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Editorial

Hilary Cooper and Jon Nichol

This issue contains The International Journal of History Teaching Learning and Research papers from the United kingdom, United States, Canada, Korea, Turkey and the Netherlands. In spite of their different histories and present concerns, these countries are grappling with similar issues about how and why history should be taught in schools. Is it possible to integrate school history and students' personal ideas about the past, learned from family and other out of school sources? Should we teach students the discipline of historical enquiry for its own sake? How can we teach adolescents to think critically about controversial issues? Is it the role of history education to develop shared values and a sense of identity or a common culture or to promote civic values? If so are these values particular to a society? Do we teach enough global history? Is there a moral dimension to history education and if so what do we mean by this? Can learning history promote social justice? Who decides what history should be taught in a democratic, pluralist society, and do teachers mediate this, based on their own beliefs, biographies and level of knowledge? What is the role of textbooks? This issue will cause readers to ponder all of these questions and offer some insights too.

The first four papers describe research which is rooted in the experiences of teachers and pupils, in stimulating contexts both in and beyond classrooms. They use stimulating resources and teaching strategies to demonstrate impressive levels of student thinking. They research and challenge aspects of students' historical thinking. In History Written on Walls: a Study of Quebec High School Students' Historical Consciousness students' discuss whether a mural properly reflects the history of Quebec. In The Wounded Tourist: a survey of history students Moral Dilemmas Lennon and Byford explore the ways in which students react to moral dilemmas associated with war and terrorism. Bellino and Selman, in High School Students Understanding of Personal Betrayal, help students to investigate their responses to a school girl's betrayal of her friend, in the context of ethnic conflict between Serbs and Muslims. Van Drie and Van Boxtel analyse in detail the ways in which teachers can develop whole class discussion in their paper, 'In essence I'm only reflecting'.

The following papers are concerned with research into aspects of history curricula. Tarman and Ayas consider the positive and negative in the use of prescribed text books and discover similarities but also differences between Turkey and Japan, in this respect. A report from Kang describes elementary school teachers' views about why they teach history, in the Republic of Korea, compares these with their reliance on text books in practice and considers the reasons for this. Blake and Cain explore and evaluate the extent to which and ways in which teachers use different types of film in history lessons and Mansfield describes his approach to teaching history at university. The issue concludes with Nichol's and Harnett's survey of teaching and learning history in English primary schools.

History Written on Walls: A Study of Quebec High School Students' Historical Consciousness[1]

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Abstract

Can memorial landmarks be used to reveal historical consciousness? The historical mural in Québec City is a landmark that might allow such a thing. This article provides a synthesis of two parallel studies having as forefront this mural. They were conducted with the participation of high school students coming from five different regions of Quebec. The sample for the first study was made up of French Canadians (n=34) and the second of First Nation's people (n=6). They consisted of interviews with individuals lasting 20 to 40 minutes. During the interviews, students were invited to talk about whether the mural's content properly depicted Québec society or not, and therefore give reasons why. The students were then asked about how they would represent Québec society if they had the chance to create a similar work of art. The results revealed three categories of answers, namely those who: 1) thought that a mural should refer to the past and, as such, try to complement it; 2) accepted the past, but would want to add the present; or 3) would eliminate the past and simply show an illustration of the present. The answers from the two sub-samples differed significantly.

Keywords:

history education, Québec, Canada , Memory, Nation, Consciousness

Introduction

History is replete with controversial questions and politically sensitive interpretive debates. Historical narratives often extol the emotions of numerous people regarding important issues and complex topics, upon which it is impossible to rule based only on an examination of facts or experience (Berg, Graeffe & Holden, 2003; Éthier, Lantheaume & Lefrançois, 2008; Evans & Saxony, 2007; Wellington, 1986).

In Québec as elsewhere, these controversies are echoed in the history classroom (Bouvier, 2008; Cardin, 2007; Éthier, 2007) which provides to the researcher a vast field of investigation. in fact, efforts made by various groups to contribute their respective versions of the past in official narratives and various historical memorials—whether those variations were induced by differences in school systems, location, period or even era, social class, ethnicity or student gender—have all been well documented (Audet, 2006; Barton, 2001ab, 2005; Barton & Levstik, 1998, 2004; Dalongeville, 2001; Epstein, 1997, 2000; Éthier, 2006; Ferro, 2004; Julien, 2005; Laville, 2000, 2002; Lee, Ashby & Dickinson, 2001; Levstik, 2000, 2001; McCully & Barton, 2003; Osborne, 2003; Sandwell, 2006; Seixas, 1994, 1997; Rozenzweig & Thelen, 1998; Tutiaux-Guillon & Infant, 2003; Tutiaux-Guillon & Mousseau, 1998; V. Wertsch, 1999, 2002; Wineburg, 2001; Zimmerman, 2002).

Fewer studies have been done on the links between these debates and historical thinking or students' historical consciousness. Generally, however, social sciences programs, and history programs in particular, often claim legitimacy by applying intellectual tools that could possibly be used to produce or evaluate historical interpretations (Barton, 2005; Chilcoat & Ligon, 2004; Coron, 1997; Seixas, 1993ab, 2000).

Some of the existing studies on historical consciousness undertaken in Québec (Caouette, 2000; Charland, 2003; Déry, 2007; Létourneau, 2006; Moisan, 2002), were carried out on small groups or took on a survey format. As such, they exposed themselves in part to criticism similar to that of Kansteiner (2002, p. 185-190) or Wineburg, Mosborg, Porat & Duncan (2007). To dig into these issues in qualitative and quantitative terms, we conducted in-depth interviews of a sample of a more significant size and with a more diverse geographical and ethnic composition.

The first part of this article describes the context that inspired this research and the method selected, highlighting a description of the procedure and the data collection instruments. The second and third parts summarize the results of two descriptive studies conducted on two sub-samples, using the same methods. The discussion in the fourth part covers the results of the two studies.

Context

This first part is divided into two sections.

First we shall present an outline of the theoretical background behind the question of historical thinking and historical consciousness. Next, we will expose the elements of the History curriculum gradually introduced since 1999 in Québec's school system. Following this are the research questions placed within this context and to which the two studies described had to answer.

In the second section, we will present relevant elements of the research design. After a brief description of the overall data collection selected from a following serie of pre-inquiries undertook previously in 2003 and 2004 (Éthier, Cardin & Charland, 2006), we shall provide a detailed description of the start-up procedure and tasks proposed to the subjects, and then we will present the main elements composing the interview.

Practical and Theoretical Context

By using as a pretext the new Educational Program being set up for Québec schools (PFQ), which, on the one hand, grants considerable place to citizenship education, and, on the other hand, confers a central role to history, we would like to further document the role of schools in citizenship education. We are especially interested in the contribution made by history classes in defining the historical consciousness of high school students. How does this schooling affect students' use of the knowledge and mental functions associated with the discipline of history? How do they rely on it, if need be, when the time comes to solve a problem linked to civic activities? More precisely, what are their perceptions, or even their social representations, of their political identities?

We endeavour here to examine the relations that the experimental subjects establish between their respective identities and history. This article does not therefore address our results concerning historical thinking, but only those related to elements of historical consciousness, and only for the subjects who, within our sample, form two distinct groups.

The growing body of educational publications in the fields of historical thinking and historical consciousness continues to add to the complexity of these two concepts (Levesque, 2008; Lukács, 1968; Rüsen, 2004; Seixas, 2004; White, 2007; Wineburg et al., 2007).

However, for the purposes of this article, and at the risk of limiting ourselves, we shall define these two concepts as two sides of a single coin, inseparable and complementary, but also opposites. Both depend on the conditions and contexts in which they are developed as they are oriented through social interactions, even if they serve different purposes. We are also focusing on the concept of memory, associated with the first two, and subjecting it to abundant scholarly production. Nonetheless, the limited scope of this article prevents us from taking an in-depth look[1] at these questions. Finally, we described the links between historical consciousness and the PFQ.

Historical thinking

Some authors have defined historical thinking using a speculative method: Martineau (2000), for example, on the basis of an analysis of the different writings by major historians on their respective work or on history, compiled a list of 13 thinking operations—grouped under three headings: attitude, method and historical language—without which presence historical thinking is, according to Martineau, impossible. For our part, we define historical thinking as a function of the mental activity concerning a social subject which uses data gathering and interpretation methods similar to those used by historians, in order to generate or judge interpretations concerning an (alleged) past element or the origins of a current phenomenon. Historical thinking can even be seen as having a role in the decision making process intended to clarify these interpretations (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Chowen, 2006; Éthier, 2004; Gregg & Leinhardt, 2002 ; Kohlmeier, 2005; Lee & Shemilt, 2004; Maggioni, Alexander & Vansledright, 2004; Stoskopf, 2001; Wineburg, 2001; Yeager, Foster & Greer, 2002).

Historical consciousness

Unlike historical thinking, historical consciousness corresponds to the mental state (changeable) of the subject who, be it through action or volition, is aware of his/her temporality (regardless of the duration). It is through this understanding of one's temporality that an individual is able to judge (or willing to judge) situations based on his/her interpretation of past events. In short, historical thinking would be the "process" pole and historical consciousness, the "intent," "tool" or "product" pole, depending on the case. Indeed, thinking may operate on the content—semantic and/or formal—of historical consciousness and, in turn, historical consciousness can consume narratives resulting from heuristic criticism, such as that of historians, but neither one nor the other is necessary; just as historical thinking may be reified or be critical (Lukács, 1922/1960; Leeuw-Roord, 2000; Seixas, 2006).

But, regardless of the content on which historical consciousness operates, and whatever the methods it uses to do so—in a discrete or continuous manner—voluntarily, thus in (at least in part) a reflective, conscious, objectified manner. Unlike many models and in agreement with others, ours does not thus separate historical thinking and historical consciousness with an impervious wall, but rather sees it as complementary, despite its irreducibility.

Historical memory

Laville (2002, 2004) defines historical memory as a social construct produced using tools which are, like languages, social constructs. Individuals, who interact with the groups to which they are affiliated, are understood to construct an historical memory that draws its meaning from these interactions. While Laville stresses that historical memories remain multiple, polymorphic and fluid, despite attempts to control them, he also shows that historians wish to distinguish themselves by means of their heuristics.

Similarly, for Dagenais and Laville (2007), these practices proceed "[...] with a rational operation intended to clarify the past, while the memory rather notices the affect. It only retains those elements of the past that serve to maintain memory as it is" (p. 527).[2] This, even though conventions governing university practices in history are historical (i.e., both contingent and determined) and even if it is an individual located in time, space and society who manufactures or sanctions narration—regardless of the medium chosen— which results from social practices.

Ultimately, although memory and historical narration are both portrayals of the past, and although one or the other can be used, for example, to legitimize propaganda, they are nevertheless almost in opposition by essence. Indeed memory gives the illusion of replicating the past as it was, without any mediation, while the latter is simply being transmitted by a witness. The greater the distance (verfremdungseffect, in German), the less it is memory. Conversely, the more that scholarly history admits (and obviously tries to control) its arbitrariness and its facticity, the more it is true to its essence (Éthier, 2001). Far from declining to claim its mediated character, it loses on the contrary its scientific nature by making no claims. Pomian even grounds the legitimacy of this academic field on the claim made by scholarly history authors to allow (generally by means of a critical apparatus citing and explaining the choice and treatment of its sources) all readers to discuss the robustness of their interpretations and the biases induced by their presuppositions (Pomian, 1999, in Éthier, 2001, p. 16-17). In summary, in a way historical memory is the opposite of historical thinking and historical consciousness, in that it would be unconsidered, as a sort of historical un/consciousness shared by a group.

These definitions do not deplete the sources of disagreements faced by the various schools involved in discussions on these three concepts, but, at the very least, they do have the advantage of revealing the essential references behind the model used for our research. These definitions also have the advantage of helping to clarify the relations among some of the models most cited since 1990, particularly in English language literature concerning history didactics.

Historical consciousness in Québec 's History curriculum

These concepts (and especially historical consciousness) are often linked to citizenship. Among others, this is shown in the PFQ's 612 pages (Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec [MÉQ], 2004). Lefrançois & Éthier (2008) showed that in the PFQ's pages there are 247 occurrences of the base word citizen or its derivatives (citizens, citizenship, etc.). Of this number, 43% (105 words) are encountered in the 39 pages devoted to history courses (now called History and Citizenship Education, HCE), not counting 22 (9%) appearing elsewhere in the PFQ, which refers to HCE. Similarly, the entire PFQ (MÉQ, 2004) mentions democracy 21 times (including 14 in the HCE chapter, or 66%), civil rights seven times (all in the HCE chapter), identity 126 times (including 24 in the HCE chapter, or 19%, but 100% of the seven appearances of the term social identity), participation (social or community life) 13 times (including eight in the HCE chapter, or 61%) and critical (thinking, meaning, mind or reflection) 73 times (including five in the HCE chapter, or 7%).

Moreover, these frequencies correspond well to the qualitative importance the PFQ as a whole, -- and the history course more specifically-- grant to participatory citizenship and to the rejection of an inculcation project regarding any pre-established national identity. This is why the history curriculum is now called History and Citizenship education. In fact, according to the PFQ, one of the obligations that the school should carry out is the training of autonomous people who have developed skills enabling them to define their own social identity (p. 6) and behave as committed and critical citizens (p. 4). This, above all, is the duty of the HCE course (p. 21, 337).

To paraphrase the program, schools are committed to teach students to take part in discussions around social issues, and doing so by thinking in an organized manner (MÉQ, 2004, p. 337, 348). This allows us to define the goal of the history course as the development of these three skills altogether (p. 338, 343).

From a historical perspective, the first skill consists of questioning mandatory historiographical constructs (p. 344), the "social phenomena." This concept includes the cultural, economic, political, territorial and social aspects of a group of human beings (p. 337) for a specified epoch, such as the "American and French revolutions" (p. 361). The integration of this social reality within this program is justified by "[…] its potential for conceptual and methodological reinvestment and its contribution to understanding the Western world today" (p. 350). The object of interrogation consists of (p. 352) either a social reality exclusively in the present (p. 365), or a reality from the past and another from the present (p. 353-364).

The status of both the past to be evoked, and the declarative knowledge to be learnt, are thus changing in nature when compared to their previous nature found in traditional or positivist history curriculum. One, the past to be evoked, becomes a product that students must analyze and synthesize in order to learn to "[…] ask their own questions, rather than simply answer those of others" (p. 344). The other, learnt and structured declarative knowledge, is now presented more as forming the precipitate (p. 337) in a liquid in which it is also the solution, in that one needs to mobilize and organize topical data to skilfully interpret social phenomenon (p. 347).

The second skill is entitled "Interpreting social realities using the historical perspective" (MEQ, 2004, p. 346). This involves investigation in order to establish the facts: gather documents, examine and classify them, analyze and evaluate relevant information, compare the various points of view and interests of the actors, witnesses and historians (p. 347).

The third skill consists of "constructing his/her consciousness with the help of history" (p. 348). Its development is directly linked to taking part in discussions in the form of free exchange based on reasoning: "To develop their skills, students must learn to base their reasoning on facts and to justify their interpretation through argumentation" (p. 346).

As seen here, the program encourages students to develop their thinking and awareness of the world around them. Moreover, we have shown in another article that previous Québec history curriculum shared the same goals, although they were not as successful as desired (Cardin, 2007; Éthier, 2007; Éthier & Lefrançois, 2007).

In this context and in order to better gauge the discrepancy between the initial situation (students current consciousness) and the final result (desired consciousness), it is suitable to outline, using the protocol below, a quick portrait of Québec students' current historical consciousness and its links with their respective identities.

General Procedure and Experimental Conditions

In our efforts to highlight students' historical consciousness, part of our inspiration came from the research conducted by Seixas and Clark (2004).

Through individual interviews of varying duration (20 to 40 minutes), conducted between November 2006 and May 2007, we presented a mural to students fifteen years of age: 40 from Québec City and four from other regions in Québec. We asked them whether it properly represented Québec society and why. The question did not explicitly refer to the past, but to their community. However, as meetings were held on the sidelines of the national history course, an implicit link was likely made with the past and with the passing of time. Then we asked them how they would represent Québec society if they had to create a work of this kind on their own. Finally, we proceeded to conduct a semi-structured interview, as described in detail below.

Generally, the students were very quick to express their views on the issue (in a few seconds). They explained themselves when required, gradually justifying their answers and little by little modifying their initial position. They qualified their remarks, adding new elements and removing others they deemed superfluous or insignificant.

This allowed us to obtain a glimpse of what they had before their eyes: an evocation of the past, illustrated by a dozen or so key people appearing in their history textbook, and others (nuns, Dufferin) that might be considered as representative of general and abstract social categories. In so doing, we would open a window on their historical consciousness.

General Characteristics of Trigger: The Mural of Québeckers

The Mural of Québeckers is a mural that consists of a trompe-l'œil work measuring 420 m, produced by the Commission de la capitale nationale and SODEC. It was completed in 1999 by the Société de la création, a French firm. Works of this kind are quite popular, and there are a dozen of these in the Québec City region alone. The latter is particularly well placed, just to the left of Côte-de-la-Montagne connecting the Basse-Ville with the Haute-Ville, near Place Royale. It is popular tourist attraction and is photographed a great deal.

A large portion of the work features ambiguities, due to the concept of Québeckers it conveys. Are we talking here about the inhabitants of Québec City, the province of Québec or French Canadians? The official description says: "The Québeckers' Mural tells the history of Québec and incorporates numerous characters specific to the capital." Still, any examination of the work and the identity of its sponsors should be done with greater caution. Admittedly, the context is that of the city, or more precisely the Côte-de-la-Montagne just next to it. Moreover, the authors have chosen to represent people whose stay in Québec City was short-lived, and of national rather than local "importance." Thus, one remains torn between two interpretations: either the authors are primarily talking about the nation, or they are talking about the city, associating it with visitors passing through, and whose reputations go beyond its borders.

This ambiguity provided the mural with additional interest while the students were searching for its social representations. At first glance, what do Québec students recognize: the city, the province (or country), or the nation?

The official goal of the mural was to represent numerous key people from the city and pay particular tribute to seventeen individuals who had marked its history. In this respect, those characters associated with the French Regime form the lion's share, including eight key figures, hardly justified by this period's duration (1608-1763) and the population size. The British Regime (1763-1867) includes five of them, while the most recent period (1867-1999) has only four. This perhaps expresses the idea that the distant past is more typical of history, regardless of the period: the older it is, the more historical. This view may also have something to do with the myth of paradise lost, the original idealized society, due to its Franco Catholic homogeneity (wrongly attributed to it). This was the view found in schools before the 1960s, while the curricula and textbooks for "History of Canada" as this course was then called reserved a special place for the New France period. This vision is often associated with an historical school headed by Canon Groulx, in the second third of the 20th century.

List of Key Persons by Period			
Regime	*French*	*British*	*Canadian*
People	Jacques Cartier (1491-1557)	Louis-Joseph Papineau (1786-1871)	Félix Leclerc (1914-1988)
	Samuel de Champlain (1570-1635)	François-Xavier Garneau (1809-1866)	Frederick Dufferin (1826-1902)
	Louis de Buade de Frontenac (1622-1698)	Marcelle Mallet (1805-1871)	Alphonse Desjardins (1854-1920)
	Marie Guyart (1599-1672)	Marie Fitzbach (1806-1885)	Thaïs Lacoste-Frémont (1886-1963)
	Louis Jolliet (1645-1700)	Octave Crémazie (1827-1879)	
	Jean Talon (1626-1694)		
	François de Laval (1623-1708)		
	Catherine de Longpré (1632-1668)		

Does this casting reflect an ethnocentric and misogynist bias? We cannot say with certainty, but we do, nonetheless, note that only one Anglophone (Dufferin) is represented, and similarly that Aboriginals are entirely absent. Finally and more striking still, it shows only five women, only one of whom is secular (Lacoste-Frémont). Incidentally, there are five religious (Catholic) figures (one man and four women).

Other questions regarding the mural's nature could most certainly be asked. If one wants to represent Québec City, why are Papineau, Desjardins and Leclerc there? The first was speaker of the Québec legislature, while it sat in Québec City, and yet his home was in Montréal. The second can clearly be identified in connection with Lévis. As for the third, several other municipalities can lay claim to his presence more credibly than the provincial capital. Just as the designers excluded certain categories of citizens, they also excluded certain appropriate icons. It is therefore a very broad view of Québec City, and this help to feed the ambiguity mentioned earlier: Québec City, the Province of Quebec, or the nation of Quebeckers?

It should be pointed out that members of other cultural communities are represented, although discreetly, by one of the mural's elements. Three children are playing hockey, the national sport, on the pavement, and one of them seems to look Asian. Similarly, the lower classes are very discrete, and only two anonymous workers are represented, though almost invisible on the sidelines of the who's who gathering.

Other key people evoke the present, giving the impression that in this city the streets are always haunted by the ghosts of famous people. Finally, just like the Renaissance patrons sometimes seen in pious works, members of the Commission de la capitale nationale and SODEC have been included in the mural, appearing as shopkeepers.

Interview Procedure

After asking the students whether they felt this mural properly represented Québec society, we conducted individual semi-controlled interviews (using an interview notebook).

We then proceeded to question them about the various sources of information used to respond to the initial question, about their sociodemographic characteristics, and about their civic involvement.

Study 1

Participants

Study I was conducted on students (N=34), 15 years of age. It involved a random sample of students recruited from national history courses given by Francophone school boards in public schools (n=29) and in private schools in the same districts (n=5).

The majority of students from Francophone backgrounds were of French-Canadian culture. The sample consisted of exactly two immigrant children (one boy, one girl) and 32 French-Canadian children (19 girls, 13 boys) or 20 girls and 14 boys. They all lived in Francophone environments.

Most of these students came from small urban communities (Beauce, Sherbrooke, Baie-Comeau and Québec City), where there was very little diversity in their origins, and a minority lived in Montréal.

In general, the tables presented in this article do not distinguish immigrant children from others, because their small numbers would give these statistics little significance, but any clarification to this effect will be made as needed when interpreting the data. In most tables, we separated students according to gender. The total is expressed in absolute numbers and includes populations from Francophone backgrounds, while in two studies the percentages express the relationship between Francophone backgrounds and total population, thus facilitating comparison between Study 1 and Study 2.

When citing elements from the data set, we used the code Q to refer to interviewers and the codes J1, S1, M1, etc. for students interviewed. They were distributed randomly in order to preserve the anonymity of subjects.

Origins of Students from Francophone Background, by Gender

Regions	Boys	Girls	Total	%
Beauce	6	9	15	37,5
Sherbrooke	2	1	3	7,5
Baie-Comeau	5	6	11	27,5
Montréal	1	2	3	7,5
Québec City	0	2	2	5
Total	**14**	**20**	**34**	**85**

Among the students from Francophone backgrounds, 58% were girls. These formed the majority of groups from all regions except for one (the Sherbrooke region), but in most cases samples were fairly balanced (except for Beauce and Québec City). In total, 85% of the students participating in both studies were from Francophone backgrounds.

Results

Eleven students out of 34 from Francophone backgrounds thought that the mural represented Québec society, but 23 respondents thought that this work represented it poorly.

Assessment of Mural's Representativeness by Students from Francophone Background, by Gender

Representativeness	Boys	Girls	Total	%
Is representative	5	6	11	35
Is not representative	9	14	23	65
Total	**14**	**20**	**34**	**100**

Relatively speaking, the girls interviewed more than the boys found that the mural to be representative: 70% of the girls did not think so, compared to two thirds of the boys. It should be remembered that for such a small sample, in addition to being random, it should not be treated as being a significant gap. Nonetheless, these results show that the students interviewed generally thought that the mural was not representative. Among those who questioned its representativeness, through various arguments five of them pointed out that it depicts the city, rather than the entire community.

Elements of work supported by students

Students who found that the work was not very representative of society willingly pointed out that certain elements deserved being preserved, while those who found it appropriate justified their opinion by pointing out relevant parts. Students could cite more than one element.

Mural's Elements by Appreciated by Students from Francophone Background, by Gender

Categories	Elements	Boys	Girls	Total	%
Vestiges of past	Religious personnel	10	7	17	18
	Shows historical evolution	3	3	6	7
	Founders/origins	6	4	10	11
	Representation of an old city	2	4	6	15
National sport	Hockey	13	11	24	27
Future	Children	5	2	7	8
Values	Mutual help	2	1	3	4
Artists	Félix Leclerc	6	5	11	12
Aesthetics	She's beautiful	5	2	7	18
Total	**52**	**39**	**91**		

For the students, the nuns seemed to quite adequate as witnesses of Québec's religious past, yet no student associated this phenomenon with the present. Accordingly those who felt that a mural should grant more place to the present wanted to see the mural disappear.

> *J1: The nuns, there were some at the time. You know. Today, there are fewer of them. We see them a lot less. But at the time… If they [the creators] wanted to represent the past, well, that's okay, because there were a lot of them.*

> *M1: Ah yes, yes because they still really did a lot of things. They taught […] then… that's quite important. Yes, but not… not in recent [times]. Like there, there are two nuns up above, I would remove them. […] Because they're no longer there…*

Students expressed their appreciation of how the past was represented in various ways by referring to the visibility of the founders, the antiquity of the city or by given references to various eras, but still almost a fifth of them expressed it this way.

The hockey players as an allegory of the collective identity was particularly appealing for both girls and boys. Concerning this matter however, hockey was not seen as a reference of the past, except for one individual who would have liked to see Maurice Richard included.

> *S1: However, hockey is important here. There are a lot of people who like hockey.*

> *R1: The little hockey players, we could keep them…*

Most students approved of the presence of children, in that they formed a proper link between past and future. Students' statements went something like this:

> *Q: Then you were telling me about the little girl, that she showed evolution. In what way?*

> *R2: For me, this would no longer represent the next generation.*

Some students appreciated the presence of Félix Leclerc, while others would add other singers. Similarly, the discreet presence of two workers cooperating seemed important to some.

Finally, five students, especially girls, liked the mural for its aesthetic character, beyond its aptness in representing their community.

Content of a representative work

It should be emphasized that a fifth of the students thought the mural poorly represented their society. This opinion can be seen as the main motive behind their desire to remove references to the past. Others wanted to add icons from their daily reality: single-family homes, an automobile, etc. In total, nearly a third of them seemed to favour elements from the present to illustrate their society.

Elements Students from Francophone Background Want to Add to Mural Representing their Society, by Gender

Elements		Boys	Girls	Total	%
Starting at present	Elements from present	6	5	11	8
	Single-family dwelling	5	5	10	7
	Automobile	4	4	8	6
References to past	Important events	10	5	15	10
	Important people	4	2	6	4
	Beginning of colonization (centered on…)	1	1	2	1
	Better differentiation of eras	4	5	9	6
More exclusive we	Aboriginals	5	3	8	6
	Immigrants	4	2	6	4
Symbolic we	Flag or emblem	5	3	8	6
	Hockey (increased presence)	3	2	5	3
Closer we	Families	6	2	8	6
	School	4	0	4	3
Less urban we	Country	12	5	17	12
	Regions	6	1	7	5
	Water, river, forest, seasons	12	4	18	13
	Pollution	2	0	2	1
Total		**93**	**49**	**144**	

One of the most obvious elements was that several events from the past were depicted. These were cited more often by boys than girls, with 12 events being included in 2 to 9 citations, while five were portrayed 10 to 18 times.

Proportion of Students from Francophone Background Who Want to Remove Elements of the Past from Mural, by Gender

	Boys	Girls	Total	%
Mentioned past	5	5	10	29
Did not mention past	9	15	24	71
Total	**14**	**20**	**34**	**100**

The idea of removing references of the past was clearly stated by a quarter of the students cited, but none of immigrant students expressed this view. Proportionally, this suggestion came more often from boys than girls.

In reality, the importance attached to the present is much greater than anything that the preliminary numbers might have predicted. The present era also shows up in the interest in hockey expressed by nine people. Students recognized this sport as an unifying element for their community.

The same holds true when it comes to their interest in nature or more generally in the importance of the countryside. We mostly interviewed students in small towns or rural areas. A more rural setting and the presence of a river appeared to merit a prominent place in a work that was to represent them. While they reacted against the mural's unique urban character, one boy exceptionally did so in the name of regionalism only, but he evoked history:

> J2: We are nonetheless in Beauce, then in the picture what we see is Québec, Old Québec [… it has] nothing really to do with agriculture all that; then in Beauce we're fairly focused on agriculture, and Québec began with agriculture […].

However, the relation their community shared with natural elements appeared to be an essential characteristic. To us, it seemed to go beyond recalling a familiar landscape, as their statements to take us back to peoples' roles, to their values and attitudes, to nature and to a particularly difficult climate. Their appreciation of the importance given to Félix Leclerc and the desire to see other singers also reflected a desire to see a mural in which the present would cover the entire work.

Several students would have liked to see allusions made to the nuclear family, something they have not necessarily experienced for themselves at home nor, for that matter, at school.

> *Q: What would be missing?*
>
> *V1: Well, entire families. [..] In any case, I do not see one complete family.*
>
> *Q: Why would an entire family be interesting?*
>
> *V1: Well, because… like there, they all seem to be alone … You see, everybody walks around as a family, at that time they didn't take walks all alone.*

Others welcomed the presence of children. The immediate community seemed worthy of appearing on the walls of Québec City.

A few in the same frame of mind as the present, just over one fifth of all students, would appreciate seeing a flag or a symbolic animal representing Québec.

Those, nearly a third, who thought that references to the past properly illustrated their society, would have added more. They would have gone both ways: the most outstanding eras and references to events.

The mural shows characters somewhat out of context. If some can be recognized, it is only due to the fact that their costumes and characteristics seem to be appropriate for them. They were most often inspired by illustrations found in school textbooks. This reflects a familiarity with these texts, rather than with the past. Among the students, 27% wanted the context to be better represented, 30% of them were leaning somewhat in the same direction, asking for references to events. However, one should note that the mural follows no particular chronological order: characters appear in a fairly disorganized manner. Instead of having famous "whites" on a grey wall background, they would like to see a sort of timeline, profiling scenes of the past, from the founding of Québec to the two World Wars. The illustration of events would set up a narrative with respect to their community's past.

However, when questioned about which events to add, students were embarrassed. Very few of them were able to identify events worthy of appearing on the mural. Most events mentioned were conflicts, such as the Conquest, rebellions and the two World Wars. They kept, however, to following a chronological progression.

> *R1: […] You show a little, a bit from that time … Let's say you start from the beginning with the founding of Québec City then you go up to the present … […] Yes, over time, it would be clearer … […] You would see stages in the development of Québec… Like you, you, when you look at that one, you don't see anything very inspiring…*
>
> *M2: Well, first of all, I would base myself on the steps that Québec City has gone through, such as the arrival of the French before the beginning and all throughout its evolution.*

About one-third of the students would also like to see absent individual show up, such as immigrants and Aboriginals. People of French-Canadian descent would more likely favour the presence of the latter than the former. Note that almost all lived in environments having uniform ethnicity, and it would be interesting to see whether young people from Montréal would have the same attitude.

> *C1: Yes. The only thing I can find to say is that in a society such as ours, I would perhaps add people of other colours, another nationality.*
>
> *E1: Blacks… People of all sorts of colours…*
>
> *Q: Why would you put them there?*
>
> *E1: Because, you know there are those who have prejudices against those people …*
>
> *Q: Hmm, hmm.*
>
> *E1: But they are still with us…*
>
> *E1: You know, I would put like in the Far North and all, Indians… I would put in Indians…*

J3: You know, sure there are Anglophones, but… after that? (pause) Maybe an immigrant some place there, but you know, this might be more… […] You know, that would represent, well, everyone… at least, we would know some of them are here also.

This young girl from Baie-Comeau lived fairly close to the Aboriginals. However, only timidly did she think that some room should be made for them on a mural:

M3: The Ind…, the Indians, they were there before us.

Q: Okay

M3: Perhaps they could…

Q: They would be part of society?

M3: Well, yes. Well… a little.

Q: Okay

M3: Not too.

Q: Explain it to me. Would it be important for them to be there, and for what reason?

M3: Well, they were there before us, then… Well, they are in the same… they are part of our everyday life a bit.

Q: Okay

M3: We took a few of their customs and they took some of our customs, our customs a bit.

Q: There has been like an exchange.

M3: Yes.

Q: So for you it would be important that they be up there too?

M3: Yes.

Elements of students' historical awareness

Twelve students of French-Canadian origin (a third of the sample) evoked 35 different key people in all. Only one person cited other characters not included in table.

Key People Cited by Students from Francophone Background, by Gender

Important people	Girls	Boys	Total
Jacques Cartier	3	3	6
Samuel de Champlain	1	5	6
Maurice Richard	0	2	2
Félix Leclerc	2	3	5
Christophe Colomb	2	2	4
Total	**8**	**15**	**23**

Three of the five people listed above were included in the mural: Cartier, Champlain and Leclerc. Among the key characters on the mural, one who was least often recognized by students was singer Félix Leclerc, who died in 1928'. Maurice Richard was a popular French Canadian hockey player in the forties and fifties.

Among the students of French-Canadian origin, precise references to Québec's past were much more numerous and diverse: 11 of them referred to 17 events. Five of them were mentioned more than once and they only represented 42% of the occurrences. The table below only cites five of these events

Principal Events Cited by Students from Francophone Background, by Gender

Events	Girls	Boys	Total	%
English conquest	3	3	6	15
Industrialization	1	2	3	10
1837-1838 Rebellions	0	3	3	10
World wars	2	1	3	7
Total	**6**	**9**	**15**	**42**

Remember that nearly a third of students pointed out that a mural representing their society should portray historical events.

For the record, note the other events were only evoked by one person: Iroquois wars, October Crisis, Quiet Revolution, privatization of electricity, fur trade and referendum. Most touched on the national affirmation of French Canadians. Incidentally, note that boys were more likely to refer to key people or historical events.

Principal Cultural Elements Cited by Students from Francophone Background, by Gender

Cultural Elements	Girls	Boys	Total	%
French language	3	0	3	7
Catholic religion	4	3	7	18
Ancestral lifestyle	1	2	3	7
Total	**8**	**5**	**13**	**32**

Three cultural elements were named. Together, they represented 32% of the occurrences. The element most often mentioned to characterize the past was the Catholic religion and the presence of the clergy, quite visible on the mural. One student referred to the presence of other religions on the territory.

> J2: In Québec, there are several religions… we could certainly remove it [reference to Catholicism] or leave it there, because there are Buddhists, but them, it doesn't interest them, the Catholic religion, but for sure Québec really got started with the Catholic religion, then the Protestants and the English; but you can still leave it there because it's really part of our history.

However, one must remember that when reviewing the key people presented, half the respondents recalled the importance of religion in the past, recognizing the nuns. Indirectly they referred to a cultural characteristic.

The occurrence of French language came far behind, only mentioned three times, all expressed by girls. They claimed, however, to be commitment to it, with vehemence.

Note that the third category, "ancestral way of life", is a construct in which we group fairly disparate elements, such as folklore and the traditional division of roles between men and women, which were each mentioned once.

Students attending a private school, a minority in our sample, were far more likely to refer to key people and events. More precise and explicit information came to mind more quickly. Aspects of Québeckers' ancestral culture were most often mentioned by youth from public schools.

Representation of "we"

We asked the students what should be included on a mural representing Québec society, and their first reaction was to ask for a definition of society. Very quickly, however, they came up with, certain elements that define the society in which they grew up even if they could not provide us with a thoughtful and coherent definition. Several students provided certain observable features going beyond their immediate, observable background. However, their vision was very focused on the present.

For these youth, Québec history seemed rather absent.

Several students recognized Cartier, Champlain and Leclerc on the mural. They also wanted to see people from the twentieth century included, such as Maurice Richard (hockey) and René Lévesque (politics). Four events were mentioned most frequently by students: the Conquest, industrialization, rebellions and the two World Wars. They deplored the fact that none were illustrated, and they would have added them. Except for industrialization, students favoured the representation of armed conflicts. The "backward-looking" person in the current content visibly annoyed the majority of them.

The cultural elements mentioned by the students were mainly French language and the Catholic religion. For some of them, the first should be included. Students who mentioned the importance of French said they were very committed to this characteristic of Québec society. Students identified the representation of Catholic religion as embodied by several religious people. They justified its presence on the wall because of its previous importance in Québec society. Most of them, however, specified that Catholicism is not part of the present. One student mentioned the presence of other religions on the territory.

Since most came from culturally homogeneous backgrounds, the diversity that characterizes Québec today often eluded them to a certain extent. They depicted a sort of community broken in two, that of the Montréal region, generally familiar with the population's heterogeneity, and the rest of the province, a phenomenon mostly foreign to them. As the Bouchard-Taylor Commission on "reasonable accommodation" seemed to show, this feature was not unique to our sample.

Of course, all did not share this view. Five French Canadians were aware of the growing diversity, and believed it essential that this be represented on a mural. The case of one student was exemplary in this regard:

O1: We are in a country that… where there are many immigrants. Then I think it does our culture a lot of good. I don't know if you listen to the show "Pure Laine."

Q: …

O1: That's interesting.

Q: Yes, that's interesting.

O1: It uses this theme.

Q: Why do you think that if there are many ethnic groups, they bring a lot to Québec?

O1: They have different visions of the world.

Q: …

O1: Different ways of perceiving things, different ways of working. It's a way of looking at things that's different from ours. In being confined to only one vision, we cannot have a… I don't think you can have an opinion very, very… not constructive.

We already mentioned that relations between the French speaking majority and the Aboriginal community are troubling. There are very few French Canadians (8/32) who would spontaneously suggest giving them a place in a representation of their society. It is noteworthy to point that students living near the Aboriginals, such as those in Baie-Comeau, did not mention the latter any more than students in other regions. It was the students from Beauce who most often mentioned the presence of Aboriginals as an essential community in the province of Québec. The few students from Francophone backgrounds who wanted to add Aboriginals hoped to have a mural representative of Québec society's historical evolution. Most often, they were located in the time of contact between Europeans and Aboriginals, but never do they include them in a representation of contemporary society. This is probably a result of their being ignored by the news media, except in criminal cases or spectacular claim actions, but this is also due—if not more so—to the education received and the textbooks used, and they in turn reflect the history program in effect at the time. These students state that Aboriginals should be given an early representation… as in Module 1 of the history programme', then be absent afterwards… just as in the curriculum!

Students, in their own way, create as well a distance between themselves and the Aboriginals, but the distance is temporal rather than architectural. Native population are not placed on a different mural, but in a different era. Their presence in society is not up to date:

C2: […] I would represent, say, how they [the Aboriginals] lived. After, in the second module, the others. Each with a really detailed part.

J2: I know that just about everyone in Québec are [sic] descendants of the Indians, the French and the English. As shown in the photo, we see that not one looks Indian, and yet it was to them that Québec belonged before.

Q: Should it be added?

D2: We could add them.

Looking good

Certain students also understood that the mural is a mean of refering to the "us" to the "them". The mural we presented is located in Québec City, a place commonly visited by tourists. The desire to make a "good impression" was not missed by some and this led them to express certain unexpected views.

A1: Because, overall, I think it [the mural] represents everything… you know, it's beautiful, there's, there's nothing… I think it… Reality as it happened, then […] conditions in the city were really difficult. But at the same time, I don't know if the world would appreciate seeing that now, they weren't there, but you know it was… They said the conditions were really difficult… They came here [into the city] but they were paid really minimal wages and their working conditions were really difficult. […] Would people be ready to see that again?

C2: Because it's too cheerful, but, you know, at the same time if we started to paint things such as poverty […] on the streets of Québec City, it… it wouldn't make any sense, because if we want to make Québec City a more cheerful and more open place, it shouldn't be degraded by a mural that chokes [debases] Québec.

J4: The poor districts?

Q: Yes?

D4: I don't think so.

Q: Why?

D4: Because it wouldn't be a good representation, you know, we need… when you do something, it has to look good.

Q: What would you put instead?

J4: The rich. [Laughter]

Q: You'd put the rich on the mural. […]

J4: You wouldn't put something dilapidated there.

Q: Because the mural, it must look good anyway?

J4: Yes, you know. If you do a mural and then you put everything that's poor on it, everything that's ugly, they'll say: "Hey, they're… they have no class there "

Q: Why don't they have any class?

J4: Well, there, someone who's not… who is poorly dressed, then that, I don't know, you know, housing before that… as we see, it was shitty and all. […] It didn't look good.

Q: You still want to make something beautiful? Even if you say…

J4: Well, yes. It's like when you see someone who has greasy hair and everything, that doesn't seem too clean, well, you don't get a good… a good impression.

Q: Okay

J4: But if… people, when they see the mural they must get a good impression.

J2: Well, for sure there were two world wars that had a great impact on Québec, but I wouldn't put that on the wall because it is a bad example of Québec, because there […], it depicts a happy Québec, then if we put [sic] a big field full of crosses of Canadians who died, it would not be very cheerful.

Relation with passing time

In general, students recognized the elements from the past, but they did not link them to their definition of Québec's society, as if these events had no meaning or importance in this regard. Certain students only cited things from the present; others suggested removing elements referring to the past; others suggested adding elements from the present; while some answers coming from other students showed that they were interested in the past or could not be classified. The table below cites only the first three categories, but the last column can be used to locate the occurrences of these three categories within the overall relevant citations.

Relation with Duration for Students from Francophone Background, by Gender

Type of Relation	Girls	Boys	Total	%
See only present	4	1	5	8
Suggest removing all elements referring to past	5	5	10	15
Suggest adding elements from present	6	4	10	15
Total	**15**	**10**	**25**	**66**

While few of the students' responses related only to the present, nearly a third of them wanted to diminish the proportion of elements in the mural associated with the past.

Some seemed to be at ease with concepts of past, present and future. A few knew how to discourse on Québec's past. For example, they were able to describe the main development stages in Québec society, focusing on the consequences of certain events that defined the collective identity. Obviously, these students were not all at the same level and only one student seemed to be sufficiently at ease with Québec's past to refer to it and handle it easily.

Two young girls of French-Canadian origin were able to symbolize the passage of time (children and adolescents, symbols of the future; the elderly, symbols of previous times). Still, temporal references made by these students had to do with generations and not

really anything more.

In short, at fifteen years of age, the concept of time seemed to escape most students and, after going through the most part of their fourth year of high school, the chronological aspect of their Québec history remained a problem.

Sources of information

After having suggested to students that they voice their opinion on the Mural of Québeckers and tell us how their society could be better illustrated, we asked them from which sources they drew their information. Obviously, since we were doing interviews with students recruited from the compulsory course on Québec's national history, the experimental context likely encouraged them to evoke their classes. Students could, however, cite more than one source of information.

Information Sources Cited by Students from a Francophone Background, by Gender

Categories	Response	Girls	Boys	%
National history course	Yes	15	12	83
	No	4	1	13
Other sources of information	Film	2	1	13
	Radio/television/newspapers	9	8	48
	Internet	0	2	5
	Parents/family	4	2	15
	Personal knowledge and experience	9	8	46
	Books and reading	2	2	13

A large majority of students thought their history course was useful for taking a stand. Eighty-three percent (83%) of students admitted taking information from their courses. Few girls (less than 20%) and one boy (less than 8%) from Francophone backgrounds did not consider the history course to be of any help. Two people said nothing on this issue. Some students recognized that the illustrations of certain key people were identical to those in their history textbook, and referred to their text as a source of information.

Of course, other sources were put to use, with nearly half of them talking about the mass media. At the age of 15, almost half of the students interviewed admitted to relying on knowledge and experience gleaned throughout their lives. Nearly one-fifth of them took advantage of the wisdom gained from their parents or other family members. Far behind were films and books, cited by one-eighth of the sample. Finally, two students declared they had made use of the Internet to obtain knowledge about the past.

Beyond historical knowledge in itself, the media, the students' family and acquaintances or personal experiences were all considered as useful source of information. These were sometimes identified spontaneously, before the question was asked. This involved knowledge, opinions or viewpoints that students reaped from these sources and which mainly formed a part of their collective memory, as we previously defined. Their vision of Québec and of Québec society mainly came from conversations with their parents, movies they had seen and experiences in their lives. Some accompanied their beliefs with assessments developed with the aid of various media (along with advice from readings, films, radio or TV programs, intended for interviewers). Only one student said that anything linked to history, regardless of the media, must be done within a critical perspective, an ingredient inherent to historical consciousness, as we have said.

Students who relied mainly on their personal knowledge and experience were also the ones who described Québec society in the present tense. For them, the course on history was not very useful, although it did prove useful for identifying certain customs, key people or events.

Study 2

Participants

For the second study, the population consisted of six students originating from Betsiamites (Pessiamiulnu): three boys, three girls, and they identified themselves as Aboriginal people (Innu). These students live on a Aboriginal reserve and go to a school intended exclusively for them. They made up 15% of the sample, and given their small number, we systematically made less use of tables.

Results

Aboriginal students have divided opinions regarding the mural's representativeness: half (3/6) thought it was representative; the other half did not. A higher proportion of girls thought the mural was representative (2/3), whereas, for boys, the opposite was true (1/3).

Elements of work that received students' approval

The following very long excerpt introduces a young Aboriginal who noticed the absence of Aboriginals, and also immigrants, on the wall. His opinion was fairly representative of the apparent conviction held by young Aboriginals that they are not a part of Québec society. This student would thus add Aboriginals, but on a different, parallel wall. Several Aboriginal students suggested placing a certain physical distance between the "social groups." This Innu would do the same for other ethnic groups in Québec. His vision of Québec society is complex, with ethnic belongingness, or even linguistic divisions, being irreparable. Lastly, the extract below also shows the students' assumptions regarding the absence of Aboriginals on the original mural.

> Q: Then the Aboriginals told me that you'd put up another display.
>
> P1: Yes. But that's, that's correct [pointing to the mural].
>
> Q: That's correct?
>
> P1: For Québec's Francophone society. But I said there would be… there would be other displays for each ethnic group.
>
> Q: Ok, there would be a display for each ethnic group.
>
> P1: Yes.
>
> Q: Then for that, why do you find it's okay for Québec society?
>
> P1: This is your life, this is how you live, you live in Québec City.
>
> Q: […] When you asked me the question "why didn't they include other races, eh?"
>
> P1: Yes?
>
> Q: Would you be able to come up with an answer to this question?
>
> P1: They have forgotten us.
>
> Q: Okay Do you know why they've forgotten you?
>
> P1: I don't know, they… they must not like dark skins. I really don't know.
>
> Q: They're the ones who would know, in a racist sense?
>
> P1: Well, that's right. I can't say they are racists. They may have forgotten. It… it does happen.
>
> […]
>
> Q: But you, you… when you say they've forgotten, do you find that happens often?
>
> P1: Well…
>
> Q: Hum, hum.
>
> P1: Yes and no.
>
> Q: Okay
>
> P1: When they forget us there…

Q: Hum, hum?

P1: I don't know, but ... there's too much history there, that bother's people.

Q: Okay

P1: I don't know. Because I can't say, at the end of the line they've forgotten us a bit too much.

Q: Okay

P1: Then after that they are thinking of us.

Q: Okay

P1: Then they have forgotten us. It's a bit, I find, I don't know.

The Aboriginal students suggested adding more Aboriginals, using the argument that they were there before the Europeans. However, their words are not necessarily associated with a vision of the historical evolution of Québec society. As we mentioned earlier, a priori, few Aboriginal people do consider themselves as a part of Québec society. Only after a moment of reflection to they think of being added to the wall and in a manner already specified: on the sidelines.

D1: What would I put?

Q: Yes, In order to represent society.

D1: All, all, all, the entire society.

Q: Québec society.

D1: Well, I would put the same thing, but we [we;…] would be added.

Q: You would include yourself in there?

D1: Yes. Because… we're missing from there.

Q: Then what would you do to add yourselves?

D1: Well… more forest.

Q: Why the forest?

D1: Well, because Indians love doing that.

[…]

Q: It would be important to be right beside [the painting], but not inside.

D1: Yes. Although not inside, we need to be put there … so that we … Yes.

Q: Given that, otherwise, when we're together, well, that causes more problems?

D1: Yes, that's right. Yes.

The Aboriginals made certain references to important people (Louis Riel, Pontiac, Samuel de Champlain and Jacques Cartier), but not in the same way as students from Francophone backgrounds. An Aboriginal referred to certain events (creation of reservations, industrialization, Métis revolt), two of which related very specifically to their own community.

Content of a representative work

The Aboriginal students that we met, following the non-Aboriginals, said they appreciated the presence of religious references and hockey, while references to the European founders, the old part of Québec City or the theme of mutual help seemed to attract their attention in a lesser way.

Elements of Mural Appreciated by Students from Aboriginal Background, by Gender

Categories	Elements	Boys	Girls	Total
Vestiges of past	Religious personnel	2	2	4
	Shows historical evolution	2	0	2
	Founders/origins	0	1	1
	Representation of an old city	0	0	0
National sport	Hockey	1	3	4
Future	Children	1	1	2
Values	Mutual help	0	0	0
Artists	Félix Leclerc	0	1	1
Aesthetics	She's beautiful	1	1	2

Elements that Students from an Aboriginal Background Want to Add as a Window Representing their Society, by Gender

Elements		Boys	Girls	Total
Starting today	Elements of present	0	0	0
	Single-family dwelling	1	1	2
	Automobile	1	1	2
References to past	Important events	1	1	2
	Important people	1	0	1
	Beginning of colonization (centered on…)	0	0	0
	Better differentiation of eras	1	0	1
More exclusive we	Aboriginals	2	2	4
	Immigrants	1	0	1
Symbolic we	Flag or emblem	0	1	1
	Hockey (increased presence)	0	1	1
Close-up of we	Families	0	0	0
	School	1	0	1
Less urban we	Country	0	1	1
	Regions	0	0	0
	Water, river, forest, seasons	1	2	3
	Pollution	0	0	0

No student of Aboriginal background suggested removing the past elements from the mural.

Historical consciousness of students

Four key people were cited by the six students from Aboriginal backgrounds: Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain, Louis Riel and Pontiac. French-Canadian students in the sample had added Maurice Richard, Félix Leclerc, René Lévesque, and so on. Industrialization was the only event cited, and this by only one student from an Aboriginal background. None of cultural elements cited by students from a French-Canadian background (such as the French language, the Catholic religion and the ancestral style of living) was cited by the students of Aboriginal background. The reference to the forest, for example, talks about the present, not the past.

Representation of "we"

It was disconcerting that the Aboriginals themselves, after centuries of exclusion, did not claim to be included on a mural depicting Québec society. The young Innu recognized that the Mural of Québeckers represents the community of the majority, the young Innu were able to suggest additions to make it more representative of Québeckers, but they specified that it is not their the society. They looked at their representation as being foreign, and this is why they "added themselves" on the sidelines of the representation of the majority, if not squarely on another mural.

D1, an Innu, expressed the ambiguous relationship of his nation with that of the majority, with as much confusion as insight.

> D1: I do not think… I do not think that… I do not think they… they [the Aboriginals] live there [the representation of Québec City].
>
> Q: Why?
>
> D1: […] If they were included, in there, they would not be used to such large things. Then these others [the Whites] there… well, them there, they were already accustomed.
>
> Q: The whites were already accustomed.
>
> D1: Yes. That is they [the Aboriginals] put something like … they should be allowed to look, we'll remove that [a portion of the mural] […] then put the forest, then here […] we would be there.
>
> Q: You'd be there.
>
> D1: Yes.
>
> Q: You'd do it at that level, you'd take away the building with the blue roof…
>
> D1: Yes.
>
> […]
>
> D1: It [does] not work. Well, the Aboriginal population there, but without…
>
> Q: But could you tell me why it would not work?
>
> D1: Well, I don't know. I don't know how to say it. I do [not] really know how to explain it….
>
> Q: What does it [the painting] not represent for you?
>
> D1: Yes, I don't know. Well, like this: Yes, we were already there when they came.
>
> Q: Okay
>
> D1: The man in green there [Champlain].
>
> Q: Yes.
>
> D1: Yes, these others, the men who are there. But we were… I do not know how to say it, we were already there.

Oddly enough, at the end of the interview, the three young Aboriginals reported readings of a historical nature, even if they did not think that these readings helped them in their task. There was a strange feeling: the proposed exercise did not allow students to deliver everything they knew from the past. This vein could not be exploited in these interviews, and also we did not have any assumptions about what they knew and it did not reveal itself during our conversations with them.

Relationship with duration

No Aboriginal student expressed any relation that could have been identified to duration: none of them suggested the removal elements of the past or the addition of elements of the present.

Sources cited by students from an Aboriginal background

All students from Aboriginal backgrounds (three boys, three girls) found their history course useful. One girl and one boy cited films, and all cited the mass media. Two boys, but no girls, referred to their knowledge or personal experience. None relied on the Internet or their relatives.

Discussion

Based on the above, students interviewed seem to have identified certain categories related to the past. We thus find: 1) those who thought that a mural must refer to the past and, as such, try to supplement it and those who accepted the past, but wanted to add the present, and 3) those that would eliminate the past, sticking to an illustration of the present.

Students that are keen on the present are interested in illustrating the we close at hand, referring to a familiar background composed of houses, cars and nature. Among them, some also wanted to include a vision of the future embodied in the presence of children and families.

Some, one-third of our sample, thought that a specific reference to the past would represent the community to which they belong. They wanted to add such a representation, although a better organized and less static presentation of key characters in the windows; regardless of the chronology and activities arbitrarily considered as founding events. It appears, however, that the historical knowledge of these young people is better than the image projected by the media. When these students refer to the past, they cite three types of information: names of key historical characters they recognize or want to see on the mural, historical events and finally cultural elements referring to their heritage. Boys are more likely to refer to key characters and events while girls are more inclined to refer to elements regarding "culture".

None of the students from an immigrant background clearly referred to Québec's past. Similarly, the characteristic features of Québec's cultural heritage are never mentioned by Aboriginals or by immigrant children. Indeed, 12 French-Canadian students requested that seven characteristics of the past be included in a representation.

We also noted that the presence of Columbus was granted a naturalized status by a few students, and one of them even specifically referred to him as a Québecker! Furthermore, those revealing specific elements from the past or from Québec culture were mostly students of French-Canadian origin. As such, there are indeed two representations of the population: the "we" and the "them," and they do not overlap in students' discourse. While we did not find a construct shaped by gender or social class when analysing the material used by students to assemble their respective identities, we could, however, infer the presence of another type of conceptual scaffolding: ethnicity.

This corroborates the view that the history class provides tools that can especially be used to set up an emotional mechanism, similar mechanically to memory. In the first case, these tools are more helpful to student when confirming their historical identities (thus contingent, but determined by previous events). Their understanding of their identity is limited to an attribute (such as ethnic group or other, but also a given gender, language and pigmentation, etc.), coming from the abundant resources that humans may possess. These tools can be recuperated in a manner that makes history an instrument of socialization "for the benefit of the dominant ideology and power—to the advantage of the dominating power" (Laville, 1984, p. 78), a team which shares this attribute. In the second scenario, the history class serves to further develop historical thinking (or consciousness), thus enriching students' ability to understand the historical agents and contexts in which they find themselves, and to become aware of the great distance that separates them, as historical protosearchers, from those events they are in the process of investigating (Bryant & Clark, 2007, p. 1060). Laville stated, already twenty-five years ago, that there is a need to break with school history that induces "[…] a mental attitude: that of consumer knowledge, and a model of thinking, that of belief: in the revealed and exclusive truth" (1984, p. 80). It seems that students in the two sub-samples had more opportunities and incentives to handle those tools used to confirm historical memory rather than criticize it.

Finally, it would be useful to look at the limits of this work. With respect to gender, the two samples were more or less in line with the national distribution. For the French-Canadian population, the number of experimental subjects was among the largest to date. Given the random nature of sampling and the student base to which we had access, these results are, however, limited. Moreover, even with a probability sample, the sampling error (induced by the segmentation by gender and self-reported ethnicity, and the correspondent sample size) prohibits a plethora of statistical tests.

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[1] For the same reason, neither did we examine these concepts in relation to those of historical fiction, myth or dogma, nor did we try to make the same allusion to multi-secular discussions on the definition or the validity of concepts relative to events, facts, truth or real history, although the various authors cited are interested in these questions.

[2] Locating a subject in time refers to its presence in the world and thus, its existence (as it is felt) and the general concrete relations that, at a given moment, link them (as individuals or part of a group) with the background and circumstances in which they must live and act.

[3] AN ACT RESPECTING THE NATIONAL CAPITAL COMMISSION (RSQ, c. C-33.1) [...] CONSIDERING that Québec is the national capital of Québec, [...] Chapter II: MISSION AND POWERS: 14. The Commission shall see to the planning and development of the capital so as to ensure the enhancement of its attributes as a centre of political and administrative governance and as a national symbol of assembly for all the citizens of Québec. It shall also see to promotion of the capital. To that end, the Commission may, in the territory of the Communauté Métropolitaine de Québec, in particular,

1. contribute to the planning of and improvement to the major buildings and equipment which characterize a capital;

2. establish squares, parks and gardens and promenades and erect monuments and works of art;

3. support the improvement of the quality of architecture and the landscape, [...]

4 Article 18 of Act 17. The Society's objectives are to promote and support in all regions of Québec, to establish and develop cultural undertakings, including the media, and to help increase the quality of products and services and competitiveness of these in Québec, in the rest of Canada and abroad.

5 As can be read on the Society's site: "City of Creation has given its name to more than 380 monumental works showing the city colours in Lyon, Barcelona, Mexico City, Angouleme, Mulhouse, Biarritz, Marseille, Brest, Paris, Leipzig, Carcassonne, Lisbon, Porto, Namur, Jerusalem, Québec, etc."

6 Fresque de la découverte du cap Rouge ; Fresque Desjardins de Lévis ; Fresque Desjardins de Beauport ; Fresque du Centre Horizon; Fresque : Nous le monde ordinaire; Fresque de la bibliothèque Gabrielle-Roy ; Fresque de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec; Fresque du Petit Champlain; Les fresques des piliers ; Fresque de la bibliothèque Lauréat-Vallière. La fresque peut être vue à cet URL : Murals include: Discovery of Cap Rouge; Desjardins de Lévis; Desjardins in Beauport; Centre Horizon: We the Ordinary World; Gabrielle-Roy library; Hôtel-Dieu Hospital in Québec City, Petit Champlain; The Pillars; The Lauréat-Vallière library,. The mural can be seen at this URL: http://www.sodec.gouv.qc.ca/patrimoine_fresque.php

7 The period during which these seven key characters played an active part in the life of Québec was from 1608 to 1700, less than a hundred years. Cartier was the exception; he came to New France three times between 1534 and 1542, yet his total stay was no longer than two years. In 1760, the population had not yet reached 70,000.

8 This ranking is still a little delicate: we placed the people according to the period in which their activities took place in relation to Québec City.

9 As such, Cartier is represented, but not his Amerindian host, Donnacona. This omission does not provide any awareness of the Amerindian abductions resulting from this first contact, an event that indicates the tenor of relations that the settlers wanted to establish with the Natives.

10 Each person is wearing a different sweater, and these happen to be the uniforms of three professional hockey teams: the Aces, the Nordiques and the Canadiens. The first disappeared in 1971, the second moved to Denver and was renamed the Avalanche in 1995. The third still exists. The Aces and the Nordiques are still local teams, while the Canadiens are playing in Montréal.

11 Throughout this text, we used the term French-Canadian to designate individuals belonging to groups unified by a common language and culture (dual membership can sometimes be traced over ten generations). We prefer this term to Québeckers and Francophones. The first refers to all the inhabitants of the territory of Québec. The second indicates the language used rather than the individual's culture.

12 One of themwas the child of Southeast Asian parents, the other of Central American parents.

13 The timeline is a tool regularly used in history courses.

14 In 2006, the management of a Montréal gym agreed to frost the windows of an exercise room, upon a request from and at the expense of a Hassidic Jewish group. They wanted to prevent their young boys from seeing women in gym clothing. The management subsequently changed its mind, out of respect for women's right to equality. This nevertheless triggered a debate about immigration in all regions of Québec, a debate that has increasingly taken on xenophobic and racist tones (especially anti-Muslim). The media focused their attention on isolated (often distorted) incidents of this nature, and certain politicians even blamed emigration for a hypothetical extinction of Québeckers of French-Canadian culture. Against the pre-election backdrop, the party in power in Québec at the time (PLQ) deferred the issue in February 2007 to a committee chaired by two established academics (Bouchard and Taylor). In 2008 they were entrusted to lead public consultations and submit a report on the place that accommodation should be given in the public arena, and on practices related to cultural differences, including reasonable accommodation, the arrangement related to jurisprudence that was intended to relax the application of a standards in favour of persons threatened with discrimination on the grounds of a individual particularities accorded protection by the law. Experts hired by the committee described as racist or negative, one-sixth of the 1,000 interventions attributed to the French Canadians, as heard by the commission in public hearings held across the province (Éthier, Lantheaume and Lefrançois, 2008).

15 The studied curriculum (History and Citizenship Education, 2nd cycle) which, since September 2008, has replaced the History of Québec and Canada, a prescriptive program in Grade 10 (Secondary IV) somewhat increased the role played by First Nations following their contact.

16 The fictional film New France was mentioned a few times; as well as the Patriot, along with a critique on the propagandist nature of this Hollywood movie.

High School Students' Understanding Of Personal Betrayal In A Socio-Historical Context Of Ethnic Conflict: Implications For Teaching History

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Abstract: *Research in history education frequently characterizes evaluative judgments of past events as ahistorical applications of contemporary ethical standards, citing "presentism" as a hindrance to disciplinary thinking. In accordance with this view, much of the recent educational research exploring adolescents' capacity to understand human agency in past contexts has focused on their ability to cognitively interpret historical perspectives while minimizing the opportunity for evaluative components of those decisions. But little work has focused on how adolescents understand decision-making in historical contexts of conflict, where socio-historical understanding implies ethical reflection on the part of the historical agents. In this paper, we focus on one component of a new measure designed to assess adolescent historical understanding, where issues of intolerance and injustice are dominant (or "purposeful") parts of the historical narrative to be understood. The authors analyzed the responses of the control sample of a national evaluation study (n=621), in which ninth and tenth grade students considered why one friend might betray another during a period of ethnic and religious conflict in the former Yugoslavia. Despite the risk of reinforcing the natural tendency to apply presentistic thinking to historical actors, our findings suggest that when asked for a descriptive interpretation of human agency, a significant number of participants in this study grappled with moral agency, not only from the perspective of historical actors, but also as moral agents in the present. We contextualize these findings within the pedagogical debate on the degree to which historical cases of social injustice can be taught in a way that helps students to integrate their natural inclination for ethical reflection with the intellectual rigor required of historical understanding.*

Keywords: History education, Historical thinking, Ethical reflection, Moral development, Adolescence.

Introduction

Inquiry by historians, educators, and psychologists into how to understand past human actions, agenda, and the degree to which actors have autonomy in their choices has paid much attention to the anachronistic effects of 'presentism,' our natural tendency to filter the past through our present sensibility. While some (Carretores & Voss, 1994) contend that asking students for moral reflection on the actions of historical agents provides too high a risk for presentism, others (Barton & Levstik, 2004) have argued that the promotion of students' recognition of their own present context as a ubiquitous side effect of historical thinking is necessary to a deep construction of the meaning of life and times, past and present. Although we 'cannot help' but judge the past, a fundamental goal of historical thinking, Wineburg (2001, p. 22) suggests, is to scaffold students' awareness of their present subjectivity so that they can take the perspective of actors within particular historical contexts, unhindered by their present beliefs and values.

Recently, some educators have gone so far as to argue that curricular material and pedagogical methods that cover histories of violence and injustice necessitate ethical discourse and discussions that go beyond the traditional tenets of evidential historical thinking (Rittner, 2004; Stern Strom, 1994) to an education 'that teaches the common humanness of the other, that stresses the values of caring, and that emphasizes compassion and responsibility' (Rittner, 2004, p. 3). Similarly, from a critical theory perspective, Barton & Levstik (2004) argue that historical empathy generally focuses too much on causal understanding of the perspective, decisions, and strategic inferences used by historical actors to make choices, without enough attention to the moral consequences of those actions. Nowhere is this constraint more evident than when attempts are made at a 'value neutral' teaching of injustice to high school students (Bellino, 2010/2011). Yet, few research tools have been available to help provide evidence for either side in this debate.

Until recently, that is. Building on past work by Ashley & Lee, more recent empirical work by Hartmann and her colleagues (Hartmann & Hasselhorn, 2008; Hartmann, Sauer, & Hasselhorn, 2009) have demonstrated how curriculum-related, psychometrically sound measurements can be used to refine the conceptualization of emergent historical perspective taking (or historical empathy) and its relation to presentistic thinking or interpretations. Specifically, in a set of cross sectional studies, the researchers assessed students' orientations toward one of three frames of interpretation of the possible voting behavior of past citizens: present oriented perspective taking (i.e., presentism), awareness of the specific role of the historical agent (in the past), and the capacity for past/present historical contextualization. Their comparative snapshots of seventh and tenth grade students demonstrated

both developmental and individual differences at both ages, with a modest decline in students' surprisingly prevalent predilection to anachronize across ages, and a relatively modest increase in the amount of past/present contextualization in their intellectual portfolio with chronological maturity, from grades 7 to 10. This research raises a new question: to what degree is the difficulty eradicating presentism a developmental and cultural issue, and to what degree is it a function of the students' experience in history classes?

Studies of the teaching and learning processes involved in history education is another rapidly growing field with important implications (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Selman & Barr, 2009; Selman & Kwok, 2010). Despite this attention, there remains a minimal amount of research on historical understanding that is immediately compatible with classroom practice and that can test alternative theories and their hypotheses about these practices. Although one can draw to some degree upon educational and psychological research on adolescent responses to moral dilemmas, these studies often situate cases in hypothetical, atemporal, or present contexts in order to evaluate civic knowledge and actions (Kohlberg, 1985). Few studies, however, explore students' responses to moral questions located in resource rich historical narratives. Furthermore, research on history education usually has been either large-scale surveys of students' factual knowledge or has relied on interpretive methods with small samples to understand learning processes (Borries, 2009). Without studies that lead to generalizable claims about the development of adolescent historical competence using methods that explore how students derive personal and shared meaning from historical evidence, we cannot easily understand how ethical awareness and historical thinking relate to one another, nor can we understand the quality of adolescents' capacity to understand themselves morally or understand the past historically.

To take a step in that direction, in this study we ask if historical understanding and moral inquiry in middle and high school education can reinforce one another at their intersection.

Methodology

The context for measurement construction and validation

In this study, we draw upon a sample comprising 621 students drawn from a representative national sample of urban and suburban ninth and tenth grade students who were randomly assigned (at the school level) to the control condition of an experimental evaluation of Facing History and Ourselves.[1] In this way, the possible impact of the intervention does not affect the generalizability of the findings to students in 9th and 10th grade history classes. Using a random assignment by school design, a team of researchers crafted a measure that would assess historical understanding, both as it is theoretically constructed in current research (Lee, Dickinson, & Ashby, 2001; Stearns, Seixas, & Wineburg, 2000; Wineberg, 2001) and as it is pedagogically conceptualized in alignment with Facing History's theory of educational change for students (Barr & Facing History, 2010; Selman & Barr, 2009).

The 'Assessment Measure for Students' Historical Understanding' (Stoskopf et al., 2007) is a comprehensive approach to assess the degrees to which students understand and apply three core historical understanding concepts (historical evidence, causality, and agency) to a historical situation presented to them. The overall measure is organized in case study format that takes students approximately 30 minutes to complete. It comprises fourteen document-based questions, each aligned with one of seven primary and secondary source documents embedded in the questionnaire. These documents pertain to the inter-ethnic conflict that consumed the former Yugoslavia during the early 1990s. This historical case was selected because it likely presented students with new or unfamiliar historical content focused on intergroup and ethnic conflict. The questions are of three types: closed-ended, item rating and ranking, true and false comprehension items, and short open-ended questions. (See Appendix A for examples.)

For this present report, we examined the responses to one open-ended question that follows the students' reading of the final document in the series, entitled 'Jasmina and Tanja's story' (See Appendix A.) Based on a memoir written by Jasmina Dervisevic-Cesic (1994), a Bosnian Muslim who emigrated to the United States, the document tells the story of Jasmina's teenage years as war erupted in her hometown of Visegrad. The story's synopsis, retold in the measure through a third-person narrative so as not to overtly bias students with Jasmina's perspective, centers on the lifelong friendship between Jasmina and her best friend Tanja, a Bosnian Serb. The friendship becomes a microcosm of the country's struggle with ethnic and religious pluralism. Tanja and many of the friends' Serbian neighbors begin supporting the national army, which was dominated by Serbian Orthodox Christians. As intolerance spread, Tanja began working as an informant for the Chetniks, an extremist paramilitary group that committed atrocities against non-ethnic Serbs, targeting Jasmina, her family, and other members of the Muslim community. Consequently, Jasmina and her family were forced to flee the country.

Following the written narrative that they were asked to read, students were given this prompt: 'By the end of the story, Tanja was working for the Chetniks, helping them round up her Muslim neighbors. How would you explain what she did?'

Sample specificity

This measure was administered to ninth and tenth grade students of teachers who were randomly assigned by school to either the treatment and 'as is' conditions in the experimental evaluation study. A majority of students in the NPDEP control sample are 10th graders (75%). The sample drawn from seven metropolitan areas of the United States (Los Angeles, Chicago, New England, Denver, Memphis, New York, and Cleveland), contains a roughly 50/50 split of females to males, respectively. Approximately one-third of respondents identified themselves as Hispanic (37%) or White (36%); the remaining respondents identified themselves as black, Asian, or other. The first language that respondents learned as children is predominantly English (69%). With regards to their mother's and father's highest level of educational attainment, slightly less than half of both mothers and fathers had not completed high school or had only completed high school. Demographic characteristics of the control group matched overall sample characteristics, designed to represent a balanced sample of urban and suburban schools (Boulay, et al., 2011).

Methods of analysis[2]

The study's full sample (both control and treatment groups) of 1371 students was used to construct the coding scheme we applied to the data. Space on the survey page allowed up to four sentences to be easily written, though responses tended to be one or two sentences in length. We developed a multi-tiered analytic coding scheme consisting of four tiers of analysis to evaluate student responses to the open-ended question about why Tanja 'did what she did.' Table 1 summarizes the four tiers, which we then describe.

TABLE 1: A summary of the four-tiered coding scheme used to assess comprehension, explanations, judgments and contextualized reflection.

Tier 1 Degree of Comprehension	
CODE	**SAMPLE RESPONSE**
No comprehension	No response; I don't understand this question.
Partial comprehension	She rounded them up by gathering them and hiding them.
Adequate comprehension	Tanja was probably trying to be supportive of her ethnic group.
Tier 2 Explanations	
Unclear explanation	She helped the Serbs.
Belonging and loyalty	Tanja felt loyal to her own ethnicity… maybe they gave her a higher meaning of living.
Pressure to conform	The Chetniks must have convinced her of their beliefs and why she should follow them and not bother about her Muslim friends.
Following orders	She was merely doing what she was told to do.
Dehumanizing the other	What she did was because she secretly didn't like Bosnian Mulsims.
Self-preservation	She did it to protect herself.
Protecting the safety of others	She did it to protect the Muslims.
Following Tanja's own moral judgment	She did what she thought was right.
Pretending	Tanja was pretending about her unconditional loyalty to the Chetniks.
Fog of war	Perhaps she was lost in the war-whirl-pool of everything.
Choiceless choice	Tanja had no other choice.
Tier 3 Moral Judgment	
Positive judgment	She just wanted what was best for her people.
Negative judgment	BAD! Tanja isn't such a great person.
No judgment, description	I would explain it by offering evidence.
Uninterpretable judgment	It's not her fault that she had to work for the Chetniks because she had to protect herself. Either that or torturing herself. So I wouldn't blame her.
Tier 4 Contextualized reflection	
Contextualized reflection	She felt the need to be loyal to her people and probably feared getting into trouble if she did not cooperate. But as time passed I feel that she truly believed in what she was doing.
	I would say she was just doing her duty but her conscience is poor. I bet she can't sleep because she knows what she is doing is wrong. But now she can't go back and change things.

Tier one, degree of text comprehension

To account for the students' comprehension of the document's text, as well as the multiplicity of substantive responses students provided, we constructed a multi-tiered, iterative coding scheme. The first analysis addressed the quality of comprehension the students expressed in their responses. Comprehension included direct or simple (literal) reading comprehension, as well as deep (e.g. figurative, interpretive) reading comprehension and touched upon the formal realm of historical understanding, identified in literacy theory as background knowledge (Snow, Lawrence, & White, 2009).

Background knowledge directly available in the complete text of the document based assessment included: the distinction among ethnic and religious identities, the historical precedents of ethnic tension, and the social, economic, and political context of the evolving conflict. Analysis for comprehension considered how well the student understood the language and its intended meaning of these documents as used in the text, which included evidence provided across the scope of all documents.[3] For instance, when a student appeared to interpret Tanja's actions as intelligent, brave, or morally upstanding, could one conclude that he/she misunderstood the evidence presented in the story, or alternatively, was the student potentially communicating an interpretation that did not agree with the presupposed ethical judgment we had assumed through the selection of Jasmina's memoir as a victim of injustice, and as aligned with the previous six documents and associated questions? Or was the student simply non-compliant with the survey intent?

In this manner, we concluded that we only could assess evidence of clear miscomprehension or of partial and adequate comprehension. We designated responses as exhibiting either 'no comprehension expressed' ('I don't know' replies and non-responses), 'partial comprehension' (revealing some evidence of misunderstanding story evidence and/or historical details), or 'adequate comprehension' (or, to put it more cautiously, no clear evidence of miscomprehension). This tier one comprehension hierarchy, not highly differentiating, considered all points of view and moral interpretations, while recognizing that some students may have fundamentally misinterpreted the 'facts' in the historical case. Students whose responses were categorized with 'no comprehension' were only included for the comprehension analysis tier, but were removed from further analysis of the subsequent three tiers of coding operations (See Table 2).

Tier two, number and type of explanations for Tanja's actions

For the second tier of the coding scheme, 'open' codes were created to identify patterns that emerged from student words, without a prescriptive theoretical lens or ideological position (Charmaz, 2006). The first round of analysis resulted in thirteen 'explanation codes.' During the second and third rounds of analysis, we collapsed these open categorical codes to eleven interpretive themes, including one code for 'unclear explanations': a) belonging and loyalty, b) pressure to conform, c) following orders, d) dehumanizing the other, e) self-preservation, f) protecting the safety of others, g) following Tanja's own moral judgment, h) pretending (to be an aggressor, so that she can secretly help), i) fog of war, and j) 'choiceless choice' (a recasting of Langer's (1982) term for victims' lack of agency in oppressive contexts) (See Table 1). Despite the partial overlap of many of these explanations in practice, we felt it was important to recognize the nuances between each of these codes and to acknowledge the diverse, and sometimes partial, ways that students invoked them. When students listed more than one explanation for Tanja's actions, they received multiple codes. Thematic explanations and number of explanations were recorded for each student response.

Tier three, type of moral judgment expressed

The third tier of reading the open-ended responses delineates indications of moral judgment revealed in the student response. The prompt 'explain what she [Tanja] did' meant students were likely to infer either/both psychological and sociological causes, and had the liberty to make interpretations of Tanja's choice-making. Though the question asks students to offer an explanation of them, some students visibly grappled with an evaluative response, an expressed phenomenon we decided to take into an empirical account. In fact, many student responses do not directly provide a clear explanation for Tanja's actions. For example, a response that reads, 'BAD! Tanja wasn't such a great person,' does not offer an explanation or necessarily demonstrate disciplinary thinking, but it does demonstrate that the student is critiquing Tanja's actions and judging them as negative. Given the structure of our multiple reading method and tiered (semi-independent) coding scheme, it is possible for a response to be included for a simultaneous analysis of moral judgment and explanations of historical agency in context.

Tier four, 'contextualized reflection'

The fourth tier of analysis evaluates whether the student demonstrates sophisticated historical understanding as described in the research literature (Lee, Dickinson, & Ashby, 2001; Seixas, 1996; Seixas, 2000; Wineburg, 1991; Wineberg, 2001). In the case of this open-ended question, 'contextualized reflection' was operationalized as a demonstration of ethical and historical thinking, requiring an overt expression of Tanja's historical context, along with an explanation of Tanja's choice and potentially her discarded choices (Hartmann & Hasselhorn, 2008; Martin, Sokol, & Effers, 2008). This tier yielded a dichotomous classification, present or absent. It uses a holistic consideration of each student's complete response, such that participants needed to provide at least one explanation for Tanja's actions and to display sophistication in historical empathy, their understanding of historical agency, consideration of multiple perspectives, and/or use of evidence. (See Table 1 for two examples of responses coded as contextualized reflection.)

While moral reflection was not an explicit requirement of this code, many tier 4 responses used moral terms to display historical empathy, invoking the student's own moral framework while remaining sensitive to Tanja's perspective and historical context. Some responses that illustrate contextualized reflection indicated a recognition of the limits of empathy across cultural and temporal distances, the need to struggle with the complexity of Tanja's action as a moral decision, exploration of the intricate relationship between individual and social forces, or the presentation of carefully contextualized cross-cultural comparisons. Several student responses so categorized offered alternative actions that Tanja could have taken instead of what she did. In short, as aligned with the theoretical foundations of recent research in history education, responses that were coded at this tier demonstrate the most analytical, contextualized, reflective historical understanding responses among the sample.

Exploring frequencies of codes, tier-by-tier

Once the coding framework was finalized, two teams of researchers applied the framework to the full dataset (n=1371), blind to experimental conditions. This framework was applied by one set of four coders and one set of three coders, both facilitated by the same lead coder. For both sets of coders, ten classes of students were consensus coded before coding 20-30 classes separately and determining inter-rater reliability. Reliability for the first set of three coders and for the second set of four coders are reported in Table 2.

TABLE 2: Inter-rater Reliability calculations for Coding Group 1 (three members) and Coding Group 2 (four members) in their application of the multi-analytic coding scheme.

Coding Group 1		
	Kappa	Standard Error
Tier 1	.97***	.04
Tier 2	.99***	.03
Tier 3	.97***	.03
Tier 4	.81***	.04
Coding Group 2		
	Kappa	Standard Error
Tier 1	.89***	.05
Tier 2	.94***	.04
Tier 3	.98***	.04
Tier 4	.5	.064
Key: ˜p <.1, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001		

The poor reliability of tier 4 with the second group of coders might be explained by the small number of student responses that were taken into account to calculate the kappa; in total, four coders only cited nine potential responses as tier 4. Because reliability was strong among both groups across nearly all tiers of analysis, the remaining classes were coded by one lead coder. Subsequently, we used the control sample student ID numbers in order to calculate tier-by-tier frequencies, to control for available background characteristics, and to analyze overall patterns in the data that most represented history classrooms nationally across seven major metropolitan areas (i.e., not classrooms that had just received an intervention that emphasized historical and ethical co-reflection). [4]

Results

Distributions among degrees of comprehension

The tier one analysis suggests that comprehension was an impediment to any potential for disciplinary understanding. Of 621 participants, 28.8% of student responses revealed no comprehension. Students either left these responses blank or explicitly stated they did not understand. The remaining responses were coded as partial comprehension (14.0%) and adequate comprehension (57.2%).

TABLE 3: Frequency of student responses by comprehension, explanation, judgment, and contextualized reflection.

Code	Number of students	Percentage of students with partial and adequate comprehension	Percentage of full sample
Tier 1 Comprehension			
No comprehension	179	n/a	28.8%
Partial comprehension	87	19.7%	14.0%
Adequate comprehension	355	80.3%	57.2%
Tier 2 Explanations			
No explanation (No comp.)	179	n/a	25.9%
Unclear explanation	164	37.1%	23.7%
Belonging and loyalty	64	14.5%	9.2%
Pressure to conform	28	6.3%	4.0%
Following orders	21	4.8%	3.0%
Dehumanizing the other	7	1.6%	1.0%
Self-preservation	124	28.1%	17.9%
Protecting the safety of others	38	8.6%	5.5%
Following Tanja's own moral judgment	19	4.2%	2.7%
Pretending	6	1.4%	.87%
Fog of war	8	1.8%	1.2%
Choiceless choice	34	7.7%	4.9%
Tier 3 Moral Judgment			
Positive judgment	43	9.7%	6.9%
Negative judgment	86	19.5%	13.9%
No judgment, description	59	13.3%	9.5%
Uninterpretable judgment	254	57.5%	40.9%
Tier 4 Contextualized reflection			
Contextualized reflection	28	6.3%	4.5%

Thematic analysis of the explanations students provided for 'what Tanja did'

Each response was coded for the explanation, series of explanations, or lack of explanations that it offered. In order to measure this aspect of historical understanding, we first counted how many student responses provided one uni-causal explanation for Tanja's actions, in comparison to responses with multiple explanations. Less than half the sample (44.7%) offered one or more responses designated as explanations for Tanja's actions. Overall, 55.2% offered no explanations, 34.5% of the sample provided one explanation, while 9.2% offered two, and 1.1% offered three.

Fig. 1 illustrates the ten themes that were reliably identified, in addition to the percentage of non-responses and unclear explanations. Among the ten thematic explanations provided among student responses (that exhibited either partial or adequate comprehension), the most frequently cited reasons for Tanja's actions were self-preservation (18%) and belonging and loyalty (9%), followed by responses that Tanya was protecting the safety of others (5%), and that she was left with a 'choiceless choice' (5%). Other responses explained that she was responding to pressure to conform (4%), following orders (3%), or following her own moral judgment and doing what she thought was right (3%). The least cited explanations were that Tanja made her decision to act because of the dehumanization of the other (1%), because Tanja was only pretending (1%), and because of the 'fog of war' (1%). Although some of these themes exhibit low frequencies, we chose to include them in our analysis, because they may have been more salient in the entire student sample (n=1371), because their frequencies shift when controlling for covariates, and because their infrequent presence may reflect a developmental range of sophistication among explanation themes (Loevinger, 1976).
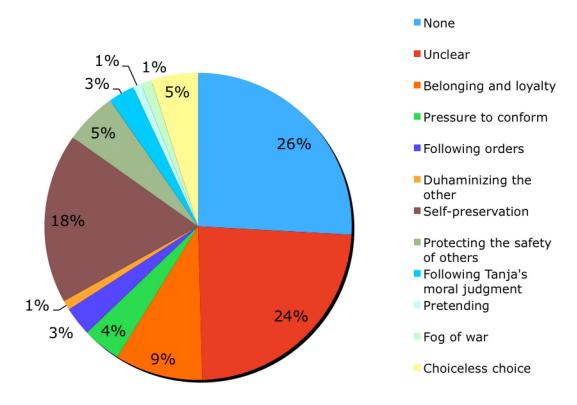

Fig. 1. Percent of student explanations offered for Tanja's Actions

Student evaluative (moral) judgments

While 13.9% of students explicitly judged Tanja's actions as negative, 6.9% explicitly considered them positive. Nine and a half percent of students articulated responses in neutral, descriptive terms, so that they seemed to abstain from judgment entirely. (See examples in Table 1.)[5] However, 40.9% of the sample offered evaluative responses that we designated as not interpretable in terms of a valenced (neutral, positive or negative) moral judgment. Though some of these responses explicitly considered positive and negative elements of Tanja's actions, their evaluative comments, as a whole, remained unresolved. While it was not difficult to achieve reliability in coding the four categories of moral judgment (.97, p<.0001; .98, p<.0001 %), these 40.9% of student responses proved the most difficult aspect to interpret.

Contextualized reflection

Few responses in the overall sample exhibited what coders considered contextualized reflection about the potentially complex nature of Tanja's decision, while maintaining attention toward the particular historical context. Of 621 adolescents, only 28 respondents (4.5%) achieved contextualized reflection.

Correlations among the codes

Comprehension levels and their connection to moral judgment, number of explanations, and contextualized reflection

To understand the historical understanding correlates of quality of comprehension, we examined the degree to which responses that provided an 'adequate' comprehension were likely to offer one or more explanations, compared to those responses that exhibited a 'partial' degree of comprehension. Although degree of comprehension and number of explanations are highly and significantly correlated (.52, p<.0001), when we analyzed the number of explanations student responses provided by degree of comprehension, we found that nearly 34% of students with adequate comprehension did not offer any explanations in their response. Therefore, degree of comprehension alone did not explain the lack of expressed historical reasoning among the sample. See Fig. 2 for the number of explanations offered among student responses, sorted by partial and adequate degrees of comprehension.
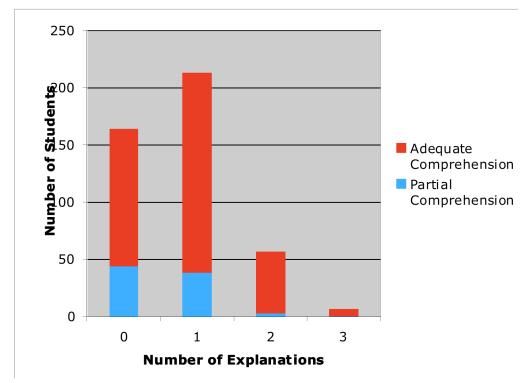

Fig. 2. Number of explanations selected by students with partial and adequate degrees of comprehension.

Among student responses rated as displaying an adequate degree of comprehension, the most frequently offered explanations remained the same as the overall thematic frequencies. Self-preservation persisted as the most frequent code (33.8%), followed by belonging and loyalty (17.7%), and choiceless choice (9.3%). Among students who exhibited partial comprehension, 36.8% of student responses explained Tanja's actions as protecting the safety of others, a code highly correlated with partial comprehension of the story (.516, p<.0001). Pretending (3.4%) was somewhat correlated with partial comprehension (.102, p<.01). The remaining explanations were selected by less than 2.3% of students with partial comprehension (1-2 students).

Among the 28 responses that exhibited contextualized reflection, the thematic explanations cited match the two most frequent overall codes: self-preservation and belonging and loyalty. However, no significant relationship emerged between a response's contextualized reflection and the thematic explanations offered, or the number of explanations offered.
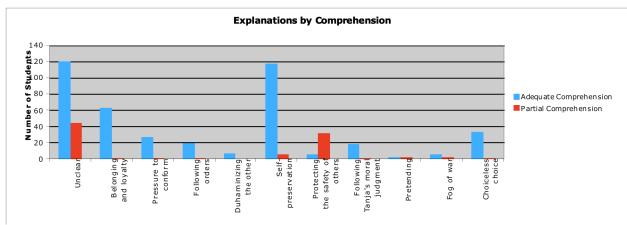

Fig. 3. Explanations by Number of Students Demonstrating Partial and Adequate Degrees of Comprehension.

Partial comprehension was significantly correlated with the presence of a positive moral judgment of Tanja's actions (.274, p<.0001), possibly related to miscomprehension of Tanja's role as a helper, 'rounding up' Muslims to save them, rather than to turn them in to the Chetniks. On the other hand, contextualized reflection fully aligned with adequate comprehension.

The Presence or absence of moral judgment in correspondence with explanation and contextualized reflection

Nearly 21% of students responded to the prompt, 'How would you explain what she did?' with strongly positive or negative judgment regarding Tanja's actions, and nearly half of these students (11.6% of the sample) expressed valenced moral consideration in the absence of an explanation for why Tanja made the choice to deceive and betray Jasmina. This means that students did not necessarily respond with judgment and explanation hand in hand, a critical distinction for both disciplinary and civic learning goals. Meanwhile, 35.4% of student responses offered clear thematic explanations associated with the classification of un-interpretable moral judgment. The relationship between un-interpretable judgment and number of thematic explanations was significant (x^2=178.62 p < .0001).

To test the relationship between responses that displayed valenced moral judgment and an outcome variable that would demonstrate some form of disciplinary understanding, we collapsed the number of explanations into a dichotomous variable, asking whether the student provided at least one or more explanations compared to none. Similarly, we collapsed the judgment tier into a dichotomous variable, asking whether the evaluation was valenced (i.e. explicitly positive or negative judgment) or unresolved (i.e. un-interpretable judgment). Contingency table analyses yielded a series of Pearson x^2 statistics, determining that there is a significant relationship between the kind of judgment expressed and whether or not a student offers an explanation (x^2=76.94 p < .0001). On average, the percentage of students who both express an unresolved judgment and offer one or more explanations is 1.959 times the percentage of students who express explicitly valenced judgment and offer one or more explanations.

This relationship persisted across nearly all background variables. Valenced vs. unresolved judgment and presence of explanation remain related at partial and adequate levels of comprehension, for males and females, for all levels of mother's education, for native and non-native English speakers, and for students of all ethnic/racial backgrounds with the exception of African American students. This relationship was found to be significant for all regions included in the sample, with the exception of Cleveland (the smallest regional sample) and Memphis. See Fig. 6 for Pearson x^2 statistics.

Pearson x2 statistics demonstrating the relationship between explicitly valenced or unresolved forms of moral judgment and number of explanations for historical agency.

	Pearson x^2 statistics
The relationship between valenced/ unresolved judgment and 0/ 1 or more explanations	76.94***
Controlling for covariates	
Partial comprehension	8.54**
Adequate comprehension	83.46***
Male	17.42***
Female	67.84***
African American	1.416
Hispanic	33.045***
Asian	11.72***
Native	5*
White	19.22***
Other	11.4286***
Minority	54.89***
9th Grade	11.43***
10th Grade	66.98***
Non-native English speakers	25.69***
Native English speakers	49.83***
Chicago	4.03*
Cleveland	3.43˜
Denver	7.166**
Los Angeles	18.87***
Memphis	1.028
New England	6.857**
New York, New Jersey	23.299***
San Francisco	20.969***
Key: ˜p <.1, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001	

Discussion

Sophisticated historical understanding hinges on sophisticated comprehension processes. The relationship between disciplinary thinking and what literacy experts consider 'deep reading' of text (Snow, Lawrence, & White, 2009), analytical and reflective processes that motivate comprehension, is critical for historical understanding, both in the way that students read and interpret texts, and in the way they use historical accounts to construct their own meaning of past and present. That 57% of students exhibited an adequate degree of comprehension in this evaluation is not unexpected; perhaps more surprising is that so few students who exhibited either partial and adequate comprehension attempted to explain Tanja's actions.

It is important to recall that all of the students in the study were in a position to consider a good deal of background knowledge and evidence presented throughout the measure—not only the information from Document 7, 'Tanja and Jasmina's story.' With this cumulative evidence of historical agents' perspective, agency, and historical context to 'explain what she did,' why did students' historical thinking stop short? We cannot be sure why so few students who comprehended the text and historical case offered explanations for Tanja's actions, and why even fewer students offered multiple explanations, or explanations that revealed contextualized reflection.

One possibility is that students are not sufficiently or effectively exposed to history's 'disciplinary habits of mind' (Wineburg, 2001), or that they are not often held to these standards in history classrooms. Despite some push in the field toward history-as-interpretation, history-as-fact still guides much classroom practice; accordingly, students are acculturated into an 'epistemology of text' in which historical narratives offer information to be gathered, memorized, and reported, rather than interpreted or critiqued (Wineburg, 2001, p. 76). Another possibility is that students are not sufficiently or effectively held to rigorous disciplinary standards when exposed to content that is morally complex and emotionally troubling, such as the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. Does students' propensity to evaluate, rather than interpret, Tanja's actions legitimate the fear that strict historical understanding constructionists have when epistemological domains are traversed? Or perhaps the way we teach contentious and unsettling historical events requires attention to the emotional and ethical responses that students have, as well as insisting on deep historical inquiry. In particular, more work needs to be done to determine whether there is a potentially developmental need for adolescents to simultaneously consider historical thinking and ethical reflection, or at least some synergy.

Student explanations and evaluations of historical agency

Among the explanations that students selected, self-preservation is by far the most frequent, remaining the preferred response even when controlling for comprehension levels. This student interpretation occurs despite the lack of documented or 'hard' evidence presented in the measure that illustrates that Tanja actually would have been in danger had she not participated. Is it, then, problematic that many students seemed to believe, in the absence of historical evidence, that Tanja not only was not in a position to *resist* the injustice, but that she had to actively *participate* as well in its commission? If students are simply taught that actors 'on the dominant side' during periods of genocide must participate in atrocities for their own safety—or, perhaps more detrimental, agency in times of human rights violations is not explicitly addressed at all in history classes— it obscures the scope of agency among those perpetrators who mobilize and participate in mass violence, as well as the critical role of resisters, rescuers, and 'upstanders' during instances of injustice (Stern Strom, 1994). Further, this explanation may indicate students' assumption that conflict takes place strictly between perpetrators and victims, denying the role of bystanders, who themselves have agency to be explored and choices to understand.

Adolescent understanding of historical agency is often theorized as a link between recognizing the decisions of past actors in past contexts and one's own potential civic agency in the present (Boix Mansilla, 2001; Selman & Barr, 2009; Stern Strom, 1994). If students see Tanja's decision as a 'choiceless choice,' are they likely to translate this awareness to their own decisions in the present? On the other hand, might some students see their own limited capacity to act in the present as also operating within Tanja's historical case (Selman & Kwok, 2010)?

These questions illuminate an under-theorized tension between historical actors—as well as students engaging in historical thinking—as both autonomous *and* situated beings. Individuals may have the desire to act but cannot, or will not; alternatively, they may not be conscious of the agency that they do have (Nussbaum, 1999). Contending with this tension has implications for human rights awareness and 'informed civic engagement' (Selman & Barr, 2009) where agency, empowerment, and awareness of agency are equally critical. Though it is not our aim to recommend that students uncritically upstand without considering physical safety and the consequences of their actions, we do suggest that students learn to practice the moral agency they do have when situations seem to close in on them.

Moral judgments in historical context

While strong, valenced points of view were found, the majority of student responses considered the moral complexity of Tanja's decision in a way that we coded as un-interpretable, or unresolved, judgment. It may seem that this tier of the coding scheme fell short of scientific expectations for an agreed upon and interpretable set of responses. For example, we cannot be sure that students who openly praised Tanja's actions did not fully comprehend them in context. An alternative possibility is that moral praise was a clumsy attempt at authentic historical thinking, i.e. that Tanja did the right thing considering the limitations of her situation. Similarly, we cannot be sure that students who openly denounced Tanja's actions were not overlooking contextual elements and making presentistic decisions based on their own social contexts, or in the context of their own belief systems, or based on universalist claims of what is morally correct.

We decided, however, there was merit to report the analysis of moral judgment in tier three for two reasons: first, a significant portion of students provided responses that were clearly judgmental, even if the valence or structure of the judgment could not always be identified, and second, a significant portion of students expressed some form of judgment at the expense of offering an explanation for why Tanja did what she did. Ignoring the student's willingness to engage with the moral agency at stake may overlook important elements of historical understanding among adolescents. Furthermore, given the structure of our method and coding scheme, a response can be included in an analysis of distinct moral judgments and clear interpretations of historical agency in context, positing ethical reflection as a potentially meaningful entry point for disciplinary thinking.

Shortcomings of the study

This research draws on one of the few large-scale assessments of adolescent historical understanding, using both qualitative (categorical, thematic analysis of open-ended but brief written responses) and quantitative analyses (codification and quantification of degree of comprehension, number and type of explanation, evidence of contextualized reflection). However, even with a sample representative enough to make inferences about the distribution of variations in comprehension, explanations, and moral evaluations in ninth and tenth grade students' understanding of personal betrayal in a historical context, these data lack the depth of probed written or oral responses necessary to shed light on the potentially collaborative processes of historical thinking and ethical reflection—for example, the meaning of unresolved judgment.

Furthermore, students may have responded critically to Tanja's actions because of the social desirability of altruistic, courageous claims in the context of their classroom based assessment atmosphere, but while that might have led to a particular distribution of moral judgment, it should not have had much influence on performance in the other three tiers of analysis. Nor are we sure what bias exists when the same data are read for four different, we would argue distinct, phenomena, even when blind to coding at the other levels.

Finally, resources limited opportunity for students to express themselves, with both time and space constraints; this needs to be weighed against the opportunities large scale samples afford to study the questions that provide direction for this research. This is particularly important when research needs to explore the degree to which students at different ages and with different educational experiences are able to generate and transfer contextual reflection abilities in reading history. However, this study begins a programmatic attempt to develop and validate measures that will allow questions such as these to be more adequately answered.

Conclusion and educational implications of this study

Though genocide and human rights education philosophies are frequently inserted into history curriculum, there is relatively little empirical research on what constitutes sophisticated historical understanding of lived experience of past and distant ethnic conflict and grave human rights violations, especially when students do not identify these experiences as close to their own. The key tenets of historical understanding undoubtedly shift when situated in in-depth case studies of morally complex situations where questions of loss, injustice, power, and responsibility—personal and societal—play critical roles in the decisions and outcomes of historical events.

Perhaps this is a question not limited to cases of injustice, but deeply rooted in the ideological goals of purposefully teaching the past in the context of present events. When should history be taught with disciplinary standards in mind, emphasizing interpretation and skepticism, and without misconceptions that might arise as a consequence of promoting any secondary uses (Boix-Mansilla, 2000); and when should history be put to use to teach civic values in pluralistic democracies (Barton & Levstik, 2004)? Those who take the most stringent-boundary position insist that any mixing will relegate one to a secondary, instrumental use for the intrinsic purpose of the other. But we rarely question whether disciplinary rigor and ethical reflection might actually require or co-construct one another. What if emotional engagement, ethical reflection, and intellectual rigor are actually best understood by students when studied as collaborative processes; what if the 'unnatural act' (Wineburg, 2001) is not historical thinking on its own but a separation of that which cannot be easily studied by being pulled apart?

Notes

[1] Facing History and Ourselves is an international educational organization that provides professional development to educators and an educational approach for adolescents that is positioned at the intersection of historical understanding, civic engagement, and ethical reflection. One educational aim of Facing History is to connect students' own contemporary 'faced choices' in civil society to their study of historical cases. For more information on the context and findings of the national evaluations, see Barr, D. & Facing History and Ourselves. (2010). Continuing a Tradition of Research on The Foundations of Democratic Education: Facing History and Ourselves National Professional Development and Evaluation Project (NPDEP).

[2] The authors have remained blind to the treatment and control groups throughout the analytical process. For experimental findings following the first year of data collection, see Boulay, et al., 2011.

[3] As part of the early measurement construction debate as to where to put this component of the questionnaire (front, back, middle), the access to background knowledge was an important consideration in its location as the final set of questions. One alternative argument was that putting this personal drama as the introduction to the questionnaire would make it more engaging for the students, and that by the end of the measure, the students would be less energetic. Field testing did not show demonstrable fatigue.

[4] The Facing History research department manages the original dataset and coordinated our use of the data.

[5] These percentages do not add up to 100%, as students coded as 'No comprehension' were removed from subsequent tiers of analysis. For example, we did not code 'no response' as uninterpretable judgment. Rather than suggest that 28.8% of the students in the sample did not consider judgment, explanation, or reflection, we prefer to conclude that they revealed no comprehension and therefore could not be further analyzed.

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Appendix A

Document 7: Jasmina and Tanja's Story

Excerpted from 'Assessment Measure for Students' Historical Understanding' (Stoskopf et al., 2007).

In June 1991, Jasmina and Tanja were 18 years old and best friends. They had grown up together in Visegrad, a town in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Jasmina was a Bosnian Muslim and Tanja was a Bosnian Serb. Ethnic and religious differences, however, were not important to the girls.

(**Bosnian Serbs were Serbian Orthodox Christians who either were born in Bosnia or had lived in the nation for most of their lives).**

Such differences were common in Yugoslavia, where the population was very diverse and where people of different ethnicities and religions frequently had close relationships with one another.

Tanja had become an honorary member of Jasmina's extended family. In Tanja's own family, money was hard to come by, and her father was often drunk and violent. She frequently went to members of Jasmina's family for comfort and support. But in the summer of 1991, things began to change.

That summer, a war broke out when two of the six nations of Yugoslavia (Croatia and Slovenia) declared their independence. Serbia, where the central government of Yugoslavia was located, objected and sent the Yugoslav army into both countries, claiming they were protecting the rights of local Serbs. The Yugoslav army was dominated by Serbian officers and soldiers who were mostly Orthodox Christian.

In July and August of 1991, the army frequently marched through Visegrad, where Jasmina and Tanya lived. Many Serbian residents of the town, including Tanja, cheered them on. Chetniks, a paramilitary group known for their extreme nationalistic views and their intolerance of any Yugoslavs who were not ethnic Serbians, also marched through Visegrad. Tanja cheered for them too and was seen giving the special Chetnik three-fingered sign of support.

(**A Paramilitary Group is a fighting unit used during conflict situations. They are not part of an official army but are often used by governments and private organizations. Paramilitary groups such as the Chetniks committed numerous atrocities during World War II and in the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia.)**

When Bosnia declared its independence from Yugoslavia in March 1992, the Yugoslav army and Chetnik troops attacked Visegrad. Most Muslims had to flee the city, including Jasmina and her family - leaving all of their possessions behind.

Tanja stayed in Visegrad. She helped the occupying army and Chetnik forces round up Bosnian Muslims, many of whom she knew. The Serbian and Chetnik authorities asked her to spy on the homes of Bosnian Muslims and report any who tried to return. Tanja even watched over the apartment of Jasmina's cousins. Many Muslims who tried to return were captured and then tortured, raped or murdered.

Today, Tanja still lives in Visegrad. After the war, she moved to a nicer apartment once owned by Bosnian Muslims. Few Muslims ever returned to Visegrad. Jasmina now lives in the United States.

12. Here are some possible explanations for why Tanja made her choice to stay. Please rate how good you think each one is:

(You may check the same rating more than once) Very Bad

	(You may check the same rating more than once)	Very Bad	Bad	Good	Very Good
a.	Tanja had to protect herself. If the Chetniks had found out she was friends with Jasmine, they would have done to her what they did to the Muslims.	o	o	o	o
b.	Tanja was probably torn between her loyalty to her fellow Serbs and affection for Jasmina's family. Too often, outside pressures lead us to make choices we know are wrong.	o	o	o	o
c.	Tanja probably felt horribly about what she did, but she did not see any way to protect Jasmina or her family.	o	o	o	o
d.	Tanja probably felt that the Serbs are her people and she must be loyal to them no matter what.	o	o	o	o

13. Which do you think is the best explanation for why Tanja stayed **(please check one)**?

a ☐　　　b ☐　　　c ☐　　　d ☐

14. By the end of the story, Tanja was working for the Chetniks, helping them round up her Muslim neighbors. How would you explain what she did?

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The Wounded Terrorist: A Survey of History Students' Perceptions of Moral Dilemmas

Sean Lennon and Jeffrey M. Byford, University of Memphis

Abstract - The conceptualized view of war and the events associated with war often does not conform to a uniform belief system among students and adults. Many students have differing interpretations of the recent Gulf War and the ongoing War on Terrorism; expressing an individual and potentially contradicting views and perceptions when presented moral dilemmas. The intent of this research was to investigate how students' reason and react to war related moral dilemmas through a fictional wartime scenario. Results of the study suggested that while most students chose morally "easy" or popular choices, some students had great difficulty justifying their actions.

Introduction

Throughout the past sixty years, both high school history teachers and researchers have sought to understand the importance and meaning of moral dilemmas on how they relate to students' lives. Research studies have attempted to measure students attitudes concerning curriculum and socio-political issues in an attempt to better facilitate the goal of producing critically thinking citizens (Shaughnessy & Haladyna, 1986; McTeer, 1978; Schug, Todd & Beery, 1982; Remmers, 1957). Through the years, changes in curriculum design primarily through both inquiry and values clarification and constructivist teaching methodology may helped students improve their ability to discuss issues that, to some, may be considered controversial in nature. Increased development in classroom discussion, debate and values-based curriculum allows students the opportunity to discuss various issues effecting students' lives.

However, an attitude still persists among many students that discussions in social studies classes, especially when dealing with potentially controversial subjects such as conflict, are biased by the teacher's perceptions. Merryfield (1993) indicated several factors may directly influence a teacher' ability to instruct material: 1) the teacher's life experiences; 2) the teacher's personal belief about the subject matter or issue; and 3) the school's role in the community. Teachers often neglect to engage students in discussion of controversial topics due to the lack of control and comfort of students openly discussing and debating issues. Rather, teachers tend to use only one teaching style, which often denies the opportunity for students to develop their own positions and resolving conflicting views that citizens encounter in a free society (Siler, 1988).

Unfortunately, previous research indicates value dilemmas are not commonly used in social studies classrooms (Byford & Horn, 2002; Schug, Todd & Beery, 1982). Historically, when students were surveyed about value dilemmas, the most dominant perception was the lack of relevance to students' lives. Furthermore, students are often unable to either justify of categorize their personal opinions or beliefs. Often, when students were asked to defend or justify their opinions on social issues such as war, conflict or diplomacy, students typically accept and mirrored their parents' and relatives' views as their own without analyzing the issue(s) at hand (Russell, Pellegrino, and Byford, 2007; Fernandez, Massey & Dornbush, 1975; 1976).

In a more recent study, Chiodo and Byford (2004) captured the essence of why high school students might enjoy discussion and debating value dilemmas dealing with social, political and current issues. They interviewed forty-eight students from a Southwestern school district about the influence of values discussion has on their learning experience and their post-high school future. Eleventh grade students placed a heavy emphasis on classroom discussion and debates of current issues as being beneficial in the learning process. In addition, students found value in experiencing and discussing issues which encourage moral reasoning and potential civic responsibility. Students indicated the need for activities where students are not spectators, but rather active agents in solving dilemmas. Issues the students believe have neither right nor wrong answers, but rather encourage critical reflection and resolve.

The investigation of war and the moral dilemmas associated with conflict is not a new phenomenon in social studies research. One of the earliest research studies on moral dilemmas faced during wartime was conducted by Levi (1944) in an attempt to provide democratic solutions towards post-war reconstruction demands and dilemmas through a survey method. Additional research following the Korean and Vietnam wars provided limited opportunities for students and teachers to express their personal beliefs and opinions due to the survey method of data collection (Remmers, 1957; Shepherd & Shepherd, 1996).

For instance, studies completed by Merryfield (1993) and Knowles (1993) examined children's perceptions and discussion of the 1991 Gulf War. However, in the past ten years, few research studies have investigated the value dilemmas associated with war. Pobst (2002) examined the after affects of September 11th by exploring students' views of the war on terrorism, American military engagement, political leadership and civil liberties. In light of the perceived successes by American and coalition forces in Iraq and Afghanistan and the challenging political climate, it is appropriate to once again revisit the concept of moral dilemmas and moral reasoning.

These events and others have caused a renewed interest in civic education and a growing debate for the integration of value's education into social studies curriculum. Therefore, we designed this study to investigate the outcomes of United States history students' as they investigated and discussed a fictional values dilemma associated with the War on Terrorism.

Research Study

One method of promoting active student analysis of value dilemmas is the moral reasoning approach used in the Harvard Social Studies Project created in the 1960s. Designed to teach students to examine and analyze controversial issues through the discussion process; students were presented with a series of situations and scenarios which students had to analyze, understand different points of views, clarify values, make judgments and defend their positions (Bohan and Feinberg, 2008; Oliver and Newmann, 1969). Often, throughout the Harvard Social Studies Project's curriculum, students were required to address "persisting issues" dealing with historical events. Persisting issues are intended for students involve students simple more than a spectator, but more of thinking, acting participant in both history and modern life. Persisting issues do not provide students with ready-made, right or wrong answers to social issues and problems. Rather, it is intended to challenge students to evaluate and develop their own positions and resolve potential conflicting views. The perceived benefits of students engaging in such a discussion process are beneficial. According to Harwood and Hahn (1990), discussing potentially controversial and moral dilemmas helps prepare students for future roles as citizens in a pluralistic society. In addition, analysis of dilemmas helps develop critical thinking skills and interpersonal skills among students. Hess (2001 & 2002) suggested that teaching with discussion and allowing student input means improving students' ability to think. The opportunity to express opinions and be heard by others is supported by Ehman's (1977) belief that through discussion, particularly of dilemmas encourages students to increase their civic awareness towards social, political and environmental issues. Having students discuss value-laden issues allows students to be actively engaged in the curriculum and allows the issues to become more meaningful and relevant to the students' everyday lives (McGowan, McGowan, & Lumbard, 1994; Torney-Purta et.al. 2002).

Understanding how student's reason and react to war related moral dilemmas has the potential to better inform educators how to present war related issues and promote classroom dialogue. Therefore, the major purpose of this study is to examine teacher's decisions and actions when presented with a fictional wartime scenario. More specifically, the purpose of this study is an attempt to answer the following questions: a) how does a fictional war related scenario effect a student's decision-making process? and b) Are there levels of difficulty in relation to a student's decision?

Understanding how teachers react or are influenced by potentially controversial or social issues has the potential to increase teacher's effectiveness in predicting and planning lessons (Cotton, 2006). Students' perceptions and involvement in classroom learning is an important dimension of classroom social climate that fosters academic motivation (Zevin, 1983). In order to capture the students' individual perceptions and actions, the study utilized a survey method design. Survey research according to Creswell (2005) is considered one of the most common methods of research used by researchers and educators. Thus, this research study utilized a survey method "in which the investigator… employs strategies of inquiry such as experiments and surveys, and collects data on predetermined instruments that [will potentially] yield statistical data" (p 18).

For the purpose of the study the researchers selected eleven and twelfth grade students history student who were successfully enrolled and passing all districts requirements for the specific course. The specific grades were selected through a two-fold rational process; the first (1) based on brain growth and development (Bosowski, 1981) with the second (2) being the targeted grade of students enrolled in government classes. Sylwester (2000) concluded that student's cognitive development forms in a step-like progression with measureable peaks in the third, sixth and ninth grades. Investigative research was performed on the older, higher grade students in order to represent a stable, post-progression period of cognitive development.

The students selected in the study had taken or were currently enrolled in a United States history course. Students were selected with the idea of creating a purposeful sample. Purposeful sampling is based on what Merriam, (1998) describes as the assumption the researcher wants to discover, understand, and gain insight into a situation. During purposeful sampling, the eleventh and twelfth grade students were selected because they reflect the average student, courses required to graduate, or instance of phenomenon. Therefore, the researchers purposefully selected to study these older, graduating or soon to be graduating students.

The participants were located in a community with a population of two hundred thousand residents. The community values education and is considered progressive in both teaching curriculum and technology. The school district serves 26,429 students of which 23% are white, 1% Native American, 15% African American, 11% Asian and 51% Hispanic. The high school where the study was conducted was one of three similar size high schools within the district. The high school used during the research study had a student population slightly more than 2,000 students. Social studies courses were diverse, allowing students to take a variety of core and elective courses.

At the time study was conducted, over twelve hundred students were enrolled in either the twelfth or eleventh grade with 652 currently enrolled in several sections of United States history courses. Eventually 395 successful surveys were completed, a return rate of 61%. Student participation, once permission was received for the study, was strictly voluntary; students had the option to opt out at any time for both the rational and reading and the subsequent survey. Students were read a short, fictional account of a military unit in Afghanistan or Iraq (the exact location was deliberately left out though students were told it was an active American battlefield) where a small group of soldiers had captured an enemy combatant, labeled in this exercise as a 'terrorist'. Terminology and definition of this term, was not explained or rationalized as it was the researchers' intention to allow for the students to develop their own thoughts and feelings concerning what this label meant to them. In the scenario the military unit captures a 'terrorist' but must get back to 'base' quickly before more 'terrorists' can catch up to them. In this situation the prisoner is slowing the unit

down and the men must make a moral decision concerning their own safety, the life or the prisoner and the acceptance or refusal of conflicting orders from a superior officer. Once the scenario was read aloud students were then given the survey instrument, a modified version of "The Wounded Prisoner" found in the Harvard Social Studies Project.

The survey instrument was a combined scaled instrument that utilized a traditional four point Likert question as well as a seven point Thurstone scale (For Example: See Appendix A). The Likert scale questions were designed to be categorical, using nominal numeration more specific towards labels and/or categories and have no defining measurements or 'dimensions' (Howell, 2004, p. 17). The intent was for students to 'define' a choice which by, in itself, would have no numerical value over any other choice; except for percentages of response. Each potential answer for a question with this scale used alphabetic order (a, b, c, etc) instead of standard numbers to help establish impartiality. The Thurstone scale was used to add numeration specific to the value of difficulty in making a decision. These scales tend to range from five or more and offer "equivalency rating intervals' between each choice though it may not be specifically listed in the question (Babbie, 2002, p. 164). Each Thurstone scale had a one (1) labeled 'extremely easy' and a seven (7) labeled 'impossible'; the corresponding numbers in between were left blank and up to the students to decide. This helps to establish a similar or corresponding data set to that of the Bogardus social distance scale, a statistically useful "measurement technique" for evaluating people's choices and/or opinions and biases (p. 163). By combining the two scales in the survey allows for variation in response and in the types of data collected, resulting in a statistically stronger instrument (Creswell, 2008).

Each survey was administered by the researchers following the reading of the scenario and with a pre-set time limit. The average response time for each participant was nine minutes, with the reading being no more than five; combined the entire exercise lasted less than twenty minutes. Following the activity classroom discussions tended to be 'vigorous' exchanges of views and opinions. Though the researchers stayed no data was collected from class discussions though further research is definitely suggested.

Analysis

Section 1 - As a soldier what level of action would you be willing to take against the terrorist?

This section, unmarked on the instrument, comprised of the first Likert scaled question and a corresponding seven point Thurstone scale asking students the level of difficulty they had in making their decision. The Likert question, 'which of the following actions would you probably do as the lieutenant in this situation', listed four potential responses with no order or rank assigned. The following Thurstone scale asked the respondents to list, from extremely easy to impossible, the level of difficulty they had in making their decisions. Results are listed in (table 1).

TABLE 1 - which of the following actions would you probably do as the lieutenant in this situation?

Answer		# of Respondents	% of Respondents	Mean response to Thurstone Scale
A	Execute the terrorist	203	51.4	3.2 (easy)
B	Take the terrorist with them	144	36.5	3.6 (easy)
C	Leave the terrorist behind	17	4.3	4.0 (average)
D	Not sure what to do	31	7.8	5.0 (hard)
		N=395	100.00	

Of the students answering that they would execute the terrorist (response A), 123 of the possible 203 respondents answered within the easy range on the corresponding Thurstone scale, slightly less that 61% of the total. The numeral one was labeled as 'very easy' with seven listed as 'impossible' and though unmarked the middle or center numeration (4) was considered the average. These students answered with a one, two or three in response to the query of how difficult their decision was to execute the terrorist, all within the 'easy' to 'extremely easy' range. If the average, with 34 responses, is added in to the 'easy' range than 157 students stated that this decision was average or less than difficult in making, 77% of the total population stating they would execute the terrorist. Only 46 students responded within the difficult to impossible range, 23% of the population and only two, or less than 0.01 of the sample stated that the decision would be 'impossible' to make. Overall the mean response was a 3.2 on a scale of 7, solidly within the range of easy.

The students who decided they would take the terrorist with them found this question slightly more difficult to make though their mean response was still within the 'easy' range. Seventy of the students selected a one, two or three on the scale while 28 picked the average numeration of four. Overall 68% of the students responded that this decision would be average or easy to make. Only 32% found this decision to be difficult with only six or 0.4% citing the issue as 'impossible'. Though still a minority, the students thinking this issue was difficult to decide rose by nearly ten percent from those who chose to execute the terrorist.

Only a small fraction of the remaining sample chose to leave the terrorist behind or were unable to answer the question. Only 17 students chose this response, 4.3% of the sample, while slightly more were unable to answer the question. Interestingly enough the level of difficulty registered by these students increased with the corresponding decisions. Students who decided to leave the terrorist behind registered a 4.0 mean on the Thurstone scale, the first time the range exceeded the 'easy' mark or designation. For the students unable to answer the question, they had a mean response of 5.0, the first time a designation of 'difficult' and a level far higher than any other group for this question.

Section 2 - Would you follow orders to execute the terrorist?

TABLE 2 - If you were ordered by your superiors (over the radio) to kill the terrorist would you:

Answer	# of Respondents	% of Respondents	Difference in Response from Question 1 (%)	Mean response to Thurstone Scale
A Execute the terrorist	241	61.0	+ 9.6	4.5 (average)
B Take the terrorist with them	60	15.2	- 21.3	3.9 (easy)
C Leave the terrorist behind	31	7.9	+ 3.6	4.4 (average)
D Not sure what to do	62	15.7	+ 7.9	4.3 (average)
	N=395	100.00		

This section consisted of the third and fourth Likert Scale questions and the following Thurston Scale question (5) though, as done previous, they were unmarked and the respondents were unaware of any order or domains. Moral complexity is further developed in question four which included a scenario where directions are given from a superior telling the subordinate, in this case the student, to execute the terrorist. They are then asked the same four responses as in question 1; (A) would you execute the terrorist, (B) take the terrorist with you, (C) leave the terrorist, or (D) not sure in your actions? The addition of the order from a superior appears to have amplified certain responses as indicated (table 2). A significant increase was seen in those that would execute the prisoner with a corresponding decrease in those responding they would take the terrorist with them.

TABLE 3 - Would your decision be any different if you discovered the prisoner was a high ranking terrorist with valuable information?

Answer	# of Respondents	% of Respondents	
A No, I would do the same	104	26.3	
B Probably would not change	60	15.2	41.5%
C Probably would change	180	45.6	
D Not sure	51	12.9	
	N=395	100.00	

The difference in respondents who would now execute the terrorist rose from 203 to 241 or 61% of the total sample population and an increase in nearly 10% from the original response. The number who indicated they would take the terrorist with them dropped from 104 students to only 60, a staggering drop of nearly 22%. The number of students who would leave the terrorist behind increased as did those who indicated they were unsure of what to do. Though impossible to clarify the moral and cognitive impact this order had on the students' reasoning and decision making the results clearly illustrates a significant influence. Apparently the order 'cleared' any issues that some may have had with executing the terrorist though it is difficult to ascertain exactly why. One possible inference may be the students themselves deferring difficult decisions to a higher authority; allowing them to absolve themselves responsibility of such a decision. Interestingly enough the mean response to the corresponding Thurstone question (5) was 4.5, over the average range and into the area of difficult and 0.5 higher than the mean response on the similar Thurstone question in section 1. Though more would execute the terrorist if such an order came down it appears the difficulty in making such a decision increases, albeit just a little.

Also in this section was a question asking students if they would still respond the same way (see question 4) if they later learned the terrorist was high ranking and had possibly significant information. The answers are illustrated in (table 3). Students answering this question elicited nearly an equal response between those who would change their minds and those that would not. This question was not correlated to any other scale so it is difficult to surmise any more information from the data though it is interesting that nearly 59% of the respondents would change their minds or were unsure of what they would do. This is the same population that would most likely have executed the terrorist if ordered to do so (61% indicated they would). Moral ambiguity and/or cognitive dissonance may be illustrated and it is probable that some of the students are thinking more 'reflexively' than critically.

Section 3 - Can you decide the life of the terrorist over that of your men?

TABLE 4- would you be willing to risk your lives and/or your men to save the prisoner?

Answer		# of Respondents	% of Respondents		Mean response to Thurstone Scale
A	No	158	40.0		2.3 (very easy)
B	Probably not	129	32.7	72.7%	2.9 (pretty easy)
C	Yes	46	11.6		3.7 (easy to average)
D	Not sure	62	15.7		4.2 (average)
		N=395	100.00		

Student response to question six is not surprising in that most would say no in helping an enemy over that of their men. Interestingly enough the number of students stating no or probably no (n = 287) is similar to the number who would have executed the terrorist if ordered to do so by their superior (n = 241).   It may be reasonable to assume that the sub-population of respondents is the same, or similar for these two questions. For many students the empathetic dissonance between the terrorist and their comrades make such decisions easy, possibly even routine, at least so far as in answering a survey. This population is far larger than the group stating they would execute the terrorist in (see question 1), (n = 203), which may infer that a moral quandary has been alleviated or reduced, in turn making the students more assured (as a population)of their response. Overall, nearly 73% stated they would not be willing to risk their men over the terrorist. This is a truly staggering percentage especially with the use of vague terminology in reference to outcome, specifically in this prompt with the word 'risk'. There was no added reference of potential death or harm, any such correlation was inferred by the students. They apparently did not even want to take a chance albeit even a slim one in their perceived reaction to this question. Possibly exacerbating the numbers may be the order in which this question was developed. In sections one and two students were asked to make a decision towards terminating a life, in section three they were asked if they were willing to take a risk. This, perhaps, may have felt morally free or simpler to the students in their decision making processes. This may, in turn, allowed them to be more assured or confident in their response. The apparent ease in their decisions was illustrated in the corresponding Thurstone scale (see question 7) which illustrated an extremely easy decision process. No other question elicited an average mean of 3.0 or 'easy' as did question six. For the multitude of students polled it was an easy decision not to risk not only their lives but that of their men to save a terrorist.

Section 4 - Can you take responsibility for your actions?

The final question dealt with the constraints and value of responsibility as developed through students' perceptions reinforced by positive and negative outcomes. Question eight asked the students that if they disregarded the order to execute the terrorist (see question 3) and instead took him (with them) and able to get everyone to safety, should they still be punished for disobeying an order? Question nine developed the same premise and question, except in this instance some of their men died in the process. The results of these questions are tabulated in (Table 5).

TABLE 5 - should you be punished for refusing to execute the terrorist?

Answer		Question 8 - refused order and nobody was killed		Question 9 - refused order and some of your men died		Difference in Response
		# of respondents	% of respondents	# of respondents	% of respondents	
A	No	159	40.2	41	10.4	- 118 (29.8%)
B	Probably Not	69	17.5	23	5.8	- 46 (11.7%)
C	Yes	86	21.8	265	67.1	+ 179 (45.3%)
D	Not sure	81	20.5	66	16.7	- 15 (3.8%)
		N = 395	100.0%	N = 395	100.0%	

Nearly 58% of students polled in question eight stated they should not, or probably not be punished for disobeying the order and bringing the terrorist in. For question nine, however, where the same order was disregarded but some men eventually died, the number of students who said yes to being punished was 67%.   A difference of 118 less students responded with a no between the two questions, a drop of 30%. Overall 164 less students answered with a 'no' or 'probably no' from question eight to question nine (41.5%) This is nearly identical to the increase of students responding yes to being punished. In question eight only 86 students stated they should still be punished even though nobody was killed.   With question nine the number answering 'yes' was 265, an increase of 179 more students, an increase of 45%.

These two respondent groups are probably the same sub-population as the differences nearly mirror the other. Slightly less than 42% of the student population stated they should not be punished for disobeying an order in question eight (164 students) while 45% said they should be punished in question nine (179 students). It is probable that these students see an outcome that is favorable as reasons for not being punished while unfavorable or bad consequences should be punished.

Only 22% of students stated they should still be punished in question eight. This population probably rationalized that the refusal to obey an order should still have consequences despite the outcome. This is an interesting prompt and can be an interesting segues towards Kantian ethics and the constructs of personal responsibility. Interestingly enough 41 students or slightly more than 10% thought they should still not be punished in question nine despite their refusal to obey an order and the death of their men. This too can lead in to an interesting classroom discussion. Overall 64 students replied with a 'no' or 'probably not' to this question, slightly more than 16% of the total sample population. Though not asked by the researchers or participating teachers, it would be significant to understand the rational of these students. Why did some still feel they needed consequence in question eight despite the positive outcome and why are there others who feel they should not be punished at all in question nine?

Discussion

Section one asked students if they could execute an enemy terrorist and to what degree of difficulty the student had in making this decision. It is no surprise that the larger population responded with a 'yes' with the majority indicating it was an easy decision as determined by the second, Thurstone scaled question. For educators such a visceral response from students is common in a classroom, as such a sterile environment makes it easy to respond cavalierly to a scenario that has no implications or impact towards the physiological and emotional status of the student. Of course it is easy to say or respond to a situation instead of actually experiencing it. However, it is the responsibility of the teacher to extend this discussion and to make students aware of the cognitive constructs that help develop critical and humanistic/moral thinking. For many students right and wrong, good and evil are concrete, always applicable constants that are simple to develop and act upon. By developing conundrums, sometimes referred to as koans or moral dilemmas an educator can take a student out of their comfort zone, forcing them to develop critical thinking constructs to 'right' their balance and bring them back into 'cognitive equilibrium'. Though this research study does not actively define these constraints it is easy to see where a teacher could extend and further delineate these questions and responses within a classroom setting. By using a second Thurstone scaled question, it is possible to see the difficulty students had in making this decision. In a classroom it would be prudent to ask 'why' such decisions were easy or hard and to have the students elaborate upon their decisions. The potential discussions propagated by this information could be enlightening.

Section two added another layer of complexity to the moral dilemma by having a commanding officer order the students to execute the terrorist. For the students who responded in question one by executing the man; this would provide little to no extra difficulty for them in making a similar decision. For others who might have been unsure but were 'leaning' towards executing him, this may have helped. However, for those really unsure or confused the added order should have developed a quandary difficult for them to rationalize or to bring into 'balance'. This was illustrated with the rise in respondents who were unsure of what to do and in the increase of difficulty as indicated on the following Thurstone scaled question. This order appeared to motivate some and marginalize others and would have elicited an interesting student discussion in the classroom.

Compounding this moral dilemma was question four, perhaps the easiest one for students to answer. Developed as an added moral layer to the quandary of being ordered to execute the prisoner; question four asked if this order should be disregarded if the terrorist was later found to possess information or was a high ranking officer himself? Students appeared evenly divided over this question with a sizeable minority population unsure or unable to answer the question. Though a sizeable population of students probably disassociated their responses and outcomes from a true life situation, as most children and young adults are apt to do, there did appear to be a significant population of students who tried coming to an understanding with this over lying issue. As an addendum to the added moral complexity, is the question of whether implicitly obeying one's boss or superior to terminate the life another constitute a right, or the wrong thing to do? What actions does the condemned man have to do to make execution right and who has the say in such a decision? When is a subordinate right in refusing such directions? Or are they ever right to refuse? These and other questions would elicit strong, critical thinking responses especially after the use of such a questionnaire or similar survey to engage or prepare the students. Further research is necessary and would be interesting to pursue.

Section three asked the students if they would be willing to risk their lives and that of their men to save the terrorist. Deliberately added after the first two sections this was developed to impart any rationality to placing stock or weight to a life regardless of reasons, label and or biases and expectations. It was thought that most students would say no (which they did) but that this same group would probably be similar in size to the respondents answering yes to executing the terrorist in the earlier questions. The population was larger for this question but there appeared to be a consistent, minority population that answered either 'no' or

'unsure' to execution and 'yes' to risking lives to protect the terrorist. Through delineation it appears that a statistically significant sub-population of the students appeared to be cognitively empathetic and (possibly) morally associated with the scenario.   In question one nearly two hundred students replied in some way as to not executing the terrorist. This number dropped to 153 respondents in section two which is not surprising due to the nature of the scenario but even when asked to risk their lives 108 students still responded with a 'yes' or 'not sure'. Though impossible to accurately identify, it appears there was a sizeable and significant number of students who were unable, even in a classroom scenario, to deliberately harm or kill the terrorist. Further delineation of the student responses was not conducted but it would be interesting to isolate and study this group further. Interestingly enough, the larger population, unwilling to risk their lives for the prisoner, found this question to be the easiest to answer. The median response for difficulty was extremely low with the 'no' group finding it 'very easy' in making their decision. Of note, the minority group also indicated an easy to average difficulty level in answering this question. Possible reasons may be potential saturation from the questions; the students may not be thinking through the scenarios fully or that they have already made up their minds and are comfortable with their decision. For an educator the discussion of these two groups and their reasons and rational for their decisions would be a powerful, critical thinking activity of their student values and opinions and would make for an interesting classroom discussion. The development and interpretation of risk and the values students place on people they know and those they do not would also be an engaging critical thinking and cognitive empathetic activity. To what level of society is such importance acceptable and to what reasons can the students give in defending their answers?

Conclusion

This study of students' moral decision making paradigms and constructs developed two different strands of inquiry and practice. The first, primary construct of the design was to illustrate morally difficult choices made by average public school seniors and juniors enrolled in high school government courses. Though no differentiation was made of common demographic groups, including that of gender and race, the researchers delineated populations of students in reference to their choices or decisions made towards issues pertinent or influential towards them. By developing a moral quandary or koan the students were forced to make 'hard' decisions and then rate the difficulty in doing so. Student responses indicated that, like most children, large numbers chose morally 'easy' or popular choices. Yet through the use of different, alternating scenarios and complexities and with differing scales, some populations were discerned from the bulk of the students. It appears that some are not dissociated from the issues or lives of people not affiliated to themselves or their world. It also appears that some are cognitive of the ramifications of moral choice and risk and more purposeful in rational and decision making. This, in itself is not unusual, but to delineate such population from the general group is encouraging. Further research is necessary to see if this can be isolated further and to determine what factors help some children to be more cognizant of moral quandary while most of their peers are not.

The second strand was the practical impact such a study has on teachers and pedagogy. Though always discussed and relentlessly encouraged, critical thinking analysis and discussion is notoriously hard to effectively implement in a classroom. Student discussions and reflections are commonplace in many history classes, regardless of age and subject, but the effectiveness and 'level' of such constructs is difficult to assess. Also of importance is the participation of students into the activity. This 'participation' is vague; for many educators it may mean simple responses and other perceived responses. However, in critical thinking activities levels of participation, primarily in cognition is paramount, and for this many teacher are unprepared and have limited time and resources. The use of a scenario and survey instrument allows for intriguing possibilities in addressing this issue. For example, if a teacher is 'armed' with the knowledge that 20% of their students do not feel that any punishment is right despite their refusal in obeying a lawful order, than this teacher could address the class in a hypothetical discussion. The students who responded do not necessarily need to admit their response, but rather have the class discuss the merits of this choice, good or bad, and to discuss the morality and ethics of such a choice. If the teacher can construct this in a harmonious way, encourage students to 'understand' different choices are allowed and accepted in a harmonious society than he or she is incorporating multiple modalities of cognition and citizenship. All the while involving most if not all student in a controversial and highly charged subject where they can feel comfortable in discussing, or at least thinking about it. Such a discussion would be a powerful pedagogical tool.

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The Wounded Terrorist

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

On a mission outside Fallujah (Iraq) a Marine platoon fought off a surprise attack by a group of terrorists. After driving the attackers away they discovered a terrorist who was badly wounded in the fight. The platoon leader (lieutenant) radioed headquarters for orders. He was told that a large enemy force was nearby and that he needed to return to the base for protection. After a few miles it became clear that transporting the wounded terrorist was forcing the platoon to move at half its normal speed. Low on ammunition and water, the lieutenant feared that they would be overtaken by the approaching force and that the whole platoon would be lost.

At first the lieutenant was considering leaving the wounded terrorist in the city, but one of his men made a remarkable discovery. The terrorist prisoner understood English; and he had heard, during the radio discussions, vital information about American troop placement and offensive strategy. Now the lieutenant wasn't sure what he should do.

Questions:

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

    A.   Execute the prisoner   B.   Take the prisoner with them

    C.   Leave the prisoner   D.   Not sure

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

    1   2   3   4   5   6   7

    Extremely   Impossible
    Easy

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

    A.   Execute the prisoner   B.   Take the prisoner with them

    C.   Leave the prisoner   D.   Not sure

OVER

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

    A.   No, I would do the same   B.   Probably would not change

    C.   Probably would change   D.   Not sure

- *If your ideas and concerns are different than your superiors, how easy or hard would it be to disobey the order? Indicate on the scale below from 1 to 7; left for easy and right for difficult.*

    1   2   3   4   5   6   7

    Extremely   Impossible
    Easy

- **Would you be willing to risk your lives and/or your men to save the prisoner?**

    A.   No   B.   Probably not

    C.   Yes   D.   Not sure

- **If the decision came to either the life of the prisoner or the life (or lives) of your men; how hard would it be for you to make this decision? Indicate on the scale below from 1 to 7; left for easy and right for difficult.**

    1   2   3   4   5   6   7

    Extremely   Impossible

    Easy

- **If told to execute the prisoner but you refused and still got all of your men (including the prisoner) to safety; should you be court marshaled (put on trial)?**

    A.   No   B.   Probably not

    C.   Yes   D.   Not sure

- **If told to execute the prisoner but you refused and some of your men were killed; should you be court marshaled (put on trial)?**

    A.   No   B.   Probably not

    C.   Yes   D.   Not sure

"In Essence I'm Only Reflecting".
Teacher Strategies For Fostering Historical Reasoning In Whole Class Discussions

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Abstract: Dialogue is important for the development of students' thinking and reasoning in a domain. In history classrooms, however, teacher talk often dominates. This study examines strategies history teachers use to foster students' historical reasoning in whole-class discussions. Data consisted of three video-taped whole-class discussions of three different teachers, as well as stimulated recall-interviews with these teachers. Fine-grained analyses of the whole-class discussions, both qualitative and quantitative, shed light on the various strategies these teachers use to elicit students' historical reasoning. It was found that the teachers used various strategies, some of which are more general and some of which or more shaped by characteristics of the history domain. The teacher seems to have an important role in enriching students' historical reasoning by deepening the discussion by focussing on one specific component of historical reasoning, or by broadening the discussion by introducing different components. Which strategies are used seem to be related to choices made by the teachers with regard to the goals of the lesson, the task, and their knowledge of specific characteristics of the students as age, level, and abilities.

Keywords: classroom interaction; historical reasoning; learning history; interaction analysis

Introduction

Dialogue is important for the development of students' thinking and reasoning (Mercer & Littleton, 2007). By sharing and building on each other ideas, constructive discussion, and questioning knowledge is then co-constructed (Van Boxtel, 2004). This implies an active role of all participants. Lemke (1990) argued that in order to learn science students should learn to talk science, to "use this specialized conceptual language in reading and writing, in reasoning and problem solving, and in guiding practical action in the laboratory and in daily life" (p.1). This of course also holds for other domains, as for example the domain of history, on which we focus here. An important goal in history education is that students learn to reason about the past (cf. McCarthy Young & Leinhardt 1998; Perfetti, Britt, & Georgi, 1995; Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008). Van Drie & Van Boxtel (2008, p.89) described historical reasoning as "an activity in which a person organizes information about the past in order to describe, compare, and/or explain historical phenomena. In doing this, he or she asks historical questions, contextualizes, makes use of substantive and meta-concepts of history, and supports proposed claims with arguments based on evidence from sources that give information about the past".

From this definition six components of historical reasoning are discerned: asking historical questions, contextualization, use of substantive concepts, use of meta-concepts, argumentation, and use of sources. In order to promote students' ability in historical reasoning it is important that teachers create many different opportunities during their lessons to practice this, for example in whole-class discussions. In daily history classrooms it is often the teacher who does most of the talking, and teacher talk, as lecturing and story-telling, often dominates (VanSledright & Limón, 2006). Also in whole-class discussions it is often the teacher who does most of the talking and reasoning. What strategies can teachers use to promote active student participation and historical reasoning in whole-class discussions? The multiple case study described here, aims at gaining insight into the strategies three history teachers use to elicit and support students' historical reasoning in whole-class discussions.

Teacher strategies for fostering historical reasoning in whole-class discussions

Whole-class discussions are common practice in history teaching. Whole-class discussions are often used in the instruction phase when constructing an historical explanation or narrative (cf. Halldén, 1994; Leinhardt, 1993), but can also be used during the debriefing phase, in which earlier (group) work is discussed. Our focus here is on the latter. Husbands (1996) suggests that a class discussion in which students actively participate and share responsibility for the construction of understanding, can be best prepared by small group work. Subsequent whole-class discussions then support processes of consensus building, of making connections between the individual and the community, of transforming student findings into cultural norms (Enyedy, 2003), and allow for attaining a higher level of reasoning (Hogan, Nastasi, & Pressley, 2000; Van Boxtel, 2002). As a result, whole-class discussions may in turn provide students with a model of argumentation and cooperative talk which they can adopt in their subsequent work in small groups (Elbers & Streefland, 2000).

An important characteristic of whole-class discussions in which knowledge is co-constructed is that students act as active participants in the conversation. Engle and Conant (2002) use in this respect the term 'productive disciplinary engagement', by which they stress that students are actively involved in disciplinary discourse and make progression in it. This involves that many students make substantive contributions to the discussion, that these contributions are being in coordination with each other, and that students remain involved during longer periods of time. Another aspect of this active student role becomes visible in the fact that it is not only the teacher that initiates, but students as well, with students expressing their own ideas, initiating new topics, developing lines of thought, and asking questions.

The main role of the teacher in these kinds of whole-class discussions is to elicit and sustain an ongoing dialogue. What strategies can teachers use to achieve this? Kovalainen, Kumpulainen, and Vasama (2001/2002) identified four modes of teacher participation during whole-class discussions in a community-of-learners classroom that support classroom interaction: (a) an evocative mode (e.g., asking stimulating questions, evoking initiation and confirmation); (b) a facilitative mode (e.g., re-voicing questions and interpretations, drawing together perspectives, and initiations); (c) a collective mode (e.g., promoting collective responsibility, orchestrating discourse turns); and (d) an appreciative mode (e.g., valuing the contributions of the participants).Various authors have stressed that when knowledge construction is central, the traditional routine of closed question – answer – feedback is not sufficient (e.g., Alexander, 2008; Cazden, 2001; Chin, 2006; Mercer & Littleton, 2007). This routine is also referred to as the Initiation-Response-Feedback pattern (IRF). Chin (2006) makes clear that the purpose of questioning and feedback is different when aiming at knowledge construction. Whereas the purpose of questioning in traditional classrooms is typically to evaluate what students know, often by asking closed questions, the purpose now is to elicit students' thinking, to make this explicit and open for further discussion. The teacher then uses questions to challenge the students to elaborate on previous ideas, to provide arguments, and to engage them in domain-specific reasoning. The questions used for these purposes are more open and require long answers. Feedback in traditional classrooms often takes the form of an evaluative comment. The teacher decides whether the answer is correct by evaluating it against canonical knowledge and/or rephrases it in a more scientific manner. The teacher thereby establishes his authority and minimizes the role of students in the co-construction of knowledge, and discounts students' ideas by focusing on the scientific ideas.

However, in order to foster ongoing discussion, the feedback should not function as an evaluation but as a starting point for a new cycle. Instead of evaluating the response of the student, the teacher then asks for elaboration, or invites other students to respond. Scott, Mortimer, and Aguiar (2006) showed that in doing so a new pattern emerges, which takes the form of I-R-P-R-P-R, where P stands for Prompt. The function of the Prompt is to have students explicate and elaborate their ideas. Chin (2006) pointed that this can be done both in response to a right answer (by accepting the answer and asking another related question to extend the line of conceptual thought) or a wrong answer (by giving a neutral comment followed by a reformulation of the question or a challenge via another question). Another strategy that can be used as a form of feedback is the reflective toss (Van Zee & Minstrell, 1997). The teacher throws the responsibility for thinking back to a student by asking a question in response to a prior utterance, thereby shifting toward a more reflective discourse. In addition, Mercer (2000) identified 5 techniques that teachers use in whole-class discussions: (1) recapitulation (summarizing and reviewing what has gone before); (2) elicitation (asking a question designed to stimulate recall); (3) repetition (repeating an answer, either to give it general prominence or to encourage an alternative); (4) reformulation (paraphrasing a response, to make it more accessible to the rest of the class or to improve the way it has been expressed); and (5) exhortation (encouraging students to think or remember what has been said or done earlier). Especially the latter two are important for collaborative knowledge construction.

In order to characterize whole-class discussions Scott et al. (2006) present two dimensions: the dialogic-authoritative dimension and the interactive-noninteractive dimension. The term authoritative discourse is used to describe classroom interaction which has a fixed intent and outcome. The teacher conveys information, and the role of the students is to answer the questions of the teacher, who decides on the rightness of the answer, against cultural or school norms. In contrast, dialogic discourse has a generative intent and is open to various viewpoints. It encourages challenge and debate and allows students to argue and justify their ideas. Student utterances are often spontaneous and in whole phrases or sentences. Second, the interactive non-interactive dimension refers to whether more than one person is participating in the discourse, or only one person (the teacher). Combing the two dimensions results in four classes: (a) interactive dialogic, in which teacher and students consider a range of ideas; (b) non-interactive dialogic, in which the teacher revisits and summarizes different viewpoints; (c) interactive authoritative, the teacher focuses on one specific viewpoint and leads students through a question and answer routine; (d) non-interactive authoritative, in which the teacher present a specific point of view.

Aims and research question

So, from the literature different strategies to promote active student participation and reasoning in whole-class discussions can be identified. Although these strategies are described as general strategies, applicable to different domains, most of them derive from studies conducted in the science domain. Our interest here lies in gaining insight in the strategies history teachers use to promote historical reasoning in classroom interaction and how the strategies used are shaped by characteristics of the history domain. Using a multiple case study, we will investigate the strategies three history teachers use to foster collaborative historical reasoning in whole-class discussions and the context in which these strategies are used. Insights gained this way may contribute to an increased understanding of the role of dialogue in learning and domain-specific aspects of it. From a more practical perspective these insights may help teachers to promote students' historical reasoning in class discussions. Our guiding question therefore is: Which strategies do three teachers use to foster collaborative historical reasoning in a whole-class discussion?

Method

We used a multiple case study in which we videotaped three whole-class discussions following group work in history, conducted by three different teachers, from three different schools. The teachers, who we will name Deanne, Gerald and Tina, were experienced teachers; they have a degree in history and more that 5 years of teaching experience. In addition to the video recordings, we used stimulated recall interviews to elicit the practical knowledge of the teachers on the strategies they use to elicit historical reasoning in whole-class discussions. Stimulated recall interview is a technique that is often used to elicit teachers' practical knowledge and to make the tacit knowledge and cognitions of the teacher explicit (Calderhead, 1996; Meijer, Zanting, & Verloop, 2002). The procedure followed was that the teachers watched the videotape of the whole-class discussion they just conducted, and were asked to stop the videotape every time they recalled what they were thinking or what was on their minds. Afterwards, they were also asked some more general questions about whole-class discussions (e.g., goals of the whole-class discussion; their and the students' role during the discussion; difficulties they face during the discussion).

The video-recordings of the whole-class discussions were transcribed and analyzed. In order to be able to characterize each whole-class discussion and to discern the strategies used by the teachers, we combined quantitative and qualitative analyses (cf. Mercer, 2010). Whereas quantitative analyses enabled us to get a broad overview of the whole-class discussions, qualitative analyses were used to get a real understanding of the specific strategies used and how teacher and student talk influenced each other. For the coding of the speaking turns we used the program MEPA (Erkens, 2002). The speaking turns were coded on four different variables. Firstly, the speaker, which is the teacher or each specific student (when it was not clear which student spoke the utterance received a different code). Secondly, the length of the speaking turn (Short = 5 words or less, Long = 6 or more words). Thirdly, the speaking turns were coded on the occurrence of historical reasoning and on the different components of it, which are: Description (description of the past); Change (description of changes or continuity); Explanation (explanation are given, reference to causes, consequences, motives); Source (interpretation or evaluation of historical sources); Time (reference to historical time, dates, periods, era's, etc.); and Standpoint (giving a point of view and/or supporting this with arguments or providing counter-arguments). Since in a speaking turn more than one type of historical reasoning can occur, the most prevalent aspect was coded. Non-historical reasoning speaking turns were related to, for instance, giving directions, off-task talk, class-room management, and allocation of turns. Lastly, the utterances were coded on whether they contained an elaboration or not (Elaboration versus No-Elaboration). Elaborative activities are considered important ingredients of productive interaction. Examples of elaborative activities are: the verbalization of prior knowledge, questioning, the creation of meaningful relations by giving examples, using analogies, and reformulation or referring to previous experiences (Van Boxtel & Roelofs, 2001/2002). The analyses of elaboration and historical reasoning were used in earlier studies and inter-rater reliability was then calculated and found satisfactory (Van Drie, 2005; Van Drie, Van Boxtel, Jaspers &Kanselaar, 2005)".

Results

Below we will depict portraits of the three whole-class discussions. These portraits include a description of the task and goals of the lesson, some general and qualitative information about the whole-class discussion, and examples of specific strategies the teacher uses to foster students' historical reasoning. The portraits are followed by a cross-case comparison.

Case 1. Deanne

The students in Deanne's class (pre-university education, about 16 years of age) worked on an assignment about resistance and collaboration during the Second World War in the Netherlands. For their small-group work, they were provided with descriptions of the acts of six non-fictional persons in this period, and they were asked to classify these persons on a quadrant with two dimensions; collaboration versus resistance and personal interest versus common good. During the whole-class discussion the outcomes of the group work was discussed. The intended learning goals for students were being able to explain the concepts of resistance and collaboration, and realizing the difficulty of deciding which acts were acts of resistance and of collaboration and which acts were done out of personal interest or with an eye on the common good. The underlying idea was that through imagining themselves living in that time and having to make certain choices, students would become aware that this is not a simple matter of black and white, good or bad.

The whole-class discussion took about 19 minutes and contained 151 speaking turns, 72 by Deanne (48%) and 79 by the students (52%). Seventeen out of the 23 students contributed to the discussion. 66% of all the teacher utterances were long, and 7% contained an elaboration. Also 66% of the student utterances were long, and 46% contained an elaboration. Out of the 151 speaking turns, 118 were coded as historical reasoning, 42% of which were from the teacher and 58% of the students. By far the most of these historical reasoning turns were coded as Standpoint. This is in line with the goal of this task: the students were asked to make claims about where to put the six persons on the quadrant, and in the discussion the students were asked to share their ideas and support these with arguments. These outcomes show that the students did most of the talking and that their talking was often long and elaborated, and contained historical reasoning. On the whole, Deanne's whole-class discussion contains elements of what Scott et al. call 'interactive-dialogic'. Interactive, for Deanne stimulates her students to participate in the dialogue, to bring in their viewpoints and she challenges them to justify their ideas. Dialogic, for the discussion is open to various viewpoints and these viewpoints are explored. Only a few times, and only after exploration Deanne brings in a scientific norm.

The following excerpt, presented in Figure 1, is a typical example of how Deanne elicits student reasoning. She discusses with her students how they situated one of the persons called Pip on the two dimensions. Deanne initiates the discussion by asking one specific student to share her groups' opinion. Student 1 responds and Deanne repeats part of the response and she asks for clarification by asking "Can you explain why?" (line 5). This question elicits a lengthy and elaborate answer of the student, in which she explicates the arguments for her group's choices. S2 provides reasons and uses historical concepts in her reasoning. Deanne summarizes her answer in a short and neutral manner and asks the class who has a different viewpoint (line 7). This gives room for other students to bring their point of view. Student 2 does not agree with the viewpoint presented by student 1. He thinks Pip's acts are not so much acts of collaboration, but acts of resistance, for he cancels his membership of the Dutch national socialist party, the NSB. Student 2 not only provides an alternative view, but also gives a reason for it and he defines it as passive resistance. Although Deanne, as she indicated in the interview, did not agree with this point of view and was in doubt how to respond, she chose to refrain from evaluating this viewpoint. Instead, she asked the class to respond to this (line 9), using the reflective toss by throwing back the initial response to the class (cf. Van der Zee & Minstrell, 1997). This resulted into a vivid discussion between the students. In the end Deanne closes this discussion by acknowledging that there is a lot of debate about this issue and referring to a more scientific view.

66	T	Okay, right. And uhm, and now Pip. Marian*, how did it go with Pip?
67	S10	Uh, well we placed him, we placed him uhm a little further towards the middle of collaboration, but with collaboration, but less than halfway
68	T	Okay
69	S10	And, uhm, we placed him very far on personal interest, almost near the end.
70	T	So you have him far on personal interest. And can you explain why?
71	S10	Uhm,… Well because he became a member of the NSB, and so we think that he did not resist in any case, but that he did it out of personal interest and not that he really like wanted to collaborate with the Germans but because he really did everything for his personal interest. Then he joins the NSB, then he leaves immediately. So that's why we chose a lot of personal interest for him.
72	T	Yes, so because of the NSB you think collaboration and a lot of personal interest. Who has something else? Cees.
73	S3	Uh, we think it is more resistance because, he uhm, cancels his membership and he gets married so he doesn't have to do anything for the Germans and that's passive resistance.
74	T	Okay, that's one way of viewing it. Who, who says I would like to respond to that? Sarah.

* Due to privacy reasons the names of the students are changed.

Figure 1. Excerpt of the whole class discussion of Deanne, discussing the case of Pip.

At the end of the whole-class discussion Deanne invites students to take a meta-view on the assignment they had been working on, by asking what the aim was of the assignment and whether it is appropriate to judge actions of people in the past. The excerpt is shown in Figure 2. First, Deanne invites her students to think about the aims of this assignment. The students seem quite able to do so. Next, Deanne asks the, from a history perspective important question whether it is appropriate to judge people's actions of the past. Unfortunately there was no time to dig deeper into this issues and questions such as what criteria do we use in judging people, and did people from different times made different judgments, were left un-explored. However, through these questions Deanne invites her students also to formulate the conclusion of the lesson themselves, instead of herself. This reflects the interactive-dialogic character of this discussion.

136	T	Well, uhm, I'd like to know, Theo, we've been doing this assignment and you've been busy working on it for 45 minutes, uhm now we're having a discussion. So you can see that people think differently about it. Why am I making you do this assignment? What's the purpose?
137	S15	Well, to look at how people think about it and how you think about it yourself.
138	T	OK, so the purpose is actually that you start thinking about it for yourself. What would be another reason for me to let you do this? Cathy?
139	S18	Because it's actually kind of difficult between collaboration and resistance to determine and that personal interest and the common good, that people have very different ideas about that.
140	T	Yes, very good. So it is, that's what exactly everyone is experiencing. That it's difficult to situate people, uhm, and that there, and that it's often not so very clear. Yes, correct…
		…
142	T	We, we're actually making judgments now, afterwards, about people living back then. Do you think that's all right?
143	S16	Yes.
144	T	Yes? Why?
145	S16	Just because.
146	S7	We make judgments about other people as well […]
147	T	Okay, so it's all right. Who, who would like to respond? Jane?
148	S17	Of course you can't know exactly what they think, but you can learn from it. You also get a better grip of those, uhm, of those concepts, collaboration and resistance, and you're, and you are condemning them a little, but they're not living anymore, yes. And you learn from it for yourself, and you don't exactly know what they were thinking and that […] resistance wasn't so bad.
149	T	OK, so you're saying they don't notice it. Erica?
150	S11	I think that as long as you know that you're never going to be able to find out the real story, yes you can, but you'll never know what drives them to do that.
151	T	Uhm, I hope that it gets you thinking a bit and that you also see that all of it isn't so easy to situate indeed and that this of course doesn't only apply to the Second World War, but to all other topics as well.

Figure 2. Excerpt of the whole-class discussion of Deanne, discussing the goals of the task.

Case 2: Gerald

Gerald and his class (intermediate general secondary education, 17 years of age) participated in a pilot program to test a new history curriculum, including final examinations, which focus on using a historical frame of reference to orient oneself in time (see Van Drie, Logtenberg, Van der Meijden, & Van Riessen 2009; Wilschut, 2009). The aim of Gerald's lesson was to prepare his students for the central examinations that were part of this pilot, which were coming up the next month. In preparation for this, Gerald provided his students with six sources in the form of pictures and asked them what the pictures were about and which time they referred to. These kinds of questions are also included in the final examinations. The students first answered these questions individually, after which they discussed it with their neighbor. All sources were then discussed in the whole-class discussion.

The whole-class discussion took about half an hour and contained 302 speaking turns, 134 (44%) of which by Gerald and 168 (56%) by the students. Out of the 19 students in the class, 11 students participated in the discussion. 67% of the teachers' speaking turns were long, and 18% contained an elaboration. 57% of the student turns were long, and 35% contained an elaboration. 75% of all the utterances were coded as historical reasoning, of which 43% by the teacher and 57% by the students. Most of the historical reasoning was related to the categories Time, Description, and Source. These outcomes show that the students took an active role in the discussion. The students talk to each other as well as to the teacher. Gerald leaves a lot of space for his students to share and discuss their ideas, he asks for clarification, and takes their contributions seriously, even when wrong. Only after an extended discussion of each picture, Gerald summarizes the answers and provides students with additional background information of the picture. On the whole, the Gerald's whole-class discussion contains elements of an 'interactive-dialogic' conversation. It could be argued that the dialogue is more authoritative than interactive, for it is the teacher who in the ends provides the correct answer. On the other hand, he does take all students contributions seriously, explores them, and only after the students have come up with a correct answer, Gerald summarizes this and gives additional information.

The following two excerpts derive from a part of the discussion in which Gerald discusses a picture of the Tapestry of Bayeux (11th century). He starts by asking the students to describe the picture, and one of the students tells that he sees a kind of leader and people giving him gifts (not in the excerpt). Gerald accepts the given description in a neutral way, and asks to interpret it (line 96), bringing the discussion to a deeper level. Several students respond spontaneously, and Gerald repeats the two substantive concepts he heard: absolute power and three estates (which are the clergy, nobility and the commonality). Next, he asks another student whether she can apply these concepts to the picture presented (line 102). This is an interesting move for several reasons. First, in doing so Gerald focuses on the two concepts, their meaning and whether they apply to this picture, thus promoting students' reasoning with these concepts. Secondly, Gerald refrains from directly evaluating the answer. Thirdly, instead of asking the student who brought in these concepts to explain this, he asks this to a different student. He thus involves this student into the discussion, and invites her to think aloud. This move fits with Gerald's general aim with whole-class discussions: students should be able to explain the answer given by another student. When the student indicates in line 105 that she is not completely able to do so, Gerald asks her to be more specific (line 106), and the dialogue continues on the three estates and whether they can be identified on the picture.

96	T	So that is what you see. But do you know what it represents?
97	S*	Rule with absolute power
98	S4	In any case something with command and absolute power, yes.
100	T	With absolute power
101	S	Three estates
102	T	So I'm hearing two concepts. I heard three estates and I hear absolutism. Ria, what do you think, can you place these two concepts?
103	S6	Yes.
104	T	You're seeing them here too?
105	S6	Yes, a little bit.
106	T	A little bit. Why a little bit? What aren't you seeing?
107	S6	Yes, those classes, I'm not seeing those classes that well actually.
108	T	Which classes are you missing?

*S without a following number means that it was not possible to identify which student made the comment

Figure 3. Excerpt of the whole-class discussion of Gerald, discussing the Tapestry of Bayeux (part 1).

The conversation continues by discussing whether the concept of absolutism can be applied to this picture. This is not the case and it is interesting to see how Gerald deals with this 'wrong' answer. Gerald makes a shift from this particular picture and asks the more general question of the era to which 'absolutism' belongs. Students have to contextualize and date the concept of absolutism. One student is more or less able to give a time indication, although he is not able to remember the exact name of that era. Gerald corrects him. Next, he asks another student whether the picture discussed is a picture from the 17th century, how a picture from the 17th century looks like and some famous painters of this period. The purpose of these questions is to build an image of pictures and paintings in the 17th century, thus creating a context. This context can be used by the students to decide whether it fits the picture presented and it brings S2 to the conclusion that it is not, and that it derives from the Middle Ages. In this way Gerald models a strategy to check their initial answers.

121	T	Jan, to which era does absolutism belong?
122	S3	Era absolutism is 1700 or something. I don't know what number that is, but uhm
123	T	And what's that era called, the era of?
124	S3	Wigs and Revolutions
125	T	The Princes and Regents. And it is the 17th century. The Era of Princes and Regents, that's where the concept of absolutism belongs to. Remy, is this a painting from, uhm, or something from an, uh, the 17th century?
126	S11	No
127	T	What do you expect to see in a 17th century painting?
128	S11	Well, a king with a lot of pomp and circumstance and uhm
129	T	And a famous Dutch painter from the17th century?
130	S11	Uhm, no
131	T	You're following art-classes aren't you? Rick, a famous painter from the 17th century?
132	S2	Rembrandt, I don't know. Yes?
133	T	Yes, all Dutch great masters come from the 17th century. Mieke.
134	S10	Yes?
135	T	That's the nice thing about this pilot, isn't it? That's where you can see, you have to be able to situate it. That's why Ria's question is so relevant, about what where that era's again. When you situate there, you're of course already able to say a whole lot. Absolutism belongs to the 17th century. With the 17th century you're expecting Rembrandt, you're expecting Jan Steen, you're expecting Frans Hals. This is not a 17th century painting. Rick?
136	S2	I'm thinking it comes from the Middle Ages.
137	T	It comes from the Middle Ages. Yes. What, are you using your knowledge of art-history for this?
138	S2	Well, also a bit, because, it's…Well it also isn't exactly a painting like a painting from that time would look like.

Figure 4. Excerpt of the whole-class discussion of Gerald, discussing the Tapestry of Bayeux (part 2).

Case 3: Tina

The students in Tina's class worked on the topic of the colonization of the Indies by the Dutch. The students (intermediate secondary education, 13 years of age) were divided into groups, and the group assignment was to make a copy of a drawing of that period (in this case a cartoon representing people from the Dutch Indies bringing taxes to the Dutch colonizer). Taking turns, each member of each group was allowed to take a look at the drawing at Tina's desk, for one minute. The first part of the whole-class discussion focused on the strategies the students used to make their drawings as good as possible. Next, the students went back to their groups to answer several questions about the drawing, such as what does the drawing represent, what was the opinion of the maker and how can you see that. Each group put their answers to these questions on a sheet of paper and these were then discussed in a second whole-class discussion. The two parts of the whole-class discussions were analyzed as one.

The whole-class discussion took about 15 minutes and contained 108 speaking turns, of which 54 by the teacher (50%) and 54 by the students. Eleven students, out of 23, participated in the discussion. Most of the teacher contributions were long (85%), and 19% contained an elaboration. For the students 31% of the utterances were long and 9% contained an elaboration. 58% of all turns were coded as historical reasoning, of which 52% were done by the teacher and 48% by the students. Most of the historical reasoning was related to the categories Source (especially fact and opinion), Description, and Time. These analyses show that, although the number of speaking turns is equal, the teacher dominates the discussion for her contributions were longer, more elaborate. In terms of Scott et al this discussion most resembles the 'interactive-authoritative' type, in which the teacher focuses on one specific viewpoint and leads the student through a question-answer routine. Figure 5 contains a part of the discussion that illustrates this nicely.

In this fragment the teacher discusses with her students the opinion of the artist on the Dutchmen in the Dutch Indies. The students had discussed this question in their small group. Tina initiates the discussion by asking what the opinion of the artist is. The students come up with short answers, using every-day language. Tina corrects this (line 84), stimulates them to use more appropriate words, and asks them about the meaning of these words (line 86). When a student comes up with a better word, Tina evaluates this positively and rephrases this. She continues by asking a question to direct students' attention to another aspect: "how many Dutchmen have you seen on this cartoon?" (line 90), who they were (line 92), and what can be concluded from that with regard to the opinion of the artist (line 94). By asking a series of specific and more closed questions as these, Tina forces her students to take a closer look at the cartoon and focuses their attention to aspects they would not have come up by themselves. She uses her questions as a scaffold for interpreting the cartoon. The students respond with short answers, which Tina transforms by making complete sentences out these words and using historical concepts (line 96 and 100), thus modeling historical reasoning.

80	T	What does the artist think about the Dutchmen?
81	S9	Miserly
82	T	Miserly, why?
83	S9	Uhm, from his arrogant head, ha ha
84	T	That's also not the way you should write it down.
85	S9	Uhm, because of his face and the stuff he demands.
86	T	And is that miserly then? What does miserly mean?
87	S11	That you don't want to give anything away
88	T	That you don't want to give anything away, yes, exactly. [..] isn't getting much
89	S	Greedy.
90	T	Greedy, that's a better word. He's greedy; he absolutely has an arrogant face. Lieke is completely right about that. He is also fat. He laughs. But there is another thing about the Dutchmen. Marc, how many Dutchmen did you see on the picture?
91	S4	One, […] three
92	T	Three, very good. Who were the other two?
93	S4	The guards.
94	T	Correct. Can you then say something about that? About what the artist thinks of the Dutchmen? The fact that he has guards with him, what can you interpret from that, possibly?
95	S11	Violence, powerful.
96	T	They are rich, they are powerful. They've got a thing with violence. So in any case they have an army guarding them and so they're clearly standing above Indonesia.
97	S8	They are afraid.
98	T	Yes, you could say that as well.
99	S8	They are afraid of being attacked.
100	T	Yes, that's how you could interpret it as well, like you need guards so you're afraid. Could have been as well. So these are all opinions of the artist that you can see in that picture.

Figure 5. Excerpt of the whole-class discussion of Tina.

Cross-case comparisons

The three whole class-discussion presented above are quite diverse. They differ with respect to student age, the lesson goals, the topic, the duration of the discussion, and the degree of student reasoning exhibited in the discussion. The discussions led by Deanne and Gerald showed more historical reasoning by the students, as many students were actively engaged, made substantive and elaborate contributions, and discussed with the teacher as well as with each other. In terms of Scott et al. (2006) these teachers generated to some extent interactive/dialogic discussions. Both teachers engage their students in a series of questions that provide an opportunity for the students to express their ideas. The ideas are taken seriously and are further explored. The questions the teachers ask aim to elicit thoughtful answers ("Can you explain why…."). When lecturing (which Gerald does more often than Deanne), they do so only after the issue has been explored deeply. The chain of interaction that becomes visible in Gerald's whole-class discussion is closed, for as a teacher he gives a final evaluation. Deanne, on the other hand, often leaves the discussion more open. Only after the discussion of one of the persons, she comes up with concluding remarks. In addition, she asks the students to formulate conclusions at the end of the whole-class discussion, by asking them what the aim of this assignment was. In comparison, the discussion led by Tina reflected less extended student reasoning. This discussion seemed to be somewhat more authoritative and less interactive. The students came up with short answers and there were only few elaborations. Tina herself related this to characteristics of the students she was teaching. Tina's students were 13, 14 years old, which is much younger than the students from the other three classes, which were 16 to 17 years of age. Tina indicated that she takes a more authoritative role with these younger students, than she does with her older students, whom she would leave more room to participate, initiate, and react directly to each other. Tina's reflections make clear that when thinking about the lesson goals, she takes into account the characteristics of the class she is teaching, and adapts the role she takes.

The teachers use a variety of techniques to promote students' reasoning. These include more general strategies as the asking of more-open ended questions, asking for explanation or backing of claims, inviting students to respond to each other's interpretations and arguments, accepting of and building on students' ideas, summarizing, rephrasing, refraining from giving direct evaluative feedback. These more general strategies are in a way 'coloured' by the domain of history and the different components of historical reasoning. A central component of historical reasoning in the discussion of Deanne was Argument. She promotes this by asking open questions, asking for clarification to make the reasons behind the given viewpoint explicit, summarizing, rephrasing, inviting other to respond, and refraining from evaluative feedback. Moreover, she asks her students to reflect on a meta-level by asking the question whether it is actually possible to make judgments about people from the past. Central component in Gerald's lesson is Contextualizing. In particular, he asks students to describe pictures, situate them in time, and to give meaning to them. In doing so, he focuses on the historical concepts that are related to these pictures: what they mean and whether other students think they do indeed apply to the pictures discussed. He also directs students' attention to the time these pictures belong to by stimulating them to use their knowledge of the periodization in ten eras. Furthermore, he introduces the question of the trustworthiness of the sources (Use of sources).

Tina's younger students come up with short answers, using every-day language. Tina tries to transform this every-day language into the language of history, stimulating students to use more appropriate words and historical concepts (Use of substantive concepts), and asks them about the meaning of these. She explicitly focuses students' attention to the differences between a fact and an opinion (Use of meta-concepts), and which opinions can be recognized in a cartoon (Use of sources). She uses her, more closed questions as a scaffold for interpreting the cartoon. The analyses of historical reasoning also makes clear that the student utterances are most often related to the components of historical reasoning that are most central to the task at hand, whereas other components are most often introduced by the teacher. So, historical reasoning seems to be promoted by exploring one component of historical reasoning more deeply or broadening the level of reasoning by bringing in a new component of historical reasoning.

All three teachers made, during the discussions, active use of the knowledge they have about their specific students and their abilities. Tina mentioned in the interview that she allocates the turns deliberately. Her first question at the beginning of the discussion was for example directed to a group that was not so task-focused and whose attention she wanted. She asked her question specifically to the only one student in that group she could trust to give a serious answer. Gerald knew that one of his students had difficulties with contextualizing in time and he frequently directed his questions to this student, or asked him to explain correct lines of reasoning. Afterwards, Gerald told us that he used the difficulties this student had with this task as an example for the rest of the class (next to the fact the really wanted to teach this student something). By focusing on his problems with the tasks, he hoped that the other students also would come along. Important in this respect is also that this particular student feels himself free to express all his troubles and doubts in the class. Gerald also deliberately used his strong students in the line of discussion, for example when an incorrect answer was given or when time was running short he asked a bright student to discuss the last picture. In addition, Gerald used a discussion he overheard during the small-group discussion that he thought relevant for the whole class. He then deliberately asks one of the students to explain the discussion in the small-group, instead of giving his own point of view. His aim with this strategy was that this student had to follow the other line of reasoning, came to understand what they meant, and to discover the flaw in his own reasoning. It enabled Gerald to show where his reasoning fell short.

Comparing the three whole-class discussions we see that not only the role they take in the discussion differs, but also the assignments differ. The first part of Tina's whole-class discussion about the strategies used to copy the picture presented was more open-ended in the sense that there was no right answer. This was less the case in the second part of the whole-class discussion. As for Gerald, the discussion focused on two aspects, to the period the picture refers to, which is a closed question, and on how do you know that it belongs to a certain period. This question is more open, for many aspects of the pictures may provide the student with cues about the period it belongs to. Deanne's task on situating persons on the two dimensions was perhaps most open-ended, as the answers could not be right or wrong, but reflected an opinion for which specific arguments could be used. This suggests that the whole-class discussions that were based upon more open-ended tasks were most suited to elicit historical reasoning.

Conclusions and Discussion

In this study we explored the strategies three teacher use to foster historical reasoning in whole-class discussions. Quantitative and qualitative analyses of transcripts of the whole-class discussions and stimulated recall interviews with the teachers afterwards have shed light on this issue. In general, the discussions led by Deanne and Gerald showed relatively more historical reasoning by the students. Whereas these discussions resembled more the interactive-dialogic discourse, Tina's discussion included more authoritative elements. The interviews make clear that the teachers make deliberate choices with respect to the kind of role they take (more or less authoritative) and the role they expect from their students, as well as the kind of questions they ask and the students to whom they direct these questions. These choices seem to be made based upon their knowledge of different strategies to involve students in historical reasoning, knowledge of their students and their problems or abilities with regard to historical reasoning. This relates to the concept of pedagogical content knowledge as introduced by Shulman (1986). In addition to this, also the task the students work on and the goals set by the teacher play an important role. It seems that especially tasks that are open-ended and ask for reasoned judgment may have potential to provoke historical reasoning (cf. Van Drie, Van Boxtel & Van der Linden, 2006).

The teachers made use of various, more general and more domain-specific strategies to foster students' historical reasoning. Especially the more domain-specific ones fit within the evocative and facilitative mode of teacher participation (cf. Kovalainen et al., 2001/2002). The analyses suggest, in line with Chin (2006), that the asking of more open-ended questions directed at making student thinking visible and refraining from direct feedback are important for stimulating an ongoing discussion. Interesting is the different strategies used when confronting with 'wrong' answers. On the one hand we see examples of direct correction, and on the other hand there are examples were the teachers refrain from a direct evaluation and then invite others to respond (Deanne), or ask a student to explain the other line of reasoning through which flaws in his own original (and incorrect) line reasoning may become clear (Gerald), or use a series of closed questions to guide students to more agreeable conclusions (Tina and Gerald). Specific examples of more general strategies used are: involving as many students as possible; inviting students to respond to each other's interpretations and arguments; accepting and building on students' ideas; summarizing; reformulating; asking open-ended questions; refraining from direct evaluative feedback; and the reflective toss.

It can be suggested that these general strategies are coloured by the characteristics of the domain, the kind of questions that are asked (for example related to historical concepts, contextualizing in time, trustworthiness of sources, perspective taking, and taking a meta-view), the kind of evidence that holds, and the kind of sources studied (e.g., picture, cartoons, biography). Since the student contributions were most often related to the components of historical reasoning that were most central to the task at hand, and other components were most often introduced by teacher, it can be suggested that the teacher has an important role in enriching the reasoning in the classroom. The teachers in this study do so by either deepening or broadening the line of reasoning. Historical reasoning thus seems to be promoted by either focussing more deeply on one specific component of historical reasoning (for example Deanne explores different viewpoints and promotes the process of argumentation used to back these viewpoints), or by introducing new components historical reasoning (for example, Gerald who, when contextualizing pictures in time, asks his students about the trustworthiness of it and in doing so moves from reasoning with documents to reasoning about documents (cf. Rouet, Britt, Mason, & Perfetti, 1996)). An interesting future line of research would be to study more deeply how characteristics of the domain shape classroom interaction and what differences and communalities exist between different domains. This would enable teachers to more clearly articulate to their students what is expected of them with regard to domain-specific reasoning.

This study gives more insight into a number of relevant strategies, but does not provide an exhaustive list. Other factors may affect the amount of collaborative reasoning in whole-class discussions that did not come to the fore in this study, but which are mentioned in other studies, as for instance the role of external representations and the social norms in the classroom (Cobb, McClain, & Gravemeijer, 2001). Another drawback is that we analyzed only three whole-class discussions. The kind of reasoning that occurs is closely related to the characteristics of the students, the task and the learning goals (including central components of reasoning), therefore we should be careful in generalizing the outcomes. More research is needed here with respect to different age groups, levels, and tasks. Moreover, we observed only one lesson in a series and are therefore not able to put the lesson in a broader context. For example, we are not able to gain insight in whether and how the teacher builds upon earlier learning experiences (cf. Mercer & Littleton, 2007). In addition, we are not able to relate the dialogue to learning outcomes of the students. We analyzed only verbal language and left out non-verbal communication, as for example intonation, and teachers' body and eye movements. As Scott et al. (2006) pointed out that a positive evaluation does not always have to be given in words, but can instead be also given

by nodding. Nevertheless, combing quantitative and qualitative analyses seemed to be a fruitful approach. The quantitative analyses (especially the analyses of participation and length of contributions) are easy to use for teachers or student-teachers to gain insights in the role they and their students take in whole-class discussions. We have positive experiences with this approach in our own teacher-training.

In conclusion, these detailed analyses shed light on aspects that promote historical reasoning in whole-class discussions and on the decisions the teachers have to make, while preparing the whole-class discussion (e.g., what are the goals related to the level and age of the students, what learning problems may occur, how should the students be prepared to the task so that it enables them to make substantive contributions), as well as during the discussions (e.g., how to respond in such way that students' thinking is stimulated). This implies that the teacher has a thorough knowledge of the discipline and the curriculum, of the students and their strengths and weaknesses, and of strategies how to stimulate students' disciplinary thinking. The main role of teacher in whole-class discussions is in our opinion to make student thinking and reasoning in the domain visible and therefore open for discussion. Or as Gerald put it, using the analogy of a mirror: "in essence I'm only reflecting".

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Comparing Issues Surrounding Turkish & Japanese History Textbooks

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Abstract The main purpose of this study is to develop a clear understanding about the issues surrounding Turkish history textbooks with those of Japan. Therefore, we deal with the main question of this study as how similar or different the two cases are. The similarities and differences are examined within the following topics: (1) the importance of history textbooks in schools in Japan and Turkey; (2) the context of history textbook controversies in Japan and Turkey; (3) the current issues and contending positions in the Japanese and Turkish history textbook controversies; and finally 4) how actors external to the state (i.e., multi-lateral organizations like the E.U., UN, etc or other national governments) have forced each country to "re-write" its history?

Introduction

Teaching materials used in schools have an important role in socializing the next generation (Schissler, 2001; 2009) and the textbooks, in particular, have a great influence on it. As research findings have shown textbooks have played a significant role in the classroom and teachers use textbooks as the most dominant source of their teaching activities (Shaver, Davis and Helburn, 1979; Armento, 1986; Cassidy and Bognar, 1992; Chen 1997; Rawadieh, 1998; Abaya, 1993).

However, there has been a longstanding criticism about the insufficiency of textbooks as a major source of material in the instructional practice. Regarding its content and methodology, social studies and history textbooks are monotonous and dull; they neither emphasise map and globe skills are higher order thinking skills sufficient (Fitzgerald, 1979; Beck and McKeown, 1991). International research shows that curriculum and textbooks are significant vehicles for the transmission of values which project the ideology of the state (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Nozaki & Selden, 2009a; Nozaki & Selden, 2009b; Schissler, 2009; 2001; Tarman, 2008; Barnard, 2003; Apple, 1989; Carnoy and Samoff, 1990; Giroux and Penna, 1979; Jansen, 1990; Dilek, 2007). Many studies have also demonstrated (Nozaki & Selden, 2009a; Nozaki & Selden, 2009b; Schissler, 2009; 2001; Tarman, 2008; Podeh, 2002; McDiarmid & Pratt, 1971; The Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977; Apple, 1990) that ethnocentric views, myths, stereotypes, and prejudices often encompass history textbooks. Therefore, most history textbooks present a biased view of conflicts: "Our side is good; their side is bad" (Apple, 1990, p. 85). By insulting the opponents, the education system in general and history textbooks in particular play an essential role in forming and reinforcing the state's national identity. Therefore, states and governments usually control the content of textbooks used in the compulsory educational system and consequently social and political values are mirrored in textbooks (Barnard, 2003; Schissler, 2009; 2001).

Turkish and Japanese textbooks are also exceptions. Furthermore, a comparison of the modernization/nation-state formation process following the key political change in each country (Meiji Restoration/Atatürk) and the current processes of effects of international/global trends and pressures are very valuable to the field of comparative and international education, especially as Japan and Turkey are two cases which are not often compared.

Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to develop a clear understanding about the issues surrounding Turkish history textbooks and those in Japan. Indeed, the main focus of this study is to analyze how similar or different the two cases are. The similarities and differences are examined through an ethnographic content analysis approach.

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Method

As the guiding principle of the theoretical framework for the current study, an ethnographic research approach was applied to content analysis method to produce ethnographic content analysis. Altheide (1987) defines this type of research as "the reflexive analysis of documents" (p. 65). Although ethnographic content analysis has been less widely used in educational research, it is more suitable in document analyses by historians, literary scholars, and social scientists (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Plummer, 1983). Ethnography in general refers to the description of people and their culture (Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979). In this sense, the subject matter—human beings engaged in meaningful behavior—guide the mode of inquiry and orientation of the investigator (Altheide, 1987). Therefore, it seems that social studies/history textbooks, more or less, reflect the culture in which they are written due to the fact that this particular subject area, social studies/history education, is taught for citizenship education regardless of the nation it may belong to. In this manner, ethnographic content analysis is used to document and understand the communication of meaning, as well as to verify theoretical relationships. Its distinctive characteristic, as Altheide (1987) puts it, is the reflexive and highly interactive nature of the researcher, concepts, data collection and analysis. Like all ethnographic research, the meaning of a message is assumed to be reflected in various modes of information exchange, format, rhythm and style (e.g., aural and visual style) as well as in the context of the report itself, and other nuances (Altheide, 1987). Thus, ethnographic content analysis is embedded in constant discovery and constant comparison of relevant situations, settings, styles, images, meanings and nuances (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The data used in this study were obtained from the social studies/history textbooks, the Internet sources, printed literature (such as reports about the textbook development process done by national and international governmental or non-governmental organizations), and review and research articles about the textbook system in both focused countries: Japan and Turkey. Ethnographic content analysis, thus, is one type of research design that is more appropriate when dealing with such topics. However, while collecting data from the Internet and other sources, the researchers were careful to triangulate the data to verify the integrity of the printed and the Internet sources, textbooks, reports and such.

The main purpose of this study is to develop a clear understanding about the issues surrounding Turkish history textbooks with those in Japan. In fact, the central focus of this study is to analyze how similar or different the two cases are. The similarities and differences are examined within the following topics: (1) the importance of history textbooks in schools in Japan and Turkey; (2) the context of history textbook controversies in Japan and Turkey; (3) the current issues and contending positions in the Japanese and Turkish history textbook controversies; and finally (4) how agents external to the state (i.e., multi-lateral organizations like the European Union (EU), United Nations (UN), etc. or other national governments) have forced each country to "re-write" its history.

Results

Before focusing on the controversial issues surrounding history textbooks in Japan and Turkey, we need to address the following question to understand the importance of this study: Why are textbooks, social studies/history textbooks in particular, important enough to receive lots of attentions by these two states?

History Textbooks and Their Importance for Japan and Turkey

The textbooks which a society produces exercise their power over an audience that is particularly vulnerable and continuously renewing itself. Because of this, they are seen as important counters in arguments over political, economic, religious, moral, and educational issues, and regularly assume a central role in the conflicts and polemics to which the institution of schooling is a prey. The textbook can be an instrument of propaganda at the service of political or religious authorities (Barnard, 2003; Choppin, 1992). Thus, here we start reviewing the literature first in order to obtain a frame or reference to explain why teaching history is so important for the Turkish and Japanese governments that there are governmental and private institutions paying a lot of attention.

Why teaching history is so important for the Turkish and Japanese governments?

As a school subject, history, in particular, has traditionally been given the role of inculcating or reinforcing national identity, national consciousness and political values (Barnard, 2003; Maw, 1991; Weinbrenner, 1990). It is clear that the important influence of the textbook for inculcation of values has been recognized. The predominant finding of international research on the school history textbooks is that history textbooks are "the arena" in which the ideology of the state is projected (Barnard, 2003; Apple, 1989; Carnoy and Samoff, 1990; Giroux and Penna, 1979). The history textbook is a political forum in which individual and groups advocate their views. Every writer, every publisher of school books has political beliefs and advocates these in their work" (Richardson, 1986).

Turkish and Japanese cases are no exception. As researches (Masalski, 2002; Sahin et al, 2002) show textbooks are used pervasively in Japanese and Turkish schools and they are the dominant instructional materials in most classrooms. Thus, the content of textbooks looms large in the teaching and learning of history and other core subjects of the curriculum.

Looking back to the historical background of Turkish and Japanese cases proves what researchers pointed out above. For instance, subsequent to the establishment of a republic of Turkey after a successful war of independence in 1923, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the new republic, set the priority for a marked, rapid and complete transition from traditional to modern ways and established a great national challenge for the Turkish case. Consequently, the primary objective of the newly established government was to introduce and support its national ideology for a modern republic of Turkey and, thereby, confront the task of creating awareness, in each citizen, of the individual's capacity for allegiance and effectiveness in directing efforts toward national goals (Tarman, 2008).

To build a national identity, Atatürk turned his attention to history and language. The primary purpose of education at every level became the training of republican, nationalist, populist, and secular citizens in the early years of the republic. The Turkish revolution and its great leader were given a prominent place in the curriculum. New textbooks were written to include the discussions of new history and languages (Tarman, 2008). A sense of national identity had been sought in the pre-Islamic periods of Turkish history and culture. As a result, the Turkish history claimed that, that prior to the Ottoman Empire, Turks originated and mastered great civilizations in China, India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, engendered intellectuals and scientists who contributed to western civilization. This theory also held that in pre-Islamic times, Turks lived a civilized and democratic life.

Further, the sun-language theory (which claimed that the Turkish language was the mother of all languages) was supported by Atatürk in 1930s and promoted national consciousness, pride and unity among the Turks. Kemalist historians and linguists proffered a scientific basis for both this theory and the previous one and tried mightily to document their contentions. (Metz 1995; http://countrystudies.us/turkey/25.htm) All of these were for one big purpose: to build a new and modern Turkish identity.

Whether these claims were scientifically correct or not, they became the official posture of the new Turkish state in order to promote national identity. These theories and the associated indoctrination, popular between 1923 and 1946, became the turning points of history courses at all levels of education. Schools were called upon to commit to such ideas in order to destroy what remained of the Ottoman and Islamic identity and to replace it with what was purely Turkish by Kemalist standards.

Atatürk and the Republican elite used textbooks to convey information and to disseminate Republican ideals. In the treatment of history, civics, geography and reading, they sought to create something particularly Turkish that would support one of the key Westernising elements of the republic, the nation state. The outcomes of this attempt were differences between the Kemalist rhetoric and the translation of it into school curriculum and textbooks (Childress, 2001).

The activities of the Curriculum and Instruction Committee, (CIC; in Turkish, Talim Terbiye Kurulu), established within the Ministry of Education in 1926, were crucial to formulating and disseminating the Kemalist message by revamping educational policies and curricula (Kubicek, 1999; Childress, 2001; Blitz, 1997). This committee's critical tasks included: deciding educational goals and pedagogies; examining existing textbooks and commissioning new ones- all of which reflected the new curricula which the Committee itself approved for use in the state schools; and extracting and publishing useful information from foreign language educational journals and books for dissemination to Turkish teachers (Childress, 2001).

Through these activities the CIC played an important role in the development of the Republican system of education, and, as Childress (2001) categorized, two aspects which frame the analysis emerged:

- The CIC consciously constructed a Turkish national identity and disseminated this identity through school textbooks.
- The nationalist ideology, while providing a framework for the selection of educational goals and curricula criteria, was continually reshaped by the individuals and circumstances involved in the process of choosing what would be included and excluded from the state school curricula.

Although some attempts were made to give the Turkish curriculum a more pedagogical and democratic direction, ideological and national constraints of the time prevented it. The strong influence of Kemalist ideology on the Turkish curriculum remains today even though it lost its much of its earlier momentum after 1946.

As for the Japanese case, the effort to develop common national consciousness has been embedded in the Japanese educational system for a long time. After the family of the Emperor of Japan moved to Tokyo from Kyoto in the first year of Meiji (1868) and became "Japanese," "Japanese history" started to be narrated nationally by looking back to more than two thousand years ago. This narrative was made official by the promulgation of the Educational System in 1873. In other words, this was an "invention of tradition" in modern Japan. This consciousness was one key to the formation of the modern Japan, and soon became the target of control by power-holders. This process of legitimising of modern historiographical consciousness in Japan has been analyzed by many studies of social history using contents of education. Several researchers (e.g., Karasawa and others, 1990; Nozaki & Selden, 2009) pointed out that history textbooks were the most efficient media for spreading the official nationalism among Japanese people in prewar Japan.

According to Okamoto (2008), textbooks as social products and the information they contain are always influenced by the political and social context in which the texts are written. In his paper, he reports the alteration of data in history textbooks in Japan during the latter half of the 20th century by analyzing the content and the narration of the Japanese textbooks as well as studying the impact of the social forces of the times (2008).

By highlighting couple points of the historical backgrounds of the two countries, we intended to give some idea about why it is so important for the people of these countries to fight over textbook content. As Hein & Selden (2000) pointed out "education is so obviously about the future, reaches so deeply into society, and is directed by the state" (p. 3-4). Or as one of the Japanese historian says "As a practising historian, we encounter at every turn the power textbooks exercise over students' minds. ... And our students believe absolutely what they read in textbooks" (Retrieved on 26/11/2010 http://vcn.bc.ca/alpha/ienaga/support.htm#Minear).

The context of history textbook controversies in Japan and Turkey

When we started reading to get some idea about Japanese history textbooks and the controversial issues surrounding them, we really surprised that the textbook screening process was similar in Japan and Turkey.

We think one of the most important similarities is the role of the Ministries of Education and their strict rules to control over the textbooks in both countries. In Japan, for instance, "Any textbook that does not share the values mandated by the ministry of education must either be revised to satisfy the ministry's inspectors or be judged unfit for use in Japanese school" (Horio, 1988, p.173) and the Ministry of Education's attempt to intensify its control over textbooks represents a very serious and indeed problem (Horio, 1988) which is not different from what the Turkish Ministry of Education. Learning how the ministry intensifies the severity of the screening process in Japan is a kind of surprise to me since we have almost the same kind of process in Turkey.

In Turkey, the textbook sector is said to be functioning according to free-market principles. Any publisher can have a textbook written (including the Ministry's own publishing house) without any restrictions. Publishers should submit three ready-to-publish copies of their proposition/textbook to the Publication-Culture unit of the ministry for approval (Sahin et al, 2002). The unit organizes a commission. The commission should have at least two specialists in thefield (teachers or bureaucrats), a language specialist, an art teacher, and a pedagogue. The commission then writes a report on the textbook submitted for approval. If the textbook does not meet the criteria of the curriculum, it is sent back for revision. The commission can repeat this revision process three times. After the approval of the commission, the textbook is submitted to the related members of Curriculum and Instruction Committee (Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu) for final approval. For supplementary books, the approval of the Committee is not a requirement (Sahin et al, 2002).

Any textbook approved by the Board has the right to be used in the schools. The schools have the right to determine which textbook they prefer using (Sahin et al, 2002). However, the findings of the recent research study on Turkish history textbooks have reported that the real problem on this issue is that, the diversification in the 'textbooks market' is close to zero, considering the content (Sahin et al, 2002). The reason is the curriculum's strict structure, which does not allow any moderate change in the content and methodology of the textbooks. Hence, all the textbooks approved are repetitions of one other. There is almost no autonomy for the writers. Another interesting consequence is that the textbooks by the same authors and publishers have been approved again and again for years (Sahin et al, 2002).

As for the Japanese case, every four years, each schools (public or private) elects one history textbook from a list of authorized by the Ministry of Education (Masalski, 2002). This screening process lasts one year. Japanese textbook companies submit manuscripts to the Ministry of Education, whose appointed committees examine them according to prescribed criteria. The Ministry offers the textbook companies opportunities to revise their drafts, and copies of the Ministry-approved manuscripts are then available for consideration by the local districts.

The history textbook reform in Allied Occupied Japan, 1945-53, was one of the major education policies designed to demilitarize and democratize pre-collegiate Japanese education. Since 1952, however, both history textbooks and the textbook system that certifies them have been extremely controversial. In the post-Occupation period Japan's Asian neighbors have criticized Japanese history textbooks for covering up Japanese wartime aggression in Asia. And in Japan textbooks writers and teachers have repeatedly challenged the textbook certification system as unconstitutional. Ironically, the leading protestor was the very historian who had contributed to writing the first reformed history textbooks under the guidance of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) (Thakur, 1995, p. 261). The SCAP aimed at demilitarization, democratization and decentralization of the textbook system. In order to demilitarize the texts, it deleted the glorification of war heroes and added criticism of militarism in prewar Japan; to democratize it removed the national creation myth and introduced scientific approaches and critical thinking; and to decentralize, it replaced the national textbook system with a textbook certification system (Thakur, 1995, p. 276-77).

In 1982 the screening process in Japan became a diplomatic issue when the media of Japan and neighboring countries extensively covered changes required by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry had ordered Ienaga[3], a famous historian, to remove critical language in his history textbook, insisting that he write of the Japanese army's "advance into" China instead of its "aggression in" China and of "uprising among the Korean people" instead of the "March First Independence Movement." Pressure applied by China and Korea succeeded in getting the Ministry to back down and resulted in the Ministry adding a new authorization criterion: that textbooks must show understanding and international harmony in their treatment of modern and contemporary historical events involving neighboring Asian countries (Murai 2001; Nozaki & Selden, 2009).

There are numerous conflicting arguments among Japanese scholars concerning textbook and other SCAP policies. But as several historians (Takemae Eiji, 1983; and Suziki Eichii as stated by Thakur, 1995) recognize, regardless of its shortcomings, the occupation policy laid the foundations for wide ranging and basic institutional reforms. According to Thakur (1995), the SCAP's history textbook reform has changed ideas about textbook writing fundamentally and improved the content significantly. The first history textbook in Occupied Japan complied by Japanese historians has become the prototype for history texts in postwar Japan. However, as a consequence of the "containment" policy adopted by the United States, the initial goal of the SCAP to establish the textbook system of "open competition" was compromised. The SCAP's establishment of the textbook certification system and temporary granting of certification authority to the Ministry in order to protect education from Communism left a legacy of censorship and allowed the

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3   In 1965 Saburo Ienaga filed the first of his three lawsuits against the Ministry of Education charging that the process of textbook approval was unconstitutional and illegal. The Ministry had rejected Ienaga s history textbook because it contained too many illustrations of the 'dark side' of the war, such as an air raid, a city left in ruins by the atomic bomb, and disabled veterans (Nozaki and Inokuchi 2000, 108). Ienaga's second suit two years later also involved the issue of constitutionality and focused on points related to Ienaga s characterization of Japan s foundation myths and a description of the 1941 Japan-USSR neutrality pact. Ienaga s lawsuits lasted 30 years. Although in 1997 in response to Ienaga s third lawsuit instituted in 1986 the Supreme Court of Japan generally defended the Ministry's right to continue screening textbooks, Ienaga and his fellow critics enjoyed a partial victory.

opportunity for the government to regain control over school textbooks in post-Occupation Japan. As a result, the textbook issue has become highly politicized and has been caught up in the ongoing polarized debate between pro-and anti-certification groups involving teachers, historians, textbook writers, government officers, and other citizens. The Ienaga textbook cases, which have been contested for about thirty years, symbolize the complexity of issue (Nozaki & Selden, 2009a; Thakur, 1995).

Going back to the Turkish case, history education has always been regarded as an "ideologically sensitive course." Therefore, its curricula and textbooks have been prepared with ideological rather than pedagogical concerns. With the declaration of the Republic, for example, Atatürk, the founder of the republic, understood the importance of school history as means to "Turkicize" the people. His primary objective remained the creation of a new, nationalism based on the credo "Turkey for the Turks". Therefore, new educational guidelines and directives were included covering politically sensitive topics, such as Turkish history (Lewis, 1968). To create a "modern" nation, many of the traditional social and religious Ottoman institutions were abolished and new historical syllabi and textbooks were drafted along patriotic lines (Altug, 1991).

The courses and their textbooks were designed to teach the student the thesis that our race has been a leader in civilization; and to train a Turk who is committed to the Turkish language, the principles of the Turkish revolution and in general Turkish ideals. Since that time, some certain religious, cultural and social issues in history textbooks have been much debated in different settings such as in books, journals, conferences by both liberal and conservative camps. Conservative scholars, activists, and teachers have attacked "biased" textbooks written by leftist historians and teachers Liberal leftist historians and activists have counterattacked the rightwing movement.

Current situation and controversies in Turkish and Japanese cases

When we look at the current situation of the two countries' textbooks, it can be understood that some governmental and non-governmental institutions/organizations and individuals in both countries are trying to deal with the issues at some level.

 In the Japanese case, for example, a conservative movement toward reform in the Japanese history curriculum was initiated in the early 1990s by Nobukatsu Fujioka and his Liberal View of History Study Group. Fujioka, a professor of education at Tokyo University, set out to "correct history" by emphasizing a "positive view" of Japan's past and removing from textbooks any reference to matters associated with what he calls "dark history" (Masalski, 2002; Nozaki & Selden,2009b). On the other hand, as with the aim of entering the European Union both governmental and non governmental organizations in Turkey started to deal with the problems of history education and textbooks by organizing symposiums; conducting researches and projects.

Within the harmonization process between Turkey and EU, in order to establish the communications for the works undertaken in accordance with the policies and principles determined in the education sector, the primary education system of the European Union countries was examined in terms of structure, process and target and research was initiated to make a comparative study with the Turkish education system.

Studies in EU standards have been initiated concerning the education materials and textbooks and "student work books" suitable with active learning method and "teacher guide books" were begun to be prepared and used partially. These studies are ongoing. In order to provide utilization of education materials, in service training was provided to 2,300 primary education inspectors and in service training is planned to be provided regarding the education materials in EU and recent information technologies.

With the purpose of student focused education, in order to direct and guide modern course book preparation works, sample course books and education programs have been brought from EU countries. Foreign Textbooks and Education Programs Examination Bureau was opened within our Ministry for related individuals.

Two separate documents named "Education Policies of EU Countries" and "EU Countries Education Control" were prepared and printed and provided for the related individuals. With a study undertaken jointly by Georg Eckert Textbooks Institute, arrangement of textbooks in all fields in terms of their visual and educative design, harmonization of issues in History and Geography textbooks with EU education policies are targeted.

Beside government, non-governmental organizations also works hard to get Turkish history education align with the EU standards. One of the most active and focused NGOs is the History Foundation regarding with the aim of developing Turkish history education, and meeting the EU standards. Some important activities of the foundation are the organization of international symposia, working on the several projects and publications.

The Foundation has been elaborating and seeking sponsors for new projects for the production of alternative civics and history textbooks and teaching aids for the primary and the secondary schools that will direct the students towards research, and will help create open minded, creative citizens with empathy for others.

The Foundation has also been carrying its work on history textbooks to the international level. The project on the *"Betterment of History Textbooks in the Balkans"* supported by the UNESCO's Turkish National Committee involves such an effort.

The main objective of the project at hand is to bring together academicians and history teachers from 6 Balkan countries (namely, Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Romania and Turkey) to review primary and -especially- secondary level history textbooks currently in use, and to propose alternative ways of reflecting the political, social and cultural history of these countries. This textbook review was completed with the sections on the 19th and 20th century Balkan history.

After reviewing a number of Turkish history textbooks, the Turkish team addressed several issues in Turkish history textbooks as follows:

- In Turkey, history education has always been regarded as an "ideologically sensitive course." Therefore, its curricula and textbooks have been prepared with ideological rather than pedagogical concerns.

- The student is warned about internal and external enemies and expected to classify historical actors (individuals, peoples etc.) as "we" and "our internal and external enemies." And he/she is also implicitly expected to find an association between historical enemies and enemies today. The authoritarian manner of the sentences, for instance, using the term, "imperative" removes the possibility of developing critical thinking faculties in the beginning. The textbook thus becomes a divine book.

- In Turkish textbooks, the author identifies himself with the subject of the book. He generally uses the term 'we.' Therefore all the narration becomes a story between 'we' and 'the others.'

- Stereotypes: When the authors narrate national upheavals and ethnic conflicts, they imply that those peoples who revolted against the State are traitors -without actually using the word 'traitor'. The most frequent evaluation of the national movements in the Balkans and Anatolia was that these people, while living ideal conditions in the Ottoman Empire, revolted with the aid of the enemies of the Empire.

These are just a couple examples from the report (Sahin et al, 2002) to show the controversial issues in Turkish history textbooks. But, I think the most important aspect raised about such issues is the impact of EU on it. The comment of Publisher Company, George Eckert Textbooks Institute, on this project also supports my previous statement: "Fighting national stereotypes and prejudices in textbooks of Southeastern European countries is difficult in a region that bursts with conflicts and wars, where cultures clash and different religions coexist. A team of experts in history, civics, and human rights education from Turkey, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, and Slovenia investigated the presentation of the Balkan Wars in textbooks. The purpose was to find ways to deal with armed conflict in this century that do not perpetuate hatred but lay foundations for peaceful settlements" (Retrieved on 27/12/2010 http://www.civnet.org/journal/issue6/mefpin.htm).

Turkey's candidacy for full EU membership has made it compulsory to make reforms in the field of education, as well as many other fields. Under the scope of the curriculum reform, content of the program was renewed and the process of preparing a textbook was changed completely including its content, acceptance policy, publication and distribution. The Ministry of Education started to implement the Project of Free Text Books for Primary Education Students in the academic year of 2005- 2006. This meant that only the text book (for each course) which was prepared and published by the Ministry was going to be used in all schools in Turkey. With this project, Ministry of Education imposed these text books, whose selection criteria are controversial, and distributed them to the students and teachers free of charge. As the Curriculum and Instruction Committee (CIC) which used to be one of the crucial departments of the Ministry and was responsible for examining the content of the text books was abolished, text books were not inspected any more. Moreover, these text books became the means of disseminating the ideology of a political party for the first time in the history of the Republic (Esen, 2007).

Going back to the Japanese case to understand the current situation, it is absolutely necessary to mention about the new reform movement on the history textbooks. By 2000 Fujioka and his group had joined with others to form the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform. It is the Society's textbook, *The New History Textbook* (one of eight junior high school history textbooks authorized by the Ministry of Education in April 2001), that has caused much debate in Japan over the past year. The views of the Society were summarized in an article in the August 2001 Japan Echo, a bimonthly journal of opinion on a wide range of topics of current interest in Japan. The article maintained that rather than asserting the Society members' personal views of history, the textbook aims to restore common sense to the teaching of the subject. It was also insisted that "history stop being treated like a court in which the figures and actions of the past are called to judgment" (Nishio 2001, p. 33).

Widespread protests against the textbook erupted in Japan, China, and North and South Korea. In December 2000, reacting to a draft textbook circulated by the Society and shown on national television, a long list of Japanese historians and history educators expressed misgivings about the content of The New History Textbook and its rendering of Japan's past. Their complaints centered on the text's presentation of Japan's foundation myths as historical fact and its characterization of wars launched by modern Japan as wars to liberate Asia. Reactions in China and Korea took various forms. The Chinese government and people were "strongly indignant about and dissatisfied with the new Japanese history textbook for the year 2002 compiled by right-wing Japanese scholars."[4]

The intellectuals' appeal to people inside and outside Japan appeared on the Internet prior to authorization of the textbook by the Ministry. Following authorization, their voices were joined by an international group of scholars. They aimed to "ensure that textbooks are consistent with values of peace, justice, and truth." It declared The New History Textbook "unfit as a teaching tool because it negates both the truth about Japan's record in colonialism and war and the values that will contribute to a just and peaceful Pacific and world community."[5]

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4   Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Banzao warned that the Chinese people would not accept the interpretation of wartime events put forth by the new textbook (Source: http://web12.cri.com.cn/english/2001/Apr/13714.htm).

5   More information about the scholars claim is available on their Web site, which is maintained by the Center for Research and Documentation on Japan s War Responsibility (Source: http://www.jca.apc.org/JWRC/center/english/index-english.htm).

How agents external to the state (i.e., multi-lateral organizations like the E.U., UN, etc or other national governments) have forced each country to "re-write" its history?

As it is clearly understood from the explanation above that several controversial issues surrounded the history textbooks in Turkey and Japan which cause to get some positive and negative reflections from internal and external actors. This brings some attempts to solve the problems by new reform movements and both countries look for some solutions with the effect of either internal or external actors.

Since the end of world wars, there has been a tendency of the entire world to look back at the past history of war and violence, and endeavor to make a new era of peace. Germany, for instance, thoroughly repented its past history and is furthermore implementing various measures to apologize to and compensate war victims.

On the other hand, some countries accumulated their anger and hatrid against some countries because of the events happened in their past. In our particular cases, Turkey and Japan are in the same situation. Because of the expansion policies, Japanese governments, for instance, have been getting strong protests from the neighboring countries such as the South Korean and Chinese governments. Similarly because of its extended borders in the past, Turkish governments have been getting the same kind of protests from the neighboring countries such as Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Armenia.

Getting protests from neighboring countries' protest is not a rare, or getting protests from different groups of people live in the same country, because it is almost impossible to find a commonly accepted history textbook. As long as there are separate groups with distinct cultural identities, some bias is perhaps unavoidable. But what makes the Turkish case unique is the strong influence of the EU on revising Turkish history textbooks because of the eagerness of Turkey to join the EU.

It is very common to have a situation in which different political parties and religious groups may have an important influence on the revision of biased history textbooks. However, it is rare to see an international organization have such an effect on a country as to require the re-writing of its history textbooks. The League of Nations, for instance, has been trying to revise the textbooks in many countries since the First World War, but could not go further than making suggestions and had little effect on for some countries (Pingel, 1999)[6].

On the other hand, the suggestions, in fact, address almost all nations since they have disgraceful chapters in their histories. But for Turkey the EU's suggestions should be seriously considered by the Turkish government because of the importance of being a member of the EU.

Conclusion

In conclusion, as indicated at the beginning of this study, history textbooks and instruction are the primary means whereby younger generations learn about their past and, for many people, school textbooks provide the most systematic introduction to the past that they will ever receive.

As it is also indicated, history has been given the role of inculcating or reinforcing the national identity and it is clear that Japanese and Turkish textbooks have been playing that role very significantly. However, with the recent globalization movement in the world some international (the EU, UNESCO) and national organizations (Governmental and NGOs) try to overcome this problem and other basic problems in the textbooks such as chauvinistic history, stereotypes and prejudice against the "other". Thus, there has been a tendency to implement the understanding that textbooks should provide students with truthful accounts that reflect the finest achievements of historical research. This is all important in Japan and Turkey, since school textbooks bear a government imprimatur because of both countries' systems of government screening.

In the twenty-first century, many international and national organizations seem to recognize the mistakes committed by the human race in the last century, including the atrocities associated with colonialism and war. It is also likely that reconciliation and reorientation to build a new global community in which humanity succeeds are their urgent tasks (or at least those organizations claim that). It is, therefore, very important that school textbooks present knowledge and values that contribute to making our world more democratic and peaceful.

Unlike American history textbooks, whose content is controlled by market forces, the content of Turkish and Japanese history textbooks are strictly controlled according to Ministries' guidelines. The curriculum, subject matter, syllabi, textbooks and teacher's guides are subject to national regulations for both cases.

In sum, the two nations do have very similar textbook selection processes which is not surprising since both are centralized systems, with a limited "free market" approach. Japanese companies are also "free" to develop textbooks; they just have to meet all the national standards. Both Japan and Turkey were empires that increasingly found themselves at the mercy of western forces, and who made concentrated drives to reinvent themselves as "modern nations." Textbooks played a big role in this, and so the cultural role of the textbook in Japan and Turkey, should be distinct from that of nations like England or Sweden. However, the following questions remain to be addressed with further studies of researchers:

First, how does this longer history of transformation from empire to modern nation state affect the cultural or social status of school textbooks?

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6   UNESCO has been preparing guidebooks on textbooks for decades. To get more information about the methods and categories for textbook analysis check Pingel (1999).

Second, Japan was occupied and textbook revision was a central goal of the occupying forces. Did this make textbooks a more volatile political issue in Japan as opposed to Turkey? For example, both Japan and Turkey in early modernization wanted to create a sense of oneness, shared values, unity or purpose, etc. Does the goal of unifying a diverse population make it necessary to leave out black marks in history?

Finally, did the role of SCAP make it possible for scholars like Ienaga and others to better challenge the government s role in screening textbooks? Since Turkey was never occupied, by what mechanisms could change occur so that the process of deciding what history to present becomes more open? Also, Turkey has significant economic incentive to join the EU, which means pressure to recognize grievances by Greeks, Armenians, etc. Japan is largely isolated from these pressures at this time. What can be assumed/predicted for the future? Will textbook selection and scrutiny in Japan and Turkey continue to be very similar, or will the two nations begin to diverge?

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A Report from South Korea:
what elementary school teachers want to teach and what they teach in the history class: Korean case

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Abstract

This paper explores the views of five Korean elementary teachers on the purposes of teaching Korean history by analyzing their interview responses and observation of their classroom instruction. It is important to understand how teachers define the purpose of history teaching because it influences on students' constructing their view on the past, present as well as future. Six viewpoints are identified: history as a source of national identity and patriotism, history as achievement of greatness, history as morality, history as an aid in resolving contemporary issues, history as an approach to knowledge, and history as an aid to expand human beings' self-knowledge. The types and nature of the rationales provided by the teachers and a comparison of the teachers' interview responses with their classroom practices and with the guidelines in the Korean National curriculum is also discussed.

Key words: Elementary school teacher, history teaching, purposes, cultural heritage, historical thinking, Korea

Significance of Elementary Teachers' Views

The Korean national curriculum states that history education pertains to the lives of elementary students in terms of national identity and cultural pride. The 7th National Curriculum of Social Studies, released in 1997, states,

> Focusing on the distinctive features of each time period in Korean history, students explore Korean historical tradition and cultural uniqueness and come to a systematic understanding of Korean historical development. With Korean history as a base, students study the historical development of human beings and the cultural characteristics of the each time period (Department of Education and Human Resources, 1997).

Elementary school students are expected to celebrate Korea's historical origins and unique cultural development with the aim of establishing their cultural identity as specified in the national curriculum. To achieve this, most elementary school teachers believe that it is essential to cover the entire content of the government approved textbook. However, they, sometimes, interpret and apply the content of the textbook and the curriculum according to their personal educational philosophies and experiences, their perceptions of the issues facing contemporary society and society's future direction. Their agenda has a considerable impact on their decision about what ideas they would put the most or the least emphasis on. In this respect, teachers act as classroom gate keepers (Thornton, 1991).

So what do teachers believe the purpose of teaching history is? What do they think should be taught in the history class? How do they actually make use of history in the classroom? Do teachers adhere to the principles and ideology as set out in the national curriculum? These questions are significant since teachers go beyond offering merely facts about the past, and intentionally or inadvertently transmit certain collective memories which lay a foundation on which students envision themselves in the present and in the future, these questions are significant.

This paper explores views on the purpose of teaching history expressed by five Korean elementary school teachers through analysis of their responses to interview questions and by observing their classroom practice. Also discussed is the nature and types of the rationales provided by the teachers during interviews, and a comparison of their classroom practices with their interview responses and the guidelines in the curriculum.

Previous Studies

Historians and history educators have elaborated on how the study of history as one of the humanities is beneficial. They stress that history can expand the self-knowledge of human beings(Collingwood, 1946; McNeill, 1989), enhance one's sense of identity, teach moral values and the lessons of history (Michael Kammen,1989; Craig Gordon, 1989) and develop an appreciation of cultural diversity and shared humanity (Reed, 1989), historical thinking and historical understanding(Cooper 1989; Wineburg, 2001, 2007) and high-order thinking and life application (Brophy, 1990; Newmann 1990).

However, national or state curricula in many countries typically have ascribed school history as the study of what Lowenthal (1998) called 'heritage.' The contemporary debates concerning the national history curriculum in UK, the national history standards in the US, and the conflicting content of Korean and Japanese history textbooks demonstrate that many firmly believe that school history is a means to instill a sense of unity and patriotism and a veneration for the nation's glorious heritage while others tend to view it as 'contested terrain' in which no fixed interpretation about the past exist. (Crawford, 1995; Foster, 1998; Phillips, 1998; Symcox, 2002; Yoshiko NOZAKI and Mark Selden, 2009; Kim et al, 2002).

Then, how do teachers believe history could be beneficial? To these questions the study of Levstik and Barton (2001, 2004) offers an answer with the identification of specific actions that students are expected to perform while learning history. They categorize purpose and practice in learning history into four stances: identification stance, analytic stance, moral response stance, and exhibition stance. The analytic stance includes three versions: learning how the present came to be as it is, learning lessons from the past, and learning how historical accounts are created.

Teachers commonly talk about several different purposes for teaching history and make use of history for different purposes throughout a school year and perhaps even within a given lesson. Most of the time teachers make use of history for the purposes that they say they would but sometimes what they teach is far from what they say their purposes in teaching history are.

Many researchers such as Keith Barton, Ronald Evans, Stuart Foster, Linda Levstik, Peter Seixas, Stephen Thornton, Bruce VanSledright, Sam Wineburg, Suzanne Willson, Elizabeth Yeager, S. G. Grant, and Chris Husbands have produced in-depth studies about how history teachers construct their classroom practices including how teachers approach to teaching history (Brophy and VanSledright, 1997), what history teachers know and do in the history classroom (Husbands, Kitson, and Pendry 2003), and what are teachers' and adolescents' conceptions of historical significance (Levskik, 2000).

Many studies also have explored people's views on purposes of learning history including those of students' (VanSledright, 1997; Barton and Levstik, 1998), and how Americans in general use the past (Rosenzweig, 2000). However, not many studies offer actual voices of teachers or explore and compare the purposes of teaching history that teachers want to pursue and those that teachers actually do. History education academics in Korea have also paid little attention to the views of elementary school teachers in these areas.

Research Method

Participants

The selection of the five participants was based on the grade they taught, their educational background and school location. Grade six teachers were selected because, during the first semester, they teach Korean history chronologically from the prehistoric period to the contemporary period as required by the national curriculum. Teachers without training in history education, or a graduate degree in history or history education were selected because the majority of elementary school teachers in Korea graduate from national universities of education as generalist, not specialists in any discipline. Elementary school teachers in general are required to teach all subjects in elementary schools. The selected participants had not taken any college courses related to teaching history specifically but had taken two social studies courses covering the aims and objectives of social studies, curriculum development, teaching and evaluating strategy and methods. Their historical knowledge came primarily from their middle and high school history classes, dramas, movies, children's book and internet websites developed by school teachers. They had not beenexposed to scholarship in history or history education. The teachers were chosen from easily accessible school located in the suburbs of Incheon Metroplitan City and from medium-sized city in Gyeonggi province.

Procedures

The participants were interviewed twice. The first interview took place in March 2008 and the second followed one month later. The interviews were audio-taped and later transcribed for analysis. Between May and June, 2008, a questionnaire exploring teachers' views on the purposes of teaching history was completed by the participants. Observation or videotaping of participants' classes occurred once a week from March through July. The videotapes were later transcribed.

Analysis - Creating Categories

The analysis process consisted of first, analyzing teachers' interview responses and categorizing the types of rationales and second, analyzing teachers' classroom practices and refining the categorizations.

The main interview question was "What is the purpose of teaching history?" The question was posed in a variety of ways such as "What knowledge, values, attitudes or areas do you emphasize in the history class?" and "What do you expect students to learn from history?"

A summary of the key points provided by the teachers was categorized. This method of analysis was adapted from a study by VanSledright (1997). For example, a reference to developing love of country or promoting pride as a member of the Korean community as the purpose of history teaching generated a category called history as national identity and patriotism. If a teacher referred to avoiding mistakes made in the past or helping solve contemporary problems, a category called history as an aid in solving present problems was created.

The analysis and categorization process sought to account for all of the responses teachers provided. Therefore, if a teacher offered more than one type of rationale within his or her overall response, a new phrase category to represent each additional rationale was generated. This process was repeated five times for each teacher and the categorization process was refined each time.

In the process of classroom observations and lesson analysis, teachers' explanations about the importance of studying history and why historical events occurred and their opinions on the meanings of historical events were noted. In these cases, categories were generated by focusing on the key points made by teachers. For example, if a teacher said that students should be proud of their country…, or words to that effect, it was interpreted as the teacher's attempt to form in students a sense of national identity and patriotism.

In addition, issues and topics that teachers elaborated on more than is required by the national curriculum were identified. For example, if a teacher gave students an opportunity to explore other countries' challenges to Korean official historical interpretation, this was regarded as the teacher's attempt to instill in students a sense of national identity and patriotism.

In the course of class observations and analysis, more than one type of theme was evident in each teacher's history instruction, and all the themes were analyzed. The analysis process was repeated five times as in the analysis of teachers' interview responses.

The interviews and observation of classroom practices identified six categories: history as a source of national identity and patriotism, history as achievement of greatness, history as morality, history as an aid in resolving contemporary issues, history as an approach to knowledge, and history as an aid to expand human beings' self-knowledge.

Analysis: Participants' Perspectives

Gwan

Interview Responses

Gwan is a female teacher with sixteen year experience, seven years of which were teaching grade 6. When asked what she thought the purpose of teaching history was, she replied, "History helps students develop the ability to understand why events reported on the TV news occur." indicating her belief that history could help students understand and solve current problems. Teachers who take this perspective expect history to be an aid in resolving contemporary problems. Gwan also offered another rationale:

> The purpose of teaching history is to teach students our history, to promote pride in being Korean and to search for the direction that they should follow in their lives. I want them to know their roots and have self-respect. I emphasize that students should think about what they can do for all Korean people and that they shouldn't be separated from the Korean people that has long historical roots.

Forming national identity and promoting patriotism were prominent among her responses. There was a third rationale she repeatedly stressed:

> I emphasize that history was made not by distinguished people but by ordinary people, whose efforts to overcome hardship were the driving force that made history go on... I try to have students think that they are needed. They are to live for the world [progress or peace] and to fulfill their destiny and they need to do their very best. Their descendents will write and read about them, and remember them and appreciate the role they played.

Gwan's responses indicate a belief that people's aspirations and determination influence changes in history and make history. She saw greatness in ordinary people and wanted students to view history from the perspective that ordinary people are the main agents in history. She believed history could convince students that they could change the world as their ancestors did and that the greatness which was once present at all events was possible and would be possible once again.

Classroom instruction

Usually Gwan explained what happened in the past to students. "Because there is so much to cover in history," she said, "it is not easy to find time for student activities." She frequently had students read the textbook aloud together so that they could remember what she explained earlier. Quizzes given at the end of lessons were intended to help students recite important historical facts.

However, Gwan was more than a converyer of facts. When she taught the Chosun dynasty (1392-1897), for instance, she attempted to give a detailed description of how different the values and ideas were from those of today. In particular, she focused on helping students understand how Confucian beliefs and institutions in the Chosen period influenced how people thought and behaved and, under what specific circumstances historical figures behaved.

Gwan provided a subjective interpretation of historical events and figures from which she derived the values, beliefs, and attitudes that she would like students to emulate. One prominent value she emphasized was patriotism. When she taught the origins of the Korean people, she said,

> U.S. history is about 200 years but ours is more than 4000 years. Therefore, we have experienced a lot more historical events and we have a lot more historic remains than the U.S... Although we are not yet an advanced country, you should be proud of your country.

When Gwan discussed historical figures who gave their lives to liberate Korea from Japanese colonialism, she explained,

> Thanks to the people who fought for our country, we were liberated on August 15, 1945. You should always remember that those people were patriotic. Let's sing the Korean national anthem together.

It was a powerful direct indoctrination promoting a patriotic spirit and a sense of collective identity. Whether or not she intended this, it encourages student attachment to common memories.

Gwan gave students an opportunity to discuss the Chinese official perspective on the Gogurea kingdom, which existed from the 1st to the 7th century, comparing it with official Korean historical interpretations. This issue is not in the curriculum or textbook, but has recently become significant. Of the Gogurea kingdom, she said,

> The Gogurea kingdom had a huge territory including the northern part of current Korea and Manchuria. If we had kept this territory we would have become a stronger nation. Currently, Chinese claims the Gogurea kingdom is part of their history. You should study history well so that you can say it is not.

While teaching about the Gogurea kingdom, Gwan attempted to have students internalize the belief that Korea was once a great country with a wide-ranging territory and that keeping it in Korean history was a significant task students should undertake. Gwan also taught an extra unit entitled 'Our land, the Dokdo Islands,' which are in Korean territory but Japan claims theirs. This issue is not in the textbook or curriculum, but the Minister of Education, Science and Technology encourages teachers to to teach it in response to acceleration of Japan's claim over Dokdo Islands.. Gwan asked students to justify why the Dokdo islands are Korean territory. Gwan assured students that the Gogurea kingdom and the Dokdo Islands are indisputably Korean. By including of these issues, she attempted to create a common memory as a Korean.

As Gwan pointed out during her interviews, in the classroom she emphasized the role of ordinary people in wars. In particular, when she taught Korean democratic development in contemporary times, she highlighted the critical role of ordinary people's courage and tireless resistance to authoritative rules taking the perspective of the people's history, 'history from the bottom.'

However, she also commemorated on great figures such as Sur Hee (942-98, a civil servant who played a critical role in winning the war with the Liao dynasty), Lee Soon-shin (1545-98, an admiral who used Turtle ships to defeat Japan during the 1592-98 conflict), the great kings and others who made a significant contribution to the development of Korean culture such as King Sejeong (1397-1450, during his reign the Korean original writing Hangul was created), and the inventor Jang Young-shil (1390?-1450?, a civil servant and scientist). "I emphasize," she said, "these individuals not only because they are in the textbook but also because I believe children at this level understand history better when it is told as a story."

Overall, in her interviews Gwan said that forming a sense of national identity and developing self-respect through appreciation of ordinary people's achievement of greatness were the primary purposes of teaching history. Her classroom instruction corresponded to her interview responses. Although Gwan did not discuss history as expanding human beings' self-knowledge during her interviews, her lessons confirmed that she used history to help students appreciate various aspects and common problems of humankind.

Moon

Interview responses

Moon, a male teacher with six year experience, had taught history twice before but lacked confidence in his historical literacy. He said that he depended on the textbook because he believed its authors were experts. He was a very strong believer in history as a source of national identity and cultural heritage. He said:

> History should be taught so that we maintain an accurate perspective on the past. I am concerned that our descendants' perception of our past will be distorted by the Chinese and Japanese interpretations. It is important to educate students about the past so that they develop pride in their membership in the Korea community. Teaching about historical figures is one way to promote respect for our ancestors. Studying what admiral Lee Soon-shin did for the country gives students an opportunity to cherish it.

Moon said that knowledge of history could prevent the country from repeating past errors in judgment at a critical moment such as allowing Japanese colonization in the early twentieth century.

Classroom Instruction

Moon organized his class into small-groups so that students could do activities, which, however, consisted mainly of reading the textbook and exchanging information. This was later followed by a question and answer period the purpose of which was to check that students knew and understood all the facts.

> Moon: Who was the king who brought the greatest prosperity to the Gogurea kingdom?

> Students: Gwang-gae-to the Great (374-413, the 19th king of the Gogurea kingdom).

> Moon: When did the Shilla kingdom witness the greatest prosperity?

> Students: In the 6th century.

> Moon: Our own writing system, Hangul is better than the Chinese system. Someone wrote a book about the excellence of Hangul. What is the name of the book?

Moon led students to believe that the Gogurea kingdom, the Balhae kingdom (698-926, viewed as the successor of the Gogurea kingdom), and Dokdo Islands are 'ours', not 'theirs', with evidence and logic. He said, "only when you are historically conscious about those issues, will you be able to preserve the Gogurea kingdom and the Balhae kingdom as our history or the Dokdo Islands as our territory." His purpose was to create a common attachment to certain historical issues in students so that they could identify themselves as Korean.

Overall, he believed that history was supposed to develop national identity and patriotism and he attempted to put what he believed into practice by following the guidelines of the curriculum as well as by voluntarily including additional issues that society regards as important in maintaining national historical autonomy. Gwan and Moon's classroom practice emphasizing the Dokdo Islands and Gogurea would be looked very nationalistic. However, it should be understood in the context of the time when tension between Korea and Japan and Korea and China was increasing because of the Japanese conservatives' accelerated clam over the Dokdo Island s was and China's Northeast Asia project.

Lee

Interview responses

Lee, a female teacher with eight year experience, had just begun to teach 6th grade history. She had not taught history previously. She kept repeating in her interviews that because she did not know much about history nor was she interested in it, she could teach facts incorrectly. When asked what the purpose of history teaching was at the beginning of the semester, her first response was that she would try to give students lessons from history to instill patriotism and pride in being Korean. Her priority in history teaching appeared to be national identity and patriotism, and this assumption was supported by her response:

> Studying history, students would identify themselves as members of the Korean community and realize that they should behave responsibly in whatever they do. I expect them to love the country and aspire to contribute to the development of the country.

However, when Lee gave some examples of what she would emphasize in the history class, it was clear that what she meant by 'lessons' from history was more than patriotism. She said,

> Students can emulate the loyalty of General Lee Soon-shin, and the leadership of the kings who established kingdoms, but they can also think critically about the disloyalty of Lee Wan-Yong (1856-1926), during the Japanese colonial period.

Lee wanted students to remember good people not just because they represent national identity but because today's society recognizes their deeds as morally admirable (Levstik and Barton, 2004). She also wanted students to think about 'bad people' whose acts are regarded as morally contemptible so that students can avoid making wrong decisions. 'The good' (the right) and 'the bad' (the wrong) in her words were mostly defined in terms of the present measures not past ones. Letting students appreciate the good (right) and condemning the bad (wrong), she brought out morality into her history lessons.

Lee also viewed history as a model or analogy that helps solve present problems. She gave an example of what she would expect students to learn from history:

> By modeling something great or thinking reflectively about something wrong that our ancestors did, students can be better at solving today's problems and making right decisions for their future. Students can think about whether what Hung-sun-dae-won-goon (1820-1898) did to reform the Chosun dynasty was right or wrong (He declared the country closed to western countries), and suggest alternative policies to make the reformation more effective. Furthermore, students can discuss this in relation to current issues such as Free Trade Agreements (FTA).

Lee thought that students could understand and make better decisions about recent FTA issues by using analogous predicaments that people faced and decisions that they had to make in the international circumstances of the late nineteenth century.

Classroom instruction

Lee frequently referred to the word 'autonomy' when she explained the meaning of historical events. For example, when she taught the reunification of the three kingdoms in the 10th century by the Goyreo Dynasty (918-1392), she compared it with the unification of the three kingdoms in the 7th century by the Shilla kingdom (57BC-935AD). She said, "The Shilla kingdom received military aid from the Tang dynasty [China] when it unified the three kingdoms. As a result the Tang dynasty intervened in Shilla's affairs later. However, the Goyreo dynasty reunited the three kingdoms without outside assistance so that it could keep its autonomy."

When Lee taught about the wars between the Goyreo dynasty and the Mongol Empire in the 11th century, she said, "The Goyreo dynasty resisted Mongol aggression to keep its autonomy." She also used the term autonomy when she taught Hangul, the Korean characters introduced in the Chosun dynasty. She said, "Because Hangul is our own set of characters, it demonstrates our cultural autonomy." The main theme in her history class was how Korean people have kept their autonomy and created unique cultural features as they fought aggression throughout Korean history. Her approach conveyed one critical theme in the curriculum and the textbook: 'the autonomous development and cultural uniqueness of the Korean people.' The goal underlying of this theme is to form a national identity and to preserve our cultural heritage.

Another prominent theme in Lee's history class was morality. Whenever possible, she asked students to follow the examples of the attitudes and virtues of historical figures. She said,

> Because of the civil servant Sea Hee's wisdom, and general Kang Gam-chan's vision of the future, they won the wars. However, the most critical factor in winning the war was the cooperation among the common people. They never gave up. They volunteered to go out to defend their country against other peoples.

Lee explained this as if the personality, attitude and will of individual historical figures were the sole reasons for victory without elaborating on 'our' and 'their' military strategies, the military and economic conditions, or the cultural relationship between 'us' and 'the other people' during that specific historical period.

Over all, during her interviews Lee gave three rationales: the purposes of teaching history are to promote a sense of national identity, to reinforce morality, and to help solve current problems. Her classroom lessons generally reflected her interview responses. Her lessons included simplistic aphorism and invariant principles as well as analogies, and examples that guided students' actions in the present (Levstik and Barton, 2001).

Jo

Interview responses

Jo, a female with five year experience, had just begun to teach her first history class. She stated that because of limited historical knowledge, she would have to depend on the textbook and teacher's manual, to understand the key points she was supposed to teach and for activities. She was not confident about teaching subjects related to social science or humanity because she took the natural science track in high school and had few opportunities to study social science or the humanities in college. At the beginning of the semester, when asked what the purpose of teaching history was, she replied,

> I expect history to inspire students to become great people who others will read about in history books. In teaching the printing press system invented in the Goyreo dynasty, I will get students to be astonished by this past technology and lead them to think they can accomplish such greatness. Although students think that people in the Stone Age were primitive, the tools that they made were just brilliant. I will try to get students to believe they are capable of such a thing too. History can help students live a fruitful life. It can stimulate students to think about what kind of person they ought to be in the future.

Jo said that her goal in teaching all subjects was to encourage students to recognize the greatness in human beings. She wanted to assure them that the greatness once accomplished in the past can be accomplished by students today.

Jo also offered two other rationales: "the purpose of teaching history is to make students aware of their historical origins, and learn from a right or wrong judgment in the past." However, in her overall response, the theme of history as the accomplishment of greatness stood out. Furthermore, asked if in teaching history encouraging national pride in students was important, she stated that she had not thought about it.

Classroom instruction

Prior to each class, Jo assigned a topic and told students to study it. In class, she verified that they could regurgitate the facts through questions specific to who, what and where but seldom asked why or how. Toward the end of each class, before assigning the next topic for study and memorization, Jo gave students a quiz which generally consisted of questions for which the responses were fragmented and unrelated historical facts. For example:

Jo: Let's have a quiz. Who founded the kingdom of Hoo-Baek-Jae(829-936)?

Students: Gyean-whan ……

Jo: What was the system to select civil servants?

Students: Gwa-gu-jea (civil service examination)

Students were required to demonstrate what they have retained from a specific body of content knowledge. Jo seemed to think that memorization of numerous, fragmented facts, would provide students with a base on which their cultural literacy could develop.

Occasionally, following the directions in the teacher's manual, Jo offered learning opportunities through student's activities. One activity involved creating a tourist brochure about the cultural achievements of the Goyreo dynasty focusing on extolling Korean cultural heritage. This activity aimed to enhance students' investigation skills by collecting and organizing information.

Other activities were journal writing as someone from the past and writing a letter to a historical figure. When Jo taught the latter half of the Chosun dynasty, she used the pictures of the paintings of Kim Hong-do (1745~?, court painter), which portrayed everyday life in the 18th century. After showing the paintings to students, she asked them to imagine they were the peasants in the paintings and to make an entry in their journals in that persona. She had them imagine how people in the past thought and lived. These student's activities contribute to expansion of students' knowledge about different humanity in the past and the improvement of students' historical thinking skills.

Overall, according to Jo's interview responses, the accomplishment of greatness was the main rationale. However, this theme did not arise often.. Instead the diversity of humanity and construction of history were prominent in her class practice. These themes were not specifically mentioned during her interviews. Memorization and recitation were frequently used to transmit cultural heritage whether she intended or not.

Her responses during the interviews were inconsistent with her teaching practice. Because it was her first time to teach history, she didn't appear to have clear ideas about what history can teach or how history can be useful. On one hand she seemed to think that she had to prepare students for school-wide test, while on other hand. However, the other hand, it was clear that she thought that learning was achieved by doing. Using various activities in the teacher's manual, she frequently asked students to think about the past on its own term, and it led them encounter strangeness of the past and come to their own historical interpretation.

Kang

Interview responses

Kang, a male teacher with five year experience, had been teaching history for one year. He said,

> The purpose of teaching history is to improve students' ability to solve current problems and to help students cope with the future. I emphasize that history continues and repeats itself. I tell students if you understand history thoroughly, you can wisely solve problems of the past as well as in the present.

Kang seemed to think that because history repeats itself, it equips students with 'practical wisdom,' that is: "knowledge of the past that enables one to know exactly what will happen in the future (McNeill, 1989: 109)." Gaining such practical wisdom, he believed, requires thinking skills. In other words, "History," he said, "should teach causal analysis." He criticized, "Conventionally history as mostly inculcating in students only one authoritative point of view." Instead, Kang expected students to analyze information to identify relationships among people and events in the past and to look for the factors that caused historical events. Kang firmly believed that students should understand the procedures that historians engage in as they investigate the past and come to their own historical interpretations. Different from other participants, Kang did not seem to want to teach history as a body of knowledge nor did he prefer the view that the past ought to be preserved or appreciated or imitated. Rather, he would teach history as an approach to knowledge and takes the view that history ought to be constructed.

Because Kang did not use any words related to patriotism, cultural heritage, or pride in national identity, while Gwan, Lee, and Moon emphasized them, he was asked if forming a sense of national identity was an important purpose of teaching history. Kang said yes, and offered no elaboration. However, he never voluntarily declared that national identity was a critical element in history teaching.

Classroom instruction

It was anticipated that Kang's lessons would focus on student activities with a lot of historical investigation because he emphasized that history was about investigation and analysis. However, most of his lessons werestructured in a form of narrative, in contrast to what he had said. Kang taught facts to students providing them with an account of how things actually occurred in the past. On several occasions, he asked students questions in an attempt to stimulate their thinking about the causes and effects of historical events and about the motivations or intentions of historical actors. However, he rarely structured his lessons in a way that helped students construct historical knowledge.

In a few lessons, he demonstrated an enthusiastic appreciation of cultural heritage. For instance:

> *Gik-gi-sim-che-yo-jeal* (published in 1372) is a book printed with metal printing type. This was invented in the Goyreo dynasty for the first time in the world about 100 years before Gutenberg invented metal printing type. The Goyreo dynasty had such excellent scientific technologies. It is also famous for celadon porcelains! No one can imitate such beautiful colors that craftsmen in the Goyreo dynasty created. Didn't they have great technologies!

He also discussed historical figures with great pride:

> The Department of Foreign Affairs views Sea-Hee in the Goryeo dynasty as one of the best diplomats in Korean history. Diplomats today learn from him. The admiral Lee Soon-shin in the Chosun dynasty was great at sea war strategies. Even the present navy has adopted his strategies.

He used many exclamation sentences such as "They were smart, don't you agree?", "Isn' it excellent?", "It is wonderful!" when offering his interpretation about historic actions, buildings, technology, ideas, institutions, and systems in the past. By showing his admiration for individuals and cultural remains, he attempted to instill in students a sense of cultural pride. In other words, he made use of history as a way of transmitting cultural heritage and form a national identity.

Kang was very careful not to drive students to the dualism of 'we the good people' and 'others the evil people' when he dealt with wars between Korea and other countries. Instead he gave students an opportunity to remember that historic buildings were ruined or some historic properties were taken away and ordinary people suffered or had to give their lives. In his narratives, there were all kinds of emotions: fear, outrageousness and frustration during wars, determination to overcome hardship as well as the pleasure of eventual triumph. His way of narrating history could promote shared feelings among students as members of the common community.

Kang also used history to expand students' knowledge about different features that people created and similar predicaments they faced throughout history although he never clearly mentioned this in his interviews. He displayed a great deal of historical knowledge to elaborate on how strange the past was and how we resembled others or differed from others. He offered vivid descriptions of how people in the past thought and behaved, what were regarded as norms and what were perceived as strange, and how standards were different then in every aspect from today. In one class session, he talked about the everyday life of people in the Chosun dynasty as saying:

> In the Chosun dynasty, Confucianism directed people's life. When people went out or came back home, they had to always bow to their parents and respectfully report to them where they went, who they met and what they did. In particular, Yang-ban [upper class, noble people] behaved differently from common people. For example, Yang-ban men and women were never to run in any circumstance. They had to walk very slowly even if it rained hard. Yang-ban women were prohibited from showing

any bare skin when they went out. Yang-ban men were supposed to wear Gak [a kind of hat that the privileged class could wear]. Yang-ban had to follow particular, very strict customs and rules.

In teaching different religious beliefs, customs, diverse family patterns, and vanished social structures, Kang attempted to show how differently various human groups have tried to cope with the world around them. To broaden students' ideas about humanity and to extend their sensibilities, he attempted to have students recognize similarities and differences throughout history.

Overall, according to his interview responses, it appeared that Kang viewed history as an aid in solving contemporary problems and as a means of constructing knowledge. In practice, however, he taught history as a body of knowledge and placed considerable emphasis on presenting history as a fundamental tool to enrich student's knowledge about humankind. He also gave great weight to forming a common identity, following the guidelines of the curriculum.

His responses during the interviews were inconsistent with his teaching practice which was more a teacher-centered approach, not the learner-centered inquiry approach he identified. Two explanations are possible for this discrepancy. First, although he would like to teach history as an approach to knowledge, the reality does not permit him to do so. He must teach to the school and nation-wide norm referenced tests which only cover historical facts leaving him little if any class time for more student-centered approaches. Second, although he did not state that forming a sense of national identity and transmitting cultural heritage were important purposes, he, in fact, believed that they were and his instruction reflected his belief.

Discussion

During interviews, Gwan, Lee, and Moon gave priority to forming identity as the purpose of teaching history. In practice they augmented and elaborated on the national curriculum guideline believing that Korean history should give students a sense of national identity. However, Kang and Jo's interview responses were quite different: "I(Kang) would try to be neutral" and "I(Jo) would try to be objective, not subjective." However, in practice by directing students to simply remember certain historical events and actions regarded as great or erroneous that challenged the existence of the Korean people or commemorated historical figures, Kang and Jo also attempted to reinforce the sense of belonging and transmit cultural heritage.

In practice all participants used history to create a sense of identity among students sometimes by extolling the virtues and achievements of Koreans, by discussing the impact on ordinary people of invasions, wars and other historical events and by addressing current challenges of other nations to Korea's interpretation of historical events and land and sea claims. History as a source of a national identity and patriotism closely resembles the principle statement in the 7th National Curriculum of Social Studies: "History should help preserve Korean cultural heritage."

This theme of national identity and cultural heritage was especially apparent when teachers taught about wars and international conflicts. In particular, current historical issues of the Gogurea kingdom and the Dokdo Islands are stressed at the direction of the Minister of Education, Science and Technology as a way of addressing Chinese and Japanese educational policies on those issues.

However, participants ideology and classroom practices demonstrate that they believed and were committed to teaching history as accomplishment of greatness, as morality, as an aid in solving contemporary problems, as an approach to constructing knowledge, and as an aid in expanding knowledge of human beings. During interviews teachers stated that they would pursue these rationales and their classroom practices confirmed this, although most of these rationales are not officially stated in the national curriculum.

Gwan and Jo saw history as a powerful means of inspiring students to attempt to attain the greatness achieved by the people of the past. Gwan was influenced by her own educational experiences to study history, not from an elite-centered perspective, but from that of ordinary people. To some degree, the other four teachers took the same approach as evident in their teaching practices, but they did not specifically discuss this stance during their interviews. This viewpoint is typical of teachers who went to college during the 1980s when Marxist social history gained popularity among Korean college students who believed not the elite, but ordinary people could overthrow the authoritative rule at that time and bring democracy to Korean society.

While Gwan's perspective focused on the ability of people as a group to achieve greatness, Jo's was slightly different as she believed in the individual's ability. She pursued the achievement of greatness by individuals as the ultimate goal of education.

Lee drew moral lessons from history in her class by expressing her admiration for historical individuals in part because they represent the values that good citizens should posses and partly because they are national heroes with whom people can identify.

Lee and Kang wanted to help students solve contemporary problems through studying history. They believed that looking at selected segments of the past would help determine what would occur in the future. They wanted to make explicit and clear links between past and present problems and predicaments. However, in practice, they used few analogies or examples to help students understand or solve contemporary problems or predict how the future would turn out. Direct comparison between the past and the present without considering different cultural contexts or specific circumstances could lead to false analogies. Fear of making errors prevented most of the teachers including Lee and Kang from using analogies.

Gwan, Kang and Jo, in their lessons, used history to illustrate the diverse ways people have developed to address with problems and conflicts, and, also to demonstrate that people have many different ways of thinking, behaving and interacting. History expands the range of students' experience and deepens their understanding of society and human nature. Gwan, Kang and Jo amplified this aspect of history when they taught the unit about life in the Chosun period, which is structured to illustrate everyday life of each social class in the textbook. No participants suggested during their interviews that history could enrich students' knowledge of humankind, in practice. however, whenever they had an opportunity, , they all attempted to demonstrate that a timeless or universal norm does not exist but rather, that there are all kinds of alternatives and the Korean society represents simply one set of alternatives.

Kang emphasized the importance of historical investigation, analysis, and evaluation while the others did not bring up historical thinking as a significant purpose of teaching history until questioned about teaching historical thinking or historical inquiry to which they said that historical thinking was crucial in teaching history. Constructivism, which became popular in Korea decades ago, had a great impact on teachers' responses about historical thinking as it defines good teaching and learning in terms of students' engagement in learning activities. Constructivism suggests that teaching history is teaching an approach to knowledge. Therefore, constructivism expects teachers to teach the procedures of social scientists' or historians' investigations and to give their students opportunities to construct knowledge by conducting historical investigation as experts do.

The five teachers all agreed that teaching historical thinking was one of the ultimate goals of history teaching, yet they appeared to be unfamiliar with the concept of historical thinking or the procedures of historical inquiry. The history educators, criticizing conventional teaching history approaches as indoctrination, called for historical thinking. However, in reality, to cover the content specified that the national curriculum the teachers said they have no time to teach historical investigation or critical thinking skills so only focus on key content knowledge areas to prepare students for standard-referenced tests.

Conclusion

There is a discrepancy between what some teachers said about the purposes of teaching history and what they actually pursued in their history class. When teachers express what they wished to teach in history, they enunciated several equally important purposes based on their personal beliefs transcending the national curriculum, the textbook and educational policy. In particular, they viewed history not only as 'heritage' but also as an approach to knowledge, or a way to solve problems. However, in actual history classroom, 'heritage' fashion amplified most. The participants in this study are not the outsiders of official culture that history should transmit a nation's official heritage and form a national commitment or patriotic spirit and that expects that their children's recall of national heroes. Several factors such as teachers' beliefs, their relationships with colleagues, administrators, organizational norms and structures, textbooks and curriculum standards, and policy factors must have influenced on the teachers' decision on what to teach (Grant, 2003).

Among them, the strict national curriculum's content knowledge requirements, through what they promote or constrain in teaching, plays a central role in the teachers' decision making on what what to emphasize and what to gloss over. Moreover, limited time allotted to history made teachers too busy to pursue whatever purposes they chose.

Elementary school teachers' limited knowledge of historical investigation and historical thinking, that is, their lack of 'historical literacy' is also the critical barrier hindering teachers from doing what they expressed they would like to do.

Note

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History At Risk? A Survey Into The Use Of Mainstream Popular Film In The British Secondary School History Classroom

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Abstract:

Although the controversy surrounding 'reel' history raises important questions about employing mainstream popular film in Secondary or High Schools detailed empirical evidence about its use in Britain is limited. Using self-completed questionnaire, a survey of thirty history teachers from the North-East of England confirmed the routine use of film. Although conscious of the 'dangers' of misinformation, this didn't deter history teachers from using film, with many seeing this as an advantage in identifying misconceptions. Overall, teachers used feature films for a range of generic as well as historical pedagogical purposes, offering the opportunity for 'historical thinking'. Yet the use of historical film is not unproblematic nor is it exploited to its full pedagogical potential by all teachers in developing empathetic understanding or a critical approach to film as a source of historical information. Further research is needed not only into the influence of teachers own epistemological beliefs about history on their use of film and the impact of film on students' historical thinking but also regarding the 'unseen' dangers to student learning posed by the classroom as a viewing context inconsistent with how students' acquire their historical knowledge through film. Finally, the implications for teacher educators are addressed.

Key Words:

Film; Historical thinking; History teacher; Secondary school; Pedagogy

Introduction

There is no doubt that the popular cultural media of 'historical' film and television exert a powerful influence on individuals' appreciation and understanding of past events and that this process occurs both outside and inside formal educational settings (Wineberg, 2001). Indeed 'reel' history (here specifically relating to the mainstream popular 'historical' film) offers an exciting and if used informatively, effective addition to the range of resources history teachers are able to muster to engage their students with the past. However, although advocated as a pedagogical tool (see for example, Haydn, et.al., 2001; Phillips, 2002), opinion is divided over the value of mainstream popular film in supporting historical knowledge and understanding in the classroom. Such material it has been argued, may be characterised by inaccuracies, distortions and omissions, thus running the risk of generating damaging misconceptions about the past (Carnes, 1995; Toplin, 1996; Marwick, 2001). In contrast others recognise that the use of film when combined with opportunities for structured discussion and the inculcation of relevant media skills to 'read' these visual texts, can help students develop an awareness of the different ways in which the past may be represented thus avoiding the pitfalls of misinformation (see for example, Sexias, 1993; Rosenstone, 1995; Carnes, et.al., 1996; British Film Institute, 2000; Laura, 2002; Poyntz, 2005). For history educators these debates raise important questions about the use and role of 'reel' history in British Secondary schools (11-18 years of age) but how extensive is the actual use of mainstream film in the history classroom? Compared with the United States where a number of important studies have explored the use of film in the High School classroom (for example, Marcus, Paxton & Meyerson, 2006; Marcus & Stoddard, 2007; Stoddard, 2009; Butler, et.al., 2009), the availability of empirical evidence from the United Kingdom to answer such questions is limited. In light of this the present study aims to contribute towards our understanding of how and why film is employed in the teaching and learning of history in Britain based on a representative sample of Secondary school history teachers from the North-East region of England. We ask if teachers share the concerns of some academics and critics about using feature films and what potential they see in using these visual texts for supporting their students' historical knowledge and understanding.

History at risk?

The debate over the use of film in the history classroom needs to be seen in the broader context of what has been claimed is the changing and declining status of history as a curriculum subject in British state schools and the concomitant rise of 'media history' based on television documentaries and mainstream popular film as the major, if not the main, source of the public's knowledge and understanding about the past (Carnes, 1995: Toplin, 1996; Rosenstone, 2006). One distinguished military historian has suggested that Britain is in danger of becoming a 'de-historicised' society where the general public have only a poor understanding of the recent past resulting in events being 'blithely forgotten or perversely misinterpreted' (Holmes, 2007, 6). This is consistent with the Historical Association's own survey of history in English Secondary schools (2009) which drew attention to the endangered status of history as a discrete curriculum subject and the decreasing amount of time students were spending studying it fuelling claims about the alarming state of historical knowledge among the young (Alibhai-Brown, 2009). In the Primary school (5-11 years), history has been marginalised to provide more curriculum space for a greater concentration on the 'core subjects' of Mathematics, English and Science, while in Secondary school we are told that increasing numbers of students are opting for 'easier' subjects like media studies (Bannerman, 2007; Sandbrook, 2009). Some observers complain about the 'wrong' content of the current history curriculum, or that it is too 'fragmented' to enable students to make connections between events (Schama, 2002; Roberts, 2005; Starkey, 2005; Hitchens, 2008; Higgins, 2010) while others denounce what they see as an over-focus on developing students' 'historical skills' at the expense of narrative content (Marr, 2009).

This perceived decline of school history has been accompanied by the rise of what some see as an 'inferior' media or 'reel' history, with Hollywood becoming the new 'public historian' (McCrisken & Pepper, 2005, 15), the main source for finding out about the past (Edgerton & Rollins, 2001): 'It's not to his neighbourhood library that he turns', observes Wineberg, (2001, 233), 'but to his neighbourhood Blockbuster.' It is clear however, or at least implied in the examples they cite, that those critical of the 'historical' film have certain 'notorious' examples of historical misinformation in mind such as U-571, Marie Antoinette or Braveheart (Bates, 2009) which presumably they regard as representative of all 'historical' films, despite as Butler and his colleagues (2009) insist, not all of films' inaccuracies amount to 'major distortions' or indeed, the ability of teachers to recognise and address these (Lang, 2002). This makes it important when surveying the use of film in the history classroom to identify not only which films are used or possibly avoided by teachers, but the nature of the 'historical' mainstream film and whether in any sense it can be thought of as 'history'.

Identifying the 'historical' film: 'reel' history as 'historical thinking'

Efforts have been made to identify and classify 'historical' films according to how they represent the past, with some suggesting common generic features such as 'recreation' (Pearson, 2001), 're-enactment' (Burgoyne, 2008) or 'romance' in which the individual and spectacle are central elements (Grindon cited by Pearson, 2001). However, a prescriptive list of agreed conventions (including setting, character and plot) which identify the western or the musical genre for example, remains elusive in the case of the 'historical' film. In practice historical representation in film covers a range of genre including the innovative drama, the documentary, the biopic and the mainstream dramatic film (Rosenstone, 2006) which Burgoyne (2008) sub-divides into the war film, the epic film, the biographical film, the 'metahistorical' film and the topical historical film.

If not a single genre, 'historical' films nevertheless do share certain characteristics. For Pearson (2001), historical films tell a single linear story minus alternatives or complexities; emphasise personal over impersonal historical forces, and incorporate and foreground fictional characters and events. Pearson describes two, overlapping categories of 'historical stories' in cinema: fictional characters in fictional incidents in historical settings such as *Gone With the Wind* or *Titanic*, and historical characters in historical incidents such as *Young Winston* or *Patton*. For his part Rosenstone (2006, 14) distinguishes between those films which tend to 'understand or explain events or movements or people' rather than "costume dramas" which use the past as a mere setting for tales of adventure and love'.

Critical of the mainstream dramatic film as 'history', sensationalist newsprint articles delight in picking out 'cinematic blunders' of historical fact, denouncing films such as *Braveheart* and *U-571* as 'Hollywood hokum' (Bates, 2009), not only inferior but *dangerous*, misinforming and misleading 'gullible' audiences especially the young. Overall the purpose of film history is to entertain not inform claims one critic, to 'gawp' not to think (quoted in Hunt, 2004). However, while Rosenstone (2001; 2006) might also question the status of mainstream film as 'history' he rightly insists that certain mainstream films do have the capacity to promote 'historical thinking' by engaging audiences with the 'discourse of history' or how 'reel' history, 'relates to, reflects, comments upon, and/or critiques the already existing body of data, arguments, and debates' (Rosenstone, 2006, 39). Taking his examples from the work of Oliver Stone, Rosenstone (2006, 118) categorises such films in the following terms:

- *'Vision' History* – these are films such as Platoon which 'show us individuals in life-like situations'; they dramatise events and people, giving audiences the 'experience and emotions of the past'.

- *'Contest' History* – other films like Salvador offer interpretations that counter or challenge conventional views of people, events, issues and themes.

- *'Revision' History* – fewer films, for example, JFK 'show us past in new and unexpected ways', outside traditional 'realistic' ways of portraying the past, 'making the familiar unfamiliar and causing the audience to rethink what it thinks it already knows', in other words, to be provocative.

It is because this discourse is present that mainstream film is able to offer an important resource to help support the development of students' historical knowledge and understanding or more specifically their 'historical thinking'. For the purposes of this study historical thinking through film facilitates students' historical consciousness (an awareness and knowledge of the past and how we know about it) and invites the development of a critical approach towards film as one source of information about the past which can offer a basis for comparing different accounts or interpretations of events and people. In addition using film to promote historical thinking offers students the opportunity for empathetic understanding (essentially the capacity to judge the past on its own rather than contemporary frames of reference based on the available historical evidence – see Yilmaz, 2007; Marcus, et.al., 2010).

The 'historical' film as a pedagogical tool

Studies cited by Metzger (2007) point to the widespread use of historical film in the history classroom, with between 69% and 90% of American and British schools surveyed using these materials on a regular basis. In Britain a number of handbooks intended for the beginning history teacher advocate the *considered* use of film and television (Haydn, et.al., 2001; Phillips, 2002) although only Lang (2002) appears to offer practical advice to teachers on how to minimise the risk of generating students' misconceptions. Marcus and Stoddard (2007) found that over 90% of American High School teachers they surveyed used Hollywood film at least once a week to provide subject content, develop feelings of empathy for past lives, bring the subject / period 'to life' or provide a 'grabber' / introduction to a topic or lesson. Certain films may act as historical documents in their own right, as interpretative texts providing students' with alternative perspectives or as a means to engage with controversial topics such as the Holocaust (Seixas, 2002; Banham & Hall, 2003; Stoddard & Marcus, 2006; Klein, 2008: Stoddard, 2009; Marcus, et.al., 2010). Metzger (2007) describes how the historical film can be used to help meet certain competencies for understanding how we know about, and interpret the past covering for example, content knowledge, narrative analysis and the historical-cultural positioning of a text.

Yet the potential of film to act as a pedagogical tool intended to promote 'historical thinking' is not 'risk-free' or it seems exploited fully by teachers. While historical film is used routinely to develop *historical consciousness* it has been shown that teachers do not always apply the same critical approach to film they would to more conventional historical sources (Stoddard, 2010). Importantly Stoddard and Marcus (2006) caution teachers against the use of film unaccompanied by discussion, analysis and additional curriculum materials if they wish to prevent damaging historical misunderstandings. In one of the few studies which have sought to provide empirical evidence in relation to how historical film impacts on High School students' historical understanding, Marcus, Paxton and Meyerson (2006) found that while students recognised the limitations of film as a reliable source of information about the past, this did not prevent them from including **uncritically** ideas from such films in their written work. Butler and his colleagues (2009) found that although watching historical film improved recall of 'correct' written text-based facts by students in the classroom, where the cinematic facts contradicted the written text, it was the misinformation from film that students remembered.

The Problem

For history educators then, the popularity and potential of the film medium and yet the controversy and issues which surround its use raise important questions about how and why teachers employ film in the Secondary school, particularly in developing their students' historical thinking. In the absence of detailed empirical studies for Britain, this study aims to address the following questions in the context of a representative sample of history teachers:

- *How* common is the use of mainstream popular film in the teaching of history? *Which* films are shown to students? Are certain films 'notorious' for their historical inaccuracy avoided?
- *Why* and *how* do teachers use film in teaching history?
- What do teachers *believe* might be the impact of using film on their students' historical knowledge and understanding, specifically their possible misconceptions about the past?
- What do teachers think about the value and place of film in the history curriculum? Do their views coincide with those critical of using film in the history classroom?
- What do teachers see as the obstacles to using film in the history classroom?

The Sample

The teachers surveyed were drawn form an opportunist but representative sample of History teachers belonging to twenty state Secondary schools (11-18 years) currently in partnership with the University of Newcastle's one year Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) programme. These schools are from across the North East of England region, located in both suburban and inner-city areas, and attended by a diverse socio-economic and cultural student population. Most of the respondents (23 out of 30 teachers) had up to 10 years experience of teaching history (7 of these teachers between 0-2 years; 12 teachers from 3-5 years; 4 teachers between 6-10 years), with the remaining seven teachers between 11-29 years (4 teachers from 11-20 years and 3 teachers with 21+ years experience). Only 12 teachers exclusively taught history as opposed to teaching additional subjects. Most (22) were history graduates or had first degrees with a significant history component and three had higher degrees in history. Only five teachers had either a qualification in media or related cultural studies, or had been involved in the media industry in some capacity. Seven of the teachers regularly attended history-related conferences or had attended the Schools History Project and six subscribed to the professional journal, Teaching History.

Design and Methodology

Following a pilot study of the partnership schools asking teachers to list the titles of mainstream popular films and television programmes they used to support their teaching of history, a more detailed survey was carried out into the use of these materials. Whilst recognising the limitations for generating detailed explanation and the difficulty of ensuring shared understanding of the questions asked (Robson, 2002), a postal survey of sixty history teachers belonging to the partnership schools was carried out based on a self-completed questionnaire (APPENDIX 1) as this offered a relatively convenient means to collect the required data. Teachers were asked to identify themselves by name and school to provide a more complete view of practice within particular partnership schools. The questionnaire consisted of open and closed questions suitable for both qualitative and quantitative analysis. Although only 50% (30) of the questionnaires were returned these were fairly representative of the range of experience, qualifications and socio-economic context of the schools within the partnership more generally.

Results and Discussion

How common is the use of mainstream popular film in the teaching of history? Which films are shown to students? Are certain films 'notorious' for their historical inaccuracy avoided?

As in the United States, responses confirmed the widespread and routine use of historical film in the history classroom (Marcus & Stoddard, 2007; Marcus, et.al., 2010). Film was used with students from a number of different age groups (Year 7 or 11 years of age up to Year 13 or 18 years of age), and covering a range of historical topics and film genre: costume drama *(Richard III; The Crucible; The Great Gatsby)*, musical *(Oliver!; Cabaret)*, fantasy *(Lord of the Rings)* and the western *(A Man Called Horse; How the West Was Won)*. Although teachers also used television dramas and comedies *(e.g. Roots; Blackadder)*, by far the most frequent visual text employed was the mainstream feature film (66 out of 73 texts recorded). These were films identified by Rosenstone (2006) and Burgoyne (2008), composed of 'historical stories' featuring fictional characters and incidents in historical settings or historical characters in historical incidents (Pearson, 2001). What may help account for the greater use of this media form (besides relevance to the history curriculum and the teacher's own preferences) is that films are in general more readily available and cheaper to purchase than VHS or DVD versions of a television series such as Roots or a comedy series such as *Blackadder*. Certainly directly related to the curriculum requirement was that practice of using certain films - *Schindler's List* (19 occasions); *Hope & Glory* (12), *All Quiet on the Western Front* (12), *Dance with Wolves* (11), *Amistad* (10) and *Cromwell* (10) - more frequently than others (APPENDIX 2). It may be reassuring to critics that although 'dangerous' films accused of seriously distorting the historical record such as *Braveheart* (cited on 2 occasions), *The Patriot* (3), *Pearl Harbour* (5) or *JFK* (4) were used, they were in the minority. Yet was this symptomatic of teachers being overly cautious about the historical accuracy of mainstream films? While not specifying these films, when teachers in the survey were asked whether they agreed that fictional representations were not accurate enough for classroom use, only 3 of those teachers who responded (10%) said yes, the majority (24 or 80%) disagreed. It seems therefore that in general teachers are not deterred from using film despite their factual shortcomings, but on the contrary some teachers saw this as a distinct advantage when used to address student misconceptions as discussed below.

Why and how do teachers use film in teaching History?

The evidence from teachers in the survey points to the varied and considered use of film in the history classroom. Unlike teachers in one American study (Marcus & Stoddard, 2007) the reported amount of a feature film shown to students by these teachers was smaller, in that students watched only selected scenes. Only 7% of all the occasions when film was used were students allowed to watch a film uninterrupted over a period of lessons. Over a quarter (26%) of occasions cited related to the use of one or two extracts within a single lesson (as opposed to the 10% of occasions when several extracts were viewed over a number of lessons). However, as Marcus and Stoddard rightly point out, teachers may be less willing to self-report on the 'non-academic' use of film which here might be suggested when students are able to view a film in full, occupying a complete lesson(s), a more likely outcome here when respondents were not anonymous. As with findings relating to teacher practices in the United States, follow-up activities to viewing film were variable in nature and frequently limited (Marcus, et.al., 2006). On only 22% of occasions the viewing of films was followed by whole-class discussion, less frequently by written tasks (15%) or some form of group work (10%). Few occasions (10%) were cited where during the actual viewing students were given a task related to the film to complete.

To determine why teachers used mainstream film in teaching history this study explored two different types of rationale. The first, we have called perspective, the viewpoint a film might offer for a particular historical period or event; the second relates to specific general and historical pedagogical objectives or desirable outcomes which the teacher hoped would be realised when using a particular film.

In terms of perspective, all the teachers who answered this question (29) used all four approaches listed in the survey often or sometimes, with 22 teachers reporting that they never used a particular perspective (see Table 1):

Table 1: Number of teachers who chose a film for a particular perspective it could offer on historical events and periods

(n=29)

PERSPECTIVE	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	NEVER
As later representations of past events (e.g. *JFK*)	16	13	0
As cultural/political indicator of the period in which it was produced (e.g. *The Jew Süß*)	5	18	6
To explore how a past historical event was represented in the period of its production (e.g. the American Civil War in *Birth of the Nation*)	4	19	6
To explore how a contemporary historical event was represented at the time the film was produced (e.g. how *The Green Berets* represented US involvement in Vietnam)	5	14	10

Sixteen teachers said they often used film as a later representation of past events. Far fewer teachers used film frequently as a historical source in its own right as indicated by the other three options, namely as a contemporary cultural / political indicator (O'Connor, 1988) (5 teachers), or how a past event was portrayed at the time of the film's production (4 teachers) or how a contemporary event was represented in film (5 teachers). That is not to say that these teachers never used film as a historical source as the results show but it does suggest that using film as a historical document was not common practice.

Teachers were also asked to prioritise objectives from a menu list of nine desirable outcomes which it was hoped the use of film might achieve, firstly the predominant reasons why they used film, and then when choosing specific films they had identified in the pilot study. Three of these (items A, B & G: 'To engage pupils interest'; 'To provide variety within the lesson'; 'To facilitate classroom management') were concerned with more *general pedagogical* concerns, consistent with notions about what constitutes 'good' or 'effective' teaching (see for example, Muijs & Reynolds, 2005) – to facilitate lesson structure, behaviour management or to motivate and engage students in the lesson content. The remaining six items (C, D, E, F, H & I) were all directly related to *historical pedagogical* concerns - using film to specifically support students' historical knowledge and understanding: 'To summarise and reinforce content'; 'To compare two different interpretations of events'; 'To give information for pupils to extract'; 'To make pupils feel engaged with past events'; 'To encourage pupils to analyse visual evidence' and 'To introduce an unfamiliar topic'.

In prioritising the *predominant* reasons for using film with their students, just under half the respondents (14) placed as their first choice, 'To engage pupils interest' whilst almost all (24) placed last in their list of reasons, 'To facilitate classroom management'; the latter may of course be partly a consequence of an unwillingness to admit to a non-academic strategy (Marcus & Stoddard, 2007), especially as the questionnaire was not anonymous. When we come to examine the top three choices made by teachers this suggests that general pedagogical concerns overall were at least of equal, if not greater, importance than historical pedagogical considerations (see Table 2).

Table 2 – Number of times a particular objective / desirable outcome was cited by teachers for using film included in their first three choices (n=30)

General pedagogical concerns:

To engage pupils' interest (A)	21
To provide variety within the lesson (B)	15
To facilitate classroom management (G)	0

Historical pedagogical concerns:

To summarise and reinforce content (C)	9
To compare two different interpretations of events (D)	10
To give information for pupils to extract (E)	9
To make pupils feel engaged with past events (F)	14
To encourage pupils to analyse visual evidence (H)	7
To introduce an unfamiliar topic (I)	5

In other words, although interwoven, what also appears to be determining the use of film by these teachers are considerations relating to generic notions about good or effective teaching applicable to any curriculum subject, rather than any particular prioritising of views about what constitutes effective historical learning. This is supported by the pattern of responses given by the teachers for using specific historical films. Again, despite some changes a number of teachers prioritise *general pedagogical* strategies over those *historical pedagogical* strategies aimed at directly supporting students' historical knowledge and understanding (see Table 3):

Table 3 – Number of times a particular objective / desirable outcome was cited by teachers for using a specific film
(n=30)

To engage pupils' interest (A)	157
To provide variety within the lesson (B)	92
To summarise and reinforce content (C)	113
To compare two different interpretations of events (D)	83
To give information for pupils to extract (E)	73
To make pupils feel engaged with past events (F)	61
To facilitate classroom management (G)	4
To encourage pupils to analyse visual evidence (H)	52
To introduce an unfamiliar topic (I)	59

Overall 54% of this sample of teachers chose items relating to these considerations (items A, B, G) in comparison with 46% of the teachers who chose items connected with supporting students' historical understanding (items C, D, E, F, H, I).

We turn now to look more closely at particular *historical pedagogical* strategies employed to support historical knowledge and understanding. As Marcus and Stoddard (2007) found, teachers offered a variety of reasons for using film with the aim of providing subject-matter content high on the list and here reported as, 'To summarise and reinforce content' and 'To give information for pupils to extract' (Table 4) . As a specific strategy using film to reinforce content was shown elsewhere (Butler, et.al., 2009) to increase the retention of information given to students.

Table 4 – Percentage of teachers employing particular historical pedagogical strategies in using specific films.
(n=30)

To summarise and reinforce content (C)	25%
To compare two different interpretations of events (D)	18%
To give information for pupils to extract (E)	18%
To make pupils feel engaged with past events (F)	16%
To encourage pupils to analyse visual evidence (H)	13%
To introduce an unfamiliar topic (I)	11%

However when we look at the frequency with which particular historical pedagogical objectives are cited, 'To compare two different interpretations of events' is found almost equally in the top and last three choices (Table 5), so not all teachers gave this objective the same priority.

Table 5 – Frequency of particular historical pedagogical objectives in the first or last three choices reported by teachers for using film
(n=30)

	In first 3 choices:	In last 3 choices:
To summarise and reinforce content (C)	9	4
To compare two different interpretations of events (D)	10	11
To give information for pupils to extract (E)	9	9
To make pupils feel engaged with past events (F)	14	10
To encourage pupils to analyse visual evidence (H)	7	13
To introduce an unfamiliar topic (I)	5	13

A number of these historical pedagogical objectives are directly associated with developing students 'historical thinking' through engagement with the 'discourse of history' in film (Rosenstone, 2006). Teachers are exploiting film as 'Vision' history where events are dramatised to give students the experience and emotions of the past, and is here associated with, 'To make pupils feel engaged with past events' (and help students visualise events, as noted below). While problematic, 'emotionally provocative images' have been shown to enhance memory retention of historical content knowledge and understanding (Berry, et.al., 2008). Using film as 'Contest' history where students were provided with interpretations that challenged traditional accounts or views of people and events, was consistent with their stated aim of enabling students, 'To compare two different interpretations of events' (item D). Although viewing film as a historical source in conjunction with other materials is a worthwhile and effective strategy (Marcus, et. al., 2010), only 18% of the teachers in the survey chose specific films with this aim in mind. This suggests that some teachers do not consider film as a 'primary' source subject to the same criteria of criticism and interpretation as they do with other sources of information about the past consistent with their own epistemological and ideological beliefs (Stoddard, 2010). In terms of historical thinking therefore a number of these teachers, as found elsewhere, mainly employed mainstream film to support the development of their students' *historical consciousness* (an awareness and knowledge of the past) rather than 'higher level' historical thinking in adopting a *critical approach* towards film as a historical source to be evaluated and compared with other accounts or interpretations of events and people.

While almost all (29) the teachers believed that using film enhanced the students empathetic or what Collingwood called the, 'historical imagination' (Faulkner, 2004) none cited this as a rationale. As Yilmaz points out, empathy or historical imagination, 'the ability to see and judge the past in its own terms by trying to understand the mentality, frames of reference, beliefs, values, intentions, and actions of historical agents' (2007, 331) is a difficult but not impossible skill that teachers can help their students develop. Indeed Marcus and his colleagues (2010) have developed strategies to show how film can help develop empathy as 'caring' and 'perspective recognition', and to enable students to recognise how representations of the past are always mediated by the experiences and beliefs of others, themselves included. It appears therefore that these teachers are either unaware of the possibilities of mainstream film in developing this skill or choosing not to use film in this way and instead prioritising alternative objectives.

What do teachers believe might be the impact of using film on their students' historical knowledge and understanding, specifically their possible misconceptions about the past?

Whilst an evaluation of how effective teachers were in using film to engage their students with the 'discourse of history' was beyond the scope of the present study all the respondents believed that film *could* positively support students' historical knowledge and understanding. Confirming the reasons given by the teachers for using film, what they judged would be the impact on their students understanding related mostly to the development of historical consciousness. Central to this was the role of film's capacity for visual and emotional realism - the emotional engagement / response involving what Ang (1985) calls a psychological reality of recognisable emotional states, here identifying people in the past as 'us'. This was because they believed that film had the facility to visualise historical events (12 teachers), generate empathy with those living in the past (5) and bring history 'to life' (5), or as one respondent stated, show 'in a very real and "alive" way how history can "come to life"'. Fewer teachers identified other potential impacts: to reinforce prior learning (4), their explanatory potential (3), their capacity to generate questions or discussion (4), offer a different or comparative interpretation of events (3) or to address more 'difficult to teach topics' (2).

Teachers were next asked about misconceptions – whether they felt that mainstream popular film generated or reinforced students' misconceptions about the past. Whilst recognising that the danger of misconception was greater in some films *(U-571)*, it was acknowledged that dramatic licence which might misinform was a necessary condition of film imposed by the need to retain its audience appeal as dramatic entertainment. This of course impacts on and relates to what has been called, the 'burden of historical representation' (cf. Stoddard & Marcus, 2006; Marcus, et.al., 2006). Films could generate misconceptions particularly if they were accepted by students at face value or they encouraged a distorted perspective (3 teachers), for example that students might think World War Two was fought only by Americans after viewing *Saving Private Ryan*. However, a number of teachers (14) believed that if students were properly prepared and materials selectively and carefully used, such misconceptions could be avoided. This would be consistent with the findings of Butler and his colleagues that if no advance warnings were issued the 'misinformation effect' increased (2009). Indeed, five teachers thought that the potential of historical film for misconception was a *positive* feature, providing an opportunity for students to compare interpretations and in encouraging them to be more critical and aware. Most (22) of the teachers believed that historical film could illuminate student misconceptions which the teacher could then address. Misconceptions could be highlighted and challenged, in some cases deliberately provoked, providing a fruitful basis for discussion (13). One teacher said that when used in conjunction, or compared, with other sources of evidence students would then amend their understandings so they were more accurate. Only one teacher was less optimistic, arguing that common misconceptions were resistant to change; viewing such films might simply reinforce and strengthen existing misconceptions or confuse less able students.

What do teachers in the survey think about the value and place of film in the history curriculum? Do their views coincide with those critical of using film in the history classroom?

All but one of the teachers surveyed recognised that film representations play a strong role in popular conceptions of the past (29), reinforcing Marwick's (2001) opinion that professional historians should give greater recognition of this in regard to the public's understanding (28). Nor as a group did these teachers share the views of those critical of the use of film in the classroom, with only six teachers believing that these representations were not sufficiently accurate. Encouragingly, over two thirds of the teachers (22) supported the idea that time should be allocated in the curriculum to developing skills of historical film literacy (Marcus, et.al., 2006; Marcus & Stoddard, 2007), arguing that this would help develop not only their interpretive skills but decrease their chances of falling victim to misinformation. Surprisingly in view of this however most of the teachers (18 with 7 undecided) did not believe that film interpretations should form a vital part of teaching and learning history in the Secondary school. Only a small number (9) agreed that these sources of evidence should enjoy equal status with conventional historical sources. This apparent contradiction might be explained by the fact that teachers and heads of department are concerned about adding to what is already an overcrowded, examination-focused curriculum. With regard to the place and status of the historical film as a historical source this may possibly reflect their own more conventional epistemological and ideological beliefs about history as a knowledge domain which prevents consideration of historical film from such a perspective (Stoddard, 2010).

What do teachers see as the obstacles to using film in the history classroom?

Just under half (13) the teachers in the survey did not choose any items from the menu list of seven potential obstacles which might prevent them from using film in the classroom, a number of them appending a note to the effect that none of these obstacles were applicable or seen as a problem in their school. Seventeen teachers did identify particular obstacles to using film (Table 6):

Table 6 - Obstacles to the use of film identified by teachers

(n=17)

Location unsuitable	2
Equipment not easily available	3
Availability of films/TV series	12
Limited time during the lesson	8
Limited opportunity offered by the syllabus	6
Limited knowledge/experience about best use of such material	4
Feeling that using fictional films might not be seen as a 'legitimate' or worthwhile part of History teaching in school	6
Other (*please specify*)	3

Only three teachers recorded obstacles not on the menu list: the appropriateness of certain films for the age of their students discouraged two teachers from using them, whilst one teacher identified a tendency for students to mainly describe a film's fictional scenes in their written work. The only possible experience-related issue seems to have been that of teachers who had taught history for over 3 years were more inclined to see the pressure of the syllabus as an obstacle. For those teachers who were also heads of department this may reflect a concern for their responsibility to ensure the required syllabus was delivered. Interestingly, possible management disapproval, the feeling that such materials might not be seen as legitimate or as a worthwhile teaching tool, did not figure significantly as an obstacle for any experience-related group. It seems clear that the nature of obstacles encountered (if any) are more context- than experience- related, linked to the specific circumstances of the school such as the availability of resources and the attitude of management associated with what Metzger (2007, 3) called the 'unavoidable realities of schooling' (including periods, bells, assessments, coverage, fixed curricula).

Three teachers in the survey recorded the availability of equipment and two the unsuitability of the location as obstacles. These practical problems of showing film however, are related to a more important yet unseen issue which has the potential to adversely impact on the quality of the students learning experience when they are asked to view extracts from a cinematic film in the classroom. Captured by the comment made by one teacher that sometimes students just wanted to enjoy the film and didn't want to be 'critical', is the issue surrounding the *viewing context* of the classroom. This is something which concerns not only where and how films are shown by the teacher, but also to how they are received and understood by the student. Mainstream 'historical' Hollywood films like *JFK* or *Schindler's List* are essentially commercial products targeted mainly at the lucrative 18-30 age group (Higson, 2003), to be viewed in the main (although not exclusively) as entertainment in the cinema, rather than by the eighteen year old or younger student 'reading' a film for information about the past in their classroom. Changing the viewing context from the cinema to the classroom alters how such texts are experienced and 'read'. In the history classroom, the cinematic film becomes primarily a medium of information, subverting its function as 'uncritical' entertainment. Watching film in a darkened cinema is a solitary activity with limited opportunity for discussion.

Even if shown in the domestic setting of the home where there is more potential for dialogue, such discussion is usually unstructured, spontaneous and 'democratic'. In contrast, within the hierarchy of the classroom, as one teacher in the survey observed, it is the teacher who controls the discussion, determining the focus and purpose. Students are thus situated as neither cinematic nor domestic viewer, and this can present a challenge or contradiction for both the teacher in showing film in the classroom, and for the student who is required to 'read' rather than simply 'watch' the film as a visual text. On the one hand a dominant reception of film as entertainment makes viewing pleasurable and appealing to the student, coinciding with the stated aim of many teachers to engage students' interest, yet the student is asked at the same time to view the film as a text of information for analysis which seems to exclude the consideration of the film as pleasurable, 'uncritical' entertainment. This creates a contradiction which some students may be unable to resolve, or indeed may resist, choosing to engage with film *only* as entertainment, preferring this kind of interaction to the more challenging 'unnatural act' of historical thinking (Wineburg, 2001) which requires students to treat film with critical objectivity as primary source. To help structure the students' viewing experience more effectively it becomes even more imperative that students acquire critical media literacy (Stoddard, 2010). Such skills will enable them to recognise, engage with and interrogate the historical film as a source of information about the past subject to critical analysis, helping to bridge the divide between how students construct their understandings of the past from outside and inside the classroom.

Conclusions

Findings from this study confirm earlier American studies regarding the widespread and routine use of mainstream popular film in the history classroom, adding to our knowledge of how and why film is used by a small but representative sample of teachers, this time in the context of British Secondary school.

Yet does the use of film in school put history 'at risk'? Leaving aside the issue of decreasing time devoted to the history curriculum in schools the evidence from this and other studies recognises that using film does not represent the level of threat to children's historical education that some have claimed, at least in relation to historical accuracy. Teachers in the survey were aware of the issues and controversies surrounding the use of film in the history classroom, but this did not prevent them employing film in their teaching. Acknowledging that some films like *Braveheart* did carry greater 'risk', this was seen as a potentially effective means to highlight and address existing or possible misconceptions. As we have already noted, the attitudes and beliefs about using film were unaffected by the variable length of teaching experience, and the majority of teachers were confident about its positive impact on student learning. Whilst the issue of accuracy is of obvious importance to these teachers it was not their only or main concern. As shown by earlier studies these teachers used film in a variety of ways to support the development of a range of historical understandings, as opportunities to engage with what Rosenstone called the 'discourse of history' in particular as a means of raising their students' awareness of the past, providing them with a sense of visual and emotional realism. Importantly the decision to use mainstream feature films was informed not only by considerations about how film could develop students' historical knowledge and understanding but also by sound *generic pedagogical* principles. Teachers therefore are taking into account the broader contextual framework shaped by ideas about what constitutes 'good' or 'effective' teaching within which historical learning occurs – the structure of the lesson itself and the issues linked to classroom or behaviour management, motivating and engaging their students. However, the importance of this rationale for using film appears to have gone unnoticed by critics, as has the capacity of history teachers to recognise and address the dangers of misinformation contained in film.

Yet if not 'at risk', this is not to imply that the use of historical film is unproblematic or to judge from its reported use that it is being exploited by all teachers to its' full pedagogical potential to promote the 'higher' skills of historical thinking, namely empathetic understanding and a critical approach to film as a source of historical information and a basis for comparing different accounts of the past. Significantly as we have seen when it came to using film in order to compare historical interpretations, perhaps the most appropriate justification in light of criticism regarding classroom use, this was less often cited as a strategy used by the teachers. Only a minority of teachers reported that they used film as a primary or secondary source in conjunction with other materials, although they did recognise the value of this strategy. This illustrates a gap between pedagogical beliefs and actual practice. Perhaps not surprisingly given that the survey was not anonymous, only four teachers were willing to admit they saw as an obstacle their own limited knowledge or experience about the best use of film in the history classroom. In addition none of the teachers seemed to have been aware of the significance of the classroom as a viewing context and the influence this might have on student attitude or disposition towards historical thinking. As a first step teachers therefore need to address and respond to the status of film as a major if not dominant source of student knowledge about the past obtained for the most part outside the classroom.

This is essentially incompatible with how students are traditionally taught and learn history in school (Stoddard, 2010), as well as the nature of the classroom as a viewing context. Once this has been recognised teachers might then explore ways to develop their own pedagogy helping students to bridge the divide between viewing film as both entertainment *and* information. This requires an understanding not only of how film as a commercial and dramatic product functions as entertainment by representing past events and individuals in certain ways, but also a recognition that the historical film must be subject to critical analysis just like other more conventional sources of information about the past. For this to occur what the teachers themselves identified as desirable must become a reality, namely that time be set aside in the curriculum for students to acquire media literacy skills to enable them to view and evaluate the historical film as a construction of the past. Building on established good practice (Marcus, et.al., 2006) teachers must routinely plan for opportunities for student discussion, something not often provided by teachers in this survey although a vital element in the interpretation of historical film.

Undoubtedly 'reel' history is here to stay in school, welcomed not only by students (Marcus, et.al., 2006), but as we have shown by teachers in supporting students' enjoyment of history and as a way to engage them in learning about the past. Far from putting history in the classroom 'at risk' teachers are using historical film informatively and are confident about its positive pedagogical impact on their students' engagement with historical thinking. Rather than continue to question the legitimacy or value of using historical film in the classroom what is needed now is to build on existing practice to address those issues brought to light by this and other studies which restrict the use of this exciting resource to greater effect. Context variables such as location and equipment aside, external examination and curriculum coverage requirements will doubtless continue to impose severe time constraints on teachers who wish to provide their students with extended opportunities to critically engage with historical film.

However research-informed practice offers the opportunity to raise the profile and status of film in the history classroom. We need to add to our understanding of how film contributes towards the development of students' higher level historical thinking and especially how particular strategies identified by the teachers impact on how students 'read' and understand 'historical' films when they are shown in the potentially incompatible learning environment of the classroom. This could be explored through a series of focus group discussions with students (Hansen, et.al., 1998; Robson, 2002), while such data would also inform our understanding of whether the teacher and their students have a shared understanding of a particular film representation, especially when compared with other representations of the same event or individual. In regard to the teachers themselves what was unclear was the extent to which they used or viewed film in relation to their own pedagogic and subject related philosophy. This might include for example addressing the problem of viewing the mainstream film as a historical source like any other, something that could be investigated most usefully from a phenomenographical approach (Marton, 1981). With these considerations in mind this study adds to those voices which call for teacher educators responsible for initial and in-service teacher education programmes to address the issues surrounding the welcome and growing use of film in school.

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The Utilisation Of Gobbets For Student-Centred Learning For The Teaching Of History At University: a report

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Abstract: This paper discusses the utilisation of gobbets for the teaching of History at University, to enable a more student-centred approach to learning in a subject that has traditionally remained a teacher-centred experience. Gobbets, or chunks of texts, are used at the University of Sussex as an examination tool for the student to demonstrate their knowledge of a text, an historical debate or an author within a wider historical context. I decided to employ the use of these gobbets with Level Three students throughout the course to partly create familiarity with them for the exam, but predominantly they were used to move the seminars toward a student-centred experience. This was achieved by using the gobbets as platforms for presentation and discussion. Each student's individual gobbet provided them with the opportunity to directly contribute their research (on the gobbet) to the group in a manner that meant everyone in the seminar (including myself) was learning from each other.

The teaching of History at University

From my experience as an undergraduate at both the University of Sheffield (in the 1990s) and at the University of Sussex I had found the teaching of History to be principally teacher-centred. Whether it was through lectures or seminars, the emphasis was primarily on the lecturer (tutor) and their imparting of information to the students as the students frantically wrote down notes. Even with the use of student presentations the onus of a seminar was very firmly with the tutor as a fountain of knowledge to be shared with the considerably less knowledgeable undergraduates. I was myself advised as a tutor to retain a tight grip upon a seminar and lecture the students for two to three hours on the weekly subject. This manner of teaching History at University in seminars has been prevalent for many decades. Indeed the success of a seminar could be determined by three factors: (1) that it was not too technical so it was not too hard to bring to life; (2) If it was technical the tutor must spell out and draw out the wider implications, and (3) to achieve a response from the group the tutor must go 'systematically round' (Cannon, 1989). The emphasis of the seminar is therefore very firmly teacher-centred, and the roles of the student and tutor are quite clearly distinct.

This approach to teaching History (in its various forms) is still the predominant method used today, particularly as student numbers have increased and seminar sizes have expanded (Gunn, 2000). It may in fact be easier in these times of large seminar groups to retain control over the group through teacher-centred activities which ensure that the students have been given the relevant information for the course despite student passivity. Yet this is not the ideal of teaching History (or the Humanities) at University. The tutor's role is not to do all of the work for the students, nor is it to tell the student what to think or how, but to encourage them to think for themselves which is achieved through student-centred approaches (Martin, 2009). However, this ideal of student-centred learning is not always possible, as Martin recognizes, for at times it is necessary to pursue a teacher-centred approach to explain extremely difficult concepts or works. Martin cites the example of the teaching of the History of Philosophy which is closely related to my own background of Intellectual History. Much of the material has the potential to be abstruse and very difficult for undergraduates to fully comprehend without direction from the tutor. Even after lectures many students still do not understand the material, and the seminar is used to effectively pick up the slack left by the lecture and break down these ideas so that the students understand what they are learning and how it fits into the course. I believe that the advice that I received to use the seminars as lectures when teaching an Intellectual History course, therefore, was born from many years experience by the adviser of the easiest way to teach what is a difficult subject.

Yet this approach to seminars and the student experience is extremely unappealing, especially if one considers that Level Three seminars (at Sussex) are three hours in length. Over such a length of time in a seminar, it is not possible or desirable that a tutor would want to do most of the work interspersed with questions from the students or from the tutor to the students. In creating a good learning environment, thereby, 'the teacher cannot do all the work if learning is to be the outcome' (Fry, Ketteridge, & Marshall, 2009). This notion matches my belief that not only did a three hour seminar have to be student-centred, but that all seminars should attempt to be as student-centred as possible. The way to improve the student experience and improve university teaching, was to clearly think about seminar teaching, plan and develop, and then set out the course for the students from the beginning (Ramsden, 2000). Ramsden identifies five issues that need to be addressed for a teacher to improve university teaching (Ramsden, 1992):

- *Goals and structure.* What do I want my students to learn and how can I express my goals clearly to them?

- *Teaching strategies.* How should I arrange teaching and learning to help students achieve these objectives?

- *Assessment.* How can I find out whether they have learned?

- *Evaluation.* How can I estimate the effectiveness of my teaching and thereby enhance it?

- *Accountability and educational development.* How should the answers to these questions be applied to measuring and improving the quality in higher education?

It is therefore important as a tutor (teacher) to begin the move towards improving the student experience before meeting the students in the first seminar through the planning and structuring of the course. This preparation is transposed on to teaching strategies in the seminar that enable the student to receive the best experience possible, which is further ensured through a continual process of self-evaluation as a tutor. At the centre of this process is the student and their learning-experience through the tutor's teaching.

The move away from teacher-centred learning towards student-centred learning is shaped by how we learn as individuals. Theories of 'teaching and learning focusing on student activity are based on two main theories: phenomenography and constructivism' (Biggs, 2004). Phenomenography (Marton, 1981 in Biggs) is based on the premise that the learner's perspective defines what they learn, not what the tutor intends should be learned, so the tutor must change the manner in which the learner sees the world. Constructivism has several forms (individual, social, cognitive, postmodern (Steffe and Gale, 1995 in Biggs) but they have in common the notion that the learner has to 'do' to create knowledge. Knowledge is created by the student's learning activities or approach to learning. While the student's learning depends upon their motives and intentions, what they know already and how they use this prior knowledge, the design of a course and the personal reflection of the tutor upon the course play a crucial role in learning (Biggs, 2004). Education is thereby about 'conceptual change' and not just about the acquisition of knowledge.

The teacher-centred approach prevalent in the teaching of History is predominantly about the acquisition of knowledge. This approach to teaching is what is described as a 'surface approach' in which the intention of the tutor is to complete the task or seminar with the minimal amount of trouble. For the student this can mean a teaching experience that is one-sided, lacking in interaction or involvement, and one that relies upon low-level cognitive activities (such as note-taking). An emphasis is placed on the collection of information, achieving an acceptable grade which in turn may lead to student anxiety especially if they do not understand the material. A deep approach is utilised through a desire to engage the student in appropriate and meaningful tasks that require relevant knowledge which promotes student learning, as they naturally realize they need to know more for the bigger picture (Biggs, 2004). Through a desire to know more on the subject the (motivated) student will automatically locate underlying meaning for the main themes, ideas and principles as learning becomes a positive experience and a pleasure. The deep approach naturally allies itself to student-centred learning as it places a far greater emphasis on the student and their involvement in their own learning experience. Biggs and Moore (1993) argue that four factors are essential for the support of good learning:

- A well-structured knowledge base.

- An appropriate motivational context.

- Learner activity, including interaction with others.

- Self-monitoring.

What is apparent when one juxtaposes the ideas of Biggs (and Moore) with Ramsden is that the process toward an enriching student-centred approach begins with planning the course and seminar tasks. Within the course itself it becomes essential that the student is heavily involved in their learning process and knows this from the outset of the course. The move away from teacher-centred learning is linked with the need to move away from the student notion that the tutor knows everything and that the tutor will simply cram them full of knowledge *ad infinitum* (Walters, 2007). The student must be given the independence to discover their own knowledge and be allowed to contribute their ideas to the group to enable deeper learning and a more positive learning environment.

The teacher-centred approach is one that relies predominantly on surface learning. According to Bloom's Taxonomy (1956), which was revised by Anderson and Krathwohl in 2001, thinking skills were categorized and sequenced according to complexity (Svinicki and McKeachie, 2011). A distinction was created between *lower order skills* (knowledge/ remember, comprehension, and application) and *higher order skills* (analysis, synthesis/ create, and evaluation/ evaluate). Bloom's taxonomy provides tutors with a planning framework that enables a move away from surface learning to a deeper level of learning. The tutor must grasp the notion that learning is more important than teaching (Svinicki and McKeachie, 2011), and that the student should be the focus of the seminar. Greater depth of learning can be achieved through the move away from the teacher-centred pedagogical lecture in seminar-form in which the student takes endless notes and participates sporadically to a far more participatory seminar. Not only will the student be far more involved in the seminar itself but also that they have greater independence and autonomy in their research and preparation for that seminar.

Students have to learn how to learn which is achieved through the creation of their environment, and this means that the tutor has to learn to create changes in their teaching practice. In Learner-Centred Teaching (2002) Weimer describes the move to student-centred learning as a process for the tutor (teacher). It is a five area process in which the tutor places greater emphasis on the learner rather than themselves in what is at times a deeply unequal relationship in terms of power. The process describes the move toward student-centred learning:

- *The Balance of Power:* the shifting of the emphasis of learning from the teacher to the students.
- *The Function of Content:* the use of content to move the focus of the seminar towards the students and a deeper level of learning.
- *The Role of the Teacher:* the tutor is no longer the 'exclusive content expert' at the head of the class they become someone who is around the class facilitating.
- *Responsibility for Learning:* allowing the students to become more independent and autonomous in their own learning while improving their own skills and increasing motivation.
- *Purpose and Process of Evaluation:* evaluation is the most effective tool of learning as learning is directed toward assessment, therefore assessment practices (and feedback) must give the right signals.

What Weimer is advocating is a concerted effort to move away from the regimented and stultifying process of teacher-centred learning that still dominates universities (throughout the world). The rewards for moving toward student-centred learning is the potential for a far deeper level of learning juxtaposed with a more motivated and independent student within a seminar of equally motivated and autonomous students. A seminar not predicated overwhelmingly on the knowledge of the tutor and the need to control the group as they make 'deposits' into student 'containers' (Brockbank and McGill, 2007).

Student-Centred Learning: the use of gobbets in seminar teaching

In preparing to teach an Intellectual History (seminar) course on 'Democracy and War' I decided before the planning of the course that I wanted to provide the students with as much of a student-centred learning experience as was possible. The difficulty of some of the content of the course meant that I knew that there would be a need to be more involved than perhaps would be ideal, but that for the most part the seminars would be driven by the students' learning. In returning to the belief that a tutor should not tell a student what to think or how but encourage them to think for themselves (Martin, 2009), while this may not be the norm in History it does not have to be a distant ideal. While obviously a student must think for themselves in their coursework and assessments, as noted above in lectures and seminars this was not often my experience, as students focused on making notes and not contributing verbally. A good seminar was one in which perhaps a handful of students participated in a discussion but often this would still be a clear minority in the group. Frequently many students decide not to contribute either through lack of confidence, the belief that what they have to say is not important or even laziness.

My best experience in a taught-degree programme was at Masters Level. Where, despite a very heavy reading schedule a great emphasis was placed upon the student attending the seminar in possession of a good comprehension of the week's theme and an understanding that they must use this to contribute in the seminar. This comprehension of the material was achieved by independent research and the faith shown in the student that they would be able to independently discover the relevant material and then share it with the group. It was this experience that I wanted to share with my Level Three 'Democracy and War' group. Partly because they were final year students who could cope with greater independence, partly in preparation for Masters Level study, but mainly to create a more enjoyably learning experience (for both students and tutor) than a tutor lecturing for a three hour seminar.

The vehicle I decided to use to promote the student-centred learning in the group was the gobbet. Gobbets are used at the University of Sussex in the end of year (formal) examinations in some courses which included 'Democracy and War.' A gobbet is an extract from a text which can be anything from half a paragraph in length to two pages. The standard manner for answering a gobbet question in an exam is for the student to divide their response into three sections: the *context* of the gobbet; a personal analysis by the student of its content, and an *evaluation* of the gobbet in relation to the wider historical, intellectual debates. It became apparent that gobbets could be used to open up what is an intellectually rigorous course that was text based, with each week reliant on the students reading one or two primary texts as well as secondary texts for background information. The gobbets could be used for a two-fold purpose: (1) to breakdown difficult texts into more manageable and understandable related parts, and (2) that each student would be given their own gobbet to present to the group, enabling the participation of all students. Both aspects meant that all the students were given the task of researching independently their own gobbet and bringing that information to the seminar to share with the rest of the group (and myself), thereby inspiring greater participation in discussions as all students had something to contribute.

The creation of a variety of gobbets to provide a panoramic view of each week's theme enabled the students to select one for themselves the week before that they would like to present this was obviously based on a first-come-first-served basis but worked. A gobbet course pack was created (before the beginning of the course) for the students for all of the weeks. This pack they brought into each seminar so they could select their gobbets each week, as well as enabling access to all the gobbets discussed in each week's seminar. The student was expected to spend their preparation time for the seminar reading the text and using the other texts, wider research and other gobbets for background and further information. While the presentations at first stuck quite rigidly to the exam format for answering a gobbet, the students soon began to move away from these parameters and use the gobbet as a platform for wider research. Indeed, a number of the students moved a considerable distance from the earlier suggestions I had made of how to present the gobbet based on the exam guidelines. They therefore began to not only explaining the gobbet's content, its context in relation to the work and wider debate, and evaluating the importance of the gobbet, but began to link the gobbet with themes and intellectuals discussed in previous weeks. This may have been made possible by the early intention in the course to focus on purpose over technique (Gibbs, 1991), by having the students research and discuss the ideas through the gobbet rather than overwhelming them with technical detail. This freedom still allowed them to develop their historiographical skills (such as critiquing texts, the identification of themes and historical ideas) while encouraging their learning-autonomy and allowing them to find their voice.

The different manners in which the students presented was a further manifestation of this freedom as their styles ranged from sitting to standing, the use of notes or without notes and the occasional use of Power-point. The freedom and independence was provided to the students from the beginning of the course to present the gobbets as they wanted. The opportunity to select their own material and present in a style appropriate for them was an attempt to build up confidence and communication skills through their own research and technique. By paying attention to the course design through the transparency and freedom of the seminars, the students' expectations were clearer which helped them to understand the learning outcomes for each week and the course as a whole (Stefani, 2009). By removing the emphasis of learning from the tutor and placing it on the students it was an attempt to utilise what Morgan and Beaty (in Walters, 2007) have described as skill in learning for the students. The aim was to develop the students' *confidence, competence* (in undertaking learning tasks and activities), and their *autonomy in learning*. The content and the quality of the learning outcomes enhanced the focus on student-centred learning on the course with the use of gobbets, while aiding access to difficult course material.

The result of the use of the gobbets in 'Democracy and War' was very positive from early on in the course. While some of the fourteen students were at first reticent about the use of gobbets mainly due to the idea of presenting for up to five minutes each week, this soon subsided. There was an understanding created in the introductory seminar of my intent towards the course, the three-hour seminar time, and my desire for the students to contribute more to the seminar to get more from their learning experience. The students grasped that such a long seminar duration could turn into a torturous hell of note-taking and a lack of active participation. By week three the students had begun to embrace the learning environment, the access it provided to the texts, and importantly to their greater freedom and elevated status within the seminar. This autonomy, in turn, and the inclusion of the students in the learning process through their input and presentations created a highly motivated group (Svinicki and McKeachie, 2011) with very few absences. As a result of designing a course that was challenging but which offered success through the preparation for their exams (Hoskins and Newstead, 2009), the students remained highly motivated throughout the entire course.

A very good teaching atmosphere and comradeship developed between the students and between the students and myself as everyone had something to contribute (O'Neill and McMahon, 2005). While ultimately I did not throw off the role of tutor completely and act solely as a facilitator (Brockbank and McGill, 2007) as was the initial aim, I believe this may not be entirely possible when teaching undergraduates History at university. The often difficult nature of the material, the need of the students for direction in what are increasing numbers of undergraduates seems to reveal that some students desire guidance even at Level Three, as their confidence throughout their entire degree is not at a sufficient level to shape their own learning and embrace independence as they would at MA level. The use of gobbets, their creation and the instructions initially provided by me for the students capped the extent of the student-centred experience on the course but within these parameters I allowed the students a great deal of freedom. Yet the use of gobbets proved to be a highly rewarding experience for both the students and myself, in what was a decisive move towards student-centred learning, (see Appendix).

Level One Seminars

After the positive reaction to the use of gobbets in seminars at Level Three I decided to implement because the use of gobbets at Level One. This was somewhat of a calculated risk, as the students predominantly fresh from their A-Levels were unused to any kind of History teaching at university, let alone the desire for their tutor's desire to want them to be more involved in their own learning. Yet I felt that the 'Early Modern World' course and its in-depth and intricate themes such as the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Enlightenment would benefit from the gobbets ability to break down these themes. For this lecture and seminar based course, the early part of the seminar was spent examining the lecture before an open discussion of a variety of gobbets on the lectures themes and core texts.

While initially this proved to be rather teacher-centred in explanation of the themes, content, and the technicalities of what to pick out from the gobbet, the students began to respond quickly. The students not only appreciated the breakdown of ideas and themes provided by the gobbets but also began to debate in the seminar with myself and with each other. The accessibility of the gobbets afforded the opportunity to divide the seminar into groups. Each group would meet during the week and research the gobbets together as a group to present their research, as the Level Three students had done individually. This exercise worked very well and boosted the morale and motivation of the seminar generally (Svinicki and McKeachie, 2011). This had been part of the design of the task, as group work was used as a means of introducing First Year students to each other as well as giving them a sense of being able to discuss and access the material together to build confidence. I used group presentations based on gobbet a further two times and this helped not only to bond the seminar students but also augment seminar participation, frequently creating full participation (in groups of over twenty students).

While the use of gobbets at Level One has been an improvement in the move toward student-centred teaching, the difficulty of the material and the lack of experience at university still meant a higher degree of tutor involvement in the seminars. While the gobbets have been used in slightly different ways, the confidence and motivation of autonomous research have enabled a deeper, more inclusive learning experience. Moreover, the use of the gobbets themselves as teaching aids in breaking down the material, themes and arguments has proven efficacious in enabling the students to understand the course. The discussion of the gobbets together in the seminars has also fostered the process of the students need to learn the technical skills of Historiography. While this may be led by the tutor, it is done in a manner that includes the students in the process rather than having the information lectured to them. It has also familiarized the Level One students with the gobbets that they will probably face in their exams. Unfortunately, for the true effectiveness and results that were achieved in Level Three it would mean that Level One seminar sizes would need to be (drastically) reduced which is not foreseeable. While the use of gobbets can open up the Historical material of a seminar and they can certainly help in preparation for the seminar and research, it is very difficult to have full student-centred participation in a seminar of twenty-six students. Such seminar sizes seem also to require a greater degree of involvement from the tutor in evoking responses from students and participation, building confidence, as well as ensuring the relevant work is covered. Yet, a desire to have full student-centre learning at university (in any subject) may not in itself be desirable (Elen et al, 2007). Students require a degree of teacher-centred learning to salve their learning experience, as they require the guidance and reassurance provided by a tutor in able to take full advantage of their learning experience and learning environment. The tutor and the tutor's behaviour can itself be a source of independence and confidence for the student and their ability to learn.

Conclusion

The utilisation of gobbets in the teaching of History at University does enable a more student-centred approach to learning in a subject that has traditionally remained a teacher-centred experience. This utilisation must be a carefully planned process, from the incipient intention of the tutor to enable the students to participate to a far higher degree while they themselves attempt to step into the role of potential facilitator. The use of accessible small chunks of information from a text (gobbets) as a teaching tool can play a vital role in increasing confidence and enabling independent and motivated students. They become independent and motivated through their research and their belief that they are contributing something of worth and importance to the group as a whole. This confidence occurs from their contribution and equality within the group via their presentations, and it appears to promote a desire to join more freely in the seminar discussions. My aim to create student-centred seminars akin to Masters Level therefore on the whole was successful with the Level Three students. The students became more independent, confident and were far more engaged in the seminars. They initiated and involved themselves in discussion as their presentations drove the seminars forward and the week's learning outcomes were addressed by the students' own research. While overall I would say that the use of gobbets was very successful I did not fully realize my aim to act solely as a facilitator and there was still teacher-centred learning on the course. I believe that in the current teacher-centred climate at universities and in History this is inevitable as the student's university experience is impacted upon and perhaps overwhelmed by three years of teacher-centred learning.

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APPENDIX

Anonymous student feedback for 'Democracy and War:'

Student 1
A really interesting course, I feel that the course was well put together and I enjoyed the thinkers we studied. Everyone was given a chance to put forward their ideas in the seminar. Good tutor feedback and support.

Student 2
I enjoyed the: (1) The class discussions and presentations. (2) The fact that Andy understood that him just talking for 3 hours would be totally counterproductive and used his own teaching style, which worked well.

Student 3
The format of the seminars allowed everyone to get involved in discussions; the small group size created an informal and engaging atmosphere.

Student 4
This was easily my favourite course since I started Sussex. It was well organized, interesting and always challenged me but without making me feel out of my depth. The teaching was excellent ...The structure of the seminars was really good and allowed everyone to present a gobbet each week on each thinker so we got used to analysing gobbets (for the exam) and also [it] meant everyone eventually felt like they had something to say in the seminar, stimulating discussion.

HISTORY TEACHING IN ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH NATIONAL HISTORY CURRICULUM, 3-11: PAST, PRESENT INTO THE FUTURE

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Abstract

Through the 1990 introduction of history as an English National Curriculum subject a Conservative government statutorily embedded history in the English primary curriculum as a de facto new subject. The 1990 English National History Curriculum was a sophisticated blend of three elements:

- the British political elite's deeply entrenched view of British history as a Master Narrative of the development of a liberal parliamentary democracy i.e. The Whig Interpretation of History;
- the academic history community's New History that replaced The Whig Interpretation of History with the histories of all citizens from multiple perspectives, e.g. class, culture, society. gender, ethnicity and locale;
- a powerful, democratic pedagogy based upon the New History as an academic discipline with high level skills, protocols, procedures and disciplinary concepts.

By the 1980s The New History had radically affected and altered the approach to the teaching of history in England both in terms of content [facts – propositional knowledge] and teaching approaches [pupils 'Doing History'– procedural knowledge].

From 1997-2000 a new Labour government marginalised history in primary schools with a focus on standards and the wholesale introduction of the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies. In 2010 the Labour government was voted out of power. Its mainly Conservative replacement announced it would introduce a primary curriculum in 2014 organised along disciplinary lines, in which British Master Narrative History could play a major role.

To inform the ensuing debate on the 2014 primary curriculum The Historical Association of Great Britain carried out a national survey of history teaching English primary schools.

Our paper reports the main findings of the survey. The survey revealed that despite a decade of marginalisation and neglect history has unexpectedly become an integral element of the English primary school curriculum. The paper's conclusions relate to Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' and the role of history in educating for a plural, liberal democracy.

Introduction

The setting is Melbourne, 1905. '"What a funny letter, Daddy," said Spen… "Do you think so?" said Daddy, "It is from home… The old country."' Daddy then talked about home, England 'the little island *in the west'* to which we belong, and where I used to live'" and the ties between the little island and the big one that was their home, Australia. Daddy told Spen and his sister Veda that he would ask someone to tell them the story of how 'the big island and the little island belong to each other'. And that was how Henrietta Marshall [the someone] came to write *Our Island Story,* probably the most significant British children's history book of the 20th century (Marshall, 1905).

Our Island Story consists of 110 short tales strung sequentially on a chronological thread that runs from before Caesar's invasion of Britain in 55 B.C. to the end of Queen Victoria's reign and the Boer War, 1899-1902. Henrietta Marshall also provides a chronological list of the rulers of England - its Kings and Queens - since 1066 to help the reader see the relationship between them and her overall narrative.

Henrietta Marshall recognises that story, myth, legend and uncontested historical narrative combine to form the British master narrative. She argues that *Our Island Story* is a book of stories that may not be true. As such, it complements the uncontested stories that are central to the British master narrative.[1] Marshall's view of the past is implicitly positivistic – history as an objective, scientific, factually accurate body of knowledge grounded in the academic literature.[2]

By the mid-20th century a clearly defined *British master narrative* history syllabus was entrenched in English selective [Grammar] schools that was identical to that of Henrietta Marshall's. The *British master narrative* is a selection from the collective memory of early 20th century British society, a 'conventional wisdom'[3] (Galbraith, 1958). Master narratives are an area of confusion and complexity. Frequently there are competing mutually exclusive master narratives, or different and contested views on whether there is even a master narrative and the form it should take. The outcome in polities with multiple national, regional and community narratives can be political, religious, social and communitarian conflict that can result in civil conflict.

The *British master narrative* draws upon the 'cultural capital'[4] of the British political nation (Plumb, 1967): that sector of society from which is drawn its ruling elite. As such, it consists of firmly held, unquestioned, ideas, values, beliefs and attitudes rooted in an unquestioned, and even unacknowledged view of the past.

Educationally the *British master narrative* aims to inculcate children with a collective sense of national identity rooted in Britain's past. Identity's tap roots penetrate the chronologically ordered strata of the past. Side roots permeate these strata and draw sustenance from the richness of their record of the past, viewed through interpretive lenses that reflect attitudes, values and beliefs. History is the most powerful of cultural media for transmitting shared values, beliefs, ideals, attitudes and a raft of commonly acknowledged 'markers ' that meld into a common, shared national identity.

The British Master Narrative, The Whig Interpretation of History and Identity

Our Island Story has an English curricular context. Following the 1902 Education Act, the British government's Board of Education in 1904 defined a certificated four year curriculum including history: English language and literature, geography,, a foreign language, mathematics, science and government with, drawing, manual work, physical training and for girls, housewifery (Gillard, 2011).[5] The 1904 history requirement was built upon government recommendations for a school history syllabus (Aldrich and Dean 1991, 96-97). 1904 also saw the publication of a seminal textbook Roscoe Mongan's *The Oxford & Cambridge English History* for this syllabus. Its content is that of Our Island Story with identical detailed chronological coverage, topics and tales, ending with the Boer War (Mongan, 1904).

This *British master narrative* provided the foundation for teaching history in schools. The rationale for teaching history in elementary schools was clearly stated in successive *Handbooks of Suggestions* issued by the Board of Education from 1905 onwards.[6] The subject was important to help children learn the origins of their rights and duties and 'to learn something about their nationality which distinguishes them from the people of other countries... '. Stories about men and women living in the past were the backbone of the history curriculum (Board of Education, 1905).

Indeed in the first few decades of the twentieth century, as the influence of the church declined, the inculcation of values through history was emphasised (Harnett, 1998) and history was seen as contributing to children's 'moral training'. Stories provided opportunities for children to learn about 'the splendour of heroism, the worth of unselfishness and loyalty, and the meanness of cruelty and cowardice' (Board of Education 1927, 139).

Rooted in the ancient civilisations of Egypt, Greece[7] and Rome the *British master narrative* is Anglo-centric with chronological markers that are tokens, symbols, of British identity. A suggested *Alphabet of History* published in 1923 by the Board of Education outlined 32 key events which pupils should know, ranging from the birth of Julius Caesar to The Great War. Political and constitutional events dominate this *British master narrative* (Board of Education, 1923). *The Alphabet* provides an account of the British fight for and spread of liberty and related rights and benefits, together with the expansion of British influence and Empire.

Henrietta Marshall highlights this mission throughout the 110 chapters of *Our Island Story,* chronologically presenting British history as a story involving key figures, movements, developments and events. In 1931 Herbert Butterfield (Butterfield)[8] argued that the *British master narrative* was in fact a Whig Interpretation of History, an argument which has been widely accepted since (Evans, 2011). Henrietta Marshall's Whig *Interpretation of History* concludes:

From the very beginning of our story you have seen how Britons have fought for freedom, and how step by step they have won it, until at last Britons live under just laws and have themselves the power to makes these laws. (Marshall 2005, Chapter 110).

The spirit of Henrietta Marshall lived on in the publications of R.J.Unstead whose textbooks dominated the teaching of History in English schools from the 1950s until the 1990s. Unstead was equally explicit about the citizenship role of his textbooks through the medium of their British master narrative[9] (Unstead, 1962).

These views were propagated elsewhere and not confined to history lessons for primary aged children. Reading primers in the nineteenth century had traditionally drawn on a range of history stories in their collections to support children's awareness of civic values (Heathorn, 1995). More recently this tradition continued in popular reading schemes published in the twentieth century, although the inculcation of specific values was less explicit.[10] Other publications widely read by primary aged children post Second World War included the Ladybird History Stories series written by L du Garde Peach. These small books with their colourful illustrations and lively accounts of famous personalities and events were very popular with young readers and had a place on all library bookshelves. In addition, the increasingly popularity of school radio broadcasts also offered opportunities for listening to history stories, enlivened with exciting sound effects.

The Whig Interpretation of History and the British Revolution in History Teaching, c. 1970-1990

The school history curriculum from 1900 to the 1970s reflected the Whig history of the 19th century academic community. By the 1970s academic history in Britain had radically changed, resulting in The New History with a different set of foci and related methodologies. Academic history departments from the1960s produced a generation of history teachers and educationalists working in schools, Higher Education, Local Authorities, Examination Boards, government agencies, the Historical Association and publishing houses who translated the academic 'New History' into a school history that was also known as 'The New History'(Rogers, 1979). Cumulatively, by 1989 this had resulted in an English Revolution in History Education (IJHLTR.9.2, 2011) that transformed perceptions of history's curricular role and pedagogy. It replaced the Whig Interpretation of History's view of history as a positivist master narrative with the argument that history was a process of enquiry that resulted in the creation of historical knowledge grounded in history as an academic discipline.[11] Central to that enquiry was the holistic inter-relationship of disciplinary concepts: one of which was chronology, another historical narrative and accounts. 'The New History' researched the historical backgrounds of all aspects of modern society: not only the history of the political elite that had ruled Britain from Westminster. 'The New History' taught pupils to interrogate and deconstruct narratives through questioning and examination of interpretations.

The New History's main influence by 1989 was upon the teaching of history in the secondary sector, 11-18; its influence on primary practice was more limited. Blyth's School Council Project (1976) *Time, Place and Society 8-13* outlined key inter-related concepts, skills, values and attitudes which were helpful for planning history, geography and social studies curricula, but it was not taken up widely by schools. The dissemination of New History ideas in primary education rested mainly in the hands of a few enthusiastic and interested individuals and some local education authorities.[12]

HMI expressed concern on the quality of teaching and of children's learning in history in the Primary Survey 1978 (DES, 1978) and in subsequent reports (DES 1982, 1989). TV began to take on a more important role in history education, presenting children with exciting stories and glimpses of different ways of life in the past. However, programmes often presented uncritical views of the past and did not necessarily support the development of historical skills and concepts (DES, 1989). The extent of history specialist teaching in the primary sector was minimal: what good practice there was incidental to it being an extension of effective primary pedagogy (Knight, 1991).[13]

The British Master Narrative, the New History and the English National Curriculum, 1989/90-2010

From 1989 the *British master narrative* history curriculum in English schools as a Whig Interpretation of History is far more than an academic, esoteric interest. In 1989 it became the Conservative government's raison d'etre for the inclusion of history as a subject in a subject-based English national curriculum. The minister of education, Kenneth Baker, told the Conservative party conference's

October conference (Samuel, 00):

> … I want our children to know about the main events in our history, because it is these events which have shaped us as we are today: the creation of the Church of England under the Tudors; the development of Parliament under the Stuarts; the transformation of the world through the industrial revolution; the extension of the franchise to women and young people; the spread of Britain's influence for good throughout the Empire in the eighteen and nineteenth centuries. All these things are matters in which we should take pride. A power of language and a sense of history are essential to the well-being of any nation. For too long some people have written off our past and have tried to make us feel ashamed of our history. Britain has given a great many things to the world. That's been our civilising mission. Our pride in our past gives us the confidence to stand tall in the world today (Samuel, 2003)

The framing of the English National Curriculum relied upon government appointed working parties, including one for history. The history working party significantly included a number of pragmatic, experienced 'New History' practitioners who were able to work with an open-minded chairman. . In terms of the primary phase, 5-11, the working party had a tabula rasa since there was minimal teaching following the precepts of 'New History'

The outcome of the 1989/90 history working party's deliberations was a history curriculum for English schools that ingeniously married the chronological *British master narrative* with the New History's treatment of history as a form of knowledge, an academic discipline that was grounded in research and scholarship. The National History Curriculum established that all 5-14 year olds would receive a full entitlement to learning history and that children would have a progressive introduction to history since the curriculum prescribed which periods of history were to be taught at different Key Stages.

While an English National History Curriculum addressed the English dimension of the *British master narrative*, the British government avoided the major problems of competing Irish, and Welsh national master narratives through the simple, ingenious strategy of setting up Northern Irish and Welsh working parties charged with the production of their own history curricula [Scotland was autonomous, free from Westminster's control]. Significantly, in the context of their own national identity the Welsh produced a counter-narrative to the British master narrative. The Welsh stressed their country's distinctive development of identity in opposition to English imperialism, colonisation and control. Northern Ireland also eschewed the *British master narrative* through creating a neutral Irish narrative designed to meet the views of both the Protestant and Catholic communities.

From the start, there were problems in implementing the English National History Curriculum in primary schools. Challenges of curriculum organisation, planning for progression in the acquisition of historical skills and concepts, monitoring, assessment and recording of children's learning, insufficient subject knowledge and resourcing emerge as key issues in OFSTED reports throughout the 1990s and continue until the present day (OFSTED 1993a, 1993b, 1995, 2002a, 2004, 2007b, 2011).

1 'I must tell you, though, that this is not a history lesson, but a story-book. There are many facts in school histories that seem to children to belong to lessons only. Some of these you will not find here. But you will find [here] some stories that are not to be found in your school [history] books – stories which wise people say are only fairy-tales and not history. But it seems to me that they are part of Our Island Story and ought not to be forgotten, any more than those stories about which there is no doubt.'(Marshall, 1905, Preface).

2 'beside your school books … I hope too that it will help you to like your school history books better than ever, and that, when you grow up, you will read for yourselves the beautiful big histories which have helped me to write this little book for little people.'(Marshall, 1905, Preface)

3 'the ideas which are esteemed at any time for their acceptability, and it should be a term that emphasizes this predictability. I shall refer to these ideas henceforth as the conventional wisdom.'(Galbraith, 1958)

4 Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is extremely useful: it influences, shapes and forms the orientation of the 'political nation, i.e. its values, attitudes and beliefs (Bourdieu, 1986) .

5 Structurally this curriculum is remarkably similar to the 2011 English plans for an English baccalaureate of the same subjects with the exception of manual work and housewifery – reflecting perhaps a dimension of the atavistically oriented 'cultural capital' of England's ruling elite.

6 Board of Education Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools, 1905, 1927,

7 Ancient Greece was included in the 1990 English National History Curriculum at the behest of the then minister of education, Kenneth Baker. This strengthened the orientation of the history curriculum towards mirroring the History of Civilisation – most notably presented in Lord Clarke's series of programmes.

8 Thus Marshall presents Caractacus and Boudicca as nationalists fighting for independence against the Romans (Marshall, chapters 4 & 5). Hereward the Wake is portrayed as fighting for traditional English liberty against the yoke of Norman tyranny (Marshall, chapter 24). Magna Carta, 1215, is painted as 'the foundation of all our laws and liberty.' More significantly, she makes the links between Magna Carta, the rule of law, liberty and national identity:

When the barons forced John to grant the Magna Carta, they fought, not for themselves as barons and Normans, but for the whole English people. For the first time since the Conquest, the people of England acted as one people. The Norman had disappeared. England was England again. She had conquered the Conqueror.'(Marshall, Chapter 36).

9 In the five books of this series [A History of Britain] I have tried to describe simply the chief events and personalities in Britain's history so that they will interest the reader and help him to understand how and why certain happenings have taken place. Also, at a time when it is fashionable in some quarters to belittle Britain's achievements in the past, I have tried to show that whereas Britain has acted foolishly or badly, her history shows **the persistence of ideals which good men** have lived by since Alfred's day.
In this story of a thousand years it is **the character of a people** that comes through; I hope that the readers will recognise this character and be glad (Unstead, 1962) [our emphases in bold].

10 e.g. Through the Rainbow published by Schofield and Sims.

11 Peter Rogers 1979 pamphlet (Rogers, 1979) introduced this idea in a systematic way – his contribution is the focal feature of an edition of the *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research,* Vol 9.1.

12 e.g; John West's (1981) work on chronology – History 7-13, Dudley Metropolitan Borough; Joan Blyth (1978) Young Children and the Past, Teaching History, 21 pp. 15-19, aand (1988) History 5-9, London, Hodder and Stoughton. Avon County Council (1982) History and Geography in the Primary School: a Framework for the Whole School; (1983) In Touch with the Past; (1984) In Search of the Past. Inner London Education Authority (1978) People Around Us; Families; (1979) People Around Us: Friends. (1980) People Around Us; Work.

13 This was the outcome of Peter Knight's ESRC research project into effective history teaching in the 1980s. (Knight1991)

14. At a public meeting on 14th October 2010 Chris Culpin explained fully and clearly the nature of the debate inside the English National History Curriculum's working party. The party's chairman had originally supported the ministerial stance of the Prime Minister and her Minister of Education, Kenneth Baker – the national curriculum should focus on a chronological narrative of the development of the English nation. The committee members convinced him of the need to incorporate as a parallel element the disciplinary dimension of history – its skills, processes, protocols and disciplinary concepts that in turn underpinned a challenging, stimulating, dynamic and demanding pedagogy. See also Phillips, R (1998) History Teaching, Nationhood and the State. A Study in Educational Politics. London, Cassell.

The English National History Curriculum was implemented, modified and refined from 1990-1997. Following the Conservative government's defeat in 1997, the new Labour government marginalised the foundation subjects within the curriculum, including history. Such subjects lost their statutory status for a couple years as the new government focused on the implementation of the Literacy and Numeracy Strategies 1998-2000. When history did regain its statutory status in 2000, history's place on the timetable was squeezed alongside all the other foundation subjects on the primary timetable. The government responded by encouraging schools to think more imaginatively about curriculum organisation in primary schools (e.g.; Excellence *and Enjoyment: a Strategy for Primary Schools* (DfES, 2003,) and *The Curriculum in Successful Primary Schools* (OFSTED, 2002b).

More recently, the *Independent Review of the Primary Curriculum* sought to make the primary curriculum more manageable through linking history with geography and social understanding studies (DfE, 2009). These proposals formed the basis for a new English National Curriculum which was to be implemented in schools from September 2011. *The Independent Cambridge Review of Primary Education* also advocated more subject integration, but on the basis not of timetabling constraints, but on how subjects relate to each other and enrich understanding (Alexander, 2009).

However, in 2010 the situation changed radically: a new predominantly Conservative government replaced the Labour government and immediately announced the scrapping of the new national curriculum, with plans for it to be replaced with an alternative in 2014. The 2014 curriculum is to have a strong academic disciplinary basis: one of its subjects is likely to be history – but history in a form that specifically reflects Henrietta Marshall's whiggish Our Island Story.

History and the English National Curriculum: 2010/11 – Present into Future and The Historical Association's 2010 survey of history teaching in English Schools to 3-11 year olds

Background

The government's 2010 White Paper (DfE, 2010) on education and its public statements indicate that history could have a substantial place in a new National Curriculum for England in a form that draws upon ministerial memories of the *Whig Interpretation* enshrined in *Our Island Story,* representing both ministers' individual and collective educational 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1986). The English Prime Minister, David Cameron said "It [*Our Island Story*] is written in a way that really captured my imagination and which nurtured my interest in the history of our great nation."(Hough, 2010). The English Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove, declared in October 2010:

> Children are growing up ignorant of one of the most inspiring stories I know – the history of our United Kingdom.
>
> Our history has moments of pride, and shame, but unless we fully understand the struggles of the past we will not properly value the liberties of the present.
>
> The current approach we have to history denies children the opportunity to hear **Our Island Story**. Children are given a mix of topics at primary, a cursory run through Henry the Eighth and Hitler at secondary and many give up the subject at 14, without knowing how the vivid episodes of our past become a connected narrative. Well, this trashing of our past has to stop. (Gove, 2010a).

The government initiated 2010/11 debate on the English National History Curriculum deals with many of the issues extensively and fully explored during its 1989-90 development and subsequent revisions and modifications. How accurate is the 2011 English government's interpretation of the teaching of history to 3-11 year olds in English state schools? And, related to this, what are the factors that a new English National History needs to consider for it to be successful? Both questions are central to the *Historical Association* of Great Britain's 2010 survey of history teaching in England t for 3-11 year olds (Historical Association, 2011) and a companion edition of the Historical Association's journal for the primary sector, *Primary History, What History Should We Teach, 5-14* (Primary History 58, 2011).

The survey

The survey took the form of an on-line questionnaire. It targeted The Foundation Stage for 3-4 year olds as well as Key Stages 1 & 2, i.e. the 5-11 age range. The HA drew upon the expertise of its officers and its Primary History Committee of nationally recognised experts on history education to create the questionnaire. Its 33 questions were predominantly closed, with some open-ended responses invited. The questions related to the number, nature and location of schools; the teachers; the form and content of the English National History Curriculum;   assessment and progression in children's historical learning; the future form of history in the curriculum and the professional development needs of both trainee and practising teachers.

The HA sent the survey to subscribers to its *Primary History Newsletter* and its *Primary History Journal,* Higher Education Institutions and others involved in primary history education including teacher trainers/educators, advisers and museum curators. The timing of the survey is relevant when reviewing its data. The questionnaire was issued in September 2010 at a time of considerable uncertainty and change following the new coalition government's withdrawal of a new primary National Curriculum due to be implemented in the 2011/12 academic year. The closing date for returns was 30th October 2010. The data were collated in the Primary Survey Report. (Historical Association, 2011).

Findings

Below we report findings for five main areas – these we discuss in the next section.

1 Respondents and their schools

There were 344 responses with 65% from teachers in a cohort of c. 220 schools. The responses indicated that history was embedded in their school curricula in the form that it had developed as a national curriculum from 1990-1997. Geographical coverage of England was extensive, with returns from 82 out of 150 Local Authorities. 70% of schools had over 200 pupils on role, compared to the English national average of 51% of schools. Survey schools with less than 200 pupils were predominantly located in rural areas. DCSF data (2006) indicate that the most common size of primary schools is between 201-300 pupils on roll which is 24% of the total number of schools who responded. 30% of schools who responded have over 400 pupils on roll.

2 Curriculum Organisation: What form does the history curriculum take in schools?

No specific question focused on how history was planned in the Foundation Stage [3/4 year olds] since the subject is not organised within a discrete subject, but rather within the area of learning, *Knowledge and Understanding of the World.* This area is designed to prepare children for subsequent study in subjects such as science, design and technology, history, geography and information and communication technology.

At Key Stage 1 [5-7 year olds] 202/222 of the schools taught history, 33 taught it as a discrete subject, 52 as an element in project based learning and 121 as part of an integrated cross-curricular programme. At Key Stage 2 of the 214 schools that taught history, 67 taught all or some of their history as a separate subject, 55 as an element in project-based learning and 116 within an integrated, cross-curricular programme.

The figures indicate that the majority of Key Stage 1 schools do not organise the history curriculum within a discrete subject area. It is most frequently organised within an integrated scheme of work drawing on a number of subject areas, or within a project. In contrast, at Key Stage 2 history is organised as a separate subject by nearly a third of the respondents, although the predominant modes of organisation still remain either project-based or integrated cross curricular teaching.

3 Curriculum content: What history is taught to 5-11 year olds in English schools?

For the Foundation Stage, 3-4 year olds *My Family and Ourselves* were the mostly popular topics identified with 94% and 82% of respondents indicating they were taught as part of the history curriculum. Other topics in order of popularity included Toys (30%) *Local history* (25%) and *School* (16%). The Foundation Stage curriculum is particularly open to teachers' interpretations of *Knowledge and Understanding of the World.* Personal and family histories together with locality studies are commonly taught areas of history. As such, they illustrate Early Years practitioners' concerns of teaching from the familiar and children's existing experiences.

The most popular topics indicated for Key Stage 1 were the *Great Fire of London* (124) *Toys* (117) *Famous People* (112) and *Florence Nightingale* (100). *Local history* was also popular with 83 responses. Other Key Stage 1 National Curriculum topics such as *My Family* (32), *Ourselves* (55) *Victorians* (34) and *School* (38) were recorded widely. There were also indications from the data that some Key Stage 1 children were following the Key Stage 2 programmes of student for history.

The statutory national curriculum history studies were all represented in responses to topics included in the Key Stage 2 curriculum. The *Local History* study figured less than the *British, European and World History* studies. In terms of *World History* the most popular topic was overwhelmingly *Ancient Egypt*, followed by the *Aztecs* and the *Indus Valley*.

The data indicated that at Key Stage 2 schools include Key Stage 1 topics within their history curriculum, in particular the inclusion of famous people (39).
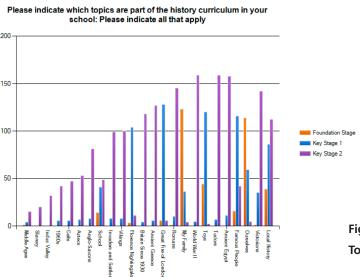

Figure 1

Topics that are part of the history curriculum

4. Curriculum development: Which aspects of history teaching do you currently include in your history teaching and which topics would you like to be included in a revised English National History Curriculum?

The teachers listed aspects of teaching and learning in history that their schools provided in rank order.

Figure 2

1. The development of knowledge and understanding (157/175, 90%)
2. Making links between the past and today (149/176, 85%).
3. Learning through museums and site visits as important (142/173, 82%)
4. A variety of teaching methods (131/166, 79%).
5. Social history, the lives of ordinary people (123/164, 75%),
6. Differentiation according to ability (121/164, 74%)
7. Local and community history (120/164, 75%).
8. Development of historical thinking (94/174, 54%)
9. World History (75/143, 52%)
10. Diversity today (51/127, 51%)
11. Multicultural British History (34/136, 34%)
12. Gender history (16/110, 15%)

The following figure indicates the topics which teachers would like included in a revised English National History Curriculum.

Figure 3 Teachers' views on aspects of teaching and learning in history which they would like to develop further in a revised English National History Curriculum

1. Multicultural Britain (111/136, 87%)
2. Gender history (97/110, 88%)
3. Diversity (90/127, 71%)
4. Development of historical thinking (108/174, 62%)
5. World history (81/143, 57%)
6. Local and community history (64/164, 40%)
7. Social history, the lives of ordinary people (62/164, 37%)

5. The future of history education in primary schools: What provision is there for history in initial and continuing professional development? What form should Continuing Professional Development [CPD] take?

The questionnaire investigated the field of professional development covering both Initial Teacher Training [ITT] and Continuing Professional Development [CPD].

143/193 (74%) of replies identified lack of Initial Teacher Training as a concern. Half of the history subject leaders had received little or no training, In relation to CPD, only one third of the respondents knew of a history adviser: 82/259 (34%). Understandably, the overwhelming majority of teachers identified lack of opportunity to attend CPD as a concern, 178/197 (90%). Local Authorities were the main providers of CPD 102/223 (46%), followed by museums, archives and libraries 63/223 (28%). Internal support, both from school colleagues 47/223 (21%) and from colleagues in other schools 14/223 (6%) plays some part. Interestingly, Teachers TV 35/223 (16%) was of significance, while Higher Education 34/223 (15%) and Subject Associations 24/223)11% also had some role. The Teachers TV figure is interesting, bearing in mind the small number of history programmes that Teachers TV produced for primary history – less than ten.

A major aspect of professional development is subject leadership or coordinatorship. It was a role that the majority of the respondents held among multiple responsibilities. 108/220 (49%) said that they had had very little or no leadership training. A major element in CPD is teacher release from school to attend externally provided events or courses. 45% indicated their school would release them, 47% did not know if it would. Of the 222 schools very few were prepared to spend more than £ 75-100 per delegate on a CPD event

The teachers were asked about their preferred forms of CPD, figure 4, and areas which they would like CPD to focus on, figure 5.
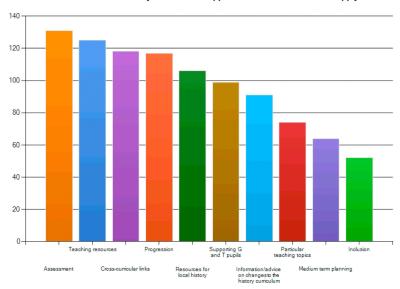
Figure 4 Preferred form of CPD

1.	Face To Face		147/223 (66%)
2.	Locally			137/223 (62%)
3.	During School Day	135/223 (60%)
4.	On-Line			96/223 (43%)
5.	After School		89/223 (36%)
6.	Distance Learning	65/223 (29%)
7.	Peer Mentoring		55/223 (25%)

Figure 5 Areas for Continuing Professional Development

1.	Assessment		131/220 (60%)
2.	Teaching Resources		125/220 (57%)
3.	Cross-Curricular links		118/220 (54%)
4.	Progression		117/220(53%)
5.	Resources for Local History	106/220(48%)
6.	Supporting Gifted & Talented Pupils	99/220(45%)
7.	Information on Changes to the History Curriculum		91/220 (41%)
8.	Particular Teaching Topics	74/220 (34%)
9.	Medium Term Planning		64/220(29%)
10.	Inclusion		52/220 (24%)

Which of these areas would you most like support with? Please tick all that apply.

The cohort of 220 schools indicated six areas of major concern,

1.	Lack of training in Initial Teacher Training/Education

2.	Lack of opportunity to attend Professional Development events/courses for serving teachers.

3.	Transition to secondary school

4.	Lack of preparation time, two thirds say it is a concern or could become one

5.	Lack of funding for resources

6.	Uncertainty over the future of the history curriculum

Discussion

Schools

Within c. 220 schools in the survey, history emerges strongly as an integral element of the curriculum. The data indicate that schools at Key Stage 1 and Key Stage 2 are meeting the English National History Curriculum's statutory requirements to teach Local, British, European and World History studies. The overall impression that the Key Stage 1 & Key Stage 2 primary history curriculum gives is of Euro-centricity with a focus on the development of Western civilisation rooted in the ancient world of Egypt, Greece and Rome,

The curriculum

The periodisation is also Anglo-centric as part of the wider National Curriculum for England , 5-14: the primary phase's main focus was on the Ancient World and the post Roman period of invasion and settlement, c. 500-1000 A,D., with three later topics - *Tudors, Victorians* and *Modern Britain, 1930+,* with often a focus on World War II. The ways in which children make sense of this British master narrative however, may be limited. HMI (OFSTED, 2007b) comment on the fragmented nature of children's understanding of key events. The teachers also recognise the importance of other, minor narratives: the personal and familial, the local, the communitarian, the social, the multi-cultural and the global/world dimensions and children's inabilities to make links between historical knowledge which they have learned over different periods of time This continues to remain a concern in 2011 and Michael Gove has stated that a key objective of the present government is to ensure that 'all children gain a secure knowledge of British history and key events in world history'(Gove, 2010b).

There appears to be no particular pattern as to when specific historical periods are taught, which reflects the lack of definitive guidance from the government and also the constraints of mixed year classes in small primary schools. Mixed year classes make impossible a chronological Plato to NATO structured history curriculum. This factor the developers of the National Curriculum for History in 1989/90 built into their curriculum planning – its presence is intentional.

The English National History Curriculum has also been criticised as presenting a southern English dimension, however a majority of schools (75% of the total responding to the question) taught local and community history which given the geographical distribution of the respondents suggests that there is possibly a range of regional histories being taught.

Successive versions of the National History Curriculum have emphasised the importance of including a British dimension within the curriculum, including the histories of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Data from the survey do not indicate whether the British dimension is in evidence. However, if schools were following many of the government's Qualifications and Curriculum Agency's [QCA] schemes of work closely, it is unlikely that this dimension would have been well developed.

Curriculum organisation and planning

The original history curriculum first introduced in schools in 1991 and refined in 1995 following Dearing's review, provided little guidance on curriculum organisation and planning which was left very much to individual schools. However, subsequent QCA guidance published in 1998, have almost universally been followed by schools. Consequently the topics taught and their phasing in school are very often those designed by the QCA (QCA and DfEE, 1998).

At Key Stage 1, survey responses indicate the influence of the QCA guidance and schemes of work; significant people and events are from those included within the schemes of work. Although the English National History Curriculum encourages teachers to teach about a range of significant individuals, including, 'artists, engineers, explorers, inventors, pioneers, rulers, saints, scientists.' (DfEE and QCA, 1999). The most frequently selected persons are Florence Nightingale and Isambard Kingdom Brunel. Similarly, with events: The Great Fire of London and Guy Fawkes dominate the curriculum.

Here is a case of guidance becoming de facto prescription: unsurprising when the National Curriculum introduced history as a new subject on the curriculum in 1990 that was inspected in primary schools. Understandably too, as many teachers had limited pedagogic content knowledge, both in terms of substantive historical knowledge and also in terms of the processes of doing history, that schools seized on the QCA schemes of work and planned and followed them in accordance with the zeitgeist of a teaching profession working in a climate of target setting, national testing of pupils, league tables and compliance through external inspection with draconian powers of enforcement.

The survey data also correlate with national enquiries made to the Nuffield Foundation's Nuffield Primary History website, with over 186,240 site visits from February 2010 to February 2011 with over 700,000 page views covering the topics above.

Knowledge, understanding and identity

The teachers' map of the historical knowledge and understanding that National Curriculum History develops produces a rich, comprehensive and multi-faceted dimension of pupil learning.

History education through introducing key episodes of English history within a chronological narrative framework plays a crucial role in children's development of personal identity, social awareness, acculturation, socialisation and communitarianism associated with being British. What is of equal interest is that the breadth of these key historical episodes and the contrasting and complementary narratives which reflect the sea change in academic history from being rooted in the *British master narrative* of civilisation's progress – *the Whig interpretation of history* - to The New History that is diverse and reflects the importance of the histories of all members of our society. Understandably this is reflected in the areas the teachers identify for development of the National Curriculum for History (gender, multi-cultural Britain, citizenship and diversity).

Such areas also reflect current social and political contexts in 2011 and indicate ways in which society has changed within the past 20 years since the initial National History Curriculum was written particularly with reference to the roles of women in society and the wider range of ethnic backgrounds represented within the population. In addition, the Crick Report (QCA, 1998) and more recently the Diversity and Curriculum Review (DFES, 2007) have emphasised history's links with citizenship and social cohesion.

Curriculum development – the teachers' perspective

It is fascinating to note teachers' views on how National Curriculum History should be developed in figure 3. The current National History Curriculum's content framework has largely remained unchanged since its introduction in 1990. The survey indicates strongly that this curriculum needs modification to reflect developments since the 1990s. Those areas accorded highest priority (over 70% of those responding) – gender history, multi-cultural Britain and diversity represent different aspects of Britain's current pluralist society. Concerning wider curricular issues and concerns, different replies included controversial and emotional history, linking literacy and history, differentiation and inclusion, creativity, historical dance and oral history.

This indicates that present day teachers now have concerns about creating an inclusive history, a concern only partially acknowledged in the English National History Curriculum of 1990.

In terms of current provision, the contrast between the 157(90%) responses describing the development of knowledge and understanding and the 94 (54%) responses for the development of historical thinking is striking (Figure 2). It could suggest that currently schools are more pre-occupied with curriculum coverage and the inclusion of specific factual historical knowledge rather than the development of children's historical thinking. Significantly, 62% of replies said that historical thinking needs development; a finding that mirrors HMI's (OFSTED, 2007) comments that many children are 'often weak in important historical skills', and that often insufficient attention is paid to children's progression in the development of historical skills and concepts.

Initial and Continuing Professional Development

Any curriculum change depends massively, if not totally, upon the provision of professional development for the staff implementing the change. The replies provide a clear picture of the current state of professional development that gives serious cause for concern in several dimensions, particularly if we accept the argument that the cohort of schools we are drawing on is one that has optimal commitment to the teaching of history. Discussion of the professional development of serving teachers must start from the baseline of the current intellectual and professional 'teaching capital' of the teaching profession. The history education 'teaching 'capital' of Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs) is very low, minimal indeed, consisting often of less than two days in a four year Initial Teacher Training course. Some providers require their trainees to select which foundation subjects they are trained in. Other providers which provide the full range of foundation subjects are only able to provide limited coverage. Understandably 74% of the teachers indicated that Initial Teacher Training was a cause for concern. The crisis in professional development for history for serving teachers is that 90% of teachers, i.e. 9 out of 10, stated there was a lack of opportunity to attend CPD – in other words, there isn't any.

The returns detail the essential areas for successful implementation of history as a National Curriculum subject, reflecting the knowledge, skills and understanding to be developed. Whilst the survey appears to indicate that teachers in the Foundation Stage are relatively confident about their teaching of History, we note some worrying observations by HMI in their 2007 survey that in over a quarter of the 144 settings visited, too little consideration was given to curricular balance within each area of learning. HMI record that children did not always experience the 'breadth and richness' of the early years curriculum and insufficient attention was accorded to a number of areas, which in Knowledge and Understanding of the World, included children's sense of time and place and understanding of culture and belief (OFSTED, 2007a).

Conclusion

There is much to celebrate in primary history, our survey matches closely the most recent report and presentation from HMI on the teaching of History in English schools (OFSTED, 2007, 2011). Children are receiving a sound foundation in the narrative of British history. The National Curriculum for History is being taught, with comprehensive chronological, topic and period coverage. British, European and World History are all being taught – this is not a narrow curriculum confined to the teaching of Henry VIII and Hitler as has been claimed for the secondary history curriculum (Gove, 2010a). Children are also receiving a grounding where history is well taught in the high level skills, processes, protocols and procedures of history as an academic discipline – a mode of enquiry.

It is important to include teaching and learning, assessment, differentiation and progression when considering the pedagogy of the subject. Pedagogy is also dependent on robust, systematic, continuous and progressive professional development for trainees and practising teachers to ensure that children have the best possible historical learning experience, drawing upon its full richness and dynamic vitality. The picture that the survey's responses from c. 220 schools paints of professional development is deeply worrying, particularly when we consider that the questionnaire evidence suggests that these respondents are motivated teachers of history. As we have noted, professional development is the key to successful teaching and learning, yet this is an area under the most severe threat.

Current provision of Initial Teacher Training and Continuing Professional Development is totally inadequate. Not only is there no provision in the majority of Local Authorities but Higher Education also now plays a minimal role. There is also little evidence of teacher networking and mutual support. Indeed, there is no evidence that schools are following government requirements for foundation subjects like history in the support of Newly Qualified Teachers [NQTs] 'to teach the foundation subjects with the support of a more experienced other'. The future looks grim: the current financial crisis, with the Local Authorities under threat, museums and libraries undergoing severe retrenchment, Higher Education withdrawing almost totally from CPD and the closing of Teachers' TV paint a picture that is deeply worrying.

At a deeper level the survey reveals a crisis in the enhancement of teacher professionalism that affects their orientation i.e. up-to-date academic and educational subject knowledge of history and the values, beliefs and attitudes that underpin expert history teaching. Teachers requested a viable, effective discourse with external providers such as the Historical Association, museums, national institutions and providers and Higher Education Institutions to facilitate access to professional knowledge, much of which is detailed in the national criteria for Masters Level qualifications.

Teachers identified their greatest need for support in two areas: expert pedagogy and resources (teaching resources and resources for local history). In terms of pedagogy, assessment, planning for cross –curricular links and progression are all important. At a time when the curriculum is currently being reviewed, it is not surprising that these rank amongst teachers' concerns. The current government halted the implementation in September of the Independent Review of the Primary Curriculum's Recommendations for a new primary curriculum (DfE: 2009). However, many schools had already begun to plan for a new curriculum and the concerns which they raise in the survey reflect some of the challenges which teachers are currently meeting as they plan a more integrated curriculum. In this context please note HMI reporting (OFSTED, 2011) that history was the most extensively taught of the foundation National Curriculum subjects, that it was popular with pupils and teachers and that it made a major all-round contribution to pupils' education.

The Cambridge Review raises the question whether with increasing demands being made on primary teachers' knowledge and skill, is the 'generalist class teacher system inherited from the 19th century still up to the job?' (Alexander 2009, 431), The complexity of the knowledge, skills and understandings required of primary teachers to teach history evidenced in this survey, is a further indicator of the need for a radical re-think of both Initial Teacher Training and Continuing Professional Development . These, and other recommendations based on the survey and other evidence, are contained in Appendix 1.

The Historical Association survey needs setting in a wider context – the concept of the educationally grounded 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1986) of the English political elite at Westminster and its relation to the historical dimension of 'the cultural capital' of the primary sector – both its teaching work force, school management, parents, governors and other stakeholders. History's role in the education of pupils directly depends upon the historical 'cultural capital' of the teachers and its more pervasive influence upon their knowledge, behaviours, beliefs, values and attitudes. The Historical Association survey raises the crucial issue of the education and training of the teaching work force to influence and shape a powerful democratic pedagogy to counter the totalitarian pedagogy of extremism I influencing terrorism. The powerful content and democratic pedagogy of the 1990 English History National Curriculum, modified and developed to meet the changed circumstances of the 21st. century, could be a most significant and effective element in the education of pupils to be active citizens in a plural, liberal democracy.

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Appendix 1 Recommendations

The history curriculum

In determining the content of the National History Curriculum, account needs to be taken of the diverse nature of current British society and examples should be provided of gender and multi-cultural histories, as well as suggestions for promoting history and citizenship. Support and guidance is needed to help teachers make links between the different historical periods which they teach, to help children develop a stronger narrative of the past within a chronological framework. . This might include analysing range of learning methods, including the innovative use of information technology. Teachers need support and guidance to acquire greater confidence in teaching a range of historical disciplinary skills, processes, protocols and concepts to develop children's historical thinking and the related ability to engage in historical investigations and enquiries.

Assessment

Whilst the current level descriptions may be useful for summative assessment of children's progress, further guidance and exemplars are needed to support teachers in assessment for learning if the descriptions are retained. This guidance would also support teachers as they plan for progression in children's historical experiences. The holistic descriptions need fundamental revision to enable them to be used for diagnostic assessment of teaching and the profiling of pupil performance both summatively and formatively that underpins assessment for learning.

Progression

Guidance is needed to support teachers in their planning for progression in children's historical experiences across the different year groups within their schools. And, crucially, from the primary to the secondary phase – see next point.

Transition

The transition in history from primary to secondary schools needs a radical, comprehensive reform to ensure that transition occurs – without transition between phases the concept of a National Curriculum is nonsense. Examples of existing good practice need to be shared more widely.

Professional Development – Initial Teacher Training and Continuing Professional Development for serving teachers.

Initial Teacher Training [ITT]

ITT needs comprehensive, radical reform to ensure that there is an educated and trained teaching force to teach National Curriculum History. The current pattern of minimal provision for the development of historical knowledge and understanding [both content and knowledge of history as an academic discipline that means 'doing history'] and related pedagogy is indefensible.

Continuing Professional Development [CPD]

CPD must be provided for serving teachers covering:

o   The history curriculum and the school curriculum - involving integration and cross-curricularity

o   History topics, i.e. subject knowledge – factual and conceptual

o   The skills, processes, protocols and disciplinary concepts of history as an academic discipline ['doing history'

o   Expert pedagogy – teaching ideas and approaches

o   Planning

o   Resources for local history

o   Assessment: formative and summative information on pupil achievement and teacher self-evaluation/monitoring;

o   Differentiation for both Special Educational Needs and Gifted and Talented pupils

o   Inclusion

o   Progression

o   Transition

o   Curriculum change and developments: the national picture

Accreditation

Serious attention needs to be given to the provision of the academic input to professional development that affects the orientation of teachers – their knowledge and understanding of the theoretical and evidential basis of all aspects of expert history teaching, grounded in the academic discourses of both history and education. Without such knowledge Initial Teacher Education and Continuing Professional Development courses have shallow roots with little or no long term impact (Harland and Kinder, 1997). The HA is supremely placed to provide nationally accredited courses at both undergraduate [QAA Levels 5-6] and masters [QAA Level 7] levels, bearing in mind the QAA Level 7 focus upon applied professional knowledge.

The delivery of CPD

CPD requires a fundamental, root-and-branch reconceptualisation to ensure that it meets the entitlement of all teachers of history in all of England's primary schools. The HEFCE research report 'Putting the University into Schools and Community'(Reynolds and Nichol, 2010) that the government 2009 White Paper on Higher Education recommended for national consideration strongly supports this model of CPD provision.

Funding

Funding should be at the level required if history is to be reinstated as a core element of the curriculum - particularly as history develop and promotes the high level literacy that the literacy strategy has conspicuously failed to deliver.