pp. 265–297, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bayly, C.A. (1993) *Indian society and the making of the British Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bowden, B. (2009) *The empire of civilization. The evolution of an imperial Idea*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Berlin, I. (1991) *The crooked timber of humanity: Chapters in the history of ideas*, New York: Knopf.
- Cain, P. J. & Hopkins, A. G. (1993) *British imperialism*, London: Longman.
- Citron, S. (1984) *Enseigner L'Histoire aujourd'hui [The Teaching of History today]*, Paris: Les Éditions ouvrières.
- Conklin, A. & Fletcher, I. C. (eds.) (1999) *European imperialism 1830-1930*, Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Christian, D. (2004) *Maps of time: an introduction to big history*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Doyle, M. W. (1986) *Empires*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Falaize, B. (Ed.) (2009) *La Colonisation et les décolonisations dans les apprentissages scolaires de l'école primaire [Colonization and decolonization in school learning in primary school]*, Lyon: INRP.
- Ferguson, N. (2001) *The cash nexus: Money and power in the modern world, 1700-2000*, London: Allen Lane.
- Fernández-Armesto, F. (2000) *Civilizations*, London: MacMillan.
- Fernández-Armesto, F. (2001) *Food: a history*, London: Macmillan.
- Ferro, M. (1994) *Histoire des colonisations: des conquêtes aux indépendances. XIII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle [History of colonization: conquest to independence. 13th to the 20th century]*, Paris: Seuil.



Ferro, M. (ed.) (2003) *Le Livre noir du colonialisme. XVI<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle: de l'extermination à la repentance* [The Black Book of colonialism. 16th to 21st century: the extermination of repentance], Paris: Robert Laffont.

Fieldhouse, D. K. (1981) *Colonialism: 1870-1945*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.

Flint, J. E. (ed.) (1994) *The Cambridge History of Africa. Volume V: From c. 1790 to c. 1870*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. (2005) *The age of empire: 1875-1914*, London: Folio Society.

Headrick, D. R. (1981) *The tools of empire. Technology and European imperialism in the nineteenth century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kaplan, R. D. (2006) *Imperial grunts: On the ground with the American military, from Mongolia to the Philippines to Iraq and beyond*, New York: Knopf.

Lindqvist, S. (1996) *Exterminate all the brutes*, New York: New Press.

Lopez-Facal, R. (2000) 'Pensar históricamente: una reflexión crítica sobre la enseñanza de la historia' [Thinking historically: a critical reflection on the teaching of history], *Iber*, vol. 24, pp. 46--57.

Metcalf, B. & Metcalf, T. (2002) *A concise history of India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McNeill, W. H. (1993) 'The age of gunpowdereEmpires, 1450-1800', in Adas, M., Eaton, R.M., Tucker, J., Lippman, J., Abu-Lughod, L., McNeill, W.H., Crosby, A.W., Curtin, P.D., Stearns, P.N., Tilly, L.A. & Strobel, M. (eds.) *Islamic & European expansion. The forging of a global order* (pp. 103 -139), Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Mikk, J. (2000) *Textbook: Research and writing*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Nicholls, J. (2003) 'Methods in school textbook research', *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 1-17.

Pousa, M. (2012) *O ensino-aprendizaxe do imperialismo* [The teaching and learning of imperialism] Unpublished doctoral thesis. Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

Puig, B. & Jiménez-Aleixandre, M. P. (2011) 'Different music to the same score: Teaching about genes, environment and human performances', in Sadler, T. (ed.) *Socio-scientific Issues in the Classroom: Teaching, Learning and Research* (pp. 201-238), Dordrecht: Springer.

Todorov, T. (2006) *L'Esprit des Lumières* [The spirit of the Enlightenment], Paris: Robert Laffont.

Valls, R. (2007) *Historiografía escolar española: siglos XIX y XX*. [Spanish historiography for schools: 19th and 20th centuries], Madrid: UNED.

Weber, E. J. (1993) *Peasants into Frenchmen: the modernization of rural France 1870-1914*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University.

Wilmer, F. (1993) *The Indigenous voice in world politics. Since times immemorial*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Wolf, E. R. (1982) *Europe and the people without history*, Berkeley, L.A.: University of California Press.

#### **Appendix: list of textbooks examined**

ANAYA: Prats, J., Castelló, J.E., Forcadell, C., García, María C., Izuzquiza, I. & Loste, M.A. (2008) *Historia do mundo contemporáneo [History of the contemporary world]*, Getafe (Madrid): Anaya.

RODEIRA: González Fernández, X. (2002). *Historia do mundo contemporáneo [History of the contemporary world]*, A Coruña: Rodeira-Edebé.

SANTILLANA: Fernández Ros, J.M., González Salcedo, J. & Ramírez Aledón, G. (2008) *Historia do mundo contemporáneo [History of the contemporary world]*, Santiago de Compostela: Obradoiro/Santillana.

SM02: Tussell, J., Sepúlveda, I., Tussell, S., Sueiro, S. & Mateos, A. (2002) *Historia del mundo contemporáneo [History of the contemporary world]*, Madrid: SM.

SM08: Otero Carvajal, L.E., Fernández Bulete, V. & Gómez Bravo, G. (2008) *Historia do mundo contemporáneo [History of the contemporary world]*, Madrid: SM.

VV: Aróstegui, J., García, S., Gatell Arimont, M., Palafox Gamir, J. & Risques Corbella, M. (2008) *Historia do mundo contemporáneo [History of the contemporary world]*, Barcelona, Vicens Vives.

#### **Acknowledgements**

This article is a part of the project: *Estrategias de argumentación y desarrollo de competencias básicas en la enseñanza de las Ciencias Sociales de la ESO [Argumentation strategies and development of basic skills in the teaching of Social Sciences ESO]*, funded by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of Spain, code EDU2012-37909-C03-01.

## CHALLENGING STUDENTS' IDEAS ON HISTORICAL EVIDENCE BY USING HERITAGE REMAINS

Helena Pinto CIEd (Centro de Investigação em Educação [Centre for Research in Education]), University of Minho Braga, Portugal

---

### Abstract

This paper shares some results of a PhD research study focused on students and teachers' conceptions, with particular reference to the use of heritage evidence in history teaching and learning, in order to make a connection with and to make sense of the past.

Within a double framework – history education and heritage education – the empirical study followed a mainly qualitative approach based on grounded theory, and was carried out with a sample of 87 students, 40 attending year 7 and 47, year 10, accompanied by their history teachers (N6) from several secondary schools of Guimarães, in northern Portugal.

Students took part in an outside school history activity to interpret specific objects, buildings and historic sites, and answered a questionnaire designed for that purpose; teachers answered another questionnaire, before and after the field activity.

The analysis of data has suggested diverse students' patterns of ideas in terms of conceptual progression, and several teachers' profiles, concerning the use of evidence and types of historical consciousness.

As intended in this study, approaching heritage education in a systematic and consistent process might improve multiple competences in youngsters, particularly in the context of historical understanding, fostering students' ability to 'read' objects, buildings and sites as historical evidence.

### Keywords

History education, Heritage education, Heritage evidence, Students' inferences, Historical evidence, Historical consciousness.

### Introduction

This paper reports a study which was part of a wider PhD research study (Pinto, 2011)<sup>8</sup> carried out within the HICON Project [Historical Consciousness - theory and practices II] which is inspired by philosophical reflections of Jörn Rüsen and Peter Lee concerning youngsters' uses of history. The project was intended to deepen our understanding of the meanings given by individuals to the need for temporal orientation interconnected with such notions as social identities, narrative, significance, and evidence in history. This last issue, and more specifically heritage evidence, has been the focus of this research<sup>9</sup>.

---

<sup>8</sup> PhD in Education in History and Social Sciences was supervised by Isabel Barca (University of Minho, Portugal, 2011); it was granted by the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT, Portugal).

<sup>9</sup> Results of the pilot stages of the PhD research process were presented at several HEIRNET conferences: at University of Ulster, Coleraine, 2009, the paper 'Teaching and learning through material evidence: a bridge between history education and heritage'; at City University of New York, 2010, the paper 'If we really search, we will find out things we never thought of: Portuguese students' historical understanding of heritage evidence'; and at University of Minho, 2011, the paper 'What about reading heritage evidence?: Portuguese

To discuss the heritage issue within the history education framework this paper explores both concepts of history education and heritage education, regarding the use of historic sites and objects as historical evidence for outside school students' activities.

Being conceptualised as evidence of the past which is linked to the present and future, heritage is often used as implying a fixed sign of memory and continuity, and because of its significance as a collective belonging, requires preservation from decay, ensuring its long-term conservation. In the last decades the significance of historical and cultural heritage has been increasingly recognised as an essential tool to understand, preserve and share multiple identities and these notions must be made more explicit. In such a context, youngsters may actively be engaged in the process of constructing their own identities as individuals and as members of a community.

All places, whether urban or rural, industrial or agricultural, hold evidence of some aspect of human activity in the past. In many places there is abundant, clear, evidence of the past in the buildings and structures; in other towns evidence about a given past might be hidden and techniques such as fieldwork, research, surveying and excavation will be needed to find them. On the other hand, in many places, some structures from the past are likely still to be in use, though not necessarily for their original purpose. Therefore, it is necessary to provide a heritage education at a grounded and elaborate level to consistently fulfil such a purpose. By directly exploring "monuments", landscapes or other historic sites and artefacts, students increase their understandings and skills that enhance their ideas, particularly when involved in the history of their own areas and have to take decisions which affect the future.

### **Bridging history education and heritage**

History education research has been highlighting students' prior understandings or particular second order concepts, heritage evidence included, in order to deepen the understanding of ideas at a metahistorical level, which structure history (Lee, 2005), and provide a metacognitive monitoring of learning to teachers (Donovan & Bransford, 2005). In this framework, approaching local community issues can involve the school class in weighing evidence, listening to different arguments, making and justifying decisions. As Ashby, Lee and Shemilt (2005) point out, students come to the classroom with preconceptions, but the relationship between the preconceptions to be checked out and the key conceptual understandings to be taught is crucial for ensuring that progression in students understanding takes place.

People need to connect to what is familiar, but learning, by definition, goes beyond the known. Hein (1998) suggests that one path is seduction, enticing the learner by the lure of the familiar, the comfortable, and the known, to explore more deeply. But another well-recognized path is the lure of a challenge, and the trick is 'to find just the right degree of intellectual challenge to leave the learner slightly uncomfortable but sufficiently oriented and able to recognize the challenge' (Hein 1998, p. 176), in order to accept it.

Much of the research in the past few decades on children's and adolescents' ideas in history suggests that this discipline may be counter-intuitive (Lee, 2005), and that it might be possible to pick out certain common sense ideas that ground everyday understanding of how we can know the past, and of what can be said in any statements we make or stories we tell about it.

---

students and teachers perspectives'. The subject matter of this paper, as part of the final PhD research, has been presented at Federal University of Paraná, Brazil, July 2012.

Focusing subjects locally can 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. Therefore, heritage sources might assume a decisive role in history education since objects and sites can provide challenging evidence to make sense of the past (Cooper, 1992, 2004; Nakou, 2001; Levstik, Henderson & Schlarb, 2005; Barca & Pinto, 2006; Harnett, 2006).

The significance of historic sites as learning sources has gained increasing recognition over the past few years for the students themselves (Angvik & Borries, 1997) and materials provided by museums and historic sites 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. This general interest about heritage can also be checked by the variety of websites concerning this issue. Indeed, approaches on heritage evidence are not only appealing either for students to gain valuable insight into past and present relationships, or for educators – teachers and heritage educational services – to provide good opportunities for cooperation at local, national and international levels. Therefore, the value of heritage as historical evidence extends beyond formal education.

Interviews conducted in the United States found that respondents placed more trust in historic sites and museums than any other source and that they believed such locations transported them 'straight back to the times when people had used the artefacts on display or occupied the places where 'history' had been made' (Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 121). Therefore, exhibitions would be more useful if they allowed audiences to relate the displayed information to their own ideas, perspectives, and questions. Hein (1998) suggests that museums should be guided by a similar principle: for visitors to learn from displays, museums must allow them to 'connect what they see, do and feel with what they already know, understand and acknowledge' (p. 153). Accordingly, Hooper-Greenhill (2007) reminds us that through the activities of display and interpretation, using objects, paintings, photographs, models and texts, museums construct a view, present a story and produce resources for learning. These 'interpretive processes, which involve the attribution of meaning', make up much of the work of museums and could be described as the constitution of the 'curriculum of the museum' (p. 2); it is necessary to recognize how to use objects in teaching, and how people learn, but also to be aware about content, namely what is it that museums set out to teach, as things are only learnt when put into a context of meaning.

History education and heritage education as well, have becoming more constructivist, stressing the role of learning through experience and participation, investigation and sharing. As Shemilt (1980) points out, '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' (p. 23). Thus, systematic heritage approaches must be considered among educators to provide their students the opportunity to understand heritage evidence in multiple perspectives.

The Portuguese History Curriculum, although briefly, recognizes the value of direct contact/inquiry on local and national cultural heritage (DEB, 2001). But 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, some considerations about the current status of heritage education are possible at the moment:

(1) in several instances, museums and teachers are working in a cooperative or an autonomous basis to develop and use heritage education materials – some resources are useful, some are transferable to other situations, and others are site-specific;

(2) only a few schools include heritage education as a teaching 'tool', and many teachers have not been introduced to this method by teacher-training, and

(3) heritage education activities can be improved as learning 'tools' and developed with groups of different ages (Barca & Pinto, 2006); however, it demands a careful exploration in connection to research in the field, to understanding historical and social concepts, in live, participated and grounded learning experiences.

Some authors argue for more in-depth research with a focus on students' ideas as well as on teachers and school activities, stressing that there are enough heritage activities for use on site, so what is needed now is to try and test them. This change of focus can be an indicator that heritage education is becoming more reflective and mature. Copeland (2006) argues that heritage education is not a subject but an approach which uses a range of subjects and expertise. It is often undertaken as a cooperative activity based on personal enquiry and problem solving, using primary sources and first-hand experiences. In terms of curriculum achievements, it sharpens perceptions but it is important that competences should also be built in to help participants define and identify the heritage of the future. In what concerns history education, heritage can provide challenging sources to history teaching and learning using evidence of material culture, which contribute to strengthen students' understanding of historical concepts and to enrich their appreciation for the cultural, social and economic contributions of diverse groups to the communities.

In this framework heritage education might also contribute to history education. However, it seems useful for teachers to have training in teaching through historic sites and objects (Gerwin, 2006), since they feel generally comfortable using texts but less skilful when it comes to using objects/sites in history teaching, it is also very common using them only to illustrate information. Teachers need to be comfortable with objects (Chee, 2006), analysing them to get insight into their production, their function, and the values ascribed to them.

### **Historical consciousness and heritage evidence**

Understanding how students, teachers and people in general 'use' the past in terms of temporal orientation is also a core research problem in the history education field, as it shapes formal history teaching and learning practices.

The need to make individual historical meanings usable in personal everyday life has been emphasised under the notion of historical consciousness, and implications for history education have been discussed by J. Rüsen, P. Lee, J. Wertsch and P. Seixas, among others. Historical consciousness functions as a key temporal orientation, providing a temporal matrix to practical life (Rüsen, 2004), evoking the past as a mirror of experience within which life in the present is reflected and its temporal features revealed. Wertsch (2000) asserts 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. This implies the notions of mastery and appropriation: the mastery of a cultural tool involves knowing how to use it, rather than focussing on 'knowing that', which means something like the process of making something one's own. In this view, Wertsch recalls Lowenthal's distinction between 'history' and 'heritage', and states that it is not unusual for 'history to be mastered but not fully appropriated' (p. 42), whereas the opposite pattern often emerges for heritage.

Rüsen (2007) believes that historical consciousness is a specific form of historical memory: it is rooted in it and, to a great extent, even identical with it, but it is also different in some important aspects. The specificity of historical consciousness lies in the fact that 'the temporal perspective, in which the past is related to the present and through the present to the future, is designed in a more complex and elaborate way' (p. 175). Lowenthal (1999) also states the distinctiveness of memory and history, considering that both history and memory engender new knowledge, but only history intentionally sets out to do so: 'We accept memory as a premise of knowledge; we infer history from evidence that includes other people's memories' (p. 213).

Historical memory and historical thinking have an important cultural function: they form and express identity in a temporal perspective. Therefore, a crucial dimension of the study of historical consciousness involves how cultural practices and tools for understanding the past are handed down to the next generation. Recent research has interrogated other sites of transmission and construction, including families, film, television and commemorative celebrations. Frequently these sites 'operate interactively to build, or challenge, continuity in historical consciousness' (Seixas & Clark, 2004, p. 147).

Applying these ideas of historical consciousness to history education, Lee (2004) suggests that we might ask questions about the cultural tools which are available to the students in relating themselves to the past, their content, the social action they inhibit or constrain, the ways these tools affect students' conceptions of the past and of history. Lee (2004) states that the kind of past that students work with helps determine the kind of orientation available to them. There are several distinct modes of relationship to the past and some of these modes are more 'historical' than others (Chapman & Facey, 2004). Although, children and adolescents have ideas about the past that merit serious consideration, and they construct those ideas not just from what they learn at school but from the historical information they encounter in their families, their local and national communities, and the media. Research on these ideas and their social contexts can help us to better understand how students make sense of the nature and purpose of history (Barton & Levstik, 2004), and this can aid in developing meaningful programs of history education.

Most school lessons referring to heritage underline the episodes and processes of national history and tend to strengthen national identity and pride while ignoring the European or wider international dimension. However, students would understand history better when they perceive the linkage between local and international events and trends and find out about differences and similarities in local and a more international or European heritage.

The main goal of heritage education 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 how to understand the past, to understand the present and to consider future standpoints. Furthermore, the understanding of this legacy heartens a more reflective consciousness in relation to our beliefs and identities, and even to others' cultures, namely through the sharing of values with other societies. Being so, heritage evidence is essential to the construction of social knowledge and the understanding of abstract concepts as change/continuity (Estepa & Cuenca, 2006); if a heritage approach takes place in a context which is familiar to the student, piloting the teaching and learning process, then it is possible to design activities such as contrasting information, and asking questions such as how was it/ how is it/what has changed?

In a situated cognition perspective, history learning is viewed as a progressive interpretation of the past through inquiry (Shemilt, 1987; Lee & Ashby, 2001), an approach which is also recognized in studies with Portuguese students (Barca, 2005). Thus, if progress is to be made students need to understand that sources are not the same thing as evidence and to

develop a conceptual understanding of the evidential relationship between sources and claims (Ashby, 2005). Barton and Levstik (2004) advise that students' difficulty in understanding the connection between evidence and accounts may arise from their exposure to only one portion of the tool of inquiry. Students would be engaging in the process of historical inquiry, but they would be doing so with regard to the questions they find significant, rather than those that arise in a community of which they are not a part – the academic discipline of history. The critical task for the teacher is to 'help students develop questions that lead them toward inquiries that are meaningful and significant' (Barton and Levstik, 2004, p. 200). Leading pupils to spot assumptions can enhance their abilities to make and to evaluate inferences and conclusions. Furthermore, thinking of questions may engage students with the nature of historical enquiry, which proceeds from specific questions identifying what you know, can guess and what you want to know (Collingwood, 1939, quoted in Cooper & West, 2009, p. 13).

As Lowenthal (1999) argues, and relevant research results imply (Nakou, 2001; Cooper, 2004), contextual placement of objects do not only influence our visual historical images, and written or oral information and do not only influence our verbal images; they influence the way we see and realise things. Therefore, teachers might help students to think historically when buildings and sites are analysed and understood as historical evidence. Thus, they need to consider the implications of their teaching about and through heritage for both history curricula and classroom practices, namely with what students' learning and understanding of heritage evidence is concerned, and also instilling in students a sense of historical consciousness which enables them to locate themselves in relation to the past in a rigorously historical way (Chapman & Facey, 2004).

It is important today to re-evaluate museums and heritage as educational places and sources. Challenging heritage approaches must be considered among educators as essential to provide young generations with appropriate tools for reading heritage evidence in multiple perspectives.

### **Challenging students' ideas on historical evidence**

#### **Method**

An empirical study was carried out in order to answer the question: How do history teachers and students interpret evidence of a historic site? It was intended, specifically, to understand how 7th and 10th graders use historic sites – places, buildings and objects related to them - as evidence of a changing past; what kind of historical thinking students develop through direct contact with heritage; and what conceptions about heritage exploration do teachers reveal in the context of activities concerning the use of heritage remains.

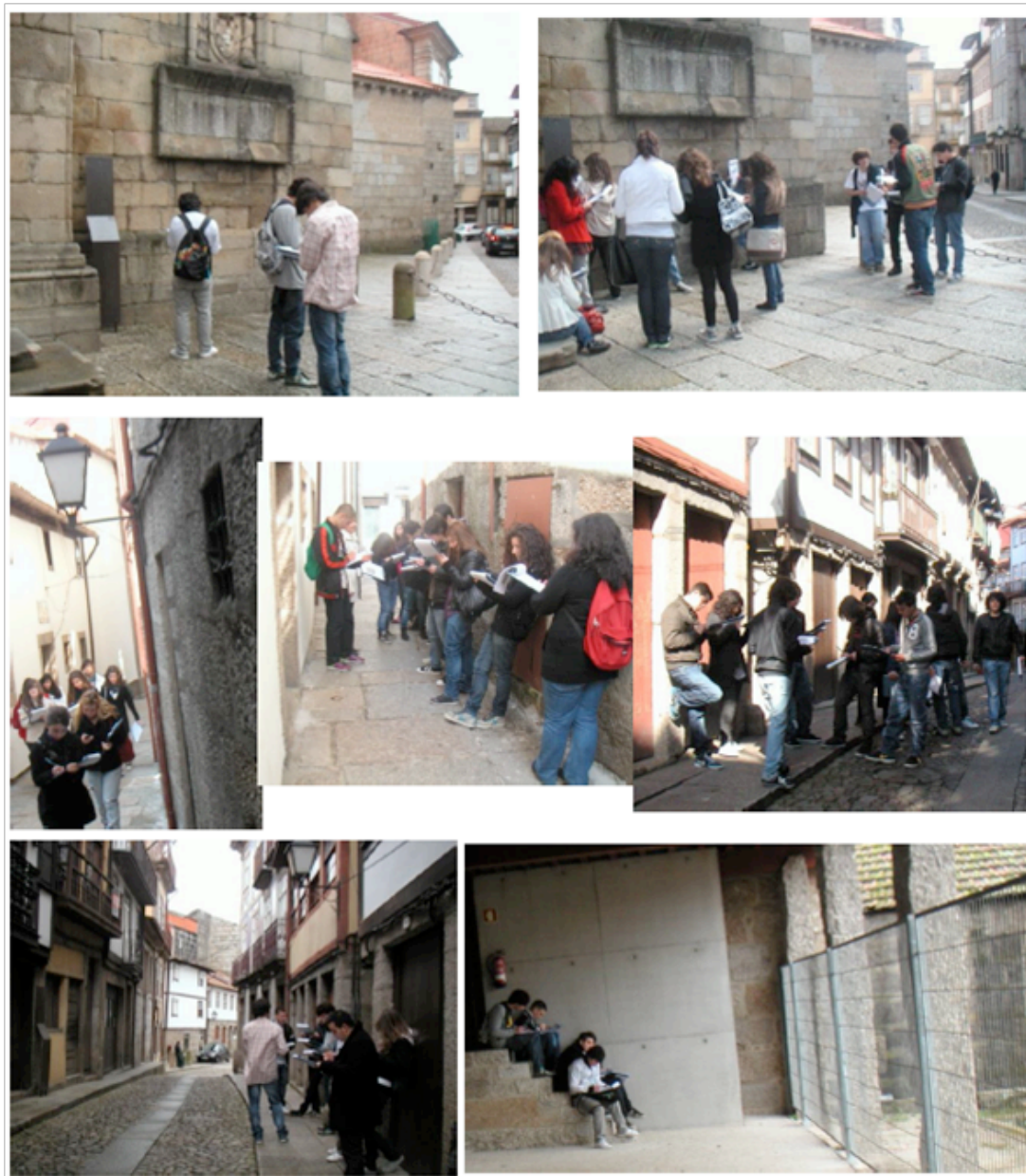
A descriptive, mainly qualitative approach based on grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) was followed in order to understand how Portuguese secondary students make sense of heritage remains as historical evidence, taking part in outside school history learning activities. Simultaneously, it was also an aim to see how history teachers use material sources to support students' learning experiences. Presenting a proposal of history and heritage education, the study was developed in three phases: exploratory, pilot (in four steps) and the main study.

The sample of the main study of this research included 87 students, 40 of them attending year 7 (12/13 years old) and 47 attending year 10 (15/16 years old), accompanied by their history/history of culture and arts teachers (N6) from several secondary schools of Guimarães (Fig. 1 and Fig 2) – a World Heritage historic centre since 2001 – in northern Portugal.





**Fig. 1** Groups of 7<sup>th</sup> grade students carrying out proposed tasks of heritage observation and interpretation at several staging points of a history education activity.



**Fig. 2** Groups of 10th grade students carrying out proposed tasks of heritage observation and interpretation at several staging points of a history education activity.

A 'questionnaire-guide' was designed, proposing to students a set of written tasks to be held at five specific staging points entailing direct observation and interpretation of heritage evidence (objects, buildings, historic sites) related to the Middle Ages, and also recognizing a wider historicity. There were also two short questionnaires for teachers (prior and post activity). Follow-up interviews were carried out with 33 students to clarify some of their written answers.

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 of 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. This might allow students to get an idea of the whole picture instead of out of context objects.

Each page of the 'questionnaire-guide' presented the task to be carried out by students at a staging point of the activity tour ((Fig. 3): 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.

5. Vamos agora para a antiga área extramuros, isto é, fora da antiga muralha. Desce as "Escadinhas" e atravessa a Alameda de S. Dâmaso, seguindo, depois, pelo Largo do Trovador e Rua de Couros. Junto à Pousada de Juventude, observa o conjunto de antigos tanques de curtumes.

*Sabe-se da existência de curtumes em Guimarães desde o século XII. Em 1315, quando dois mestres sapateiros, Pero Bahião e João Bahião fundaram a capela do Anjo da Guarda, S. Crispim e S. Crispiniano, associaram-lhe um "pelame" (cavidades onde se curtiam as peles) com "sete pias de pedra", na Rua de Couros, junto do ribeiro do mesmo nome. Esta actividade perdurou até ao século XX.*

Inspirado em A. L. Carvalho, "Os Mesteres na Antiguidade de Guimarães". *Revista de Guimarães*, (1-3), 1938, pp. 64-81.



Trabalhadores dos curtumes da 'Zona de Couros', 1º quartel do séc. XX.  
Arquivo da MURALHA - Associação de Guimarães para a Defesa do Património

5.1. A partir do que observaste, consideras que a função deste local terá sido sempre a mesma? Justifica.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

5.2. Qual a sua importância para:

a) aqueles que o construíram/usaram?

b) hoje compreendermos a época em que foi construído/usado?

a) \_\_\_\_\_

b) \_\_\_\_\_

5.3. Gostarias de colocar questões para tentares saber mais sobre este local? Quais?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Fig. 3** Page of the 'questionnaire-guide' presenting the task to be carried out by students at the fifth staging point of the activity tour.

These specific and gradual guiding questions can be grouped into categories related to materials, functions, symbols of power and references to changes over time. Tasks should allow students to address the research questions, as they were related to cognitive procedures and the development of history learning skills, enabling students to understand historical evidence. It was intended as well to understand how students make sense of

heritage sources, asking questions that allow them to connect concepts related to historical consciousness, namely concepts of identity and heritage.

### **Using heritage remains in field activities: analysis of data**

The analysis of data from participants' answers followed an increasingly refined categorization process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) throughout the exploratory, the pilot and the main study. It was intended to find out a model of students' conceptual progression concerning the way they inferred from the material support of historical evidence. The students' conceptual model was built on two constructs – 'use of evidence' and 'historical consciousness' – which emerged from data analysis. It has focused on students' answers to the proposed tasks of historical learning. As to teachers, two other 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 questionnaires. Constructs also appear to have connections with some results of other studies (Cooper, 1992, 2004; Nakou, 2001; Seixas & Clark, 2004; Ashby, Lee & Shemilt, 2005; Barton & McCully, 2005; Apostolidou, 2006) which were found to be relevant for this research field.

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 revealed undefined or confusing thoughts when reading the source, or inferences based on common sense ideas which they reproduce in the situation under observation:

I can know that the person who made it [the commemorative inscription], and put it on the church, wanted to show his work to those who like to know. (Alcina, 7th grade, 13 years old, question 1.1)

The 'loudel' looks like a kind of robe, it seems to be comfortable. (Fausto, 10th grade, 16 years old, question 2.2)

**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:

A king ordered the construction of this church. (Conceição, 7th grade, 12 years old, question 1.1)

The house doesn't have the same function as before because in the plaque is written 'old hostel-hospital'. Later on it became a hostel of S. Crispin [and provided] Christmas Eve dinner. (Anabela, 10th grade, 17 years old, question 3.1)

**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:

I see that this is a military cloth and it seems to have blood on it. (Fábio, 7th grade, 12 years old, question 2.2)

When compared with the other object [the commemorative inscription] this one has more decoration, it has Portuguese symbols within the flowers in the borders which have plant decoration, it has gothic writing and the other one is written in the 17 century form. (Plácido, 10th grade, 15 years old, question 2.1)

I wonder what the thoughts of the tailors were at the time they had made the 'loudel'. (Vasco, 7th grade, 12 years old, question 2.4)

**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 economical elements in the same context, or even making conjectures about several contexts in terms of time relations:

What kinds of materials were used in this hospital? What needs did this people have? Did they take part in the war, helping noble warriors and the king? (Alexandra, 10th grade, 15 years old, question, 3.1)

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. (Isaura, 7th grade, 12 years old, question 1.3)

**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:

It was interesting, nice. We have walked a lot. (Plínio, 7th grade, 13 years old, question 6)

**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:

This piece of cloth is very old and nowadays no one dresses that way. (Rute, 10th grade, 15 years old, question 2.3)

They used to assist pilgrims, poor people. We still do that today. (Plácido, 10th grade, 15 years old, question 3.2)

They wanted to register some moments or important events. (Bianca, 7th grade, 13 years old, question 1.2)

**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 (Rüsen, 2004; Seixas & Clark, 2004), or by its significance in terms of local or national identity. Some students valued heritage as evoking a 'golden past', others referred to the past as a model for the present, expressing an emotional relation between identity and local heritage, or recognising heritage as a symbol linked to a sense of national identity:

This place was firmly constructed and preserved for a long time, and it was important for those who worked here because it was a symbol of their ancestors. (Denise, 10th grade, 17 years old, question 5.2)

Its importance for those who built it [the church] was to honouring and glorifying Portuguese victories. (Sílvia, 10th grade, 15 years old, question 1.2)

**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 socio-economic 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:

They took care of those who had fewer possibilities to survive. It is important to our culture, to study the origin of our way of life, because this was the beginning of our hospital. (Palmira, 7th grade, 12 years old, question 3.2)

Old methods contributed to develop new techniques and also to understand how they used to live in the past. Inhabitants may gain knowledge about life in Guimarães. (Pascoal, 7th grade, 13 years old, question 6)

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

It was important because it provided leather for trading and sustained the chapel and the hostel. Everything is connected here. (Isaura, 7th grade, 12 years old, question 6)

Through this walk we saw city buildings, such as houses, the commemorative inscription showing human pride, business activities that have always represented the town and 'mere' protecting clothes. Several things that we come to realise make this town like it is – a cultural centre to be experienced by most of its population and even by everyone. (Luísa, 10th grade, 15 years old, question 6)

A brief quantitative analysis, which complemented the previous one, 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'.

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, students' remarks on the interviews and teachers comments on their questionnaires are not presented here.

Concerning the way teachers realised their role in the relationship between the past remains and their students' interpretations through the 'use of heritage evidence', they conferred more relevance both to approaching sources after the contextualisation of the issue in terms of substantive features – revealing an idea of evidence as illustration, and to connecting evidence in context. Nonetheless, some responses suggested procedures providing students' interpretation and comprehension of heritage sources as historical evidence, i.e. referring to a process of constructing knowledge upon evidence of the past, thus providing

significant historical learning. As regards the 'aims of teaching and making heritage accessible', namely how teachers intend to enhance students' historical understanding through specific learning activities, some teachers disclosed the motivating nature of the activity to bringing the past to students' everyday experience; most of them just stressed knowledge reinforcement as the main purpose of the contact with material evidence (mainly when answering the previous questionnaire), and another group considered the construction of students' knowledge just within a teacher-oriented situation. Regarding the 'historical consciousness' dimension, i.e., the improvement of students historical thinking in terms of temporal orientation, for the most part teachers recognised that by interpreting heritage sources students could reach a contextualized understanding of the past. Concerning the 'heritage awareness' dimension, the patterns that evolved from the data showed similarities with some types of Rösen's typology of historical consciousness (Rösen, 2004). Teachers seem to have been orientated mainly to 'exemplary' stances toward the past, as their relation with heritage reveals an implicit idea of commitment to a certain collective identity, or a sense of community identity materialized by local heritage, conveying a 'message' for the younger generations. A few teachers have revealed constructs suggesting 'temporalisation' and construction of identities which could be related to Rösen's 'genetic' type of historical consciousness.

There seems to be a relationship between the type of participants' historical consciousness and their perspective on the use of heritage sources in history teaching and learning: while some teachers consider that the context is the focus of the lessons of history – and many of the participating students in response to different tasks, contextualized sources relating the available information with their prior knowledge – others show a more consistent notion of how historical knowledge topics must be contextualized and can be developed, showing concerns for promoting students' critical thinking and historical enquiry through specific tasks in learning activities inside and outside the classroom.

### **Reflecting on the results**

This study avows the need of approaching education activities in a systematic and consistent process, according to methodological criteria in connection with the history curriculum. To consistently fulfil this purpose it is useful to provide tasks that can challenge students' preconceptions and encourage historical interpretation of heritage sources in terms of local history – connected to national and worldwide history – considering that progress in historical understanding entails contextualised and significant learning.

As emphasized in this study, there is potential for interpreting material sources in history education, and teachers can play an important role in helping students to make sense of signs of heritage as historical evidence, and as elements relating several segments of time.

Students' ideas and teachers' references to heritage evidence appeared to be situated both in their cultural and educational background and in the context of the research procedures. Teachers, being mediators between the remains of the past and their students, need to reflect on how they intend to enhance students' historical understanding. Thus, they should try to be aware of the historical thinking process, as well as the identity and heritage relationships students construe.

Approaching heritage in a systematic and consistent process as intended in this study might improve multiple competences in youngsters, particularly in the context of historical understanding, to fostering students' ability to 'read' objects, buildings and historic sites both in formal and non-formal education. This study draws attention to the implications of these activities, especially for the strengthening of more and more complex inferences by students.

## Correspondence

Dr Helena Pinto CIEd (Centro de Investigação em Educação [Centre for Research in Education]), University of Minho Braga, Portugal

[mhelenapinto@gmail.com](mailto:mhelenapinto@gmail.com)

## References

Angvik, M. & Borries B. (eds.) (1997) *Youth and history. A comparative European survey on historical consciousness and political attitudes among adolescents*, vols. A & B, Hamburg: Körber-Stiftung.

Apostolidou, E. (2006) 'The historical consciousness of 15-year-old students in Greece', PhD Thesis, University of London, Institute of Education.

Ashby, R. (2005) 'Students' approaches to validating historical claims', in Ashby, R., Gordon, P. & Lee, P. (eds.) 'Understanding history: Recent research in history education', *International Review of History Education*, vol. 4, pp. 21-36, London: Routledge Falmer.

Ashby, R., Lee, P. & Shemilt, D. (2005) 'Putting principles into Practice: Teaching and Planning', in Donovan M. S. & Bransford, J. D. (eds.) *How students learn: History in the classroom*, (pp. 79-178), Washington DC: The National Academies Press.

Barca, I. (2005) 'Till new facts are discovered': students' ideas about objectivity in history, in Ashby, R., Gordon, P. & Lee, P. (eds.) *Understanding history: Recent research in history education*, vol. 4, pp. 68-82, London: Routledge Falmer.

Barca, I. & Pinto, H. (2006) 'How children make sense of historic streets: Walking through Downtown Guimarães', *International Journal of Historical Teaching, Learning and Research*, vol. 6, no. 1, [Online], Available: <http://www.centres.ex.ac.uk/historyresource/journalstart.htm> [3 Oct 2011].

Barton, K. & Levstik, L. (2004) *Teaching history for the common good*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Barton, K. & McCully, A. (2005) 'Learning history and inheriting the past: the interaction of school and community perspectives in Northern Ireland', *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, vol. 5, no. 1, [Online], Available: <http://centres.exeter.ac.uk/historyresource/journal9/papers/ijhltr.pdf> [3 Oct 2011].

Chapman, A. & Facey, J. (2004) 'Placing history: territory, story, identity, and historical consciousness', *Teaching History*, Issue 116, pp. 36-41.

Chee, M. F. (2006) 'Training teachers for the effective use of museum', *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, vol. 6, no. 1, [Online], Available: <http://www.centres.ex.ac.uk/historyresource/journalstart.htm> [3 Oct 2011].

Cooper, H. (1992) *The teaching of history: Implementing the National Curriculum*, London: David Fulton.

Cooper, H. (2004) 'Why time? Why place? Why play?', in Cooper, H. (ed.) *Exploring time and place through play*, pp. 5-23, London: David Fulton.



Cooper, H. & West, L. (2009) 'Year 5/6 and Year 7 historians visit Brougham Castle', in Cooper, H. & Chapman, A. (eds.) *Constructing history 11-19*, pp. 9-32, London: Sage.

Copeland, T. (2006) 'European democratic citizenship, heritage education and identity', Council of Europe, [Online], Available: [http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/Source/Completed/Education/DGIV\\_PAT\\_HERITAG\\_E\\_ED\(2005\)3\\_EN.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/Source/Completed/Education/DGIV_PAT_HERITAG_E_ED(2005)3_EN.pdf) [17 Jan 2010].

Departamento da Educação Básica [DEB] (2001) *Currículo Nacional do Ensino Básico: Competências Essenciais [National Curriculum for Basic Education: Essential Skills]*, Lisbon: Ministério da Educação, Departamento da Educação Básica.

Donovan, M. S. & Bransford, J. D. (2005) (eds.) *How students learn: History in the classroom*, Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

Estepa, J. & Cuenca, J. (2006) 'La mirada de los maestros, profesores y gestores del patrimonio. Investigación sobre concepciones acerca del patrimonio y su didáctica [Views of teachers, professors and managers of heritage. Research on conceptions of heritage and teaching]' (pp. 51-71), in Calaf, R. & Fontal, O. (eds.) *Miradas al patrimonio [Views of heritage]*, Gijón: Ediciones Trea.

Gerwin, D. (2006) 'Object lessons: Teachers, historians, narratives and inquiry', *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, vol. 6, no. 1, [Online], Available: <http://www.centres.ex.ac.uk/historyresource/journalstart.htm> [3 Oct 2011].

Harnett, P. (2006) 'Exploring the potential for history and citizenship education with primary children at the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol', *International Journal of Historical Teaching, Learning and Research*, vol 6, no. 1, [Online], Available: <http://www.centres.ex.ac.uk/historyresource/journalstart.htm> [3 Oct 2011].

Hein, G. (1998) *Learning in the museum*, New York: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2007) (ed.) *Museums and education: Purpose, pedagogy, performance*, London, Routledge.

Lee, P. (2004) 'Walking backwards into tomorrow': Historical consciousness and understanding history', *International Journal of Historical Learning Teaching and Research*, vol.4, no. 1, [Online], Available: <http://centres.exeter.ac.uk/historyresource/journal7/7contents.htm> [3 Oct 2011].

Lee, P. (2005) 'Putting principles into practice: understanding History', in Donovan, M.S. & Bransford, J.D. (eds.) *How students learn: History in the classroom* (pp. 31-77), Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. .

Lee, P. & Ashby, R. (2001) 'Empathy, perspective taking, and rational understanding', in Davis, O.L., Yeager, E. & Foster, S. (eds.) *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies* (pp. 21-50), Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Levstik, L., Henderson, A. & Schlarb, J. (2005) 'Digging for clues: an archaeological exploration of historical cognition', in Ashby, R., Gordon, P. & Lee P. (eds.) 'Understanding history: Recent research in history education', *International Review of History Education*, vol. 4, pp. 37-53. London: Routledge Falmer

Lowenthal, D. (1999) *The past is a foreign country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nakou, I. (2001) 'Children's historical thinking within a museum environment: An overall picture of a longitudinal study', in Dickinson, A., Gordon, P. & Lee, P. (eds.) 'Raising standards in history education', *International Review of History Education*, vol. 3, pp.73-96, London: Woburn Press.

Pinto, H. (2011) 'Educação histórica e patrimonial: concepções de alunos e professores sobre o passado em espaços do presente [History and heritage education: conceptions of students and teachers about the past in current [present] spaces]', PhD thesis in Education in History and Social Sciences, University of Minho, Portugal, [Online], Available: <http://repositorium.sdum.uminho.pt/handle/1822/19745> [6 Oct 2012].

Rüsen, J. (2004) 'Historical consciousness: Narrative structure, moral function, and ontogenetic development', in Seixas, P. (ed.) *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, pp. 63-85, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rüsen, J. (2007) 'How to make sense of the past: Salient issues of metahistory', *TD: The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 169-221.

Seixas, P. & Clark, P. (2004) 'Murals as monuments: Students' ideas about depictions of civilization in British Columbia', *American Journal of Education*, vol. 110, pp. 146-171.

Shemilt, D. (1980) 'History 13-16: Evaluation study', *Schools Council History 13-16 Project*, Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall.

Shemilt, D. (1987) 'Adolescent ideas about evidence and methodology in history', in C. Portal, (ed.) *The History Curriculum for Teachers* (pp. 39-61), London: The Falmer Press.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing Grounded Theory*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Wertsch, J. (2000) 'Is it possible to teach beliefs, as well as knowledge about history?', in Stearns, P., Seixas, P. & Wineburg, S. (eds.) *Knowing, teaching, and learning history: National and international perspectives* (pp. 38-50), NY: New York University Press.

PORTUGUESE PRIMARY STUDENTS' IDEAS ABOUT HISTORICAL EVIDENCE USING  
OLD NEWSPAPERS AS SOURCES

Glória Solé, University of Minho, Minho, Portugal

---

**Abstract**

*This paper describes an educational activity using old newspapers, in order to analyse fourth graders' ideas about historical evidence. This activity is part of the author's PhD study (Solé, 2009) concerning didactic-pedagogic strategies carried out with a fourth grade Portuguese class (9-10 years old). Old newspapers were used as sources to analyse how students make use of evidence to reach conclusions about some national events and to explain their conceptualization of historical knowledge about a specific topic. Within a qualitative, empirical study, children were working through cooperative learning using old newspapers and other sources (books, pictures). The class was organized in six groups, and each group had read, analysed and discussed one national historical event (Portuguese 1<sup>st</sup> Republic, participation in World War I; New State; 25<sup>th</sup> April 1974 revolution; Portugal in the European Union) reported by old local newspapers (Diário do Minho, Comércio do Minho and Correio do Minho). The purpose was to strengthen students' understanding of the reliability of this type of source in the construction of historical knowledge.*

*Findings suggest that the use of newspapers as historical sources might improve diverse historical skills: developing chronology, finding historical information from primary written sources, inferring from sources, comparing conflicting information, developing critical thinking as students learn about past events and how people reacted to them, using historical vocabulary, communicating awareness and understanding of historical events. This study found that primary students may acquire important skills, but need to practise weighing historical evidence; therefore the learning process should be focused on the use of diverse sources. This study also suggests the need for a systematic use of diverse sources by teachers, to help students to develop a more complex understanding of the nature of historical knowledge.*

**Keywords**

Chronology, Historical evidence, Historical skills, Historical sources, Historical understanding, History education, Pedagogy, Primary history

**Introduction**

There are many ways newspapers are used in the classroom, especially in language courses, but less so in learning history. This paper is divided in two main parts. In the first part I present some previous research findings illustrating the potential for learning history and historical skills using newspapers. In the second part, the most extensive part, I describe an experiment I undertook using newspapers as an historical resource for teaching history in a primary school, and give some guidelines to teachers for using newspapers to promote temporal and historical understanding and to develop children's historical knowledge and understanding. I will describe an experiment carried out in a fourth grade classroom (25 students with 9-10 years old) using old newspapers related to some important Portuguese historical events, some of which are public holidays.

### Using newspapers in the classroom

Newspapers are written for an adult audience, and their content usually is not appropriate for children. But, newspapers can be used effectively with a range of levels from elementary to advanced. Sanderson (2006) in her book *Using Newspapers in the Classroom* supports the use of newspapers in a classroom for different levels, subjects, objectives and valuable skills. Newspapers are an invaluable source of *authentic material*, promote *reader interest*, because in newspapers there is an enormous variety of subject-matter, and this motivated the students to work with them. In this book there are many suggestions on how to use newspapers in the classroom. Before using the newspapers some previous preparations are recommended: collecting newspapers; choosing newspaper materials; preparing newspaper material; and planning many lessons with different objectives, using headlines, articles, photographs, advertisements, and other sections.

There are many experiments using newspapers in schools by social studies teachers, but not many with children, because some teachers think the newspapers may not be an obvious choice of material for children. Yet they have contact every day with newspapers. They are also part of the daily experience of children.

Adams (1998) carried out an experiment with young children in an infant classroom (year 1 and year 2). She gave some editions printed during the previous fortnight, and used them for exploring the children's current knowledge and experience. She concluded the children knew a great deal about the role of newspapers, and they were agreeing that the newspapers were about things which had really happened. She explored the newspapers with the children, focusing particularly on the front pages, asking what they looked at on this page. She introduced the children to some general and specific points about newspapers:

- A. she emphasised the idea that newspapers provided a written account of things which had happened recently;
- B. she introduced some newspaper vocabulary: headline and column (p. 181).

She planned a session related to the history of space travel, and gathered a range of resources to use with children: books, photographs, video material, and several newspaper reports from July 1969. With these resources she presented to the children the story of the moon-landing in several different ways and they read and compared them. After discussing the news about travel to the moon the children created their own front page, about the first moon landing. This pedagogic experiment with newspapers demonstrated the opportunities for developing children's historical knowledge and understanding, but also some of the key skills related to the English curriculum, news concepts and vocabulary.

Munck (2007) in her master project carried out research 'Using Newspapers and News Magazines to Teach History' with 90 tenth grade students, dispersed in three different class periods, in a suburban school area of South-eastern Michigan. Over a ten week period the students were studied, in order to determine the effects of print media in a history classroom, as part of a unit on the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The purpose of this study was to investigate whether or not the use of written media aids and encourages high school students in studying history. The research gave some conclusions and recommendations:

- The use of newspapers and news magazines in the classroom will lead to a better understanding of Civil Rights.
- The use of newspapers and news magazines in the classroom encourages students to read such publications.

- Through the use of contemporary issues to teach the past, it was also proposed that the subjects will become dedicated, lifelong learners and regular readers of newspapers and news.
- Newspapers and news magazines should be used as a resource to teach history.
- The use of current events in the classroom should begin early on in high school so as to improve reading comprehension skills, prepare students for government classes, and form good habits.

### **Learning about newspapers**

Newspapers in Education (NIE) claimed 'the newspaper is the most widely used of the media [as a teaching instrument in the classroom], and is used throughout the school year in every area of the curriculum'. Research shows that using a newspaper in the curriculum improves student skills, increases knowledge, and encourages a positive attitude toward learning. So the newspapers can represent useful tools in the literacy classroom, but the teacher has an important role to promote their correct use in the classroom. Using newspapers contributes to teaching all sorts of valuable skills, including reading and writing for meaning, map reading, media literacy, sequencing, word meaning, and mathematics. (Aix, 1988).

Many websites offer numerous ideas for using newspapers in the classroom. They suggest activities including using newspapers to teach concepts in subject areas such as languages, arts, social studies, and mathematics. They include information about media and literacy skills, and suggest reasons for using newspapers as an effective classroom teaching tool. Starr (2009) suggests the following reasons for this. Newspapers:

1. deal with what's happening here and now, providing motivation for reading and discussion.
2. make learning fun.
3. are extremely flexible and adaptable to all curriculum areas and grade levels.
4. bridge the gap between the classroom and the "real" world.
5. build good reading habits that will last a lifetime.
6. can be cut, marked, clipped, pasted, filed, and recycled.
7. give everyone something to read -- news, sports, weather, editorials, and comics.
8. are a cost-effective way to educate.
9. contain practical vocabulary and the best models of clear, concise writing.

Learning about newspapers, children also gain valuable skills which are central to the Native Language syllabus. They become familiar with the genre of reports, read for information, are stimulated to write, learn newspaper terms, such as 'headline', 'byline', 'masthead', 'editorial', 'column', etc., learn news vocabulary and how to distinguish between fiction and non-fiction. Using newspapers contributes to discussing the subject, developing thinking and argument, promoting an awareness of inference and stimulating an interest in knowing more about the subject-matter, and reading further in textbooks. Using newspapers in the classroom also promotes some important pedagogic factors such as enthusiasm, motivation and the self-esteem which results from completing a task well. Newspapers can be used to develop comprehension and critical thinking and to help students develop sensitivity and awareness of the self, the community, the nation, and the world (Rhoades & Rhoades, 1985).

Some skills can be clearly identified and matched to attainment targets related to both history and language (Adams, 1998).

**Fig. 1** Opportunities for History and English (mother tongue) when using newspapers

Mother tongue	History
<b>Looking at news</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reading for information</li> <li>• Distinguishing between fiction and non fiction</li> <li>• Participating in discussions; Sharing ideas</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chronology: looking at dates</li> <li>• Learning that newspapers are a record of events, which occurred at a particular time.</li> </ul>
<b>Looking at reports</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reading for information</li> <li>• Recalling and explaining the content of reports</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Finding information from written sources</li> <li>• Learning about past events, and about people's responses to those events.</li> </ul>
<b>Writing newspaper reports</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planning, organising and reviewing writing</li> <li>• Writing in a particular form, incorporating characteristics of that form.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communicating awareness and understanding of historical events</li> </ul>

Adams (1998, p. 190)

### **Case study: Using Newspapers as an historical source**

History is usually connected only with the past, but it is related to the present and the future. History is important for understanding the present, what is happening in the world. History repeats itself, we learn from our mistakes, and you cannot know where you are going until you understand where you have been. For this reason, it is essential for students to learn to draw parallels between history and the modern world, through the use of media. Galindo (1999) distinguishes between the present time (history of the present moment) and the current time, (a periodic construction of present reality). The pedagogic history, of total and comprehensive history, relates the study of the past to the explanations and comprehension of the immediate present. The media, when it is appropriate to use them, are an important source of this knowledge. History is written based on multiple sources, and the media are one of them, but it is necessary to analyse and compare many sources to construct the image of what actually happened. With media, and especially with newspapers the students can learn recent or current events, what is happening at this moment in the world, but we can also learn about some significant historical events, and what the news said in the past about them, and compare with other sources (textbooks). Newspapers are a source, either a primary source or a secondary source, depending on the perspective of historians and our questions. It is important to use multiple sources with children in learning history, to promote interest in history, critical thinking, and historical understanding (VanSledright & Kelly, 1998). Newspapers are one of the sources which are a good tool for learning history. In this article the author reflects on the influence of alternative history texts in some research, and concludes that it is important to promote relevant literacy sources in teaching social studies, thereby encouraging knowledge, skills, and values that constitute civic competence.

### **Methodology**

This pedagogic experiment with newspapers was carried out in a fourth grade (25 students with 9-10 years old) classroom in an urban school in Braga (Portugal) in the years 2005-

2006. As a researcher-practitioner I taught Portuguese History in one session using newspapers as an historical source. The children worked cooperatively. The class was organized in six groups. Each group read, analysed and discussed one national, historical event between the participation of the 1.<sup>st</sup> Republic, in the First World War and Portugal joining the European Union). The old newspapers used were *Diário do Minho*, *Comércio do Minho* and *Correio do Minho*). I provided each group with copies of old newspapers related to one national event per group. I gave them some questions for them to explore, and I gathered a range of resources to use with the students. These included books and photographs. Each group analysed their events in the newspaper, summarized the information according to their national event, put the photograph in a chronological position on a large time line and had to write a short sentence about the historical event. For data collection I used various techniques: observation (active participant observation, focused observation), field notes, classroom diaries and work done by the students in the session. The researcher-teacher is the main element of the observation (Everstson & Green, 1986; Erickson, 1986; Lessard-Hébert et al., 1990).

### **Description of the session**

Activity: *Braga in the XX-XXI century*

The students, in groups, explored one newspaper article about an important historical event in a local newspaper and analysed how this event was experienced in the town of Braga. I gave different questionnaires to the five groups to explore the respective article (ex. Annex 1 and 2). No information was given about the event in the news. Students had to identify what the event in the article in the newspaper was. Some of them were related to important historical national events and public holidays.

The class was divided in six groups with four students. I gave a copy of the article to each group and the respective questionnaire:

- Group 1 - *Comércio do Minho*, 11 October 1910 – “A implantação da República em Braga” [Establishment of the Republic on 5 October 1910];
- Group 2 - *Comércio do Minho*, 14 Abril 1917- “Soldados Portugueses; 24 Abril 1917 – *Partidas da tropa*” [Soldiers left the train station of Braga in 1917 to participate in the First World War];
- Group 3 - *Diário do Minho*, 29 May 1926 – ‘Movimento revolucionário’ [Military Dictatorship 1926];
- Group 4 - *Correio do Minho*, 12 Abril 1933 – ‘Terminou a ditadura: Perante o Chefe do Estado tomou ontem posse o primeiro governo Constitucional, que é presidido pelo Sr. Dr. Oliveira Salazar’ [End of the dictatorship: Against the Head of State yesterday took possession of the first constitutional government, which is chaired by the Honourable Dr. Oliveira Salazar] [Beginning of the ‘New State’ with dictatorship Salazar];
- Group 5 - *Diário do Minho*, 1 January 2002, ‘Euro não altera preços dos bens alimentares’, p. 5; ‘Ano novo moeda nova’, p. 21; *Escudo desaparece mas símbolo mantém-se* [The Euro does not change the price of food] [The coin disappears but the shield symbol remains] p.22 [Introduction of the Euro in Portugal];
- Group 6 - *Diário do Minho*, 26 Abril at 1974 – ‘O “Movimento das Forças Armadas” tomou conta do poder [The “Armed Forces Movement” took over power  
*Diário do Minho*, 27 Abril 1974 – ‘Houve ‘feriado’ em Braga’ [There was a ‘holiday’ in Braga] [The Revolution of 25 April, 1974].

The aims of this activity were to develop temporal and historical understanding, historical empathy, historical enquiry, cooperative learning understanding and critical thinking. This activity was to contribute to students’ work with old newspapers as a primary historical

source to learning history. They read in these articles important national historical facts. The students looked for historical information relating to political historical events. I monitored all groups as they looked for evidence. To do this they related the information in the article to the historical event. First they checked the day of the news, then they analysed the meaning of the headline. The discussion in the group demonstrated some chronological skills and temporal understanding. They identified the day on which the event occurred, calculated the day of the week, and explained why some news of an historical event was published immediately and why some was published some days after it happened, relating this to the publication of the newspapers either twice-weekly or three times per week. The discussion in Group One (reading about the establishment of the Portuguese Republic) demonstrated this:

Mariana said with surprise: *11 of October? Isn't it 5 October?* Bernadette who was reading the open note explained: *It said it was closed one week, for this the news was only published one week later.* Bernadette read this extract in the news: *last Tuesday ...* and calculated the date, to demonstrate to Alberto, who didn't understand, that last Tuesday was 5 October (Diary 4<sup>th</sup> grade 27-04-06).

In the discussion about the 'Establishment of the Republic' Mariana established a relation with chronological time and familiar time, she related this historical event to the time of her great-grand-father and great- great- grand-father (4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> generation): *It happened in the time of my great-grand-father or my great- great- grand-father.*

Some students in different groups calculated the day of the week of the events using the information in the news in the newspaper. For example in Group Two the articles in the news referring to the departure of the soldiers to France said: *'Last Sunday two battalions of soldiers departed from Lisbon to go to France, ...'*. The Newspaper was dated 24 April (Tuesday) and they counted back the days and concluded that Saturday was 21 April, which reflected a correct use of the calendar. Also the students related chronological information of the events reported in the news with their chronological knowledge associated with historical time of the First World War (1914-1918). They knew the date of the end of the war was in 1918, and Marco Ângelo inferred: *The Portuguese participated in the end of the war.*

In Group Four also the temporal dimension was presented when they established a relationship with the date 1933 in the beginning of the "New State", and José Filipe justified: *It was when he was beginning to govern.* José Nuno verified the date of the newspaper as 12 April, but the establishment of the first constitutional government was on 11 April. About this date one student commented: *I didn't know the 11 April was a holiday,* because he thought all the events in the newspapers were national civil holidays. He recognized only two of the events in the news were national holidays: the 5 October and the 25 April. They were surprised also by the title of the article on 12 April of 1933: *'The dictatorship is over'*, because they knew the date of the end of the dictatorship was on 25 of April 1974. Then José Filipe asked: *But which dictatorship?* José Filipe concluded: *It was when Salazar was beginning the New State in 1933,* and his answer revealed critical thinking when he analysed the headline: *'What happened after the military dictatorship wasn't democracy either'*, speaking about the 'New State'. In this group Belinda spontaneously calculated the period of the dictatorship mathematically by subtracting 1933 from 1974, but she concluded the result wasn't 48 years, the time of the dictatorship in Portugal, using knowledge she had about this period of Portuguese History. I helped by telling them that the beginning of the dictatorship was counted from the military dictatorship in 1926. After she was given this information she confirmed that the dictatorship lasted for 48 years. This group confirmed that the political position of Salazar was the Head of government and not Head of State, as some had thought. They identified that the Head of State was General Carmona.



Group Three was the group that initially revealed most difficulty in interpreting the news in the article, because the news wasn't related with any historical event learned in the academic syllabus for that year, and they didn't recognise what the historical event was. This stimulated an interesting discussion: *I have read something, but I don't understand the meaning of 29 May 1926*, said one student. They associated the headline *Military Revolution* with the 25 April when they asked: *Maybe it was the 25 April?* Another student answered: *It isn't the 25 April; that was in 1974*. In this discussion they concluded that the date did not refer to the event they had thought it did. Then they described event in 1926, identifying the important personality who coordinated the revolution: *It was the general Gomes da Costa* – said Catarina. (This group did not know that his statue exists in Braga). They identified the historical event correctly: *So the event in this article is the revolution of 28 May 1926*. Duarte: *this revolution was also carried out by the military like the Revolution of 25 April*. This group were able to explain the content of the information in the newspaper and made a causal explanation, when they explained the motives for justifying the military revolution: *It was a big change (Manuel); Because in the Republic they didn't have a good government*.

In association with the events in the old newspapers the students demonstrated that they recognized the important political changes that happened in Portugal in the twentieth century, as demonstrated in this relevant classroom diary extract:

I asked Group Three: *What was the political regime that was established on 5 October 1910?* Catarina answered: *The Republic*. And I proceeded: *Before the Republic who governed?* *The king* - answered Catarina and João Miguel confirmed the monarchy was the political regime before the Republic. (Diary 4.º year 27-04-06).

The students in Group Five had an extended discussion of their historical event, the 25 April, because here had worked on this event weeks before to celebrate the holiday, and they drew on their historical knowledge to interpret the article in the newspaper:

Júlio Manuel explains why there was a revolution on April 25: *Because they changed the dictatorship to the democracy*. And this student rejected what his classmate said, (that the dictatorship ended with the death of Salazar) and he explained that power was transferred to the hand of Marcelo Caetano. Bruno explained: *After 25 April the soldiers governed the country and after they held the election*. (Diary 4.º year 27-04-06)

Also Group Six analysed the news about the introduction of the Euro, and they read, and tried to explain, the change in the Portuguese currency in the twentieth century, associated with change in the political regime. They identified the 'escudo' with the Republic and the 'real' with the monarchy. The students recognised the 'real' was used during the monarchy and that after the Establishment of the Republic on 5 October the currency became the 'escudo', which, on 31 of December 2001, it was replaced by the Euro. Some of the students remembered that moment, and they invoked the personal past remembering using the escudo when they were six years old. This group spontaneously calculated the years that the escudo was used, and concluded that this currency was in circulation 90 years, demonstrating that they were able to apply the concept of duration correctly to calculate the period of time between the beginning of the Establishment of the Republic and the substitution of the escudo by the euro in January 2002.

At the end of the class all groups presented their results from the research based on the newspapers articles and then they registered them on a time line.

With this activity using newspapers in the classroom we can conclude that the students:

- 1) checked evidence in the newspaper articles relating the news with the historical event, not only by the content of the news but also by the date;
- 2) understood temporal dimension in the news, identified the date, calculated the day of the week of the event when this was not stated, explained why some news was published several days after the event;
- 3) related chronological information in the news to historical time and related it to political events;
- 4) revealed that they had skills to relate and apply different types of time when they analysed news in the newspapers: chronological time, calendar time, personal time, generational time and historical time;
- 5) understood and applied correctly the concept of duration, and they calculated time duration from various political events;
- 6) interpreted the information in the news and provided a causal and rational explanation, indicated motives and reasons that contributed to these events;
- 7) used historical knowledge to interpret evidence in the news;
- 8) identified political change: monarchy, republic, dictatorship, democracy;
- 9) related some of these political events with national holidays: 5 October of 1910 with the Implantation of the Republic ('Implantação da República') and the Revolution of 25 April ('Revolução de 25 de Abril').

### **Conclusion**

The session described in this paper was an attempt to help the students develop their reading skills through the examination of newspapers. This activity promoted cooperative learning; the session became centred on the students interacting and the research-teacher monitoring their constructive learning using newspapers. With newspapers we can promote many skills related to temporal and historical understanding, the construction of evidence, applied historical knowledge, and so learning about history and about historical events, developing chronology, finding information from primary written resources, learning about past events, and about people's responses to those events, using historical vocabulary, communicating awareness and understanding historical events. They do not usually use newspapers an historical source in class.

Other transferable skills relating to group work and other curricula areas are promoted, so the mother tongue was developed by reading and interpretation of the information, recalling, explaining the content of the reports, sharing, discussing and summarising ideas. This activity contributed to group work, promoted class discussion, and stimulated active participation and responsibility.

Using newspapers and other media in education is important in developing critical, free and responsive citizenship, for understanding the world in the present and also contributing to the perception of history from a different perspective. Newspapers can be valuable resources for history. They could be a relevant primary source that contributes to developing children's historical knowledge and understanding, and motivates the learning of history.

### **Correspondence**

Dr Glória Solé, University of Minho, Minho, Portugal  
[gsole@ie.uminho.pt](mailto:gsole@ie.uminho.pt)

## References

- Aiex, N. (1988) Using Newspapers as Effective Teaching Tools. *Eric Clearinghouse on Reading and Communication Skills*. Bloomington, IN: ERIC Digest (10), [Online], Available: <http://www.ericdigests.org/pre-929/using.htm> [8 Apr 2010].
- Adams, J. (1998) "Read all about it': using newspapers as an historical resource in an infant classroom', in Hoodless, P. (Ed.). *History and English in the primary school*, London: Routledge.
- Erickson, F. (1986) 'Qualitative methods in research on teaching', in Wittrock, M. (ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching*, 3rd Edition (pp. 119-161), New York: Macmillan.
- Everstson, C. M. & Green J. L. (1986) 'Observation as inquiry and method', in Wittrock, M. (ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (pp. 162-213), New York: Macmillan.
- Galindo, J. (1999) 'Reconstruir el pasado para construir la democracia [Reconstructing the past to build democracy]', *Comunicar*, vol. 12, pp. 65-70.
- Lessard-Hebert, M., Goyette, G., & Boutin, G. (1990) *Recherche qualitative: Fondements et pratiques [Qualitative research: Foundations and practices]*, Montréal: Agence d'ARC.
- Munck, S. (2007) Using newspapers and news magazines to teach history. Master's degree project, Wayne State University, [Online], Available: <http://ted.coe.wayne.edu/sse/finding/Munck.doc> [13 Apr 2010].
- Rhoades, L. & Rhoades, G. (1985) Using the daily newspaper to teach cognitive and affective skills, *Clearinghouse*, vol. 59, no. 4, December, pp. 162-164.
- Sanderson, P. (2006) *Using newspapers in the classroom* (7<sup>th</sup> edition), Cambridge: University Press.
- Starr, L. (2009) Ten great activities: Teaching with the newspaper, *Education World*, [Online], Available: [http://www.educationworld.com/a\\_lesson/lesson/lesson139.shtml](http://www.educationworld.com/a_lesson/lesson/lesson139.shtml) [13 April 2010].
- VanSledright, B. A. & Kelly, C. (1998) Reading American history: The influence of multiple sources on six fifth graders, *The Elementary School Journal*, vol. 98, no. 3, pp. 239-265, [Online], Available: <http://www.emints.org/ethemes/resources/S00001146.shtml> [13 Apr 2010].

## **'BUT WHY IS THIS SO IMPORTANT?': DISCUSSING HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THE CLASSROOM**

Jannet van Drie, Carla van Boxtel and Brenda Stam, Research Institute of Child Development and Education, University of Amsterdam

---

### **Abstract**

*Engaging students in historical reasoning is considered important to develop students' historical understanding and historical reasoning ability, but it also raises the question of how to enhance and stimulate students' historical reasoning in the classroom. We will argue why and how discussing historical significance can engage students in historical reasoning. We designed a series of lessons on determining historical significance, based on three approaches to trigger and support historical reasoning: (1) open-ended tasks or questions that are meaningful from both a curriculum and a pupil perspective; (2) engaging students in historical reasoning through small group and whole-class discussions; and (3) using external representations as tools for reasoning. In a small-scale study we investigated whether this approach resulted in historical reasoning in talk and writing and what the quality of this historical reasoning was. Two teachers and their students (in sum 43, 15-16 years of age) participated in the study. Data included a pre- and post-test measuring historical knowledge, student-essays and transcripts of whole-class discussions. Outcomes support the idea that engaging students in issues of historical significance does trigger historical reasoning, however they also reveal that students have difficulties with different aspects of it.*

### **Keywords**

Historical reasoning, Historical significance, Instruction, Classroom interaction, Writing

### **Discussing historical significance in the classroom**

'Why should we learn about dead people and old things? What is the importance of it?' History teachers are often confronted with questions like these. For many students in secondary education it is unclear why they should have to learn about events and people from the past (cf. Haydn & Harris, 2010). In the lesson unit described in this paper we turned things around and confronted students with the question of who and what was important in history and why. This question is related to the concept of historical significance. Establishing significance is answering the question of why we care about certain events, developments and issues in history (Seixas, 2006). What is considered historically significant varies over time and from group to group. Historical significance is a second order or meta-concept that gives shape to the discipline of history; it guides and shapes the practice of history and functions as a tool for historical thinking and reasoning (cf. Lee, 2005; Lévesque, 2008; Limón, 2002; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008).

Several authors suggest that engaging students in issues of historical significance may stimulate historical reasoning (Counsell, 2004; Hunt, 2000), however, this has not been systematically investigated (cf. Cercadillo, 2001; Lévesque, 2008). Most studies on historical significance deal with describing students' beliefs and conceptions of who and what is important in their view and how this is related to their social background (e.g. Barton & McCully, 2005; Epstein, 2009; Peck, 2009; Seixas, 1997). Attention has thus been paid to the content of selections made by students and hardly on how the concept of historical significance is used as procedural knowledge (Lévesque, 2008). Although historical significance is a key concept in doing history, a series of lessons about historical significance does not engage students in high quality historical reasoning as a matter of

course. Therefore, in our design we used three guiding principles that in previous research appeared to stimulate historical reasoning: (1) open-ended tasks or questions that are meaningful from both a curriculum and a pupil perspective; (2) engaging students in historical reasoning through small group and whole-class discussions; and (4) using external representations as tools for reasoning (Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2013).

In this study we investigated whether a series of lessons on historical significance, based on the three principles described above reflects historical reasoning and enriches students' historical knowledge. We will first discuss the importance of thinking about historical significance within the context of the Dutch history curriculum that includes a Dutch Canon. We argue that thinking about historical significance is a promising approach for stimulating reasoning and learning in history and we discuss the principles we used to implement such an approach in the history classroom.

### **Historical reasoning being hard pressed?**

Perhaps the most important argument to engage students in thinking about historical significance is that reasoning about significance is a fundamental part of doing history (Lévesque, 2008). It is a key activity for historians who select historical people, places and events to construct historical narratives and interpretations. In line with this, in the UK historical significance is considered one of the key-concepts of history education and in parts of Canada it is one of the benchmarks of historical thinking (Peck & Seixas, 2008). However, historical significance is not explicitly mentioned in the formal Dutch History curriculum.

History education is a topic of much public debate in the Netherlands. One of the major concerns spurring the debate is the presumed lack of knowledge about historical facts and dates and history education is criticized for paying too much attention to skills, and too little to content. Since the 1980s, historical skills have been an important component of the official history curriculum and the central examinations in the Netherlands (Wilschut, 2010). The current debate, however, is narrowed down to the issue of what specific topics and facts of our national past should be known by everyone and therefore be part of the curriculum. The question of what to teach in school history is closely related to the question of why specific historical facts are significant and should be known, but this aspect is left out of the debate. As a result of this debate three commissions have been established by the Dutch government to formulate proposals for reforming the history curriculum (Klein, 2010; Van Boxtel & Grever, 2011). In 2006 the Commission for the development of the Dutch Canon published its report and presented a national canon of history and culture. This canon consists of a list of 50 significant events, persons and themes in the history of the Netherlands. Although the commission emphasized that the canon should not function as a political instrument, the Dutch government installed the commission because of concerns about national identity and social cohesion. The choices made in the canon were publicly debated. From the perspective of pedagogy questions arose such as how to learn these 50 items?; and *what* precisely should students learn about these items?. From the perspective of content the discussion focused on questions such as: why are these 50 items of our past so significant that they should be taught in schools and be remembered by all?; what criteria are used to make up this canon?; how much time should we spend at teaching regional or world history next to national history? Recently, similar kinds of debates started in the United Kingdom where a new programme of study for History was proposed with a strong focus on chronology and knowledge of British history.<sup>10</sup> Historians are active contributors to these debates. In the Netherlands several prominent historians opposed the implementation of the

---

<sup>10</sup> For this debate, see, for example, [http://historyworks.tv/news/2013/05/31/history\\_curriculum\\_debate\\_updates\\_new\\_bbc\\_r3\\_night/#history-curriculum-debate-on-bbc1-sunday-politics-show](http://historyworks.tv/news/2013/05/31/history_curriculum_debate_updates_new_bbc_r3_night/#history-curriculum-debate-on-bbc1-sunday-politics-show)

Dutch Canon in a letter to the Dutch parliament. And also in England historians opposed the proposal of a new History curriculum as they thought the curriculum put too much emphasis on British history (significance after all does not have just a national face) (D'Avray et al., 2013); and by contrast a group of historians overtly appreciated the proposed changes to the national curriculum for history.<sup>11</sup> Discussions of what historical content should be taught are inevitably discussions of the purpose of history education (Symcox & Wilschut, 2009).

Focusing on a canon is focusing on historical content; knowledge of persons and events of the past, and in this approach other goals of history education, may receive less attention, or may even be neglected. History requires more than memorization of facts; it also implies reasoning with these facts and entails making connections between and interpreting the significance of events and movements (e.g. Leinhardt, Stainton, Virji, & Odoroff, 1994; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). A canon relates to the approach of 'knowing history', less on 'doing history' (Havekes, Coppen, Luttenberg & Van Boxtel, 2012; Levstik & Barton, 2005). Or, using the terms of Carretero, Lopez, González, and Rodríguez-Moneo (2012), a canon relates more to romantic goals of history education (that aim at identification with past events and characters and national heroes, and at a positive assessment of their own social group's past, present and future and the country's political evolution) and less to enlightened or disciplinary goals (that aim at fostering critical citizens, through a focus on the historical methodology). From a learning point of view, a focus on 'knowing history' and romantic goals can be framed to the so-called 'transmission model of learning' (Andriessen & Sandberg, 1999), whereas the approach of 'doing history' with a focus on disciplinary goals is more related to learning as the construction of knowledge, which implies that students actively construct an image of the past or build a historical case (Leinhardt et al., 1994).

Another line of criticism is that implementing a canon seems to depart from the idea of historical significance as a matter of fixed consensus, whereas the significance of persons and events of the past is something that changes over time and may differ among (groups of) people (Cercadillo, 2001). 'The past is everything that ever happened to anyone anywhere' (Seixas, 2006, p.2) and therefore selections should be made. Determining the significance of people, events and developments is at the heart of what historians do, and it shapes the way historians select, organize, periodize, and give meaning to the past (e.g. Cercadillo, 2006; Lévesque, 2008). How people ascribe historical significance is shaped by their knowledge, interest, past experiences, familial influences, identity and type of narrative in which events or persons are situated (Peck, 2009). Rather than just presenting students with the outcomes of these debates through ready-made selections and stories of the past, we believe it would be productive to enable students to take part in these discussions, to make sophisticated decisions about what is important from the past and why, and learn to understand why considerations on significance change over time and can be different for different (groups of) people. Or in the words of Lévesque (2008, p.61): 'Clarifying the concept of historical significance – in regard to both procedural concepts and substantive concepts – can help identify and question those aspects of the past the authorities see as significant to study, as well as helping compare these with teachers' and students' approaches to significance'.

---

<sup>11</sup> In November 2008 23 Dutch historians and teacher educators wrote a letter to the parliament in which they opposed the implementation of the Canon. In England a letter was published on February 12<sup>th</sup> 2013 by 6 historians, including the presidents of the Royal Historical Society and the Historical Association opposing the proposal of the new curriculum. On February 27<sup>th</sup> 2013 a letter of 15 historians was published in *The Times* in which they back Michael Gove's adapted history curriculum (Abulafia et al. (2013) Letter to *The Times*, 27 February).

### **Discussing historical significance to promote historical reasoning**

Starting from the idea that ascribing significance is a process of reasoning, engaging students in issues of historical significance may be a promising way to promote historical reasoning in the classroom (cf. Counsell, 2004; Hunt, 2000). Elsewhere we defined historical reasoning as constructing or evaluating a description of processes of change and continuity, an explanation of a historical phenomenon, or a comparison of historical phenomena or periods by asking historical questions, contextualising, using substantive historical concepts, using meta-concepts of history, putting forward claims supported with arguments which are based on evidence from sources that give information about the past (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). When discussing and ascribing historical significance one often makes use of all these components. The question of historical significance gives direction to many other sub-questions. In this respect Hunt (2002, p.43) mentions questions such as: 'To what extent was the individual the product of the times? How unique was the contribution? How might the course of history have been different had it not been for the influence of that individual?'. In order to make informed judgments about the significance of a person or event one should consider facts and context related to this person or event. Establishing the significance of events and developments includes consideration of the changes they brought about, the impact of these changes, and causes and consequences (short and long-term). Lévesque (2008) points out that this requires a deep sense of contextualized thinking and empathy, which bring into use substantive and meta-concepts. Historical sources can be used to provide evidence for the significance of a person or event, but also to see how the ascribed significance changed over time. Consequently, it can create opportunities for discussing issues of interpretation related to the fact that different persons or events can be considered of different significance in different times or by different groups. The claims made should always be backed up by sound argumentation. While arguing why persons or events are significant, several criteria can be used. Phillips (2002), for example, presents the following criteria: an event or person can be considered significant because it was important to the people living at the time, it deeply affected lives of many people for a long time, or because the event or person is relevant for the present. Lévesque (2008) mentions the criteria: importance, profundity, quantity, durability, relevance, and adds to these three criteria that are more often used outside the history community: intimate interest, symbolic significance and contemporary lessons.

It can thus be assumed that thinking about historical significance is a promising approach for stimulating historical reasoning in the classroom. Moreover, it may also contribute to the acquisition of historical knowledge, for in order to make an informed judgment, the analysis of historical significance requires deep historical knowledge (Bradshaw, 2006). Moreover, as argued by Phillips (2002) and Hunt (2000), it can be a motivating approach as it helps students to give meaning to people, events and developments of the past, and to relate it to their own lives and to present times. It thus shows the relevance of history by linking the past to the present and may encourage students to develop an understanding of human action, attitudes and motives and how they relate to the context of the time in which they lived. In a sense, teaching students to think about historical significance makes it possible to combine romantic goals with enlightened or disciplinary goals (Carretero et al. 2012), as students use disciplinary elements to critically assess the historical significance of important persons and events.

### **Guiding principles for promoting historical reasoning in the classroom**

Although some approaches of teaching historical significance in the classroom have been described (e.g., Bradshaw, 2006; Harris & Rea, 2006) these have not been systematically investigated. Thus far, empirical support for the assumption that engaging students in issues of historical significance is a powerful approach to promoting learning and reasoning in history is lacking. Although historical significance is a key concept in doing history, a series

of lessons about historical significance does not automatically engage students in high quality historical reasoning. The lesson unit we designed was based on ideas that derive from socio-constructivist views on learning and instruction and insights from our previous research on supporting historical reasoning in the classroom (Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2013). Socio-constructivist theories of learning emphasize the joint and situated construction of meaning through communication and the role of mediational tools (e.g. Brown & Campione, 1996; Wertsch, 1991). Knowledge is co-constructed through language, for example by sharing ideas, building on each other's ideas, constructive discussion, and questioning. Various authors argued the importance of dialogue for learning and reasoning (cf. Alexander, 2008; Mercer & Littleton, 2007). Consequently, when aiming at stimulating students' historical reasoning, they should be given ample opportunities to engage in it in different settings, such as small group work, whole-class discussions, but also in writing (cf. Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). In our design of the lesson unit we therefore created various opportunities for students to practice historical reasoning in speech and in writing. To trigger and support historical reasoning we used several principles that, as has become clear from earlier research, are effective means.

Firstly, using open-ended tasks or questions that are meaningful from both a curriculum and pupil perspective. Open-ended tasks have no right answer and therefore require reasoning to support one's view. In particular, we aimed at triggering historical reasoning by using evaluative questions. Evaluative questions are higher-order questions and open-ended and they therefore elicit elaborate reasoning. In a previous study we found that in an inquiry task an evaluative question, compared to an explanatory question, resulted in more historical reasoning in the peer discussions and essays of higher quality. The reasoning displayed also included more different components of historical reasoning (Van Drie, Van Boxtel, & Van der Linden, 2006). Questions of historical significance are evaluative by nature. A realistic or 'authentic' problem or task may provide students with a context that is meaningful and that requires them to apply a broad range of knowledge and skills (Roth, 1999). Authentic tasks are believed to have a high potential to prepare students for the application of knowledge and skills, to motivate students, and to make learning more meaningful (cf. Newmann & Wehlage, 1993). Questions of historical significance are asked both in and outside the discipline of history. They link the past to the present and challenge students to articulate the meaning of past events for present times and also for themselves (Phillips, 2002). Here the lessons were in the context of a museum organizing an exhibition. The students had to make a case for a specific person or event that should most definitely be part of the exhibition.

Secondly, triggering students' historical reasoning through small group and whole-class discussions. Hunt (2000) points out that one of the problems students face when determining historical significance is the problem of the language that is needed to be able to assess the significance of events, people and developments. Not only is the concept of historical significance difficult in itself, many concepts associated with the subject are also needed in making informed judgments about historical significance. Group work may be a powerful strategy in overcoming this problem and giving students the opportunity to practice the language of history and historical significance in particular. When combining group work with whole-class discussions, small group work can prepare students to act as active participants in the discussion and to make substantive contributions (Husbands, 1996). When students participate from a position of strength there is a higher potential for the occurrence of collaborative historical reasoning. In the following whole-class discussion students can share their findings and ideas and discuss these with each other and the teacher. The teacher can deepen and broaden historical reasoning (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2011). Deepening historical reasoning refers to exploring one specific aspect of historical reasoning, whereas broadening historical reasoning refers to including others aspects of



historical reasoning in the discussion. Such teacher-guided discussions allow for attaining a higher level of reasoning compared to discussions in small student groups. When alternating small-group with whole-class discussions, the model of reasoning provided by the teacher can be used by students in their subsequent small-group work (Elbers & Streefland, 2000). In our lesson unit, group work and whole-class discussions are systematically alternated.

Lastly, using external representations as tools for reasoning. Historical reasoning can be supported by using concrete tools for thinking, such as the construction of external representations. They can help learners to express, explain and discuss their ideas, in small groups as well as in whole-class discussions. Cox (1999) argues that the collaborative constructions of such representations are powerful for learning. They can initiate the verbalization of knowledge and the negotiation of meaning, which supports the co-construction of knowledge as it enables students to build on each other's contributions. Studies by Van Drie, Van Boxtel, Jaspers, and Kanselaar (2005) and Prangma, Van Boxtel and Kanselaar (2008) showed how the joint construction of external representations shaped students' historical reasoning in speech and in writing. So, in our design, students work several times with representational formats, such as a time-line and schemes for ordering different arguments.

### **Aims and research question**

Although various authors suggest that discussing issues of historical significance can be a powerful approach for engaging students in reasoning in history, at this point there is hardly any empirical evidence to support this view. In this study we describe to what extent a series of lessons on historical significance that is based on the three design principles described above results in historical reasoning. Our main research question is: To what extent does the lesson unit on historical significance provoke historical reasoning and what is the quality of this reasoning? We will look at historical reasoning that takes place in whole-class discussions during the lesson unit and students' individual historical reasoning in writing at the end of the unit. Furthermore we will look at the quality of students' historical knowledge before and after the lesson unit.

### **Method**

We conducted a small-scale study with two history teachers and their classes. We collected the following data: a pre- and post-test, essays and transcripts of whole-class discussions. Furthermore, we used questionnaires and interviews with the students and interviews with the teacher to gain more insight into how the teachers and students had experienced the lessons. As the aim was to evaluate the potential of this particular lesson unit and not to investigate whether this approach is better than another approach, we did not include a control group in our design. However, this limits the claims that can be made from this study.

#### **a) Participants**

Two experienced history teachers (one of whom was the last author) from one school in a small town in the Netherlands conducted this lesson series in their classes (pre-university education, 15 – 16 years of age). The first class consisted of 29 students, 13 boys and 16 girls (Class 1) and the second class of 14 students, all female (Class 2). It should be noted that the first class is more representative of Dutch history classes. That there were only girls in the second class is coincidence, since almost all schools in the Netherlands are mixed. Also the small number of students in this class is coincidence and is due to the total of number of students on this educational level in this school and organizational reasons. The concept of historical significance was new to the students, since it is not an aspect of the official History curriculum in the Netherlands. The students did not have much experience with essay writing in History, since essay writing is not part of the central History

examinations. In previous classes students had already learned about historical events, persons and developments related to the topic of the development of democracy in the Netherlands, such as, for example, political and emancipation movements and the implementation of suffrage. Thus, some of the events and persons were fairly familiar to the students, others were not (e.g. Batavian Republic). Promoting collaborative historical reasoning in whole-class discussions by deepening and broadening was discussed with the teachers beforehand.

### b) The lessons

The lessons were developed by the three authors, who are all experts in the teaching and learning of history and have professional experience in the design of history textbooks. There were 6 lessons on the topic of the development of democracy in the Netherlands from 1800 to present day. This topic is part of the official history curriculum in the Netherlands and also contributes to citizenship education, which schools are obliged to include the curriculum. An overview of the lessons can be found in Table 1. The lessons are embedded in a hypothetical but realistic setting: The House of Democracy (at that time a Dutch foundation concerned with promoting knowledge of democracy, especially for the youth<sup>12</sup>) wants to organise an exhibition on the development of democracy in the Netherlands. The students were asked to write a letter of recommendation to this foundation, in which they have to make a case for a specific person or event which in their opinion has been significant for the development of Dutch democracy and deserves to receive attention in the exhibition. All the other assignments in the course had the function of preparing the students for this final assignment.

**Table 1** Overview of the lessons

Lesson	Description
1	<i>Introduction</i> Introduction to the concept of historical significance and making a list of criteria to decide on historical significance.
2	<i>Building a context</i> Each group studies their person or event. Collaborative construction of a time-line of the period 1800 – present with the whole class.
3	<i>What is the significance of your person/event?</i> Each group collects arguments from pre-selected sources and orders the arguments to the criteria of historical significance.
4	<i>One-minute recommendations</i> Each group has one minute to make clear to the rest of the class what the significance is of the person/ event they studied.
5	<i>The class top 10</i> New groups are formed. In these groups the students compose their group top 10. This results in a kind of class election, so finally there is a class top 10. This top 10 is discussed in a whole-class discussion.
6	<i>Writing an individual letter of recommendation to the House of Democracy.</i> In this letter the students make a case for their personal favourite and compare this favourite with two other persons/events from the top 10.

In the first lesson, the concept of historical significance was introduced (which was new to the students since historical significance is not part of the official Dutch history curriculum), as well as criteria for determining historical significance. We choose to work with the

<sup>12</sup> Nowadays ProDemos Huis voor democratie en rechtstaat (<http://www.prodemos.nl/>)

following criteria for significance: (1) important for the time itself (including profundity and quantity); (2) has greater consequences; (3) important for present times; and (4) important as it has a symbolic function (cf. Lévesque, 2008; Phillips, 2002). The aim of the second lesson was to provide students with an overview of the period studied (1800 to present day). In a whole-class discussion, the students together constructed a time-line of the period. They used their prior knowledge and some additional background information provided to them. The time-line was written down on a large piece of paper so they could make reference to it in subsequent lessons. Next, in groups of four, the students studied one out of ten pre-selected persons or events. An important criterion for the selection of persons and events was that the complete selection would cover the whole period of 1800 until the present. Three of the selected persons or events are also part of the Dutch Canon and a short description of the persons and events is presented in Appendix 1. We provided the students with information sources about the persons and events. We did not ask the students to search for information themselves for several reasons. First, it would cost too much time. Second, the strength of the arguments found would then be dependent on the information skills of the students and we did not want these skills to interfere with their reasoning process. Each information set contained about 7 or 8 historical sources (most of which were secondary sources) and contained general, factual information about the person or event, factual information and arguments that could be related to the four criteria for historical significance, and also facts and arguments that could be used to argue against the presumed significance of the person or event<sup>13</sup>. The students selected various arguments to decide on the historical significance of their historical character or event and ordered them in a scheme. In this scheme they had to relate each of the arguments to one of the criteria for historical significance. There was also space to note arguments against the possible significance. In the fourth lesson the students presented the results of this group work to their classmates. During the fifth lesson the students determined a group top 10 in newly formed groups (consisting of students who studied different persons and events). This top 10 was shared with the class and resulted in a class top ten, which was subsequently discussed in a whole-class discussion. In the sixth lesson students wrote their argumentative letter, in which they could make a case for their own personal favourite.

The task was thus set in a realistic setting and students worked on an evaluative question related to the meta-concept historical significance. Students had to construct representational formats (e.g. time-line, top 10 in the form of a pyramid) in groups. And these were also discussed during whole-class discussions. Group work and whole-class discussions were systematically alternated as each lesson included group work and whole-class discussions.

### **c) Instruments and analyses**

*Whole-class discussion.* We video-taped and transcribed the last whole-class discussion, in which the outcomes of the class top 10 of important events/persons were debated and which thus really focused on the concept of historical significance. For this analysis we used the program MEPA (Multiple Episode Protocol Analysis; Erkens, 2002). Our unit of analysis was a meaningful utterance. As indicators for a productive whole-class discussion in history we used active student participation and the occurrence of historical reasoning. These indicators derived from our earlier work in whole-class discussions in history (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2011; Van Drie et al., 2005), as well as the work of Engle & Conant (2002), who list several characteristics of what they call 'productive disciplinary engagement'. First we analyzed student participation, which refers to (a) the proportion of talk by the students; (b) the proportion of students participating in the discussion; (c) proportion of historical

---

<sup>13</sup> The information sets in Dutch can be found on <http://www.uva.nl/over-de-uva/organisatie/medewerkers/content/d/r/j.p.vandrie/j.p.van-drie.html>. (see lessenserie historische significantie)

reasoning; (d) the proportion of historical reasoning by students; and (e) number of student/student moves, which refers to situations in which one student speaks, followed by another student: the control does not return to the teacher after each student conversation indicating a sustained conversation.

Next we analyzed the utterances containing historical reasoning in detail on four different aspects. First on the components of historical reasoning, which were selected from the original framework and which were relevant to the task. This resulted in the following codes: Description of Changes; Comparison; Description (of concepts, events or developments); Explanation; and Evaluation. Second, we coded the function of the utterance, whether it contained a Question, Claim, Argument or Contra-argument. Thirdly, whether historical concepts were used (Substantive Concepts; Meta Concepts; Meta and Substantive Concepts; or No Concepts). And finally, we analyzed the type of criteria for historical significance referred to, which resulted in the codes: Important for the time itself; Important for present times, Is a symbol for, One or more criteria, No Criteria. It turned out the criteria for historical significance 'has deep consequences' was difficult to discern from the criteria 'important for present times'. So, the code 'has deep consequences' was excluded from our coding scheme, and these utterances were coded as 'important for present times'. We thus coded the utterances in a descriptive way in order to be able to describe the kind of reasoning that occurred. The coding scheme was first applied to both discussions by the first two authors independently. Outcomes were discussed and the coding scheme refined. The final coding was again checked by the second author. Examples of the different categories can be found in Appendix 2.

*Writing.* In the final assignment the students were asked to write a letter of recommendation to the Foundation of the House of Democracy about which person or event should definitely be part of their exhibition and why. In addition, they were instructed to compare their first choice with two other persons or events out of the top 10 and argue why they considered their first choice more significant. The letters were analyzed on historical reasoning. Based on a coding scheme that was used to analyze essays in history (cf. Van Drie et al., 2005) a new coding scheme that fitted the goals of this particular task was developed by the first two authors and tested on the whole sample. The coding was discussed between these authors and also with a group of experts on research on history learning and teaching. Based on these discussions the coding scheme was adapted. The letters were then independently coded by the first two authors and differences were discussed. The letters were analyzed on seven indicators: use of criteria for historical significance; use of argumentation; use of meta-concepts; relation to the key concept 'democracy'; contextualisation; first comparison; and second comparison. The maximum score for each indicator was two points. Due to student illness five letters are missing.

*Pre- and post-test.* To measure individual learning outcomes related to concept and overview knowledge we administered a pre- and post-test that consisted of the same three questions. The first question (Q1) measured students' knowledge relating to 8 substantive concepts related to the topic at hand (e.g. feminism, constitution, depillarisation). The possible scores ranged between 0 and 2. This question was scored by the first two authors independently and differences in scoring were discussed. The second question (Q2) aimed to assess overview knowledge, by which we mean knowledge of important persons, events and developments covered by the lessons. Students were asked to construct a time-line from 1800 to present day and write down important persons, events and developments related to the development of Dutch democracy, and to mention the specific dates or periods. We were interested to see which persons and events they would mention, but also whether they would be able to situate them in time. This is not only important for constructing a historical context (Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2012) to interpret the impact of

changes that were brought about, but sequencing in chronological order is also important to understand developments over time and chains of cause and consequences. These time-lines were analyzed on (a) the total number of persons, events and developments mentioned; (b) the number of persons, events and developments that were correctly dated either by period or year. Lastly, students were asked to write a short text about the development of Dutch democracy for a history textbook (Q3). The texts were analyzed on the number of persons and events mentioned.

**d) Questionnaire and interviews.**

After finishing the lessons the students filled out a questionnaire and interviews were held with six students (three from each class and with the teachers. We report these analyses only briefly.

**e) Procedure**

A week before the lessons started the pre-test was conducted, the post-test and the questionnaire were administered within a week after the last lesson. The lessons were conducted in the normal classroom setting, during the regular history classes.

**Results**

The general impression of the lesson unit from both the teachers and the students was positive, as was also indicated by the questionnaire and interviews. The teachers thought it a productive way to teach the topic of the development of democracy, since students often find this topic boring. They noticed that students were quite involved in the various activities, even though the summer holidays were approaching. The students were overall quite positive: they enjoyed working on this unit; the assignments and information sources were not too difficult, and they indicated that through this unit they had gained more knowledge on the development of Dutch democracy and the criteria that can be used to determine historical significance.

But did these lessons enhance reasoning and learning in history? In this section we first describe the outcomes of the analysis on historical reasoning in the whole-class discussions and in the writing task. Next, we will discuss the learning outcomes as measured in the pre- and the post-test. We will present the outcomes of the two classes as one, but when there are major differences between the two classes we will mention them.

**a) Historical reasoning in the whole-class discussion**

The discussion in Class 1 took about 14 minutes and contained 165 utterances, of which 55% were from the students. 13 out of 29 students participated and there were 16 student/student moves. About 76% of all utterances reflected historical reasoning; 32% from the teacher and 44% from the students. Compared to this discussion, the discussion in Class 2 reflected more active student participation. The length of this discussion was 24 minutes, containing 301 utterances, 62% of which were from the students. Historical reasoning was present in 79% of the utterances, 26% by the teacher and 53% by the students. All 14 students participated in the discussion and the number of student/student moves was 55. These outcomes indicate that the students were actively involved in the whole-class discussion and made substantive contributions to the discussions.

Table 2 shows the outcomes of analysis on historical reasoning in the two whole-class discussions. The results indicate that both discussions reflected a lot of historical reasoning (75% and 79%). The discussions showed a lot of comparisons (about 40%) and evaluations (20%). There was less talk about explanations and descriptions of historical phenomena. In Class 2 there was more talk about historical changes, which can be related to the fact that in

this class there was more discussion about the criteria for significance, especially about the criteria 'is important for the time itself'. About 30% of all utterances consisted of arguments. Furthermore, there were questions asked (about 20%, mainly by the teacher) and claims made, however not so many contra-arguments given. About 70% of all utterances contained historical concepts, mainly substantive concepts, fewer meta-concepts. The discussions differed in the use of criteria for historical significance. In the discussion of Class 1 the criterion 'important for present times' was most often used, whereas in the discussion of Class 2 the criterion 'important for the time itself' was often used. This criterion was hardly used in the Class 1 discussion. In the Class 2 discussion, the use of the different criteria was more evenly spread. In Class 2 the teacher explicitly asked the students which person or event would be most significant for each of the criteria (i.e. which person or event would be number 1 on the 'important for present times' criterion?).

**Table 2** Frequencies and percentages on components of historical reasoning in the whole-class discussion for the two classes

	<b>Class 1</b>	<b>Class 2</b>
<b>Total utterances</b>	165 (100.0)	301 (100.0)
Historical reasoning	125 (75.8)	239 (79.4)
No historical reasoning	40 (24.2)	62 (20.6)
<b>Component</b>		
Change	6 (3.6)	41 (13.6)
Comparison	62 (37.6)	121 (40.2)
Description	12 (7.3)	3 (1.0)
Explanation	12 (7.3)	15 (5.0)
Evaluation	33 (20.0)	59 (19.6)
<b>Function</b>		
Question	31 (18.8)	67 (22.3)
Claim	27 (16.4)	58 (19.3)
Argument	54 (32.7)	93 (30.9)
Contra argument	13 (7.9)	21 (7.0)
<b>Use of concepts</b>		
Substantive concept	51 (30.9)	90 (29.9)
Meta-concept	13 (7.9)	27 (9.0)
Meta & substantive	15 (9.1)	25 (8.3)
No concepts	46 (27.9)	96 (31.9)
<b>Criteria of significance</b>		
For the time itself	4 (2.4)	80 (26.6)
For present times	37 (22.4)	51 (16.9)
Symbol for	13 (7.9)	34 (11.3)
More than one criteria	0 (0.0)	9 (3.0)
No criteria	71 (43.0)	65 (21.6)

To illustrate the active involvement of the students in historical reasoning and the kind of historical reasoning that occurred we present an excerpt of the discussion in Class 2 (see Figure 1). In this class Willem Drees was ranked number 1, Thorbecke number 2, Aletta Jacobs 3 and the introduction of Universal Suffrage number 4 (see Appendix 1 for a short description of the persons and events).

- 1 T When I look at Universal Suffrage. Universal suffrage is way more important than Willem Drees, right?
- 2 S1 No way...
- 3 - No but...
- 4 T No way, why not? Why not, Lieke\*?
- 5 S1 Willem Drees took *care* of the people
- 6 - [laughter]
- 7 S1 ... Universal suffrage,
- 8 S2 Yeah, but look, you can have Universal Suffrage, but, the welfare state,
- 9 T Karin?
- 10 S3 Well, look, Willem Drees rebuilt the Netherlands after the Second World War and, eh, thanks to him we received Marshall Aid and such. And if eh, Willem Drees hadn't rebuilt, then we wouldn't have been able to have Universal Suffrage, because then we wouldn't have like had a state, then there would only have been chaos and rubble.
- 11 T But all right, Universal Suffrage, very important for people nowadays, and it's a symbol for the period.
- 12 [confusion]
- 13 T It matches the criteria well.
- 14 S3 But first you have to have a, a country, a well-organized country if you want to, if you want to be able to vote at all.
- 15 S4 But it also belongs with Thorbecke because he established it, as the first one to do so, so then you're actually counting it twice.
- 16 T Okay, all right then, that's the next question, why Thorbecke higher than Universal Suffrage?
- 17 [confusion]
- 18 T One at a time, one at a time. Catherine?
- 19 S5 He made it possible. So, the one who made it possible seems a bit more important to me than the one who...
- 20 S6 Of course not, because, that's just not why, it's about having it, not about who did it, right?
- 21 S4 Yes, but he did several things.
- 22 S5 He did do several things.
- 23 T Well, is there anyone of you that says ... ?
- 24 S4 With him state citizenship developed. And Universal Suffrage as a result of use [not audible]
- 25 S6 Then on the other hand, if Thorbecke hadn't thought of it then someone else would have, like Willem Drees, right?
- 26 S7 He only came like a hundred years later or something.
- 27 S6 Yes, well but that would also have been now.
- 28 S7 Maybe it would have been Peter or Bill.
- 29 [laughter]

**Fig 1** Fragment of the whole-class discussion in Class 2 (translated from Dutch)

\*All names are changed for privacy reasons.

The teacher initiates the discussion by challenging the students with the statement that Universal Suffrage is much more important than Willem Drees. Lieke does not agree with that, but fails to support this with arguments. Karin comes up with an elaborate argument indicating that Drees was more important, because democracy and suffrage need a certain level of welfare to function well. The teacher tries to pursue the discussion by suggesting that Universal Suffrage matches all the criteria for historical significance. Karin explains her point of view using other words. Another student brings in the argument that Thorbecke was

the first to introduce suffrage. The teacher takes up this issue by asking why Thorbecke is more important than Suffrage. Catherine says that Thorbecke was the one who made suffrage possible and is therefore more important. Another student adds that Thorbecke did more than making suffrage possible. Student 6 introduces the counter-argument that if it hadn't been Thorbecke it would have been someone else. She raises the more general issue of the role of persons in history: would things also have happened if certain persons had not been there?

This example shows quite a lot of student participation. Seven students contribute to the discussion; the students make lengthy and substantive contributions and respond to the teacher as well as to each other. The teacher challenges his students by asking questions, making claims, and asking for arguments. The students *use historical concepts* in their reasoning (e.g., welfare state, Marshall Aid), make *claims, give arguments and counter-arguments* and there is a lot of *comparing of the role of different historical persons*. In this excerpt the students do not make explicit reference to the criteria for historical significance.

### b) Historical reasoning in writing

Table 3 presents the outcomes of the analyses of the essays. The mean score was 8.3, with a range from 5 to 14. The scores on the aspects Use of meta-concepts, Contextualisation, and Comparison 1 and 2 were relatively low. Furthermore, we investigated the type of criteria for historical significance that students used in their writing. All the students used the criterion 'important for present times'; all but one used the criterion 'important for the time itself'; and 11 students (26%) used the criterion 'is a symbol for'.

**Table 3** Mean scores, standard deviations and maximum scores for the essays (N = 36)

Aspect	M	SD	Maximum score
Criteria significance	1.31	0.47	2
Argumentation	1.61	0.55	2
Meta concepts	0.86	0.83	2
Contextualization	1.03	0.81	2
Concept of Democracy	1.50	0.74	2
Comparison 1	1.03	0.56	2
Comparison 2	1.00	0.54	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>8.33</b>	<b>1.84</b>	<b>14</b>

To illustrate students' reasoning on historical significance, we present and discuss an example of a letter. The letter that is presented in Figure 2 is written by Selma, a student from Class 2 who received a high score for her letter (12 points out of 14). We choose this letter, as it was well written and thus enables us to illustrate how she used the several components of historical reasoning in her writing.

*I believe that in the House of Democracy you should pay much attention to Johan Thorbecke. He is, so to speak, the founder of democracy. Without the implementation of his constitution, the Netherlands wouldn't be a democracy that also developed into a welfare state. The constitution of Thorbecke not only had a large effect on the present, but also on the past (in his own time). Before the constitution the king had too much power. This easily resulted in abuse and corruption. The king, for example, arranged many issues by Royal Decree, thus without*



*legislation. The constitution of Thorbecke resulted in a more powerful States General, which was the first and probably also the biggest step towards a just, democratic state/kingdom.*

*Of course there are many other significant persons and events that belong in the House of Democracy. For example, universal suffrage and Willem Drees. In my opinion, however, Thorbecke is still the most significant. As a counter-argument it is often said that Thorbecke's constitution gave only power to a limited group. The richest men were allowed to vote, the rest were excluded. The implementation of universal suffrage was, unlike the constitution of Thorbecke, for the whole people. In this way the people governed, which is what democracy is about: 'government by the people'. This could be a reason to say that universal suffrage is more significant than Thorbecke. However, I disagree with that. Thorbecke's constitution had many consequences for society now and back then, and universal suffrage was in fact one of the consequences of Thorbecke's constitution. This happened because after the States General gained more influence, the cooperation and bundling of powers on the basis of religion and conviction became stronger. That resulted in political parties. The founding of political parties was related to universal suffrage and the School Struggle<sup>14</sup>. Also the actions of Willem Drees are consequences of Thorbecke's constitution. Without a democracy there never would have developed a welfare state. Willem Drees would not have come far with his ideas of solidarity and attending to the interests of the people if there had not been a democratic system in place. As a party member he would not have much power. Without a democracy the people would not be governing and the constitution that Thorbecke implemented in 1848 has remained until now the foundation of Dutch parliamentary democracy.*

*Thus Thorbecke did not only affect the lives of many people living in that period. He also caused far-reaching changes. He is not only an example for people now, but he also was responsible for many positive consequences in the long term. Consequences we still notice.*

**Fig 2 Selma's Letter (translated from Dutch)**

In this letter Selma puts forward the claim (argumentation) that Johan Thorbecke, a liberal Dutch politician and statesman living in the 19th century, played a significant role in the development of parliamentary democracy and therefore should be included in the exhibition. She first provides a context (contextualisation) for Johan Thorbecke's actions. She argues that before Thorbecke designed a new constitution, the king had all the power. This

---

<sup>14</sup> The School Struggle (Schoolstrijd) refers to a conflict in the Netherlands between 1848-1917 over the equalization of public financing for religious schools. The religious parties wanted their religious schools to receive financing equal to that received by public schools; while maintaining their freedom in for example curriculum policy, teacher appointments etc. that came with their religious tradition. Liberals tried to protect the privileged financial position of public schools. The Dutch solution was the Separation of School and State by funding all schools equally, both public and private, which is enshrined in [article 23 of the Dutch Constitution](#).

contextualisation supports her claim that the constitutions of Thorbecke meant a big change. Selma uses her knowledge of how the Netherlands were governed at the beginning of the 19th century to contextualise Thorbecke's actions, and to make clear that his actions caused changes. She does not provide a context by describing how and when the Netherlands became a parliamentary democracy. In her letter Selma uses a lot of substantive concepts which are related to the topic of parliamentary democracy, such as constitutions, universal suffrage, political parties and the School Struggle (which is a Dutch conflict over the public financing of religious schools in the 19th century). Her knowledge of these concepts enables her to argue why Thorbecke was a significant person. One of her arguments is that without Thorbecke's constitutions the Netherlands wouldn't be a democracy that also developed into a welfare state. This relation is, however, not really worked out in an elaborate way. Selma also applies her understanding of the meta-concepts historical significance, change and cause.

Selma is aware of criteria that can be used to argue why a particular person can be considered historically significant. She explains why Thorbecke was important in his own time and why he can be considered important in the present. Selma also discerns immediate consequences and effects on the long-term. This reflects a rather sophisticated understanding of change and causation in history. Selma provides arguments for her claim that Thorbecke had a profound impact on the development of democracy in the Netherlands. She also considers a potential counter-argument in her reasoning, resulting in a comparison between the significance of Thorbecke and the implementation of general suffrage: some people may say that Thorbecke's constitution only gave power to a limited number of people, whereas general suffrage enabled a government 'by the people'. But she then weakens this counter-argument by explaining that universal suffrage can also be considered a consequence of Thorbecke's constitutions. In the end she comes to a final conclusion summarising her arguments using criteria for historical significance.

### **c) Individual learning outcomes: historical knowledge and understanding**

Did the students learn from this task? The results on the pre-test and post-test are presented in Table 4. The results on Q1 indicate that the students significantly improved on their knowledge of concepts related to the topic. Additional analyses for each concept showed that students especially improved on the concepts constitution, parliament, depillarisation<sup>15</sup>, and social issue. The students also improved on the question of the construction of the timeline (Q2); they were able to mention significantly more persons and events and they were more able to date them correctly. Lastly, the analyses of the story-line (Q3) showed significant improvement on the number of persons mentioned, however not on the number of events mentioned. Additional content analysis of these story-lines showed that in the pre-test students hardly mentioned persons and that many different events were mentioned. In the post-test the students mentioned a lot of persons and they mentioned many persons and events that were studied during the lessons. The stories in the pre-test were also more diverse in respect of the period they started their story (in the time of the Dutch Revolt or the French Revolution, compared to around 1800 in the post-tests).

---

<sup>15</sup> Pillarisation is a term used to describe the politico-denominational segregation of Dutch society in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Societies were 'vertically' divided into several segments or 'pillars' according to different religions or ideologies. These pillars all had their own social institutions. In the nineteen sixties these pillars were broken down, which is called depillarisation.

**Table 4** Mean scores and standard deviations of the pre-test and the post-test and results of a t-test for paired samples (N= 42)

Items	Pre-test		Post-test		p
	M	SD	M	SD	
<b>Q1 Concepts</b>	6.57	2.28	8.12	2.79	0.002*
<b>Q2 Time-table</b>					
-Total number	3.45	2.14	6.99	2.82	0.00*
-Correctly dated	2.26	1.48	4.19	2.21	0.00*
<b>Q3 Story-line</b>					
-Number of persons	0.83	1.10	1.81	1.34	0.01*
-Number of events	2.98	1.82	2.71	2.99	0.47

\* $p \leq 0.05$

### Conclusions and discussion

In History classrooms students are confronted with selections of developments, events and persons of the past through for example a canon or textbooks, which were made by others. The choices why these are important to learn about are often not discussed in the classroom and students are not made aware of the criteria that are used to make these choices (Lévesque, 2008). In this study we engaged students in issues of historical significance in order to enhance historical reasoning. The outcomes indicate that that engaging students in issues of historical significance can indeed be an interesting approach for enhancing reasoning and learning in history and that the guiding principles which we used for the design of these lesson can be useful in the History classroom.

Firstly, the whole class discussion reflected quite a lot of historical reasoning. Students participated actively during the whole-class discussions (results were somewhat higher compared to what we found in an earlier study on whole-class discussions in Dutch history classrooms (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2011)). Discussing questions of historical significance thus seems to elicit historical reasoning. This can be related to the fact that these questions are evaluative questions, which are powerful in eliciting historical reasoning (Van Drie et al., 2006). The discussions, however, also made clear that students had difficulty backing their claims and providing reasons for their statements that one person is more important than another. The question 'But *why* was this so important?' was frequently used by the teachers to stimulate students to back their claims. The comparison between the discussion in the two classes also points out the important role the teacher has in stimulating historical reasoning during classroom interaction. By focusing on the question which person or event would be most significant for each of the criteria, the teacher of Class 2 was able to elicit more historical reasoning by students

Secondly, with respect to students' historical reasoning in the essays, we can conclude that the quality of the essays showed individual differences. Most students were able to use several criteria for historical significance in their letters (as was also shown in the example); the criteria 'important for present times' and 'important for the time itself' were used by almost all students. However, the analysis also shed light on the problems students faced when reasoning about historical significance: students were less inclined to use the criterion 'is a symbol for' in their reasoning; meta-concepts such as change, cause, consequence were not often explicitly used; and contextualising in time did not occur so frequently in the

letters. Although contextualising is an important aspect of historical reasoning, students seem to have difficulty in doing so (cf. Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2012). Furthermore, the students' scores were relatively low on the comparisons in their essays, despite the fact that the whole-class discussions did reflect a lot of comparing.

Lastly, our results indicated that students significantly improved on their knowledge of substantive concepts and on overview knowledge. Further research is needed to investigate whether students' acquisition of topic and overview knowledge is positively related to the extent to which they actively engage in historical reasoning.

Still, the outcomes of this study are tentative and should be handled with care. Firstly, the study was conducted with a small sample, and one of the classes was not representative of Dutch history classrooms. Secondly, we investigated the effects of one specific pedagogical approach of teaching historical significance and did not compare our approach with a control group or to other approaches of teaching historical significance. Doing so would provide additional information about the possible strength of this particular approach, both in terms of students' reasoning and learning. Thirdly, since we did not include measurements on students' initial reasoning about historical significance, we cannot draw any conclusions on how students' reasoning developed during the lessons. Future research could focus on the development of reasoning on historical significance and also include transfer to other topics. Taking a more individual approach, it would be interesting to follow several individual students and study how their reasoning about historical significance develops during the lessons. This could be related to students' ideas about what is significant and why and how this relates to socio-cultural factors (e.g. Epstein, 2000). When historical significance is discussed in the context of topics that relate more to students' identity or are controversial, students' historical reasoning might look different.

When interpreting the results we have to take into account that these students were not familiar with the concept of historical significance. Students' reasoning about historical significance can be improved if they discuss this more often and in various ways. More attention could be paid to the understanding and use of the different criteria, for example by studying the historical significance of one specific person or event and discussing all the criteria in depth. Explicit attention could then also be paid to how historical significance can change over time (cf. Seixas, 2006). In addition, the students were not very experienced in writing in history, which may have influenced their performance. Writing can be considered 'a vehicle' to display historical understanding, however students must be taught how to use the disciplinary language in order to do so, and more specific support (especially on use of meta-concepts and contextualising) could be useful here (cf. de Oliveira, 2011). It would also be interesting to investigate the function of the whole-class discussion for the writing task; did the students make use in their writing of the arguments and lines of reasoning of the whole-class discussions?

In conclusion, this study suggests that focusing on the meta-concept of historical significance might be a powerful anchor for enhancing students' reasoning.

### **Correspondence**

Dr. Jannet van Drie,  
Research Institute of Child Development and Education, University of Amsterdam, Nieuwe Prinsengracht 130, 1018 VZ, Amsterdam, the Netherlands;  
e-mail: [j.p.vandrie@uva.nl](mailto:j.p.vandrie@uva.nl), tel. 0031 20 525 1597.

## References

- Abulafia, D., Beevor, A., Black, J., Burleigh, M., Charmley, J., Clark, J.C.D, Ferguson, N., Foreman, A., Jennings, J., Sebag Montefiore, S., Roberts, A., Skidmore, C., Starkey, D. , Thorpe, D. & Tombs, R. (2013) Letter to *The Times*, 27 February.
- Alexander, R. (2008) *Towards dialogic teaching: Rethinking classroom talk*, Cambridge: Dialogos.
- Andriessen, J. E. B., & Sandberg, J. A. C. (1999) 'Where is education heading and how about AI?', *International Journal of Artificial Intelligence in Education*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 130-150.
- Barton, K. C. & McCully, A. W. (2005) 'History, identity, and the school curriculum in Northern Ireland: an empirical study of secondary students' ideas and perspectives', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 85-116.
- Bradshaw, M. (2006) Creating controversy in the classroom: making progress with historical significance. *Teaching History*, Issue 125, pp.18-25.
- Brown, A. L. & Campione, J. C. (1996) 'Guided discovery in a community of learners', in McGilly, K. (ed) *Classroom lessons: Integrating cognitive theory and classroom practice* (pp. 229-270), Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Carretero, M., Lopez, C., González, M. F. & Rodríguez-Moneo, M. (2012) 'Students' historical narratives and concepts about the nation', in M. Carretero, M. Asensio & M. Rodríguez-Moneo (eds.) *History education and the construction of national identities. International review of history education* (pp 153-170), Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc.
- Cercadillo, L. (2001) 'Significance in history: Students' ideas in England and Spain', in Dickinson, A., Gordon, P. & Lee, P. (eds.) *Raising standards in history education: International review of history education*, vol. 3. (pp. 116-145), London: Woburn Press.
- Cercadillo, L. (2006). "'Maybe they haven't decided yet what is right": English and Spanish perspectives on teaching historical significance', *Teaching History*, Issue 125, pp. 6-9.
- Counsell, C. (2004) Looking through a Josephine-Butler-shaped window: focusing pupils' thinking on historical significance, *Teaching History*, Issue 114, pp. 30-36.
- Cox, R. (1999). Representation construction, externalised cognition and individual differences. *Learning and Instruction*, vol. 9, pp. 343-363.
- D'Avray, D, Eales, J., Fulbrook, M., McLay, K., Mandler, P., & Scott, H. (2013) Statement on the Draft National Curriculum for History, Royal Historical Society, February 12, , [Online], Available:  
<http://www.royalhistoricalsociety.org/National%20curriculum%20draft%202011%20Feb%202013.pdf> [Apr 27 2013]
- De Oliveira, L. C. (2011) *Knowing and writing school history. The language of students' expository writing and teachers' expectations*, Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc.
- Elbers, E. & Streefland, L. (2000) "'Shall we be researchers again?'" Identity and social interaction in a community of inquiry', in Cowie, H. & van der Aalsvoort, G. (eds.) *Social*

*interaction in learning and instruction. The meaning of discourse for the construction of knowledge* (pp. 35-51), Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Pergamon.

Engle, R. A., & Conant, F. R. (2002) 'Guiding principles for fostering productive disciplinary engagement: Explaining an emergent argument in a community of learners classroom', *Cognition and Instruction*, vol. 20, pp. 399-483.

Epstein, T. (2009) *Interpreting national history: Race, identity, and pedagogy in classrooms and communities*, New York: Routledge.

Epstein, T. (2000) 'Adolescents' perspectives on racial diversity in U.S. History: Case studies from an urban classroom', *American Educational Research Journal*, vol. 37 no. 1, pp. 185-214.

Erkens, G. (2002) *MEPA. Multiple Episode Protocol Analysis (Version 4.8)* [Computer software], Utrecht, the Netherlands: Utrecht University.

Havekes, H., Coppen, P. A., Luttenberg, J. & Van Boxtel, C. (2012) 'Knowing and doing history: a conceptual framework and pedagogy for teaching historical contextualisation', *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 72-93.

Harris, R. & Ree, A. (2006) Making history meaningful: helping pupils see why history matters. *Teaching History*, Issue 126, pp. 28-36.

Haydn, T. & Harris, R. (2010) 'Pupil perspectives on the purposes and benefits of studying history in high school: a view from the UK', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, vol 42, no. 2, pp. 241- 261.

Hunt, M. (2000) 'Teaching historical significance', in Arthur & Philips, R. (eds.) *Issues in history teaching* (pp. 39-52), London: Routledge Falmer.

Husbands, C. (1996) *What is history teaching? Language, ideas and meaning in learning about the past*, Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Klein, S. R. E. (2010) 'Teaching history in the Netherlands: Teachers' experiences of a plurality of perspectives', *Curriculum Inquiry*, vol. 40, no. 5, pp. 614-634.

Lee, P. J. (2005) 'Putting principles into practice: understanding history', in Donovan, M.S. & Bransford, J.D. (eds.) *How students learn History, Mathematics, and Science in the classroom* (pp. 31-78), Washington: National Academy Press.

Leinhardt, G., Stainton, C., Virji, S. M. & Odoroff, E. (1994) 'Learning to reason in history: Mindlessness to mindfulness', in M. Carretero & J. F. Voss (eds.) *Cognitive and instructional processes in history and the social sciences* (pp. 131 – 158), Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Lévesque, S. (2008) *Thinking historically. Educating students for the twenty-first century*, Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Levstik, L. S. & Barton, K. C. (2005) *Doing history: investigating with children in elementary and middle schools*, 3rd edition, Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates.

Limón, M. (2002) 'Conceptual change in history', in Limón, M. & Mason, L. (eds.) *Reconsidering conceptual change. Issues in theory and practice* (pp. 259–289), Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer.

Mercer, N. & Littleton, K. (2007) *Dialogue and the development of children's thinking. A socio-cultural approach*, London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Newmann, F. M. & Wehlage, G. G. (1993) 'Five standards of authentic instruction', *Educational Leadership*, vol. 50, no. 7, pp. 8 -12.

Peck, C. (2009) 'Peering through a kaleidoscope: identity, historical understanding and citizenship in Canada', *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 62-75.

Peck, C. & Seixas, P. (2008) 'Benchmarks of historical thinking: first steps', *Canadian Journal of Education*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 1015-1038.

Phillips, R. (2002) 'Historical significance – the forgotten “key element”?', *Teaching History*, Issue 106, pp. 14-19.

Prangma, M., Van Boxtel, C. & Kanselaar, G. (2008) 'Developing a “big picture”': Effects of collaborative construction of multimodal representations in history', *Instructional Science*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp.117-136.

Roth, W. (1999) *Authentic school science: Knowing and learning in open-inquiry science laboratories*, Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Press.

Seixas, P. (1997) 'Mapping the terrain of historical significance', *Social Education*, vol. 61, no. 1, pp. 22-27.

Seixas, P. (2006) *Teacher notes: Benchmarks of historical thinking. A framework for assessment in Canada*, [Online], Available: [http://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/k12/cur/socstud/foundation\\_gr8/tns/tn1.pdf](http://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/k12/cur/socstud/foundation_gr8/tns/tn1.pdf) [Feb 22 2012].

Symcox, L. & Wilschut, A. (2009) *National history standards. The problem of the canon and the future of teaching history*, Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc..

Van Boxtel, C. & Grever, M. (2011) 'Between disenchantment and high expectations. History education in the Netherlands, ca. 1968-2008', in E. Erdmann and W. Hasberg (eds.) *Facing – Mapping – Bridging diversity. Foundation of a European discourse on history education* (pp. 83-116), Schwalbach, Germany: Wochenschau Verlag.

Van Boxtel, C. & Van Drie, J. (2012) "'That's in the time of the Romans!' Knowledge and strategies students use to contextualize historical images and documents', *Cognition and Instruction*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 1-33.

Van Boxtel, C. & Van Drie, J. (2013) 'Historical reasoning in the classroom: What does it look like and how can we enhance it?', *Teaching History*, Issue 150, pp. 32-40.

Van Drie, J. & Van Boxtel, C. (2008) 'Historical reasoning: Towards a framework for analyzing students' reasoning about the past', *Educational Psychology Review*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 87-110.

Van Drie, J. & Van Boxtel, C. (2011) "'In essence I'm only reflecting". Teacher

strategies for fostering historical reasoning in whole-class discussions', *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 55-66.

Van Drie, J., Van Boxtel, C., Jaspers, J. & Kanselaar, G. (2005) 'Effects of representational guidance on domain specific reasoning in CSCL', *Computers in Human Behavior*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 575-602.

Van Drie, J., Van Boxtel, C. & Van der Linden, J. L. (2006) 'Historical reasoning in a computer-supported collaborative learning environment', in O'Donnell, A.M., Hmelo, C.E. & Erkens, G. (eds.), *Collaborative learning, reasoning and technology* (pp. 266-297), Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Wertsch, J. (1991) *Voices of the mind: a socio-cultural approach to mediated action*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wilschut, A. H. J. (2010) 'History at the mercy of politicians and ideologies: Germany, England, and the Netherlands in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, vol. 42, no. 5, pp. 693-723.

#### **Appendix 1** Short description of the 10 persons and events

1. **Founding of the Batavian Republic** (*Bataafse Republiek*): (1795 - 1806, ending with the accession of Louis Bonaparte to the throne of the Kingdom of Holland). The political, economic and social reforms that were brought about during the relatively short duration of the Batavian Republic have had a lasting impact. The confederal structure of the old Dutch Republic was permanently replaced by a unitary state. For the first time in Dutch history, the constitution that was adopted in 1798 had a genuinely democratic character (despite the fact that it was pushed through after a coup d'état). For a while the Republic was governed democratically, though the coup d'état of 1801 put an authoritarian regime in power, after another change in constitution.
2. **Founding of the Social Democratic Workers' Party** (*Sociaal Democratische Arbeiders Partij*, SDAP) in 1894. The SDAP was a socialist political and a predecessor of the social-democratic PvdA.
3. **Universal Suffrage** (1917/1919). In 1917 all Dutch men received universal suffrage. At the same time women received the right to be chosen for parliament, however they did not receive the right to vote until 1919.
4. **Occupation of the Maagdenhuis**: (1969) The *Maagdenhuis* was the University of Amsterdam's administrative center, which was occupied as part of a student protest.
5. **Assassination of Theo van Gogh**: (2004). Theo van Gogh was a film director, film producer, columnist, author and actor. Van Gogh worked with the Somali-born writer Ayaan Hirsi Ali to produce the film *Submission*, which criticized the treatment of women in Islam and aroused controversy among some Muslims. On 2 November 2004 he was assassinated by a Dutch-Moroccan Muslim.
6. **Johan Thorbecke**: (1798 - 1872) was a statesman of liberal signature. In 1858 he virtually single-handedly drafted the revision of the Constitution of the Netherlands,



giving less power to the king, and more to the States-General. The new Constitution of 1848 is part of the canon.

7. **Aletta Jacobs** (1854 - 1929) was the first woman to complete a university course in the Netherlands and the first female physician. She began to run a free clinic for destitute women and children, which she continued until she retired from practice. She made pessaries available to these women in order to help them limit the size of their families; some consider this the first birth control clinic. Jacobs joined the Dutch Association for Woman's Suffrage, becoming its leader in 1903. She helped initiate the Hague Congress of 1915 that led to the formation of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Jacobs is part of the canon.
8. **Abraham Kuypers** (1837 - 1920) was a politician, journalist, statesman and theologian. He founded the Anti-Revolutionary Party, the first political party in the Netherlands, and was Prime Minister between 1901 and 1905.
9. **Anton Mussert** (1894 – 1946) was one of the founders of the National Socialist Movement (NSB) and its leader. As such, he was the most prominent national socialist [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Socialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Socialism) in the Netherlands before and during the Second World War. During the war, he was able to keep this position due to the support he received from the Germans. After the war, he was convicted and executed for high treason.
10. **Willem Drees** (1886 – 1988) was a politician of the Labour Party (PvdA). He served as Prime Minister from August 7, 1948 until December 22, 1958. He played an important role in rebuilding the Netherlands after the Second World War and he made the proposal for the *Algemene Ouderdoms Wet* (general seniority law) in 1956. This law installed a state pension, guaranteed for all. Drees is praised by many as the most important Dutch politician after World War II for his important contributions and social reforms laws. Drees is part of the canon.

**Appendix 2** Examples of the coding categories of historical reasoning in the whole-class discussion

<b>Category</b>	<b>Examples</b>
<b>Component</b> <b>Change</b> <b>Compare</b> <b>Describe</b> <b>Explain</b> <b>Evaluation</b>	<p>Men and women were more equal and that was not the case before.            So why is universal suffrage more important than Batavian Republic?            Willem Drees rebuilt the Netherlands after WW2.            But you first need a well-organized country before elections can be held.            Universal suffrage is more important for us now.</p>
<b>Function</b> <b>Question</b> <b>Claim</b> <b>Argument</b> <b>Contra-argument</b>	<p>Why is Thorbecke more significant?            I think that Aletta Jacobs should be number one.            She is important because she wanted women's suffrage.            The occupation of the Maagdenhuis was only for students, so it was not important for the whole society.</p>
<b>Use of concepts</b> <b>Substantive</b> <b>Meta</b> <b>Meta &amp; substantive</b> <b>No concepts</b>	<p>Drees founded the welfare state.            She changed the lives of people back then.            Constitutional law came and that had a lot of consequences.            There is even an Abraham Kuijper Award.</p>
<b>Criteria of significance</b> <b>Own Time</b> <b>Present</b> <b>Symbol</b> <b>All criteria</b> <b>No criteria</b>	<p>Drees took care of the people of his time, for example through his seniority law.            Nowadays we still have universal suffrage.            Drees is a symbol; he is a symbol for the welfare state.            Thorbecke matches all criteria well.            But that [occupation of the Maagdenhuis] was useless.</p>

## THE DILEMMA OF A DIVIDED CITY: STUDENTS' SOLUTIONS TOWARDS THE BERLIN DEBATE

*Jeffrey M. Byford, Associate Professor of Social Studies Education, University of Memphis*  
*Brian K. Horn, Assistant Professor of Secondary Education at Colorado Mesa University*

---

### **Abstract**

*The conceptualized theory of decision making on historical events often does not conform to uniform beliefs among students. When presented the opportunity, many students have differing opinions and rationales associated with historical events and outcomes. The intent of this paper was to provide students with the economic, social and political dilemmas associated with the autonomy of East Berlin. Students ranked seven possible actions from the most to the least acceptable. In addition, students were required to provide both positive and negative factors for each decision and relative ranking. Results from this activity suggested that while most students chose a financial action towards West Berlin, some students had trouble justifying their actions.*

### **Key Words**

Content-centred learning, Cold War, Berlin, Decision-making

### **Introduction**

In any period of high-stakes testing and limited coverage and assessment of non-tested historical topics, the use of differentiated instruction to help teach abstract concepts and ideas is essential in the history classroom. Teaching the history curriculum through the 'content-centred' method is an effective strategy in engaging students in higher order thinking skills and the ability to retain knowledge compared to traditional lecture and textbook instruction (Byford and Russell, 2006). The purpose of this article is to promote history teachers' use of this approach when teaching Cold War topics and concepts. The concept of communism, specifically, the concepts of Eastern Europe, national sovereignty and security can be confusing to students. With this in mind this article presents a theoretical basis and model for teaching the design and justification in the construction of the Berlin Wall, in 1961.

### **Review of Literature**

Historical periods, such as the Cold War, are often reduced to minimal lectures, readings and worksheets, often resulting in little student interaction or in-depth analysis and higher-level learning (Rapoport, 2006; White, 1994). As former high school history teachers, we found that students often marginalized the Cold War as an anti-communist campaign coupled with obscure events in Europe, Asia and the Soviet Union. While such broad definitions are partially correct, students often lacked the ability to identify and encompass most Cold War events beyond the knowledge comprehension level. As a result, by integrating differentiated instruction and higher-level elements of Bloom's taxonomy, we increased student awareness of the complexities and misunderstandings among nations and events. In the effort to increase students' thinking skills, we utilized the content-centred method to teach students about the rationale for the construction of the Berlin Wall. By investigating economic issues through content-centred learning, students investigate, analyze and rank actions associated with East Germany's decision to build a wall between East and West Berlin.

One example associated with content-centred learning is the rank-order approach. The rank-order format developed by Stahl (1979) to provide students with a situation where a significant group or institution is forced to make a decision and alternatives are provided. This format considers the relative value of a number of options as students assign a single rank order and potential positive and negative consequences. Key elements required in rank-order exercises are: 1) A situation where a group or character/individual is placed into a situation; 2) Students are given 'deciding factors' where students decide which options are most powerful and which options are least beneficial; 3) An individual decision chart used to be 'rank' options along with positive/negative consequences for each; 4) Students are given "individual actions" carried out by the student to help resolve the situation at hand; and 5) An individual decision chart is used to 'rank' options along with positive/negative consequences for each.

The use of content-centred lessons combats material presented in an encyclopedia system where the student becomes a passive learner, rarely encoding historical events (White, 1994). In addition, the rank order approach enables students to recognize and respond to impromptu decisions that often lead to negative long term affects and desired outcomes (Pearl, 2000; Wolfer and Baker, 2000; Chapin, 2003; Byford and Russell, 2006). Such an integration of historically-based scenarios presented in a series of dilemmas or events allows students to: 1) better understand complex issues, historical events and content material; 2) discuss issues with their peers; 3) engage in informative discussions related to information presented, and 4) deal with issues, conflicts, outcomes and consequences based on their decisions (Kunselman and Johnson, 2004; Soley, 1996).

### **Design of Activity**

When designing the lesson, Drake's (1997) three dimensions of alternative assessment were used as a reference. First, students should indicate their understanding of historical themes, facts and ideas. Second, students who complete alternative assessments should be able to demonstrate their ability to reason. Third, students should be able to communicate their historical knowledge with others. To help create an authentic setting the classroom was decorated in Soviet and East German propaganda posters on the walls. Students were asked to form groups of three. Each group was given a few moments to read the dilemma (Appendix A) confronted by a government (East German) and a city (East Berlin) following the years after WWII. The use of historical situations was based on two fundamental principles. First, student alternatives were historically accurate. Choices and selections outlined go beyond the standard textbook providing students with documented social and economic dilemmas encountered by the East German leadership in their efforts to counter the rise of West Berlin's capitalist economy (Flemming, 2009; Fulbrook, 2005; Turner, 1987). Second, use of historically accurate situations asks students to see past the referential semblance of historical accuracies and explain historical problems through problem solving and presentism (Kahneman and Tversky, 1973; Wineburg, 1999). Questions asked by students viewed as tools of creation using students' common knowledge and historical context of the past in an effort to learn from it. The intent of the activity was a combined scaled instrument that utilized a standard rank-order format as well as open-ended responses for each of the seven historically accurate selections/actions. The rank-order questions designed to provide students with increased ownership of their individual selections. In addition, two open-ended questions corresponded with each selection/action. Such a manner encouraged students to 'think through' each action and explain their answers and reactions to each rank-order responses. Students were instructed not to write their names on the dilemma.

### **Methods and Sample Selection**

At the time of the activity, 120 students were enrolled in United States history classes in an urban and suburban high school district. Based on the authors' proximity to schools and trustworthiness of experienced teachers, one urban and one suburban teacher was purposively selected to give the activity in their perspective Cold War units. The suburban setting located in a Southwestern state had a total of 59 students (27 male and 32 female) enrolled in a total of two classes. Urban students, located in a Southeastern state, consisted of a total of 61 students (29 male and 32 female) enrolled in a total of two classes. In both settings, the activity was conducted when, on the day previous day, students studied the meaning of the Berlin Wall. The activity was neither a formative nor a summative assessment. Both school settings conducted the activity within one week.

### **Findings**

The results of the activity were extremely encouraging. Students from both urban and suburban settings indicated excitement and interest in the activity. Such enthusiasm among students supports the view by Slavin (1995) and Driscoll (2005) that active learning in classroom activities and lessons followed by the use of cooperative learning is successful in learning abstract concepts such as the Cold War. In terms of open-ended responses, students were mixed in their justification for the action least likely to succeed. Chris, from an urban high school, suggested building a fence would 'probably create some kind of resistance with the government creating a 'big brother' state.' Sarah, also from an urban high school, suggested an increased police/military presence would only create more harm by indicating. Having the police watch every move would only make it worse. Protection can quickly turn into harassment. Harassment can quickly turn into protest and a bigger wish to leave.' Some students, on the other hand, believe budget cuts would actually be counter-productive suggesting 'shifting money from one part of the country to a city, only moves the money problems somewhere else' and 'trying to add more money into the city probably can't solve enough problems to keep someone from simply walking across town to the western side'. Oddly enough, some students indicated budget cuts would likely succeed in East Berlin's dilemma. Ebony, from the suburban high school, suggested that, 'pumping in money to the city, entertainment, health care and other beneficiary things will help citizens from leaving on a daily basis. By building up the east side, it can be more attractive to live in'. Supporting the perceived benefits and potentially self-gratification as a recipient of state funds, Morgan indicated, 'cutting elsewhere and using the money in East Berlin is most likely to succeed because everyone benefits from it. The city is cleaner; citizens get parks, better stores and new homes now'.

Consequently, as a result of the mixed population of participants, students varied regarding the historical framework prerequisite to recognizing and categorizing the variables involved in Cold War Berlin. With the understanding that several of the students had yet to encounter this specific historical dilemma within the context of a historical curriculum, the rank order activity was used rather as a hypothetical dilemma for negotiating a mock situation similar to that of Berlin. Instead, students were asked to contextualize the dilemma by linking it to modern, yet similar, issues found within the structures of globalization. With this leverage, students found the rank order activity more confining when considering workable solutions regarding modern global problems. As reinforced by Table 1, data from this particular student population most often suggested an economic solution as the most appropriate method when considering the dilemma. However, several students elaborated specific economic sanctions rather than just the rank order options, as these students felt that the rank order options did not provide the necessary details about effective consequential redirection of a desired outcome. A closer quantitative analysis of students' relative rankings towards East Berlin's financial crisis indicates a consensus among student participants. Individual mean ranking (Table 1) suggested students in the suburban setting inclined to

choose economic (change in currency) (m=2.55) as their decision to save East Berlin, compared to the construction of fences or a wall (m=5.15) as their least likely option.

**Table 1** Suburban Students Individual Mean Ranking

Strategy	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Currency (Mean Rank = 3.41)	↓	-	↑	-	↑	↑	
2. Economic Cuts (Mean Rank = 2.55)	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
3. Taxation (Mean Rank = 3.16)	-	↓	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
4. Privileges (Mean Rank = 4.18)	↓	↓	↓	-	-	-	↑
5. Loyalty (Mean Rank = 4.43)	-	↓	↓	-	-	-	↑
6. Police (Mean Rank = 5.11)	↓	↓	↓	-	-	-	-
7. Fences (Mean Rank = 5.15)	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	-	

Note: Regarding the 21 follow-up contrasts, the (↑) symbol indicates that the mean rank is significantly different and higher; the (↓) symbol indicates that the mean rank is significantly different and lower; the (-) symbol indicates that the mean ranks are not significantly different.

Urban students results (Table 2) also trended toward the use of another currency (m=3.53) towards the Western City (West Berlin) as a measure of economic survival compare to the construction of fences or a wall (m=5.36) as their least likely option.

**Table 2** Urban Students Individual Mean Ranking

Strategy	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Currency (Mean Rank = 3.53)	↓	-	↑	-	↑	↑	↑
2. Economic Cuts (Mean Rank = 2.45)	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
3. Taxation (Mean Rank = 3.44)	-	↓	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
4. Privileges (Mean Rank = 4.32)	↓	↓	↓	-	-	-	↑
5. Loyalty (Mean Rank = 4.15)	-	↓	↓	-	-	-	↑
6. Police (Mean Rank = 4.74)	↓	↓	↓	-	-	-	-
7. Fences (Mean Rank = 5.36)	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	-	

Note: Regarding the 21 follow-up contrasts, the (↑) symbol indicates that the mean rank is significantly different and higher; the (↓) symbol indicates that the mean rank is significantly different and lower; the (-) symbol indicates that the mean ranks are not significantly different.

As with individual results from both the urban and suburban participants (Table 3), economic or austerity measures (m=2.50) was the overall action enacted by East Germany. Taxation (m=3.29) was the second choice, followed by a change in currency (m=3.47).

**Table 3** Combined Results

Strategy	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Currency (Mean Rank = 3.47)	↓	-	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
2. Economic Cuts (Mean Rank = 2.50)	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
3. Taxation (Mean Rank = 3.29)	-	↓	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
4. Privileges (Mean Rank = 4.25)	↓	↓	↓	-	↑	↑	↑
5. Loyalty (Mean Rank = 4.30)	↓	↓	↓	-	↑	↑	↑
6. Police (Mean Rank = 4.93)	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	-	↑
7. Fences (Mean Rank = 5.25)	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	-	-

Note: Regarding the 21 follow-up contrasts, the (↑) symbol indicates that the mean rank is significantly different and higher; the (↓) symbol indicates that the mean rank is significantly different and lower; the (-) symbol indicates that the mean ranks are not significantly different.

### Discussion

When evaluating specific situational issues or dilemmas, students have a tendency to build their answer on personal experience with similar events. Given the historical nature of this particular situation, it is clear students ranked solutions by comparing the likely outcome with modern methods of similar diplomacy. Student responses demonstrate the notion of empathy. According to Boddington (1980), most classroom activities and assessments are modelled upon the 'imagine you were. . . .' question, which lends insight and recognition to one or more points of view to a historical event. Such empathy, in conjunction with historical reasoning, may contribute to students' relative rankings. Through central facts, events and possible outcomes, students conceivably imagined themselves in the unlikely situation (Wineburg, 2001). Thus, while students establish the Berlin Dilemma on their understanding of 'the now' the hope students are more likely to recognize such an event in perspective. As described by Davis (1994), perspective taking 'requires a conscious effort by observers to imagine how they would feel if faced with the circumstances affecting the target' (p.16).

Alternatively, student responses also suggest a logical method of problem solving based on either a limited or expansive understanding of modern global issues. Rather than

empathizing with those facing the dilemma, students contextualize the dilemma based on their own personalization of similar situations. As John Savery and Thomas Duffy suggest (1996), “we cannot talk about what is learned separately from how it is learned, as if a variety of experiences all lead to the same understanding. Rather, what we understand is a function of the content, the context, the activity of the learner, and, perhaps most importantly, the goals of the learner” (p. 136). As students rank ordered the possible solutions, prior knowledge and contextual understanding, whether fragmented or comprehensive, influenced their reasoning.

Rarely in contemporary world situations, similar to that of Berlin during the Cold War, do we consider partitions built to separate the two parties in disagreement. It is much more common to observe dollar diplomacy as viable solutions, given the trend with international trade and globalization. For this activity students chose budgetary cuts being the most appropriate method. Perhaps equally revealing, was how students ranked constructing a partition or divide. To them, that was the least effective way of dealing with the dilemmas presented, which is consistent with current diplomacy.

Additionally, students may personalise this problem by comparing it with something they have directly experienced. By internalizing the situation, students ranked the possible alternatives without referencing any historical context or modern form of diplomacy. Simply, students considered the likely outcome of each and evaluated which would be most effective based on how they personally responded.

### **Conclusion**

While this activity may be considered a small ‘glimpse’ of students’ perceptions on a significant Cold War event, this activity was undertaken to develop a potential way to further student participation in the implementation of active learning while studying Cold War materials. For many students right and wrong, righteous and evil are concrete, always connected constants that are simply there to develop and influence. Additionally, when given a sequential list of outcomes, students may or may not evaluate all the positive or negative possibilities with each outcome. However, students tried to connect with a prior frame of reference in order to rank from most to least effective, otherwise they would internalize the situation, evaluating outcomes solely from a personal standpoint. In high-stakes classrooms, often student thinking is minimized to the testable content, allowing little or no classroom time to be afforded to situations similar to those found in this rank order survey. Methods of this nature require students to think and categorize, evaluating specific options. The more often students are asked to personalize the curriculum the more their thinking abilities and knowledge transfer also improve.

### **Correspondence**

Dr. Jeffrey M. Byford, Associate Professor, Social Studies Education, The University of Memphis, 406 Ball Hall, Memphis, Tennessee 38152, United States of America  
Fax: 901-678-3881  
E-mail: [jeffbyford@bellsouth.net](mailto:jeffbyford@bellsouth.net)



## References

- Bottington, T. (1980) 'Empathy and the teaching of history', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 13-19.
- Byford, J., & Russell, W. (2006) 'Analyzing public issues – clarification through discussion', *The Social Studies Review*, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 70-72.
- Chapin, J (2008) *A practical guide to Middle and Secondary Social Studies*, New York: Pearson.
- Davis, M.H. (1980) 'A multidimensional approach to individual differences in empathy', *Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology*, vol.10, p. 85.
- Drake, F.D. (1997) 'Using alternative assessments to improve the teaching and learning of history', Bloomington, IN: *Eric Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Education*. (ERIC Documentation Reproduction No. ED412170).
- Driscoll, M.P. (2005) *Psychology of learning for instruction*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Flemming, T. (2009) *The Berlin Wall: Division of a city*, Landshut: Bosh Druck Publishers.
- Fulbrook, M. (2005) *The people's state: Inside the GDR 1949-1989*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1973) 'On the psychology of prediction', *Psychological Review*, vol. 80, pp. 237-251.
- Kunselman, J. & Johnson, J (2004) 'Using the case study method to facilitate learning', *College Teaching*, vol. 52, pp. 87-92.
- Pearl, N, (2000) 'A task force to reduce prison overcrowding: Implications for criminal justice policy, planning and research methods course', *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, vol. 11, pp. 111-122.
- Rapoport, A. (2006) 'Least known to Americans: Content materials about the Soviet Union in the 1940s and 1950s', *The Social Studies*, vol. 97, pp. 56-61.
- Savery, J. & Duffy, T. (1996) 'Problems based learning: An instructional model and its constructivist framework', in Wilson, B. (ed.) *Constructivist learning environments: Case studies in instructional design*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Educational Technology Publications, Inc.
- Slavin, R.E. (1994) *A practical guide to cooperative learning*, Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon Press.
- Soley, M. (1996) 'If it's controversial, why teach it?' *Social Education*, vol. 60, pp. 9-14.
- Stahl, R. (1979) 'Working with values and moral issues in content-centered science classrooms', *Science Education*, vol. 63, no. 2, pp. 183-194.
- Turner, H. (1987) *The two Germanies since 1945*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

White, R. (1994) 'An alternative approach to teaching history', *OAH Magazine of History*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp.58-60.

Wineburg, S. (1999) 'Historical thinking and other unnatural acts', *Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. 80, no. 7, pp. 488-499.

Wineburg, S (2001) 'Research on history teaching', in Richardson, V. (ed.) *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (pp. 527-544), Washington DC: American Educational Research Association.

Wolfer, L., & Baker, T.E. (2000) 'Teaching organized crime patterns: An active learning approach', *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, vol. 11, pp. 79-96.

## Appendix A

### The Dilemma of a Divided City-Rank Order

Directions: Either individually or in small groups read the following short paragraphs. As a mayor of a large urban city, you must decide the best method in resolving the dilemma found below. You may write on this paper.

Date: Tuesday, 8 August 1961

Situation: Perched on the twelfth floor of the city administration building, you look out onto a dirty, economically stressed city. As the mayor of a city of 1,000,000 residents, you have been tasked to push economic life back into a once proud, vibrant cultural center. However, this will not be an easy task. For the past sixteen years, your city has been divided down the middle both politically and economically. The other (West) side of the city has 1,200,000 residents and is not considered to be a part of your country. In the west sector of the city businesses flourish and the arts and social events contribute to a high quality of life and salaries. In your city (the East side), government control, regulation, and limited growth has stalled any chance of an economic recovery. While you wish to engage in limited reforms, your country remains firmly in control. The national government has a strict regulation on most production, healthcare, media and education. Free enterprise is discouraged.

Over the years, government officials have indicated a growing alarm on this economic situation. It is estimated that between 50,000 to 100,000 of your city's highly skilled residents cross the invisible border to work in the Western side of the city. In your eyes, this means lost revenue in taxes. In addition, your citizens, who travel daily to the other side of the city, still use your country's free healthcare and the education system, which costs your city around one billion dollars a year. As a result, your city and country daily loses large amounts of skilled labor (technicians, doctors, teachers, etc.), creating a shortage of important jobs. Your government has estimated that, over the last ten years, nearly 1.6 million citizens have simply walked across the street into the Western side of the city never to return.

Local members of your city government have indicated that drastic times results in drastic measures. You are under a lot of pressure to solve this 'bleeding economic' issue. As you meet with government officials, you review the facts:

- Your city / country cannot compete on the same economic scale as the Western sector of the city.
- Your country has strict regulations on production and distribution of goods which is different from the Western sector of the city. Such a contrast has caused enormous problems with your citizens and government.

- A significant number of your city's citizens receive higher salaries in the Western side of the city.
- Workers leave daily to work in the other side of the city never to return.
- Your healthcare, education and social programs are on the verge of bankruptcy due to the loss of tax revenue.
- Your country has experienced recent food shortages and failed crops and harvests.
- You currently have a high rate of unemployment and lack of skilled labor in your side of the city.
- A citizen in your side of the city can make up to 3 times the salary in the Western side.
- You currently spend roughly one billion dollars a year on healthcare and education on citizens who work in the other city, but live in your country.
- Your government is UNWILLING to change their controlled economy to that of the Western side of the city.

As you review the facts, your government has made several possible solutions to this economic crisis. It is your responsibility to evaluate each and determine the possible strengths and weaknesses of each.

Option A: Your government attempts to change the shared currency with the Western side of the city to create a 'foreign country' effect with your economically powerful neighbor making Western 'goods' expensive.

Option B: Make deep economic cuts in several national (government supported) programs throughout the country. Monies saved from such economic cuts will be given to your city in the effort to build parks, schools, and entertainment in the effort to attract citizens.

Option C: Document and closely monitor all citizens leaving to work and shop in the Western side of the city. Additional taxes and fees will be applied to offset your country's free healthcare, education and affordable housing.

Option D: Individuals in your city who work in the Western side of the city will not receive special considerations for preferred apartments, and going to college.

Option E: Only allow dedicated and loyal citizens access to study at the university level. Such loyalty to your government's belief will aide in the effort to keep highly skilled workers in your country.

Option F: Build a larger police force in your city to 'protect' your citizens from leaving your city and losing needed income.

Option G: Build a series of fences along the invisible border. Doing so will guarantee the stop of your citizens leaving your city, the loss of critical jobs, and stabilize your money.

Decision Sheet: In a group or individually please assign a rank (order) of the most realistic method of action to the least realistic. With each ranking you are to provide a potential positive and negative factor(s) for each action.

Assigned Rank of Most Acceptable Response or Action Taken Example: 1, 2, 3, etc.	Type of Option Given	Potential Positive Factor(s) of Response or Action	Potential Negative Factor(s) of Response or Action
	A: Change of Currency		
	B: Economic Cuts		
	C: Monitor and Taxation		
	D: Lack of Privileges		
	E: Loyalty to Government		
	F: Police Protection Force		
	G: Fences		

Discussion Starters:

1. Which response or action do you believe is LEAST likely to succeed? Why?
2. Which response or action do you believe is MOST likely to succeed? Why?

*A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSE SURROUNDING THE 2013 DRAFT ENGLISH HISTORY CURRICULUM AND A COMPARISON WITH CURRENT HIGH SCHOOL PRACTICE*

Joe Smith, Edge Hill University, Ormskirk, UK

---

**Abstract**

*The following article describes the context, planning, execution and findings of a small scale critical comparison between the Draft 2013 History National Curriculum and current practice in schools. The article opens with a critical analysis of the discourse surrounding the announcement of the draft in the context of ongoing debates about curriculum ideology before going on to look at the curriculum itself in greater depth.*

*The research uses Critical Discourse Analysis to expose the hegemonic intentionality of the new curriculum. Using an intertextual approach, it contrasts this document with the existing practice of schools (Northern Comprehensive and Southern Grammar) and finds significant points of difference. These differences are expressed in terms of modality, selectivity and representation each of which shows the two schools' curricula to be more progressive in terms of Santome's tests of progressiveness (2009). The study argues that the most significant difference between progressive and conservative curricula is not the selection or omission of topics, but the way in which topics are presented.*

*The article closes with a critical reflection on the process which argues for the efficacy of intertextual CDA as a tool for this kind of study.*

**Keywords**

Progressiveness, Critical Discourse Analysis, 2013 English National Curriculum, Hegemony, Intertextuality, Gramsci, Gove, Hirsch

I will no longer tolerate this insidious attack on history [and] challenges to the traditional core of this crucial subject.

Prime Minister John Major, 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1992,  
Letter to *The Times* (cited in Sylvester, 1994)

The current approach we have to history denies children the opportunity to hear our island story .... Well, this trashing of our past has to stop.

Michael Gove, Secretary of State for Education,  
Conservative Party Conference, Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> October 2010

**1. Contextual Background**

In February 2013, the Coalition Government released its Draft revision of the history National Curriculum (DfE, 2013). In the weeks that followed, strident positions were taken by commentators from riotous support (Ferguson, 2013; Times, 2013a) to pointed criticism (Evans, 2013 Schama, 2013; Sheldon, 2013; Husbands, 2013). Such raucous debate was not unexpected – since the introduction of the first National Curriculum for England and Wales in 1991, the history curriculum has been contested and debated in the public sphere to a much greater extent than any other subject (Crawford, 1994; Phillips, 1998a; 1998b;

Guyver 2013). The English history curriculum has been revised several times since its introduction (1994, 2000, 2007, 2013) and on each occasion accusations of political bias have greeted its announcement.

In England, opinions about history teaching fall into two broad and antagonistic camps, which should not be confused with the tired dichotomy between the teaching of 'skills' and 'content' which is so lazily reproduced in public discourse. The first approach is known as 'New History' which had its origins in the late 1960s. Working separately, Martin Booth (1973) and Mary Price (1968) argued that school history, as then taught, was in crisis. Observing lessons and surveying pupils, both argued the subject was dull, repetitive and of little apparent relevance to pupils. Both Booth and Prince urged a radical rethink of both the content and pedagogical approaches used in school history. These ideas were given their fullest exposition in the School's Council for History Project's *A New Look at History* (1976). Using Bruner – and anticipating the rediscovery of Vygotskian constructivism – the authors argued that 'if teachers were to adopt a methodology which reinforced pupil acquisition of ideas about history by introducing pupils to the same ideas at different ages, say at 8, 11, 13 and 14, then the ability of pupils to do 'real' history may well mature earlier' (p. 6). This reassessment of the pedagogical assumptions went alongside an epistemological reassessment of history as a discipline. The Council argued that history was a series of processes and went much further by pronouncing that 'history is not a body of knowledge structured on chronology' (p. 24). Instead, the authors suggested several concepts Evidence, Change, Causation, Anachronism, Empathy and Judgement (pp. 39-42) which – with varying nomenclature – have formed the basis of each iteration of the History National Curriculum from its inception until the aborted February 2013 draft. Following the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979, there appeared a significant backlash against this approach. Contributing to the neo-liberal and neo-conservative paradigm (Knight, 1990; Jones 2003) organisations such as the Campaign for Real Education and the History Curriculum Association argued for a return to a curriculum based on a core of historical knowledge and more traditional pedagogical approaches.

Politicians' adherence to these positions predictably divided along party lines as the Conservative administration (1979-1997) placed emphasis on knowledge in the 1991 and 1994 curricula, while the Labour administration (1997-2010) produced two curricula (2000 and 2007) which were broadly welcomed by new historians. Thus, for much of the twenty-first century there existed a consensus about history teaching between Labour policy makers and school teachers, a consensus which was shattered by the election of a Conservative-led coalition in 2010 and the appointment of a Conservative Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove.

On February 7<sup>th</sup> 2013, the Coalition government announced draft proposals for the National Curriculum. It quickly became clear from the discourse that neither exponents of New History nor traditionalists had softened their positions. Fifteen historians (including Anthony Beevor and Niall Ferguson) wrote a letter to *The Times* arguing that the new curriculum was, 'a golden opportunity to place history back at the centre of the curriculum', (Abulafia et al, 2013) while Professor Sir Richard Evans (Evans, 2013) described it as 'a pub quiz curriculum', while a spokesperson for the Curriculum for Cohesion Group told BBC News that it amounted to 'crass ideological nation-building' (BBC News, 2013).

Strangely, at least two commentators who had earlier supported Michael Gove in drawing up the proposals withdrew their support when the final document was released. At the Hay Literary Festival in May 2013 historian Simon Schama called it 'a ridiculous shopping list' and '*1066 and All That* without the jokes' (Schama quoted in Furness, 2013). Fellow consultant, Steve Mastin implied there had been political interference in the document,

'Between January and the publication of this document – which no one involved in the consultation had seen – someone has typed it up and I have no idea who that is', (quoted in Boffey, 2013).

Perhaps rather surprisingly, given Gove's earlier defiant attitude, in July 2013 the government's response to the consultation seemed to accept many of the criticisms that had been levelled at it. The final framework document (DfE, 2013b) was well received by critics of the draft. The Historical Association, which had said of the draft, 'More than twenty years of thoughtful and sophisticated approaches to curriculum development have been thrown away in this document' (HA, 2013a<sup>16</sup>), now said that it was a curriculum which gave 'greater scope for choice and respect for teachers' expertise' (HA, 2013b).<sup>17</sup>

## 2. Research in Context

Despite the wholesale rewrite of the curriculum, the draft document is still of considerable interest as it reveals one discursive actor's ideal position in a political discourse. This research is predicated on the idea that any engagement with the debate on the nature of the history curriculum is a political act. There is, quite simply, too much history and so selection and omission is an inevitable feature of history curriculum design, but this selectivity in itself can never be apolitical. In a political context where labels have become unfashionable contributors to the debate rarely defend their own positions in political terms, preferring instead to describe their curricula in terms of academic rigour or historical best-practice. In contrast to such apolitical rhetoric, this research sets out to evaluate the debate surrounding the history curriculum in explicitly political terms.

The theoretical underpinning for this research will borrow from Gramsci (1971)<sup>18</sup>. While the new Curriculum is an attempt by the hegemonic elite to cement a mono-cultural narrative of national greatness, this should be seen in the context of an ongoing hegemonic/counterhegemonic intertextual discourse between that elite and a critical history-teaching community which seeks to stress historical controversy and the histories of the disadvantaged. Many history teachers are instinctively distrustful of excessive control of curriculum content from the centre; their training has made them acutely aware of the ways that totalitarian regimes have used history education to justify barbarism and to indoctrinate future generations. In the past, History teachers have shown great adroitness in mediating and subverting central curricula while paying lip service to the documents; whatever the curriculum states, history teachers have found ways of continuing to deliver polythetic, diverse and bottom-up history. This subversive creativity is a source of considerable annoyance to the New Right<sup>19</sup>, especially since teachers as individuals are assisted in this endeavour by counter-hegemonic organisations such as the Schools History Project and the Historical Association. Thus the Draft was not incoherent or ill-thought-out (as some critics argued) rather it was an attempt to create a "subversion-proof" hegemonic account of the past. It is the latest word in the discourse of hegemony and counter-hegemony which has marked the curriculum wars of history education.

The Draft Curriculum was particularly criticised for its prescriptiveness as it listed 63 events that students should be taught at Key Stage Three (11-14). This is in keeping with Michael

---

<sup>16</sup> [http://www.history.org.uk/news/news\\_1722.html](http://www.history.org.uk/news/news_1722.html)

<sup>17</sup> [http://www.history.org.uk/news/news\\_1830.html](http://www.history.org.uk/news/news_1830.html)

<sup>18</sup> It is interesting that Michael Gove (Gove, 2013a) has cited Gramsci as one of his political inspirations for his insistence that children should acquire a 'baggage of concrete facts'. Gove's interpretation of Gramsci's work is, however, based solely on Gramsci's chapter on education from the *Prison Notebooks* and divorces these thoughts from their position in the wider schema of Gramscian thought.

<sup>19</sup> See Phillips 1998 on the 'curriculum wars' of the National Curriculum's first incarnation.

Gove's view that 'the accumulation of cultural capital – the acquisition of knowledge – is the key to social mobility' (Gove, 2013a). Gove supports this view by E.D. Hirsch's argument for 'cultural literacy' as a core of canonical knowledge (1987). Clearly, to be politically transparent any such list of historical events needs to make its selection criteria explicit. Since all history syllabi require selectivity, there must be a pedagogical or epistemological reason why one event is included at the expense of another – the Draft curriculum offers no such criteria. Hirsch's work does at least offer something of a framework – in compiling his 63 page list (p.152-215) of 'what every American needs to know' Hirsch stated that items were omitted if they were deemed, 'known by both literate and illiterate persons, too rare or too transitory' (p.146). These criteria seem unsatisfactory. Quite apart from the fact that they are subjective qualitative judgements rather than criteria as properly understood, they are applied inconsistently. For example, the inclusion of items such as Muammar Qaddafi (p.198) qualify only in the context of the 'transitory' bombing of Libya which took place at the time the book was authored. Another Arab leader, Saddam Hussein, who, at the time Hirsch was writing, was receiving US military aid in his war against Iran is oddly excluded.

Thus Gove's defence of certain knowledge in terms of its benefits to social mobility is questionable. The argument is that some knowledge allows access to the ruling elite, but this is only the case *because it is* the knowledge of the ruling elite. This is a circular argument which goes unchallenged. It has long been argued by 'new sociologists of education' (Young, 1971; Whitty and Young, 1976; Apple, 1976; Weis et al, 2006) that the content of the school curriculum is an attempt to reproduce the cultural values and norms of the ruling class and delegitimise those of the majority. Gove and Hirsch might be right that some knowledge has more cultural capital than others in practice, but there is no epistemological basis for asserting delineating and venerating that knowledge. Hirsch attempts to address this challenge by asserting that the goal of 'cultural literacy' is simply to create 'shared symbols [so] ... we can communicate more effectively with one another in our national community' (1987: xvii); but if this is the case, there is no reason why these ought to be the symbols used by a wealthy ethnically-homogeneous minority. Furthermore, an argument based on social mobility breaks down when one considers the limits of what can be taught in school. As Bourdieu argued, 'The more outlandish areas of extra-curricular culture are not taught in schools but ... can often yield high symbolic profit' (1979: 63.)

Nevertheless, once the cultural supremacy of certain knowledge is asserted, it is possible to construct a 'moral panic' (Cohen, 1972) about children's ignorance. In an article in the *Daily Mail* Gove argued,

Survey after survey has revealed disturbing historical ignorance with one teenager in five believing Winston Churchill was a fictional character while 58 per cent think Sherlock Holmes was real. (Gove, 2013b)

After a Freedom of Information request, it was revealed that this claim was based on four methodologically dubious surveys including one which was commissioned by a hotel chain (which accepted the children's responses were facetious) and another which surveyed respondents of all ages, not just children (Morse, 2013<sup>20</sup>).

In common with all moral panics, this is intended to be politically useful. The common sense conclusion is that if children do not know what they ought to know, then they are being in some sense failed by current education practice (as Hirsch argues) and a traditional conservative position is presented as a solution to this apparent decay. The fallaciousness

---

<sup>20</sup> [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/05/13/michael-gove-surveys-history-poll-education-foi-n\\_3264981.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/05/13/michael-gove-surveys-history-poll-education-foi-n_3264981.html)



of this 'ignorance panic' is skewered by Wineberg (2001: vii) who cites a study from 1917 which similarly bemoans high school students' ignorance. Besides which, it is not clear why children should know one piece of information (for example Sherlock Holmes) and not another. As Wineberg has argued in a US context, commentators proceed seamlessly from the discovery that 'students don't know what we want them to know to the conclusion that they don't know anything at all' (Wineberg, 2001: viii).

Interestingly, Gove's concentration on listing events reveals a fatal misunderstanding about what New History is about, for in history teaching pedagogical questions are arguably more significant than questions of content. In this sense, New History's criticism is not so much of the specific events mandated by a central curriculum, but the epistemological arrogance that such a list implies. Most studies of the sociology of the curriculum (e.g. Vulliamy, 1978) have tended to focus on the role of canonical knowledge in the reproduction of bourgeois culture and the consequent delegitimisation of working class culture. In history curriculum studies, the familiar question 'whose knowledge?' obscures the more important 'how do we gain knowledge?' That is to say, much of the criticism that New History makes of 'traditional' teaching is not over the merits of the inclusion or exclusion of a given event, but of the implication that this content is uncontested; over its attempt to smooth over controversy by presenting a simplistic narrative. In this sense, the debate should be seen as argument not over which knowledge is of value, but over the right to assert the value of a given piece of knowledge. This point is better illustrated with reference to the Foucauldian concept of power-knowledge (1977). Foucault contends that power determines not just what knowledge is of value (i.e. the canon) but that power also determines the veracity of that knowledge.

The concept of school history as a politicised discourse has a large and transnational tradition. Foster and Crawford (2006) and Ferro (1981) both studied the history curricula of different countries as attempts to impose an elite narrative on the nation's past. The history of the school History Curriculum in England and Wales has been given much attention by Sylvester (1994,) Cannadine et al (2011) and Guyver (2013). All of these writers see the English History syllabus as a site of conflict between policy-makers and history educators and although this process is apparent in public discourse, this noisy debate can sometimes obscure what actually happens in school classrooms. On the subject of teaching professionals as the passive recipients of politicised curricula Michael Apple has shown how curricula are not simply the imposition of ruling class ideas; rather they are mediated and dialectically determined by political forces: 'what counts as legitimate knowledge is the result of complex power relations and struggles among identifiable class, race, gender and religious groups' (Apple and Christian Smith, 1991 p.2). Furthermore, Apple has shown that there is a significant disconnect between what curriculum planners or textbook authors believe teachers are teaching and what they do teach.

It is possible for teachers to use the text in ways undreamed of by [the publishers]. Texts can be and are subject to oppositional readings. They can be, and are, made the subject of analyses in classrooms of their silences – of whose stories are included and excluded. (Apple, 2003, p.14).

In other words, Apple questions the extent to which what happens in classrooms can be controlled from the centre. Vulliamy and Webb (1993, 1996) make this point more generally – 'teachers' abilities creatively to interpret and resist policy ... should not be underestimated' (1993: 22.)

### 3. Outline of the Study

The discourse surrounding the draft curriculum must be seen in intertextual terms. Policy and practice are locked in a dialectic in which each contribution to the debate is both a response to previous contribution and a new contribution in its own right. Therefore, although the draft curriculum was the last document to be produced, it makes a sensible starting point since it is a statement of one discursive actor's 'ideal curriculum'<sup>21</sup>. The curriculum was analysed using Norman Fairclough's dialectical relational approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (2001) which starts by identifying a social wrong. In this example, the social wrong is the extent to which the new curriculum accepts power arrangements uncritically and the implied corollary that Britain's unique greatness has been brought about through the genius and Britain's white Protestant ruling class. This politicised starting point is not accidental; as Britain's relative significance as a global power declines inexorably, so stories of Britain's historic global dominance become more important to the ruling class mindset. This process, what Gilroy (2005) calls 'post-colonial melancholia', is a historically verifiable phenomenon. Samuel (1999<sup>22</sup>) argued that attempts to create certainty through history (of which the draft Curriculum is surely one) are closely mapped with periods of uncertainty in wider society – clearly the upheavals of capitalism seen after 2008 makes wallowing in a British colonial past seem somewhat more attractive.

The next step was to analyse the existing programmes of study of two history departments. These programmes of study are devised by school Heads of History whose responsibility it is to implement the National Curriculum. Unlike the draft curriculum, these documents do not represent the discursive actor's 'ideal' position, but rather a mediated compromise between their ideal position and the 2007 National Curriculum document. Nevertheless, this analysis will give us a keen understanding of current practice and so reveal what the new curriculum is aiming to challenge. Differences between the draft and school practice are indicative of a difference of emphasis and approach. We should, of course, not conclude that all differences are politically motivated and so politically significant differences can be identified using Santome's (2009) tests of criticality were used to make this judgement.

Participants for this study were obtained through an appeal in the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust's bi-monthly newsletter, Radar. The SSAT is an organisation which aims to share good practice between schools in England and Wales. Three volunteers came forward from which the two with the most detailed schemes of work were chosen. One (referred to as Southern Grammar School [SGS]) is a high performing selective all-boys school in the south-east of England. It was given the highest grading of Outstanding in its most recent school inspection and in 2012, 100% of its students achieved 5 A\*-C grades at GCSE. The other (referred to as Northern Comprehensive) is a mixed comprehensive school which was described as 'Good' in its most recent inspection. 61% of its students achieved 5 A\*-C grades at GCSE in 2012 (this is broadly in line with the national average). Both schools teach history up to the age of eighteen, but only their Key Stage 3 curricula were analysed.

---

<sup>21</sup> It is worth noting, however, that the curriculum was mediated through debate even before its release. When a leak suggested Mary Seacole was not to be mentioned in the new curriculum, a well-orchestrated and ultimately successful campaign for her reinstatement was organised. This campaign for reinstatement was so powerful, it did not seem to matter to either side that Seacole's name was never included in the 2007 curriculum!

#### 4. Analysis of Findings

Julia Kristeva (1996) defines inter-textuality as ‘the insertion of history into a text and of this text into history’ (p39.) That is to say, documents should be seen as communicating with one another in an ongoing discourse where each reveals something about the other. Intertextual critical discourse analysis includes another layer of complexity – as well as oscillating between discursive texts, CDA necessitates oscillating between the texts and the social structures in which they were produced (Fairclough, 2012). These interlinked dimensions pose a problem for the analyst – how can he avoid a narrative account which simply recounts his journey through the texts? The solution is to identify points of comparison and explore the intertextuality within each. These findings will address three areas of comparison between the three texts:

- Modality
- Selection of Content
- Representation.

##### Modality

The modality of a speech act conveys the extent of obligation, and can be broken down into relational modality (which assesses the power differential between addresser and addressee) and expressive modality (which assesses the syntactical structure of the instruction.) In a relational sense, the National Curriculum is not comparable to schools’ schemes of work – one is issued from a position of legal authority, the other is a school-based document. More light is shone, by comparing the expressive modality.

Both Southern Grammar’s Scheme of Work and the National Curriculum draft of February 2013 contain an introductory page explaining the rationale for the contents. Northern Comprehensive had no comparable preamble. Southern Grammar’s preamble (see appendix 4) begins ‘The History Curriculum has identified key processes, concepts and themes that need to be addressed’, and goes on to say, ‘SGS has also identified two areas of the ‘Big Picture’<sup>23</sup> KS3 [Key Stage 3 approx ages 12-14] NC [National Curriculum] that we need to implement<sup>24</sup>. The use of the first person plural here implies that learning is a cooperative endeavour. Elsewhere, SGS uses enquiry questions such as ‘Was the Reformation about religion or politics?’ to encourage students to challenge orthodox interpretations of events and to reach their own judgements, an approach it shares with Northern Comprehensive (see appendix 5.) In contrast to this cooperative form, the draft National Curriculum uses the imperative form: ‘pupils<sup>25</sup> should be taught about ...’. This construction places the emphasis on teaching rather than on learning and, as Gee (1996) has argued, reduces education to the process of ‘transmitting bundles of information’. In contrast to the two schools, the draft curriculum is about delivery rather than uptake.

---

<sup>23</sup> This is SGS’s name for whole school cross-curricular objectives.

<sup>24</sup> See appendix three for an example.

<sup>25</sup> The use of the rather old-fashioned term ‘pupil’ is also revealing here. Southern Grammar uses the similarly paternalistic ‘boys’ while Northern Comprehensive uses the terms ‘student’, ‘learner’ and ‘pupil’ in a range of different contexts which implies the author sees them as interchangeable.

## Selection of content

As discussed earlier, selection and omission are the most controversial aspects of curriculum design. As a first step, the draft curriculum and the curricula that Northern and Southern teach were analysed using orthodox content analysis<sup>26</sup>. The intertextual discourse can then be gleaned from the relationship between the documents.

As discussed earlier, the draft document asserts a core of power knowledge and draws its intellectual support from E.D. Hirsch. Interestingly, in a recent speech to the Social Market Foundation, Michael Gove also marshalled Antonio Gramsci in support of his views, pointing out that Gramsci had been critical of the child-centred curriculum reforms of Giovanni Gentile and implying that Gramsci would have agreed that that history should have 'space for the study of heroes and heroines whose example is truly inspirational' (Gove, 2013a) presumably because learning about the great would inspire students to be great men or women themselves.

This is a grotesque misuse of Gramsci's theories on education. It is true that Gramsci believed in a working-class possessed of the power-knowledge of the ruling class, but this knowledge was possessed in order that the class (qua class) could formulate a counter-hegemony to challenge the ruling class, not so that aspirant individuals could break free from that class. Gove's reading of Gramsci implies that education is a tool for the sharp-elbowed and individualistic to triumph over their classmates. There is also a lack of appreciation that the 'inspirational' heroes and heroines such as Nelson, Churchill and Wolfe are only inspirational if one can identify with them, in other words if one is already ruling-class and 'native' British. The narrowness of the draft curriculum's view of the 'clear narrative ... [of] British and World history' is explored below.

### 4.2.1 Anglocentrism

The 2007 National Curriculum mandated a study of 'past European and world societies', but schools were allowed freedom over how this was interpreted. In both schools, other countries are principally studied in terms of their relationship with Britain. The only exceptions to this are the American and French Revolutions (in the SGS) and America in the 1920s (in Northern Comprehensive.) Neither curriculum offered a detailed study of a country in the developing world.

The draft National Curriculum seeks an even greater marginalisation of non-British history. Every mention of other countries is related to Britain: the American Revolution is discussed in relation to Britain's Empire, the French Revolution is coupled to the Napoleonic wars and even the Russian Revolution is relegated to a footnote in the study of World War One. Perhaps the most egregious example of this is the requirement to study the English (but not the European) Enlightenment as though the Enlightenment were a peculiarly British phenomenon. Overall, the narrative of national greatness is reminiscent of the 'Whig Interpretation of History' which was so decisively buried by Herbert Butterfield (1931). This similarity has been noted by Richard Evans (2011) who echoed Butterfield in describing 'The Tory Interpretation of History' which he subtitled, 'The Wonderfulness of Us'. In actuality, it seems the inspiration for the draft curriculum is not so much Trevelyan, Macaulay or other notable Whigs but Henrietta Marshall whose 1905 children's book, *Our Island Story* is regularly cited by both Michael Gove (Gove, 2010) and Prime Minister David Cameron (Hough, 2013) as a personal favourite. Quite aside from questions about whether a

---

<sup>26</sup> See appendix one for a comparative grid and appendix two for an explanation of comparative methodology.

children's book is an adequate basis for a school curriculum it should also be remembered that Marshall's book comprises not only factual stories, but also myths and legends.

#### 4.2.2 Date Range

The most glaring difference between the two schools and the draft curriculum is the time span covered. Whereas Northern Comprehensive begins its KS3 course with a study of the Romans and SGS begins with Anglo-Saxon England, the draft curriculum mandates 1750 as the start of the KS3 syllabus. From this we are able to infer that the new curriculum is dissatisfied with the scope of the existing KS3 curriculum. Clearly, any start-date for a curriculum is arbitrary, but we must nevertheless question the selection criteria for these dates. Both the schools' curricula begin with examples of the conquest and colonisation of the British Isles by outsiders (Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Normans) helping to shape the idea in children's minds that nation states are historically and politically constituted phenomena rather than timeless features of the earth. This approach goes some way to satisfying Santome's injunction that 'cultures should be seen as the result of historical processes'. In contrast, the draft curriculum opens in 1750<sup>27</sup> with Britain as a homogenous political entity and has the establishment of 'Britain and her Empire' as the first topic of study. This start date also ensured that Primary school history finished with a study of the 1688 Glorious Revolution, evidently implying that Protestantism and the rule of parliament laid the foundations for Britain's future greatness. It is interesting, too, to notice how closely this structure reflects the archetypal Whig book, Macaulay's *History of England*. This book, which ran to five volumes, only began its study in 1685 with England's brief unsuccessful flirtation with Catholic restoration. The subtext of the book is that it was 1688, Protestant governance and the rule of law which allowed England to emerge as the pre-eminent global power. From a critical perspective, it is clear that although periods of study are arbitrary, they are not accidental and not without significance<sup>28</sup>.

More problematically, the draft curriculum insists that its list of topics be taught 'sequentially,' presumably in the misguided belief that this will help cement children's chronological understanding<sup>29</sup>. This approach means that events are substituted for processes so that 'gunboat diplomacy' becomes the very specific example of mid-nineteenth century gunboat diplomacy rather than a catchall term for power projection by any vastly superior military force. The effect of this atomising approach to curriculum design is best illustrated in the analysis of representations of the British Empire below. In contrast, Northern Grammar uses its opening study of Rome as case study for exploring timeless themes such as 'power and protest', 'empire' and 'migration' which are subsequently revisited throughout the curriculum. Gove has dismissed this approach as 'a disconnected set of themes and topics' (Gove, 2013a) seemingly unaware that this structure was enshrined in the original 1991 curriculum written under the Conservative governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major.

#### 4.2.3 Working class and labour history in the nineteenth century

The new curriculum borrows heavily from the great-man school of historiography which struggles to incorporate working-class movements into its narrative for two reasons: not only are they examples of collective action, but they disrupt the narrative of inevitability by showing how events were mediated and contested. When the preliminary outline of the new curriculum was leaked to the *Daily Mail* in December 2012, there was no coverage of labour

---

<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that this is conveniently soon after the 1707 Act of Union which might throw doubt on the idea of the concept Britain.

<sup>28</sup> It is worth pointing out, however, that early leaks of the curriculum (see appendix 3) had the secondary curriculum opening with Medieval England.

<sup>29</sup> See the work of Dennis Shemilt to expose the fallacy of this common sense myth.

history (see appendix 3), but in the draft curriculum released the following February there was explicit reference to the Chartists, Tolpuddle Martyrs and Annie Besant. This change is curious, but we must remember that texts are never entirely rationally constructed. Mikhail Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia reminds us that texts are not perfect expressions of their author's views, but instead show 'traces of different discourses contending and struggling for dominance' (Weiss & Wodak, 2003, p.15). Through the inclusion of labour history in the new curriculum allows us to see an example of intertextual discourse in action – the initial hostile response to the leak generated a partial rewrite, obviously prefiguring a later, more significant rewrite for similar reasons.

According to the methodology outlined in appendix 2, the draft National Curriculum recommends roughly double the time to be spent on nineteenth century social conditions and working class protest than the two sample schools (12.5 hours compared to 6.) However, it is important to remember that the draft curriculum covers a much shorter chronological period than that of the two schools. In that sense, this is a quantitative reduction in teaching time given to the study of progressive working class movements and the social upheaval caused by industrialisation. In the draft, Social history represents just one-quarter of the total teaching time set aside for nineteenth century British history compared to one-half of SGS's and three-quarters of Northern Comprehensive's.

## Representation

Representation is a less dramatic – but perhaps more pernicious – feature of a hegemonic curriculum than selectivity. That is to say, it is not *whether* a topic is included that is significant, so much as *how* that topic is presented. While concentrating on selection of content made the two schools appear similar, in opposition to the draft curriculum, an approach focused on representation allows us to see Northern Comprehensive as the outlier school while the draft curriculum and Southern Grammar are similar.

### 4.3.1 Representation of human migration

The draft curriculum makes explicit reference to migration at just one point, mandating study of 'the Windrush generation, wider new Commonwealth *immigration*, and the arrival of East African Asians'. Thus the concept *migration* (the movement of people to and from a country) is reduced to immigration (the arrival of people to a country). Thus, there is no mention of emigration from Britain and there is no attention paid to pre-1948 migration. In representing migration in this way, the new curriculum taps into what James Gee calls cultural models 'simplified prototypes of the world which are betrayed in language' (Gee, 1996). Gee gives the example of 'bachelor' as commonly understood which implicitly excludes priests and homosexuals. But in this example we can see that migration is simplified in terms of the 'arrival' of non-white populations. This approach seems intended to separate 'native' Britons from new arrivals, as though migration were not a timeless feature of human behaviour. Representations such as these which exclude 'white immigration' – such as the Huguenots and Irish – are dangerous for the way in which they feed the extreme nationalist myth of an ethnically-homogeneous pre-1948 population. Although it covers a longer span of time, SGS's curriculum made even less reference to migration with only the key question, 'How did the Angles and Saxons gain control of England?' challenging the notion that Britishness is a timeless concept. This is particularly surprising since SGS is comparatively ethnically-diverse; its Ofsted report stating that, 'just over a quarter [of boys are] from minority ethnic backgrounds the most significant of Indian origin'.

In contrast, in Northern Comprehensive, we can see how a wider date range can be used to create a more polythetic understanding of migration. Northern Comprehensive uses its

study of the Romans to teach, 'Why did people move around the empire?' Similarly, its study of 1920s USA begins with the question, 'Why did people leave their own countries for the United States'. This inversion of the issue – focusing on emigration instead of immigration – humanises the topic by presenting the choices migrants make. This more progressive approach to studying migration is followed despite the fact that Ofsted said of the school's ethnic make-up, 'a very small minority of students are from minority ethnic groups and virtually no students speak English as an additional language'.

#### **4.3.2 Representation of the British Empire**

The three curricula spent varying amounts of time on a study of the British Empire. If the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Empire are taken together then the nominal teaching hours are Draft: 22, Northern: 10 and SGS 2. In all cases, the wording of the curricula suggested a British perspective. Northern Comprehensive is the only school to take the perspective of the colonised, teaching one lesson on 'Africa before the Slave Trade' which explores the cultures of the Songhai and Benin Empires and uses contemporary African sources to build up a picture of functioning and thriving pre-European civilisations (see appendix 5).

The draft curriculum suggests 7.5 hours be spent on 'on independence for India and the Wind of Change in Africa'. But it is interesting that these topics fall under the soubriquet 'retreat from Empire'; as though independence were granted because of British munificence rather than through the colonies' own struggles for self-determination. A more striking example of the Anglocentric approach to independence movements is the new curriculum's reference to 'The Indian Mutiny'. This title – which implies that the revolt was somehow criminal sedition rather than a war of liberation – has been abandoned by most historians in favour of 'The Indian Rebellion' or the 'First War of Indian Independence'.

The three curricula's approaches to the slave trade differ markedly. In the draft curriculum it merits just one mention as a sub-topic under the title 'The struggle for power in Britain'. Using the methodology described in appendix two, teachers should spend just 2.5 hours on 'the slave trade and the abolition of slavery, the role of Olaudah Equiano and free slaves'. This is significantly less than the 10 hours spent by Northern Comprehensive, but significantly more than SGS which ignores it completely<sup>30</sup>. Slavery must take centre-stage in any serious discussion of the industrial revolution as part of a wider discussion about trade, industry and empire. In the draft curriculum the two are separated. Students are to learn about cotton mills without ever questioning why Britain was so well placed to take advantage of cheap cotton. It is fair to say that none of the three curricula communicate the interdependence of empire, slavery and industrialisation effectively, but Northern Comprehensive stands out in terms of the time spent on the slave trade.

#### **5. Critical Reflection and Looking Forward**

This was a small-scale study and, consequently, there was an inevitable trade-off between depth and breadth of comparison on which I struggled to find a balance. The scope might have been limited by over-interrogating one point of comparison; say, non-white history. Again, this would have narrowed the scope of the study, but would have produced an account which understated the influence of hegemony by reducing it to the most obvious manifestations of ideology. As Raymond Williams writes, 'Hegemony ... is truly total ... [it] saturates society to such an extent [that it] even constitutes the limits of commonsense for most people under its sway' (Williams, 1976: p.204). Hegemony is most insidious, therefore,

---

<sup>30</sup> It is worth pointing about Slave Trade was one of only six events named in the 2007 curriculum.

in those 'common sense' areas where it is hardest to identify rather than the most obviously ideologically-motivated aspects of the curriculum.

The principal problem with critical discourse as a method is the way in which it elevates the researcher's interpretation without regard for the author's intention. While it is true that there is frequently a disconnect between the intended (illocutionary) and actual (perlocutionary) effect of a text, that does not mean that we should simply disregard the author's stated intention as disingenuous or a product of false consciousness. The aspiring semiotician may feel that only he can uncover the true significance of a text, but there is always a danger that – as Stephen Ball points out – 'theory [can] become a mantric reaffirmation of belief rather than a tool for exploring and thinking otherwise' (Ball, 2006). Throughout the research process I was concerned that my inferences were unfair and I wanted to give the authors the opportunity to speak for themselves.

Ultimately, I feel that CDA is an appropriate tool to analyse the history curriculum because the debate so often takes place on the wrong level. Popular commentators fulminate about the inclusion or exclusion of this or that period of history without looking at the more significant question of how the past is represented and for whose purposes. As this study has shown, we must look at the words that are used and what these words are intended to signify, because it is in language that unequal relations of power are constituted and reproduced, and in language that social injustices may be challenged and overcome.

### Correspondence

Joe Smith, Edge Hill University, Ormskirk, UK  
[joseph.smith@edgehill.ac.uk](mailto:joseph.smith@edgehill.ac.uk)

### References

- Abulafia, D., Beevor, A., Black, J., Burleigh, M., Charmley, J., Clark, J.C.D., Ferguson, N., Foreman, A., Jennings, J., Sebag Montefiore, S., Roberts, A., Skidmore, C., Starkey, D., Thorpe, D. & Tombs, R. (2013) Letter to *The Times*, 27 February, [Online], Available: <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/opinion/letters/article3700061.ece> [Aug 21 2013].
- Apple, M. & Christian-Smith, L. (1991) *The politics of the textbook*, London: Routledge
- Apple, M (2003) *The state and the politics of knowledge*, London: Routledge Falmer.
- Ball, S. J. (2006) *Education policy and social class: The selected works of Stephen J. Ball*, London: Taylor & Francis.
- BBC News Online (2013) 'Draft History curriculum is list-like and narrow', [Online], Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-22072703> [Aug 21 2013].
- Boffey, D. (2013) "'Old school and old-fashioned": historians turn their fire on Gove', *The Observer*, 16<sup>th</sup> February 2013, [Online], Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/feb/16/historians-gove-curriculum>. [Aug 21 2013].
- Booth, M. (1973) *History betrayed*. London: Longman.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979, 1984 edition) *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, translated by Richard Nice, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.



- Butterfield, H. (1931) *The Whig interpretation of history*, London: Bell & Sons.
- Cannadine, D., Keating, J., & Sheldon, N. (2011) *The right kind of history: Teaching the past in twentieth century England*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cohen, S. (1972) *Folk devils and moral panics*, Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- Crawford K. (1995) 'A history of the Right: The battle for control of national curriculum history 1989-94', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol. 43, no. 4 (Dec.).
- DfE (2013) *Draft National Curriculum Programmes of Study*, [Online], Available: <https://www.education.gov.uk/schools/teachingandlearning/curriculum/nationalcurriculum2014>. [12 Apr 2013].
- Evans, R. J. (2011) "The wonderfulness of us: the Tory interpretation of history", *London Review of Books*, Vol. 33 No. 6, March 2011, pp. 9-12.
- Evans, R. J. (2013) 'Michael Gove's history curriculum is a pub quiz not an education', *New Statesman*, 21<sup>st</sup> March.
- Fairclough, N. & Wodak, R. (1997) 'Critical discourse analysis', in van Dijk, T.A. (ed.) *Discourse Studies – a Multidisciplinary Introduction*, vol 2 (pp.258-284), London: Sage.
- Fairclough, N. (2012) 'Critical discourse analysis', in Gee, J.P. & Handford, M. *Routledge Handbook of discourse analysis*, London: Routledge.
- Ferguson, N. (2013) 'On the teaching of history, Michael Gove is right', [Online], Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/feb/15/history-teaching-curriculum-gove-right?commentpage=4> [Aug 21 2013].
- Ferro, M. (1981) *The use and abuse of history, or, how the past is taught to children*, London: Routledge.
- Foster, S. & Crawford, K. (eds.) (2006) *What shall we tell the children? International perspectives on school history textbooks*, Greenwich, CA: Information Age.
- Foucault, M (1977) *Discipline and punish*, London: Allen Lane.
- Fairclough, N. (2001) 'A dialectical relational approach to critical discourse analysis in social research', in Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (eds.) (2001) *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, Sage: London.
- Furness, H. (2013) Hay Festival 2013 [Online], Available: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/hay-festival/10090287/Hay-Festival-2013-Dont-sign-up-to-Goves-insulting-curriculum-Schama-urges.html> [Aug 21 2013].
- Gee, P. (1996) *Social linguistics and literacies*, London: Taylor Francis.
- Gilroy, P. (2005) *Post colonial melancholia*, Columbia, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Gove, M. (2010) Speech to Conservative Party Conference. Transcript from Conservative Party website, [Online], Available:

[http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2010/10/Michael\\_Gove\\_All\\_pupils\\_will\\_learn\\_our\\_island\\_story.aspx](http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2010/10/Michael_Gove_All_pupils_will_learn_our_island_story.aspx) [Aug 22 2013].

Gove, M. (2013a) Speech to Social Market Foundation on 5<sup>th</sup> February 2013. Transcript at *Social Market Foundation*, [Online], Available: <http://www.smf.co.uk/media/news/michael-gove-speaks-smf/> [Apr 12 2013].

Gove, M. (2013b) 'I refuse to surrender to the Marxist teachers hell-bent on destroying our schools', *Daily Mail online*, [Online], Available: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2298146/I-refuse-surrender-Marxist-teachers-hell-bent-destroying-schools-Education-Secretary-berates-new-enemies-promise-opposing-plans.html#ixzz2QEfwLs5n> [Apr 12 2013].

Gramsci, A. (1971) *Antonio Gramsci, selections from the prison notebooks*, London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Guyver, R. (2013) 'Landmarks with Questions – England's school history wars 1967-2010 and 2010-2013', *International Journal of Historical Learning Teaching and Research*, vol. 11 no.2.

Hirsch, E.D. (1987/1997edition) *Cultural literacy: what every American needs to know*, Houghton Mifflin: Boston.

Historical Association (2013a) *Curriculum Concerns*, [Online], Available: [http://www.history.org.uk/news/news\\_1722.html](http://www.history.org.uk/news/news_1722.html) [21 Aug 2013].

Historical Association (2013b) Response to revised National Curriculum, [Online], Available: [http://www.history.org.uk/news/news\\_1830.html](http://www.history.org.uk/news/news_1830.html) [21 Aug 2013].

Hough, A. (2010) 'Revealed: David Cameron's favourite childhood book is *Our Island Story*', *Daily Telegraph*, 29<sup>th</sup> October.

Husbands, C. (2013) 'The end of History? Let's make sure it's not', In *IoE Blog*, [Online], Available: <http://ioelondonblog.wordpress.com/tag/history-curriculum/> [21 Aug 2013].

Jones, K. (2003) *Education in Britain: 1944 to the present*. Cambridge: Polity.

Knight, C. (1990) *The Making of Tory education policy in post-war Britain 1950-1986*, Lewes, Falmer Press.

Kristeva, J. (1996) 'Word, dialogue and novel', in Moi, T. (ed.) *The Kristeva Reader*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Lang, S., Roberts, M., & Kinloch, N., (2006) *Better History: a radical manifesto for change*, [Online], Available: <http://www.betterhistorygroup.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Better-History-Submission.pdf> [30 Dec 2011].

Loewen, J. (1996) *Lies my teacher told me*, New York: Touchstone

Marshall, H. (1905) *Our island story. A history of Britain for boys and girls from the Romans to Queen Victoria*, London: Nelson.

Morse, F. (2013) 'Michael Gove's history research based on Premier Inn polls and regurgitated press surveys', [Online], Available:

[http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/05/13/michael-gove-surveys-history-poll-education-foi-n\\_3264981.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/05/13/michael-gove-surveys-history-poll-education-foi-n_3264981.html) [21 August 2013].

Patton, M. Q. (1990) *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*, 2nd edition, Newbury Park: Sage.

Phillips, R. (1998a) *History teaching, nationhood and the state*, London: Cassell..

Phillips, R. (1998b) 'Contesting the past, constructing the future: History, identity and politics in schools', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol. 46, no. 1, March, pp. 40-53.

Price, M. (1968) 'History in danger', *History*, vol. 53, pp. 342-347.

Samuel, R. (1999) *Island stories: Unravelling Britain: Theatres of memory, Volume 2*. London: Verso. [Published posthumously, Alison Light, Gareth Stedman Jones (eds.)]

Santome, J. (2009) 'The Trojan horse of curriculum contents', in Apple, M., Au, W. & Gandin, L. (eds.) *The Routledge international handbook of critical education*, Routledge: Oxford

Schama, S. (2013) Speech at Hay Literary Festival quoted in Furness, H. (2013). (Full speech [Online], Available: [http://historyworks.tv/news/2013/05/31/history\\_curriculum\\_debate\\_updates\\_new\\_bbc\\_r3\\_ni\\_gh/](http://historyworks.tv/news/2013/05/31/history_curriculum_debate_updates_new_bbc_r3_ni_gh/) (History works, History Curriculum: Gove, Newsprint, & BBC Debates).

Schools' History Project (1976) *A new look at history*. Edinburgh: Homes MacDougall.

Sellar, W. & Yeatman, R. (1930) *1066 and all that*, London: Meuthen

Sheldon, N. (2013) 'A Ladybird Curriculum', *The Guardian Online*, [Online], Available: [http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/feb/16/ladybird-curriculum?CMP=tw\\_t\\_gu](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/feb/16/ladybird-curriculum?CMP=tw_t_gu) [21 Aug 2013].

Sylvester, D. (1994) 'Change and continuity in history teaching 1900-93', in Bourdillion, H. (ed.) *Teaching History*, Routledge: London.

*The Times* (2013a) *Leading Article*, February 27.

Vulliamy, G. (1978) 'Culture clash and school music: a sociological analysis', in Barton, L. & Meighan, R. *Sociological interpretations of schooling and classrooms: A reappraisal*, Driffield: Nafferton Books.

Vulliamy G. & Webb R. (1993) 'Progressive education and the national curriculum: findings from a global research project', *Educational Review*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 21-41.

Weis, L., McCarthy, C. & Dimitriades, G. (2006) *Ideology, curriculum and the New Sociology of Education*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Weiss, G. & Wodak, R. (eds.) 2003 *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*, Palgrave: London.

Whitty, G. & Young, M. (1976) *Explorations in the politics of school knowledge*. Driffield: Nafferton Books.

Wineburg, S. (2001) *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Young, M. (1971) *Knowledge and control: New directions in the sociology of education*. OUP: Oxford.

Williams R., (1976) 'Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory', in Dale, R. (ed.) *Schooling and capitalism: a sociological reader*, London: Routledge.

Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (eds.) (2001) *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, Sage: London.

• Appendix 1

Content Analysis of the Draft Curriculum and the curriculum of the two schools.  
Numbers indicate nominal teaching hours.

	Draft NC	Northern Comp	Southern Grammar
Roman Empire		10	
Pre conquest England		2	5
Norman conquest		6	10
Medieval Kingship		10	6
Crusades			12
Edward I		1	6
Medieval society		6	8
Black Death		4	4
Peasants revolt		2	4
Tudors		14	16
Reformation		4	8
Stuarts and Civil War		14	16
Charles 2		2	4
1688			4
American Independence	1.875		6
English Enlightenment	7.5		
French Revolution	7.5		6
Industrialisation	7.5	2	6
19C Social conditions and social reform	12.5	6	6
Slave Trade	2.5	10	
High Victorian Era	7.5		
British Empire	20.625		2
Britain 1900-14	7.5		
World War One	7.5	16	16
Britain in the 20s and 30s	7.5		
America in the 1920s		10	
World War Two	5.625	6	14
Holocaust	1.875	12	4
Cold War	15		
Post war Britain	37.5		
Assassination of JFK		10	
	150	147	163

Appendix 2

Explanation of the methodology for calculating curriculum time

Both Northern Comprehensive and Southern Grammar teach 3 lessons of history in a two week period. Over the course of a 39 week school year this gives 175 hours of lessons. In reality, much of this teaching time is lost and so the number (approximately 150) of lessons outlined by each scheme of work is appropriate. IN both SGS's and Northern Comprehensive's Schemes of Work, the amount of time spent on each unit was detailed so that assessments could take place at regular intervals.

Since the National Curriculum is a policy document rather than a teaching document, it makes no recommendation about timings. The draft curriculum outlines 20 topics but gives no indication of the amount of time that should be spent on each topic. Assuming a 150 hour teaching year, we can divide the 20 topics into equal blocks of 7.5 hours teaching time. It is acknowledged that this is an imperfect methodology which assumes equal teaching time for each topic. The draft curriculum states that "The teaching of the content should be approached as a combination of overview and in-depth studies", but offers no suggestions about which topics are more important than others. In practice a teacher would manipulate this time in a way that this methodology takes no account of. But since we have no indication about how a given school would do this, we have to proceed on the notion that each topic is given equal weight.

### Appendix 3

#### Leak of the Draft Curriculum to Daily Mail on 29<sup>th</sup> December 2012

From

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2254705/Gove-faces-war-equality-activists-axes-Labours-PC-curriculum-dropped-greatest-figures-history-lessons-Leaked-drafts-new-history-curriculum-emerge.html>

Accessed 10 April 2013

**THEY'RE HISTORY...**

**PAST IT:** From left: Mary Seacole, William Wilberforce, Amy Johnson, Olaudah Equiano and Florence Nightingale

**...AND THEY'RE HERE TO STAY**

**THEIR TIME HAS COME:** From left: Oliver Cromwell, Lord Nelson, Charles I, King John and Winston Churchill

## From 5 to 14, what pupils will be taught

THIS is what pupils will be taught under the new curriculum:

**KEY STAGE 1 (age 5 to 7)**

- Pupils should be taught to place events in chronological order.
- Significant individuals such as explorers, scientists, rulers, saints, artists and inventors.
- Key events such as the Gunpowder Plot and the history of the Olympic Games.

**KEY STAGE 2 (age 8 to 11)**

- Ancient Greece, covering myths, culture and individuals including Alexander the Great.
- Rise and fall of the Roman Empire, including the conquest of Britain and aspects of daily life.
- Anglo-Saxon and Viking settlement; changes in religious belief (pagans and Christians); The Venerable Bede; development of a united English Kingdom including early Kings such as Alfred, Athelstan and Ethelred.

**KEY STAGE 3 (age 11 to 14)**

- Church, State and society in the medieval period, including the Norman Conquest, the feudal system and the growth of towns; Henry II and Becket; King John, the Barons, Magna Carta and the development of Parliament;
- Edward I and wars with Wales and Scotland; Hundred Years War; Black Death; Peasants' Revolt and Wars of the Roses.
- The Renaissance and Reformation in Britain; Henry VIII, Wolsey, More and the break from Rome; Elizabeth I; the English Civil Wars, trial and execution of Charles I; Cromwell; the Acts of Union.
- The emergence of Britain as a global power, including industrial growth; Reform Acts; the early British Empire in America and the Caribbean, expansion of Empire in Asia, Africa and Australia; the abolition of slavery.

- Foreign events: The French Revolution and Republic; the American War of Independence; Napoleonic France, including Nelson and Wellington.
- 20th Century: Developments in democracy, suffragettes and early liberal reforms; the First World War, the Armistice, the impact of the war on British society; the rise of the dictators Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin; Second World War including Churchill and the Holocaust; post-war creation of the Welfare State, immigration, the change from Empire to Commonwealth; Cold War; the emergence of the EU.

## Appendix 4

### Introduction to Southern Grammar School's Scheme of Work

All references that may help identify the school have been modified to provide anonymity.

*Southern Grammar School History Dept  
Year 7 Scheme of Work reflecting new KS3 NC  
Start Date: Sept 2008*

The new KS3 National Curriculum will start for Year 7 in Sept 2008 and this proposed scheme of work incorporates the key areas for development outlined in the History specific curriculum and also the aspects of the wider KS3 curriculum that SGS has chosen to focus on in the first three terms.

The History Curriculum has identified key processes, concepts and themes that need to be addressed and they are as follows

<u>Processes</u>	<u>Concepts</u>	<u>Themes</u>
Enquiry Using Evidence Communicating	Chronological Understanding Cultural, Ethnic, Religious Diversity Change and Continuity Cause and Consequence Significance Interpretation	Power England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales (EISW) Movement and Settlement Beliefs and Ideas British Empire Everyday Lives Conflict

Full explanations of these titles are contained in the History curriculum attached and can also be found at <http://curriculum.qca.org.uk/index.aspx>

SGS has also identified 3 areas of the 'Big Picture' KS3 NC that we need to implement in Year 7 – thematic ideas that we need to include in lessons when appropriate. These are as follows

<u>Sept to Oct 08</u>	School Ethos Statement
<u>Oct 08 to Feb 09</u>	Identity and Cultural Diversity
<u>Feb 09 to May 09</u>	Healthy Lifestyles

Appendix 5

The only example of teaching the history of the developing world. From Northern Comprehensive Year 8 SoW.

<p><b>Year 8</b></p>	<p><b>41</b></p>	
<p><u>Objective:</u> <u>Key Question:</u> What was Africa like before the Slave Trade?</p>	<p><u>Continuation</u> What difference did the Slave Trade make to Africa?  Read PPT slides and Case Study on Songhai Empire...  How did the Slave Trade affect Benin? How did the Slave Trade affect Songhai?</p>	<p><u>Plenary</u> “In the broad field and long duration of negro life, not one civilisation has existed.”  Josiah Nott  Discussion: Is Josiah Nott right? Why do you think he said what he said?</p>
<p><u>Starter</u> What makes things makes us today more civilised than a cave man?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Arts</li> <li>• Trade</li> <li>• Currency</li> <li>• Religion</li> <li>• Law</li> <li>• Justice</li> </ul>	<p><u>Development</u> What were the main African civilisations?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Put the title <u>Africa before the Slave Trade</u></li> <li>2. Stick in your maps</li> <li>3. Mark Benin on your maps.</li> <li>4. Copy the table into your books.</li> <li>5. Read Source A by <u>Leo Africanus, A history and description of Africa, 1526</u></li> </ol> <p>Q. What does this source tell you about the Songhai empire before the Europeans came? Use examples.</p> <p>Pupils should compare Songhai and Benin to the definitions of civilisations established in the starter.</p>	<p><u>Homework</u> None Set</p>



## IJHLTR – INFORMATION AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

---

### IJHLTR – submissions for publication

IJHLTR invites submissions on pure and applied research into *History Education*, including

- academic and professional articles;
- curriculum research - development reports and evaluations;
- literature reviews;
- position papers and reports;
- monographs. n.b. because of their length, monographs will be published separately as supplements.

### Criteria for acceptance for publication: submissions should:

1. make a contribution to the academic and professional discourse on *History Education* within either an educational, social or political setting;
2. relate to the relevant academic and professional literature;
3. be written in standard English;
4. follow appropriate academic conventions, see below.

IJHLTR aims to publish all submissions that meet the criteria

### Refereeing

An international panel of referees will review submissions and provide feedback to authors. Refereeing responses and related comment fall into four categories:

- a. Acceptance without amendments
- b. Acceptance with minor amendments
- c. Acceptance after some rewriting (comment in the form of specific guidance)
- d. Rejection (reasons given)

### Details of Submission

#### Please email papers to:

hilary.cooper@sky.com  
heirnet@ex.ac.uk

#### Submissions:

#### Length

maximum - 6,000 words.  
[4,000 words preferable]

#### Type face / layout

Word Processor	Word
Font	Arial
Font size	11
Spacing	Double

**Abstracts:** 200-250 words.

**Title Page [separate sheet]**

**Title:**

- Capitalise each word

**Author**

- forename or initials
- surname
- institution or affiliation
- town/city
- country

**Correspondence**

- corresponding author
- postal address in full
- email address

**Title:**

- Capitalise each word
- Italics

**Author**

- forename or initials
- surname
- institution or affiliation
- town/city
- country

**Abstract:**

- abstract [the word]- bold, title case, non-italic
- colon following
- text - italicised
- length c. 200-250 words

### **Keywords:**

- the word , bold, space above and below abstract and the first section,
- colon following
- keywords : Capital letter for first word in a phrase, lower case for other words separated keywords/phrases by a comma
- up to 20 keywords

### **Section titles**

- capital letter start, lower case throughout
- bold
- single space above and below

#### *Sub-sections*

- capital or lower case letter start, as appropriate
- bold
- double space above

#### *Sub-sub sections*

- capital or lower case letter start, as appropriate
- bold
- text runs on

### **Text**

- no justification to right
- start paragraphs flush with left border

### **Quotations**

- blocks of text - indent .63cm., no quotation marks
- 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
- space and number
- caption - capital letter start, rest lower case, not bold
- running numbers in text from 1-n.
- inserted immediately after paragraph, or as is best for publishing, i.e. if a full page figure

### **Tables**

Mentioned in the 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

### **Capitalised Abbreviations**

- give abbreviation after first full use of term within the text
- use square brackets [ ]

### **Correspondence**

- capital first letter, italic i.e. *Correspondence*
- no space
- full postal address
- email address

### **References: Harvard Referencing System**

please use this version:

[http://education.exeter.ac.uk/dll/studyskills/harvard\\_referencing.htm](http://education.exeter.ac.uk/dll/studyskills/harvard_referencing.htm)

the 1990s, the number of publications on the effects of environmental stressors on reproduction in fish has increased. This is not surprising since the effects of environmental stressors on reproduction are important for the management of fish stocks and the conservation of endangered species. The present review is a synthesis of the published literature on the effects of environmental stressors on reproduction in fish.

The review is organized into three main sections. The first section deals with the effects of environmental stressors on the reproductive cycle of fish. The second section deals with the effects of environmental stressors on the development of fish embryos and larvae. The third section deals with the effects of environmental stressors on the reproductive success of fish. The review is based on a search of the literature using the keywords 'environmental stressors', 'reproduction', and 'fish'. The search was limited to English language publications. The review is based on 100 publications. The review is intended as a general overview of the current state of knowledge on the effects of environmental stressors on reproduction in fish. It is not intended as a comprehensive review of the literature on this topic.

The reproductive cycle of fish is a complex process that involves a number of physiological and behavioral changes. Environmental stressors can affect the reproductive cycle of fish in a number of ways. For example, environmental stressors can affect the timing of spawning, the size of the eggs, and the survival of the embryos and larvae. Environmental stressors can also affect the reproductive success of fish by affecting the number of offspring that survive to adulthood. The effects of environmental stressors on the reproductive cycle of fish are often indirect, acting through changes in the physiological and behavioral state of the fish.

The development of fish embryos and larvae is also a complex process that is sensitive to environmental stressors. Environmental stressors can affect the development of fish embryos and larvae in a number of ways. For example, environmental stressors can affect the rate of development, the size of the embryos and larvae, and the survival of the embryos and larvae. Environmental stressors can also affect the reproductive success of fish by affecting the development of the embryos and larvae. The effects of environmental stressors on the development of fish embryos and larvae are often indirect, acting through changes in the physiological and behavioral state of the fish.

The reproductive success of fish is a complex process that involves a number of factors. Environmental stressors can affect the reproductive success of fish in a number of ways. For example, environmental stressors can affect the number of offspring that survive to adulthood, the size of the offspring, and the survival of the offspring. Environmental stressors can also affect the reproductive success of fish by affecting the development of the embryos and larvae. The effects of environmental stressors on the reproductive success of fish are often indirect, acting through changes in the physiological and behavioral state of the fish.